



# Urban Redevelopment with Justice Implications: The Role of Social Justice and Social Capital in Residential Relocation Decisions

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Hyun Kim<sup>1</sup>, David W. Marcouiller<sup>2</sup>,  
and Yeol Choi<sup>3</sup>

## Abstract

Using recent residential redevelopment projects in South Korea, relocation decisions were investigated with respect to social justice, social capital, and various urban spatial attributes at individual, neighborhood, and community levels. Drawing on previous social justice theory, a spatial multilevel analysis using both primary and secondary data was employed to measure community attributes that reflected social justice, social capital, social services, environmental, and economic characteristics. Results suggest that relationships with neighbors in the redevelopment project lead to a lower likelihood of relocation. These empirical findings are intended to inform policy makers interested in the perspectives of residents who are potentially displaced by public and private redevelopment efforts.

## Keywords

community engagement, displacement, just sustainability, residential redevelopment

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<sup>1</sup>University of Notre Dame, South Bend, IN, USA

<sup>2</sup>University of Wisconsin–Madison, Madison, WI, USA

<sup>3</sup>Pusan National University, Busan, South Korea

## Corresponding Author:

Hyun Kim, Environmental Change Initiative, University of Notre Dame, South Bend, IN 46617, USA.

Email: [hkim9129@gmail.com](mailto:hkim9129@gmail.com)

## Introduction

Urban redevelopment has historically been considered as a cure for urban blight (Ball and Maginn 2005; Smith 2011) due to the “positive externalities created by the related investment in infrastructure” (Chapple 2015, p. 187). Such perspectives consider urban or brownfield redevelopment as a catalyst for social and spatial transformation through economic stimulation, health protection, and modified residential and health facilities (Choi et al. 2016; Greenberg et al. 2001; Merrifield 1997; Stevens 1995). Detrimental social effects of redevelopment include loss of community cohesion, forced relocation or displacement of original inhabitants, lack of housing provisions for low-income residents, and lower social ties among neighbors (Merrifield 1997; Schwartz 2010; Thomas and Hwang 2003).

Since the 1960s, government agencies in South Korea have undertaken residential redevelopment projects to meet housing needs while improving housing conditions and restoring deteriorated residential districts (Choi et al. 2016). These projects have primarily relied on construction of high-rise apartment-dominated residential districts. Such “Joint Redevelopment Projects” have had difficulties dealing with issues of social justice. Specifically, fairness or equity issues arise from (in)voluntary<sup>1</sup> relocation of original residents, escalating housing prices, and dispersion of lower income households (Choi et al. 2016; Shin 2009; Thomas and Hwang 2003; Uitermark 2009). These social issues mirror claims of Chapple (2015, p. 188) that urban redevelopment is “an effective tool for catalyzing revitalization, but not for equitable development” and Stevens (1995, p. 86) that redevelopment “involves extensive demolition and relocation of individuals and dispersal of communities.”

Previous literature has examined core causal linkages between redevelopment and social displacement. Broad categories of residential displacement literature in the context of urban redevelopment address linkages between gentrification and displacement (Chapple 2015; Freeman 2005; Freeman and Braconi 2004; Marcuse 1985; Newman and Wyly 2006), urban redevelopment and inequality (Roy 2003), social capital and urban regeneration (Hibbitt, Jones, and Meegan 2001), and residential segregation and inequality (Massey, Condran, and Denton 1987). Furthermore, previous literature has examined social equity in redevelopment and housing (Thomas and Hwang 2003), social justice in estate regeneration (Arthurson 2001), migrant worker relocation caused by redevelopment (Chai and Choi 2017), and the possibility of relocation and prioritization by the more vocal and established community groups in the process of urban renewal (Merrifield 1997).

Most studies on urban redevelopment projects in South Korea focused on Seoul and its surrounding region (as the largest metropolitan area in South Korea) and attempted to integrate residential redevelopment processes with

diverse urban social issues (e.g., Ha 2001, 2004; Ha and Kim 2001; Kim 1990; Lee, Kim, and Won 2013; Seong, Nam, and Kim 2009; Shin 2008, 2009; Shin and Kim 2016; Yun and Jung 2011). The exceptions to this are the works of Choi et al. (2016) and Choi and Park (2009). Choi et al. (2016) addressed (in)voluntary residential resettlement resulting from urban redevelopment using survey-based methods to elicit willingness of original residents to resettle in Busan (the second largest city in South Korea). Furthermore, Choi et al. (2016) primarily focused on identifying intentions to resettle without potential connections between social justice, social capital, spatial differentials, and the redevelopment process. Few studies have addressed social justice and social capital through the empirical application of both urban residential redevelopment and willingness to relocate based on displacement effects. In this study, we identify how (in)voluntary relocation of original residents fits within the context of social capital and social justice constructs. To accomplish this, two research questions drive the work:

**Research Question 1:** How do social justice and social capital attributes contribute to original dweller (un)willingness to be displaced as an outcome of urban redevelopment?

**Research Question 2:** How does spatial distribution of community resources influence uneven economic conditions among communities?

## **Relocation in the Urban Redevelopment Process and Its Relationship with Social Justice and Social Capital**

One of the most important key insights into goal formulation, problem definition, and equity issues comes from Fainstein (2010) in her work *The Just City*. Categorizing social justice attributes into equity, diversity, and democracy, Fainstein (2010) applied concepts of social justice to urban redevelopment by conducting case studies of three global cities (New York, Amsterdam, and London). Despite critiques of Fainstein's social justice categorization (e.g., Steele et al. 2012), this approach is justified by Uitermark (2012, p. 199) who stated that “[social justice] is valuable because it defines clear criteria for evaluating cities as well as plans.” Williams (2017, p. 2229) pointed out the necessity of “learning from and amplifying the responses to injustice” through the justice in the city.

A “better” city represents a more equitable and redistributive system from a normative perspective. It can be a “Just city” where “public investment and regulation would produce equitable outcomes rather than support those already well off” (Fainstein 2010, p. 3) resulting in an urbanization whereby

“valuably different forms of human activity can flourish” (as noted by Nussbaum 2000, p. 60 and cited in Chapple 2015, pp. 289–90). By listing specific policy criteria that would further equity, diversity, and democracy, Marcuse (2009) and Fainstein (2010) claimed that powerless and marginalized groups should be able to participate in decision-making, outcomes of which should be distributed equitably. Considering social equity and redevelopment, Thomas and Hwang (2003, p. 14) emphasized that social equity indicates “equity of decision making” that allows low-income residents to take part in the redevelopment process.

Calling for active citizenship, public participation, redistribution of power and resources, and “redirect[ing] practitioners from their obsession with economic development to a concern with social equity,” Fainstein (2010, p. 19) examined redevelopment in New York, Amsterdam, and London, and suggested how all three cities tried to meet the necessary standards of justice. Likewise, Soja (2010, p. 7) argued that spatial justice “seeks to promote more progressive and participatory forms of democratic politics and social activism and to provide new ideas about how to mobilise and maintain cohesive collations” (as cited in Chatterton 2010, p. 625).

In developing a Just city framework, Fainstein (2010, p. 13) pointed out that “. . . there is not always a trade-off between justice and efficiency, but when there is, the demands of justice should prevail.” This statement underscores the fact that *The Just City* also exposes many tensions and contradictions found in planning practice—ironies that are often, but incorrectly, framed as binary oppositions between regulation and neo-liberalism, equity and economic efficiency, participation and power, or diversity and commodification. If urban growth can lead to justice as well as injustice, Uitermark (2009) noted that mechanisms supporting a Just city can exacerbate equitable allocation of scarce resources, and resident engagement will be lower, more competitive, and challenging. In this regard, the Just city needs equitable planning policies and practices (Agyeman 2013; Friedmann 2011; Mirafab 2009).

Supporting the application of the normative in the Just city, Healey (2003) emphasized that process should not be understood merely as a means to a substantive end. Process itself has important outcomes in collaborative planning. Applying justice concepts, Fainstein (2010) argued that while communicative planning theorists suggest that planners employed by a government or organization play the role of mediators among various interest groups, Just city–relevant theorists do not regard planners as neutral or benevolent representatives of the government. In this sense, citizen engagement needs to be emphasized “in decision-making by relatively powerless groups and equity of outcomes” (Fainstein 2003, p. 186; Thomas 2012).

In social justice, equity and advocacy planning theorists call on planners to assist dispossessed people through effective advocacy planning (Fainstein 2014; Harvey 2009; Thomas 2012). With respect to democracy, majorities can be indifferent to minorities (Campbell 2006). The high cost of achieving equity through redistribution can create resentment among those who must sacrifice (Stanley 2009). Within a diverse urban society, Putnam (2007) argued that diversity in neighborhoods can reduce social trust and social connection. The absence of social capital (or social networks) can lead to social breakdown or social exclusion among people (Agyeman 2013; Brenman and Sanchez 2012; Hibbit, Jones, and Meegan 2001; Sandercock 2003). Social capital can be broken down as a result of systematic urban disinvestment, displacement by redevelopment, and gentrification. Such undesirable potentials can be associated with lower levels of sustainability and justice (Dikeç 2001; Stanley 2009).

To set up a desirable framework leading to sustainability and a Just city, communities need collective action for balancing public and individual interests (Sager 2012). Furthermore, as essential conditions for Just and sustainable communities, Agyeman (2013) suggested improving quality-of-life and well-being of residents. This improvement should meet the needs of both present and future generations while creating justice and equity with respect to recognition, process, procedure, and outcome. Such broad and integrated understandings of social justice and social capital in urban redevelopment projects reflect Just urban settlement and can be closely connected with the conceptual framework of this study.

Neighborhood renewal and (in)voluntary relocation of current inhabitants often go hand-in-hand as residential displacement processes. Implementing residential redevelopment projects can serve to improve a variety of social goods such as economic revitalization and enhanced social interactions while improving housing quality, living environs, sanitation, and aesthetic form (Davidson 2008; Kleinhans 2004).

Common in today's urbanized South Korea, local government agencies regularly examine blighted and substandard residential areas to designate housing and residential redevelopment districts (Choi et al. 2016; Ha 2001, 2004; Shin 2008). Original residents organize temporary associations to select appropriate construction contractors and rebuild homes (Choi et al. 2016; Stoecker 2008; Von Hoffman 2003). The construction contractor prepares the urban redevelopment plan with the assistance of planning agencies. If the plan is accepted by the local government, it is officially announced by the government. Such urban redevelopment processes in South Korea are an example of Molotch's (1976) growth machine framework where profit-seeking residents are involved in and collaborate with a private construction

company. Furthermore, Lee (2000, 2003) points to the dominating influence of Seoul's urban regime on authoritarian administration, unjust distribution of resources, and a top-down planning approach to urban economic development. Top-down superficial governance, in this context, represents growth coalitions of central governments and large capitalist groups without decentralization and empowerment (Kim 2010, p. 300).

Most redevelopment projects in South Korea have been undertaken in the Seoul capital region since the conclusions of hostilities resulting from the Korean War. Projects in the Seoul region had roots in reducing housing shortages to accommodate huge population migrations from other regions while acting to enhance urban living conditions. For instance, there were mass demolitions of substandard housing to improve the city's living environments and housing quality before the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games (Ha 2001).

Busan has historically served as a primary resettlement region for refugees during the Korean War and has exhibited an abundance of deteriorated residential districts due to a lack of timely and appropriate redevelopment activities (Choi et al. 2016; Ha 2004). Like other housing and residential redevelopment projects undertaken in the Seoul capital region, Busan adopted "Joint Redevelopment Projects" since 1983 based on the *Act on the Maintenance and Improvement of Urban Areas and Dwelling Conditions for Residents* (Choi et al. 2016; Ha 2001). The Joint Redevelopment Projects demonstrated corporate relationships among property owners, housing renters, contractors, and reconstruction associations (Choi et al. 2016; Ha 2001). Successful implementation is typically dependent on the political will of local governments, private contractors, and international financial and economic market conditions.

Most housing renewal done through Joint Redevelopment Projects revealed underlying and insidious social issues that included "forcible eviction and relocation, lack of community participation in the planning process, burdensome cost-sharing, and insufficient public financing" (Ha 2001, p. 386). Typically, resident property owners have a right to participate in projects and derive project compensation even if all residents can have the option of remaining in the existing homes after redevelopment (Choi et al. 2016; Shin 2008). Presumably, the original residents willing to take a part in the redevelopment process are not inclined to relocate after redevelopment. In the context of housing markets, residents who own their home can be assumed to have a general tendency to be more willing to stay if there is possibility of housing value increase after the redevelopment project while renters might be forced to relocate due to financial issues.

Forced residential relocation (or displacement) can be highly controversial (Hyra 2015) in the context of social (in)justice. Relocation is often associated with "the exclusionary effects of market—as well as state-driven

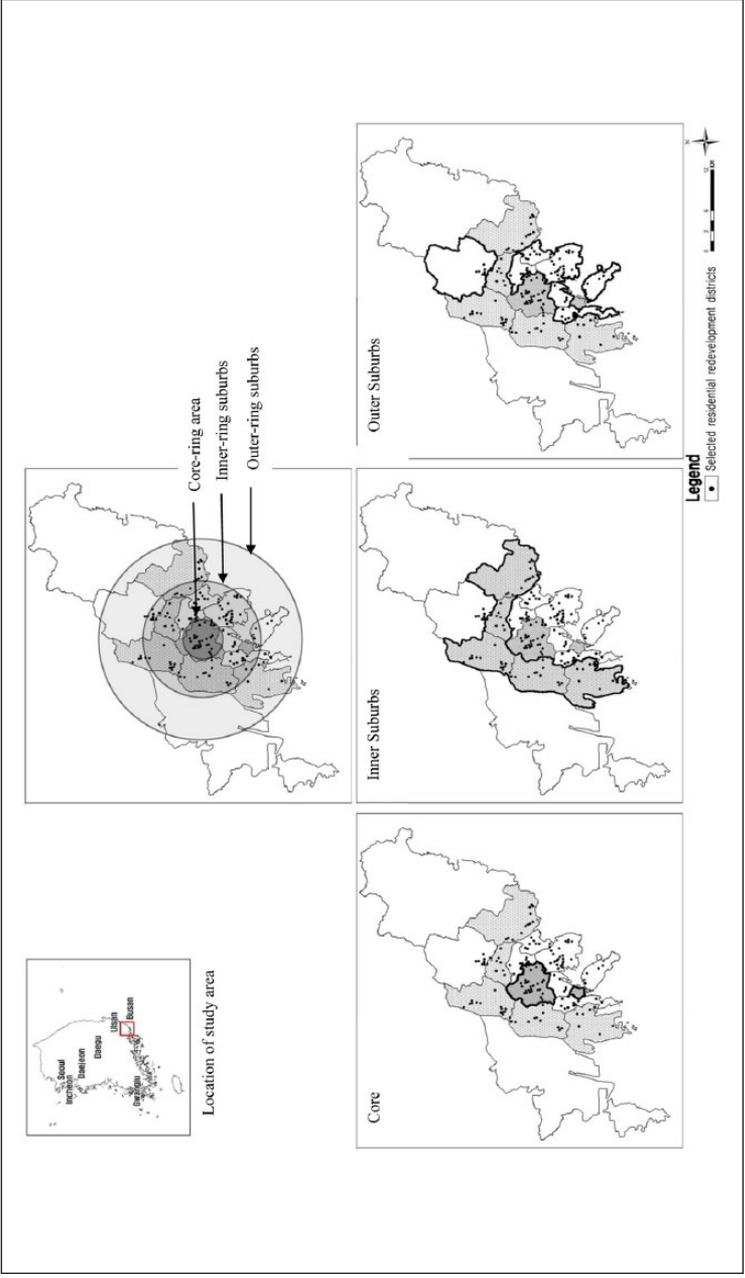
gentrification” (Newman and Wyly 2006, p. 27). Neighborhood renewal and forced relocation of current inhabitants are often simultaneous outcomes. Such social conflicts in the context of urban South Korea can be identified by exploring how (in)voluntary relocation of original residents by urban redevelopment projects affects social justice implications.

Working closely with local communities requires the participation of original inhabitants (Fainstein 2010). Supported by the finding of Choi et al. (2016), participation in the process of urban redevelopment as a component of democracy can be associated with lower levels of relocation intention of original residents. In this study, participation was measured by the degree of satisfaction to participate in urban redevelopment projects. This was used to deal with the attributes at the individual level rather than measuring how frequently the original residents participated in redevelopment projects. Consistent with relocation decisions of original residents, the construction company arranged loans to compensate those affected for moving costs to temporary residences. The local government attempted to enhance urban-building growth capacities of the territory considering regional social and economic status (Ball and Maginn 2005). The process can be linked with equity components among social justice characteristics with respect to relocation decisions resulting from urban residential redevelopment. Specifically, social and economic status of original residents included household income inequality, migration status, homeownership, and housing supply level.

## Research Design and Method

### *Study Area and Data Collection*

Busan is one of six metropolitan cities within South Korea<sup>2</sup> and is divided into 16 administrative divisions. These jurisdictions (*gu* in Korean) refer to subdivisions of metropolitan cities that are independent district governments. As of 2012, the population of Busan was about 3.4 million (compared with roughly 10 million in Seoul) with *gu* ranging in population from 0.05 million (Jung-*gu*) to 0.43 million (Haeundae-*gu*). Busan comprises a land area of roughly 767 km<sup>2</sup> involving a simple core-fringe relationship, divided into urban core, inner suburb, and outer suburb as shown in Figure 1 (Busan Metropolitan City 2011; Choi et al. 2016). Among the total administrative *gu*, two core areas (including Jung-*gu* and Busanjin-*gu*) can be regarded as the economic, political, intellectual, and cultural engines. The five *gu* surrounding the core (including Haeundae-*gu*, Sasang-*gu*, Saha-*gu*, Dongnae-*gu*, and Buk-*gu*) were considered as inner suburbs.<sup>3</sup> The remaining nine administrative *gu* were categorized as outer suburban residential areas.



**Figure 1.** Study area and selected residential redevelopment districts.

As of 2011, 14 *gu* in the metropolitan city were designated as redevelopment districts and comprised a total of 152 individual redevelopment districts. Of the 152 districts planned for residential redevelopment projects, 137 were selected since 14 projects were under redevelopment and one project was canceled. In 2011, 67,128 original residents resided throughout the designated redevelopment districts. A total of 20,138 dwellers were randomly selected among the 67,128 original residents from the Korean Statistical Information Service (KSIS) to secure stratified random sampling within the 137 redevelopment districts; 6,041 residents, or about 30% of 20,138 residents, were selected for sampling. At the final sampling stage, a total of 1,854 original residents responded, which represented a 31% response rate (1,854 of 6,041 respondents). The initial mailing of the survey instrument began in April of 2011 and was followed by postcard reminders and telephone calls to increase the response rate. Such reminders continued through June of 2011.

Like previous studies on the (un)willingness to move to or live in redeveloped residential sites (e.g., Choi et al. 2016; Greenberg et al. 2001), survey-based methods were employed to identify perceptions of original residents to forced relocation resulting from urban redevelopment projects. The survey instrument consisted of two sections. The first involved closed-ended questions regarding social justice and social capital characteristics (income level, tenure, age, length of residence, the degree of resident satisfaction to participation in the redevelopment process, and resident perception of neighborhood relationships). In the second section, dummy variables were used to capture original resident willingness to relocate as a result of the redevelopment projects. The following survey questions were included to ascertain original dweller intention with respect to the redevelopment projects:

- Would you like to relocate after the redevelopment project is completed?
- Are you satisfied with your current participation in the redevelopment project?
- Are you satisfied with your current relationships with neighbors?

In addition to the primary survey-based data on original residents, secondary data were collected from the KSIS for the 2012 calendar year. This follows Galster and Mincy's (1993) assumption of a one-year lag effect of metropolitan-economic situation on neighborhood change and reflects multi-level effects of social justice and social capital among original residents, community space and social services, and varied socioeconomic and environmental characteristics.

Neighborhood factors included accessibility to elementary schools, transportation systems, and municipal administrative offices within a 500-m radius from each of the designated redevelopment districts. Community characteristics included educational attainment, employment, number of foreigners who live in the study area, percentage of housing supply, people moving to other regions, percentage of voter turnout in general elections, number of nongovernment organizations, change in housing and land value, percentage of low-income population, number of crimes per capita, damage cost of natural disasters, park area, and per capita public-sector employment within each administrative division.

### *Analytical Methods and Hypothetical Metrics for Social Justice and Social Capital*

Empirical research was accomplished in three phases to address the two previously stated research questions. First, a multilevel analysis was used to identify proxy variables for social justice and social capital that contribute to the (un)willingness of original residents to relocate. In addition, multilevel social justice attributes reflected the scope of social justice to address needs of individuals, small groups, and wider society (Miller 1999). This was done to examine and cluster determinants of willingness to relocate in the study area and to adjust for the lack of independence within the clusters. Reflecting on the dependent variable denoted by *Relocation* (willingness to be relocated), a multistage logistic regression model was applied on the basis of original resident *i*'s willingness to relocate ( $Relocation_{inc} = 1$ ) in neighborhood *n* in community *c* (referring to level-1 unit *i* in level-2 unit *n* in level-3 unit *c*). The hypothetical association was formalized as follows:

$$\begin{aligned}
 Relocation_{inc} = & \alpha_{0nc} + \alpha_{1n}Tenure_{inc} + \alpha_{2n}Age_{inc} + \alpha_{3n}Participation_{inc} \\
 & + \alpha_{4n}Dwell_{inc} + \alpha_{5n}Bond_{inc} + \alpha_{6n}Gender_{inc} \\
 & + \alpha_{7n}Familysize_{inc} + \gamma_{inc}
 \end{aligned} \tag{1}$$

$$\begin{aligned}
 \alpha_{0nc} = & \beta_{00c} + \beta_{001}Economicinequality_{1nc} + \beta_{002}School_{2nc} + \beta_{003}Bus_{3nc} \\
 & + \beta_{004}Subway_{4nc} + \beta_{005}Publicservice_{5nc} + \mu_{0nc}
 \end{aligned} \tag{2}$$

$$\begin{aligned}
 \beta_{00c} = & \delta_{000} + \delta_{000}Housingsupply_{inc} + \delta_{000}Outmigration_{inc} \\
 & + \delta_{000}Education_{inc} + \delta_{000}Employment_{inc} + \delta_{000}Foreigner_{inc} \\
 & + \delta_{000}Vote_{inc} + \delta_{000}NGO_{inc} + \delta_{000}Housingvalue_{inc} \\
 & + \delta_{000}Lowincome_{inc} + \delta_{000}Landvalue_{inc} + \delta_{000}Crime_{inc} \\
 & + \delta_{000}Naturaldisaster_{inc} + \delta_{000}Parkarea_{inc} \\
 & + \delta_{000}Publicservant_{inc} + \nu_{00c}
 \end{aligned} \tag{3}$$

Overall, this model was developed to address relationships among individual characteristics (*i*) (1,854 survey respondents) collected from the 2011 survey, neighborhood characteristics (*n*) (137 redevelopment project areas) secured from 2012 census-based data, and community characteristics (*c*) (14 administrative divisions) obtained from 2012 census-based data.

As a level-1 model, equation (1) involved various potential social justice characteristics including housing tenure (*Tenure*), age (*Age*), degree of resident satisfaction with participation in the process of a redevelopment project (*Participation*), social capital characteristic variables including length of residence (*Dwell*), and original resident perceptions of neighborhood bonds (*Bond*). In addition, gender (*Gender*) and family size (*Family size*) were included as individual control variables. In keeping with survey-based data from original residents within the 137 residential redevelopment districts, these variables proxied the relationship between social justice attributes with components of equity, diversity, democracy, and social capital status of individuals with respect to willingness to relocate.

As depicted in equation (2), both random intercept and slope are presented as functions of one or more contextual variables in the level-2 model. This model, denoted by neighborhood *n*, included variables such as accessibility to public facilities and service characteristics within a 500-m radius from each redevelopment district. A 500-m radius from each household center was selected as an appropriate neighborhood boundary in South Korea. The average distance (in meters) to public transportation services such as bus stops or subway stations (*Bus* and *Subway*), to elementary schools (*School*), and to municipal public administrative offices (*Public service*) was included to account for the influence of neighborhood locational status on the relocation intention of original residents. In addition to these neighborhood variables, Gini coefficients calculated at the household income level of the original resident survey responses (*Economic inequality*) were used to address the effects of neighborhood economic equity status (as an equity component) on the willingness of original residents to relocate.

Similarly, the community *c* model, equation (3), included social justice and social capital characteristics, socioeconomic and environmental attributes, and accessibility to public service characteristics within administrative jurisdiction boundaries in the study area. To reflect social equity and diversity attributes, the percentage of housing supply measured by the number of housing units divided by the total number of households (*Housing supply*), the percentage of high school students admitted to college (*Education*), people moving to other regions (*Outmigration*), the per capita number of workers (*Employment*), and the number of foreigners (*Foreigner*) who live in the surrounding area of urban redevelopment projects were selected as proxies.

Variables reflecting the number of foreigners (*Foreigner*) and people moving to other regions (*Outmigration*) were included to overcome the potential issue noted by Soja (2010) that “. . . a ‘mono-ethnic geography’ might distort the cartographic accuracy and theoretical interpretation of spatial differentials . . .” (as cited in Arapoglou 2012, p. 227).

Social capital characteristics at the community level included percentage of voter turnout in general elections (*Vote*) and the number of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). For community context, various socioeconomic, environmental, and public service access characteristics were selected. Specifically, these included change rate of housing values between 2005 and 2009 (*Housing value*), percentage of low-income population (*Low income*), change rate of land values relative to 2005 (*Land value*), number of crimes (including murder, rape, theft, robbery) per capita (*Crime*), cost of natural disaster damage such as flooding and typhoons (*Natural disaster*) adjusted for inflation in 2012, percentage of park area (*Park area*), and per capita number of people who work in the public sector (*Public servant*).

The second phase reinvestigated determinants of willingness to relocate using spatial data and multilevel analysis due to the suspicion of spatial dependence of the data on relocation intention of original residents. Employing a spatial autocorrelation estimation (Moran's *I*) within individual income levels, this model was divided into nonspatial clustering effect models (see also models 1 to 3 in Table 2) and spatial clustering effect models with hotspots (spatial clusters of high values) and coldspots (spatial clusters of low values) (see models 4 and 5). This spatial analysis was conducted to address spatial clusters within redevelopment districts and the variations between individual and neighborhood characteristics that could not be accounted for by individual characteristics.

In the third phase on spatial redistribution of resources and community economic conditions, selected social justice characteristics at the community level were examined with respect to economic inequality by urban spatial structure that included core, inner suburb, and outer suburb (see Figure 1). This phase adopted a geographically weighted regression (GWR) to conduct spatially varying community relationships (Fotheringham, Brunsdon, and Charlton 2002) among social justice factors. For community spatial attributes, the relationships between community public land access and social service characteristics were investigated. These included accessibilities to public facilities, service indicators, accessibility to parks, and economic inequality. As proposed by Fotheringham et al. (2002), the GWR model is useful in addressing spatial dependence and heterogeneity between observed spatial cases. Under the assumption that there were some geographic clusters of income inequality within the study area, a GWR model was used based on

spatial coordinates (centroids) of a 500-m radius from each redevelopment district. The spatial weight matrix describes the effect of each variable representing access to public facilities and service factors (*School, Bus, Subway, and Public service*) on the level of economic inequality (*Economic inequality*) as measured using Gini coefficients.

Four variables for diversity were included to represent “development of capacities among a city’s residents and move toward the model of the [J]ust city” (Fainstein 2005, p. 16). Proxies to reflect social and cultural diversity components included educational attainment, employment status, numbers of foreigners, and age distribution. These were selected at both the individual and community levels. Despite the controversial role of diversity, overall attributes were logically associated with a creativity dimension (Florida 2002) and were included to reflect urban social and cultural differences (Fainstein 2005). Based on prior research findings, a first hypothesis can be stated:

**Hypothesis 1:** Social justice attributes including equity, democracy, and diversity will have much to do with (un)willingness of original residents to relocate as an outcome of urban redevelopment projects.

The process of urban redevelopment and relocation intention of original residents can be associated with the notion that “possession of social capital provides resources that underpin or provide key support both for enhanced competitiveness and for social cohesion” (Harloe 2001, p. 896). Previous research (e.g., Aldrich 2012; Evans and Syrett 2007; Kim et al. 2015) has empirically proxied social capital using voter turnout, number of local volunteer organizations, and length of residence. Other studies suggested that length of residency had little relationship to social capital (e.g., Twigg, Taylor and Mohan 2010). For the work reported here, social capital characteristics were represented by proxies including voter turnout, length of residence, level of satisfaction with neighborhood ties, and number of NGOs. In this sense, a second hypothesis can be stated:

**Hypothesis 2:** There will be a negative relationship between social capital conditions such as voter turnout, length of residence, community engagement facilities, and satisfaction with social ties with neighbors, and (un)willingness of original residents to relocate as an outcome of residential redevelopment projects.

Important neighborhood and community characteristics pertaining to resident satisfaction in residential relocation resulting from urban redevelopment encompass safety and security (Kim et al. 2015), land markets and property

rights (Irazábal 2009), and access to public services and community facilities (Brambilla, Michelangeli, and Peluso 2013; Farrington and Farrington 2005; Kim et al. 2015; Soja 2010; Tovar and Bourdeau-Lepage 2013; Visser 2001). These are also variables closely associated with amenities as claimed in Clark (2011, p. 100) who stated that natural physical amenities, constructed amenities, socioeconomic composition, and diversity values can be regarded as “central not just for consumption but for economic development.” Furthermore, they serve as in-migration pull drivers. For the study reported here, community amenity attributes were empirically proxied using park area, damage cost of natural disasters, and number of crimes. From this logic, a third hypothesis can be established:

**Hypothesis 3:** Better accessibility of neighborhoods to community amenities are positively correlated with lower relocation intention of original residents as a result of urban redevelopment projects.

## Results

Selected variables, measurements, and hypothetical effects are summarized in Table 1. Almost half of the respondents preferred to relocate in the redevelopment districts. Whereas 67% of the respondents owned their dwelling, about half of the respondents made less than two million won<sup>4</sup> per month (roughly equivalent to US\$1,800) and had lived in their current place of residence for less than 10 years.

From the 2012 secondary sources, housing supply levels ranged from 92% to 158%, and the number of people moving to other regions was 20% of the total population in the study area. One fourth of the high school students were admitted to college, and about four in 10 residents made a living in the study areas. The number of foreigners living in the metropolitan city in 2012 was 0.7% of the total population. About half of the residents in the study area voted in presidential elections, and the city had more than 100 nongovernment organizations. Compared to South Korea national averages, the metropolitan city had somewhat lower levels of park area, lower crime rates, and lower income, and the cost of natural disaster damage charges were 2% of gross regional domestic product (GRDP). In response to economic opportunities, the community experienced somewhat higher housing and land value variations between 2005 and 2012.

Relationships between survey-based variables and willingness to relocate by redevelopment projects are summarized in Figure 2. The scale from 0 to 60 outlined on the concentric circles is the percentage of respondents who are planning to relocate after redevelopment. Results suggested that higher

**Table 1.** Concept Measurement, Summary Statistics, and Hypothetical Effect.

Variable Name	Definition/Measurement	Survey Response	M	SD	Minimum	Maximum	Analytical Level	Hypothetical Effect
<b>Social justice and social capital characteristic variables</b>								
<b>Equity components</b>								
Income distribution <sup>a</sup>	Household income level (monthly):	1 = 270	2.69	1.08	1	5	I	
	1 = less than 1,499,000 won	2 = 579						
	2 = 1,500,000 to 2,499,000	3 = 533						
	3 = 2,500,000 to 3,499,000	4 = 393						
	4 = 3,500,000 to 4,499,000	5 = 79						
5 = more than 4,500,000								
Economic inequality <sup>b</sup>	Gini coefficients based on income distribution	0.19	0.05	0	0.38		II	(+)
Tenure	Housing tenure: 1 = owner, 0 = renter	0 = 651 1 = 1,203	0.35	0.47	0	1	I	(-)
Housing supply	Percentage of housing supply <sup>c</sup>	112.18	16.67	91.90	157.60		III	(-)
Outmigration	People moving to other regions <sup>c</sup>	25,761	11,840	6,673	46,850		III	(+)
<b>Diversity components</b>								
Education	Percentage of high school students admitted to colleges <sup>c</sup>	28	0.03	22	33		III	(-)
Employment	Number of workers per capita <sup>c</sup>	0.44	0.34	0.15	1.32		III	(-)
Foreigner	Number of foreigners <sup>c</sup>	1,970	1,135	757	3,967		III	(-)
Age	Age distribution:	1 = 74	3.49	1.03	1	5	I	(-)
	1 = less than the 20s	2 = 230						
	2 = the 30s	3 = 555						
	3 = the 40s	4 = 688						
	4 = the 50s	5 = 307						
5 = more than the 60s								

(continued)

Table 1. (continued)

Variable Name	Definition/Measurement	Survey Response	M	SD	Minimum	Maximum	Analytical Level	Hypothetical Effect
Democracy component								
Participation	The degree of residents' participation in the process of redevelopment projects: 1 = very dissatisfied 2 = dissatisfied 3 = neither dissatisfied nor satisfied 4 = satisfied 5 = very satisfied	1 = 50 2 = 364 3 = 763 4 = 624 5 = 53	3.14	0.85	1	5	I	(-)
Social capital components								
Vote	Percentage of voter turnout in general election <sup>c</sup>		52.48	2.14	49.55	56.20	III	(-)
NGO	Number of NGOs <sup>c</sup>		37	24	10	105	III	(-)
Dwell	Length of residence: 1 = less than 5 years 2 = 5 to less than 10 years 3 = 10 to less than 15 years 4 = 15 to less than 20 years 5 = more than 20 years	1 = 251 2 = 616 3 = 394 4 = 296 5 = 297	2.87	1.28	1	5	I	(-)
Bond	Residents' perception of neighborhood relationships: 1 = very dissatisfied 2 = dissatisfied 3 = neither dissatisfied nor satisfied 4 = satisfied 5 = very satisfied	1 = 40 2 = 324 3 = 1,035 4 = 423 5 = 32	3.04	0.74	1	5	I	(-)

(continued)

**Table 1. (continued)**

Variable Name	Definition/Measurement	Survey Response	M	SD	Minimum	Maximum	Analytical Level	Hypothetical Effect
<b>Individual control variables</b>								
Gender	Gender: 0 = female 1 = male	0 = 902 1 = 952	0.51	0.50	0	1	I	
Family size	Number of family: 1 = one 2 = two 3 = three 4 = four 5 = five and over	1 = 84 2 = 420 3 = 547 4 = 650 5 = 153	3.19	1.02	1	5	I	
<b>Community socioeconomic and environmental characteristic variables</b>								
Housing value	Housing value variation between 2005 and 2012		80.10	5.60	70.40	91.60	III	(+)
Low income	Percentage of low-income population <sup>d</sup>		0.04	0.01	0.02	0.07	III	(+)
Land value	Land value variation between 2005 and 2012: 0 = negative land value rate 1 = positive land value rate	0 = 7 1 = 7	0.50	0.51	0	1	III	(+)
Crime	Number of crimes per capita <sup>d</sup>		0.05	0.03	0.22	0.33	III	(+)
Natural disaster	Per capita natural disaster damage cost <sup>d</sup>		4.58	9.93	0	36.21	III	(+)
Park area	Percentage of park area <sup>d</sup>		0.03	0.07	0.003	0.22	III	(-)
Neighborhood space and social service characteristic variables								
School	Average distance to elementary school within a 500-m radius from a redevelopment district (m)	137	272.50	94.01	70.38	474.46	II	(+)

(continued)

Table I. (continued)

Variable Name	Definition/Measurement	Survey Response	M	SD	Minimum	Maximum	Analytical Level	Hypothetical Effect
Bus	Average distance to bus station within a 500-m radius from a redevelopment district (m)	137	274.50	62.85	154.91	466.00	II	(+)
Subway	Average distance to subway station within a 500-m radius from a redevelopment district (m)	137	252.30	120.40	75.56	491.48	II	(+)
Public service	Average distance to municipal public administrative office within a 500-m radius from a redevelopment district (m)	137	240.80	94.25	61.59	443.89	II	(+)
Public servant	Per capita people who work for public services <sup>a</sup>	14	0.003	0.001	0.001	0.008	III	(-)
Willingness to relocation variable								
Relocation	Whether or not original residents are willing to relocate in residential redevelopment districts: 0 = <i>not relocate</i> , 1 = <i>relocate</i>	0 = 866 1 = 988	0.53	0.49	0	1	I	

Note. (+) denotes positive effect; (-) denotes negative effect; NGO = nongovernmental organizations; KSIS = Korean Statistical Information Service.

a. Used in describing economic inequality in neighbor level.

b. Based on household income level collected from original residents' survey and used as dependent variable in geographically weighted regression model in this study.

c. Secondary data based on 2009 KSIS.

d. Secondary data based on 2012 KSIS.

**Table 2.** Multilevel Model Results Regarding Social Justice and Relocation Intention.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
<b>Fixed effects</b>					
Level I: Individual characteristics ( <i>i</i> )					
Tenure	0.578 [1.783]		0.116 [1.110]	0.184 [1.169]	0.063 [1.065]
Age	-0.011 [0.990]			-0.042 [0.957]	-0.072 [0.925]
Participation	0.002 [1.002]			0.027 [1.028]	0.032 [1.032]
Dwell	-0.024* [0.911]			-0.010** [0.990]	-0.037 [0.963]
Bond	-0.138* [0.856]		-0.132** [0.858]	-0.030** [0.969]	-0.344** [0.589]
Gender	0.045 [1.050]				
Family size	0.080 [1.076]				
Level II: Neighborhood characteristics ( <i>n</i> )					
Economic inequality	0.252* [1.253]		0.364* [1.255]	2.236 [1.894]	2.664 [1.436]
School		0.001* [1.002]	0.001* [1.002]		
Bus		0.002* [1.002]	0.002** [1.002]		
Subway		0.001* [1.002]	0.001* [1.002]		
Public service		-0.006 [1.000]	-0.009 [1.000]		

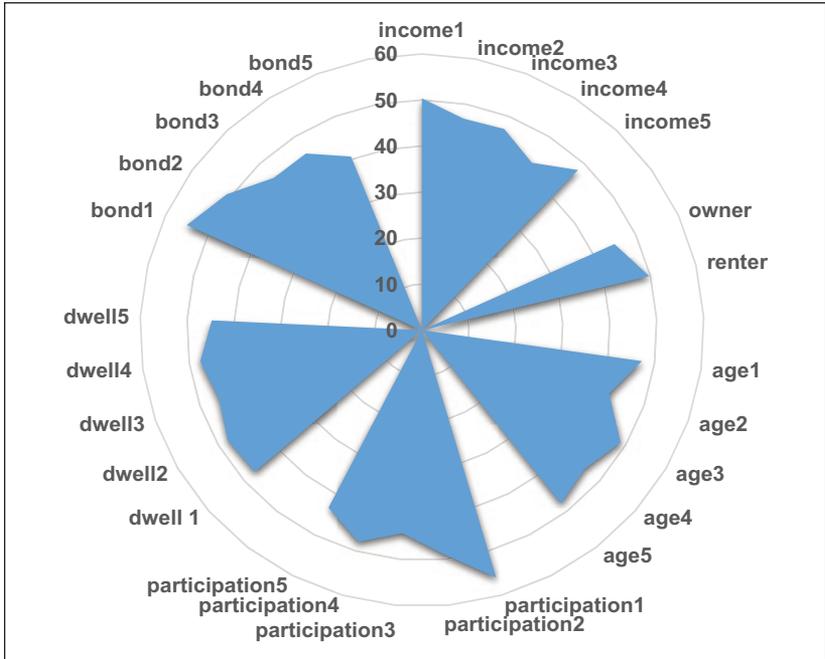
(continued)

Table 2. (continued)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Level III: Community characteristics (c)					
Housing supply	0.005 [1.004]			0.007 [1.007]	0.027 [1.028]
Outmigration	-0.001 [0.996]			-0.012 [0.988]	-0.011 [0.989]
Education	-21.620* [1.17e+09]		-9.950* [1.791]	-20.872** [1.16e+09]	-13.328* [6.147]
Employment	0.003* [1.000]		1.482** [1.773]	3.504** [1.970]	0.940 [1.610]
Foreigner	-0.001 [1.000]		-0.001 [1.000]	-0.003 [1.000]	-0.002 [1.000]
Vote	-0.201 [0.723]				
NGO	-0.002* [0.997]			-0.006* [1.000]	-0.011* [0.992]
Housing value		0.026** [1.027]			
Low income		0.462 [1.371]			
Land value		0.859* [1.577]			
Crime		5.759* [1.997]			
Natural disaster		0.032 [0.967]			
Park area		-4.135 [6.249]			
Public servant		-1.175 [1.486]	-0.767 [1.558]		
Intercept	0.140 [1.201]	3.427** [30.798]	-2.762** [0.063]	-7.416* [0.006]	-3.170 [0.041]
Random effects					
Neighborhood level	0.325	0.284	0.226	0.385	2.25e-32
Community level	1.32e-21	1.67e-33	5.36e-34	9.41e-35	4.58e-36
Number of observations/groups	1,854/137/14	1,854/137/14	1,854/137/14	1,253/69/11	601/35/7
Spatial clustering effect	No	No	No	Yes (hotspots)	Yes (coldspots)
Log likelihood/Wald $\chi^2$	-1,269.1/13.43*	-1,251.3/8.14*	-1,242.3/26.39**	-829.5/15.64*	-405.4/19.76*

Note. Odds ratios are in brackets. NGO = nongovernmental organization.

\* $p < .1$ . \*\* $p < .05$ .



**Figure 2.** Breakdown of survey variables with percentage of respondents per group planning to relocate after redevelopment.  
Note. Percentages indicated on concentric circles.

income households (coded *Income* groups 4 to 5) and home-owners (coded *Tenure*, owner group) exhibited a lower probability of relocation after the residential redevelopment project. One interpretation of these results suggested that since low-income households or renters have more economic burden allocated to housing than higher income counterparts, they have an increased tendency to relocate. In line with assumptions about short-term residents (coded *Dwell* groups 1 to 2), about one-fifth of the respondents exhibited low satisfaction with relationships (coded *Bond* groups 1 to 2) among neighbors; only 20% were satisfied with active participation in the project process. Furthermore, these respondents were more apt to relocate from the redevelopment area.

Among individual-level variables, the *Bond* variable was a significant predictor of original residents' intention to relocate after controlling for individual, neighborhood, and community characteristics as shown in the nonspatial-clustering-effect-based models (models 1 to 3 in Table 2). This

result suggests that the better an individual resident's social capital status (*Dwell* and *Bond*), the higher the tendency not to relocate. Most neighborhood characteristics were significant predictors of relocation intention. The economic inequality within each residential redevelopment district was positively correlated with willingness to relocate among the original dwellers. Given that there were similar income levels between residents and their neighbors, residents were less likely to relocate to the new residential redevelopment districts.

As hypothesized, access to social service variables including *School*, *Bus*, and *Subway* at the neighborhood scale was statistically significant and negatively related to original resident relocation intention (see models 2 and 3 in Table 2). In other words, the better the access to transportation and educational facilities, the lower the level of relocation intention in the outlying residential areas. At the community level, the predicted odds of willingness to relocate were 1.791 times the odds for educational level (*Education*), after controlling for individual, neighborhood, and community characteristic variables at the 90% significance level. Further, employment conditions at the community scale were statistically significant and positive. This result suggests that original residents who resided in communities with higher levels of employment opportunities were more likely to relocate to the new residential redevelopment areas compared with original residents with fewer employment opportunities.

The model included two proxy variables (percentage of voter turnout and number of NGOs) to examine relationships between democracy and social capital characteristics among social justice and willingness to relocate at the community level. Only the *NGO* variable was statistically significant and negative. This result suggested a negative impact of social capital on relocation intention because of redevelopment projects. As to community-based social issues with respect to residential redevelopment projects, note the positive role of nongovernment organizations in obtaining social networks. Residents living in communities with higher housing values, land values, and lower crime rates were more willing to relocate as shown in model 2.

The spatial clustering effect models with hotspots (model 4) and coldspots (model 5) represent spatial economic effects on relocation intention and are illustrated in Table 2. Note that income levels of original residents were closely correlated with willingness to relocate in the residential redevelopment areas. Relationships among residents, number of nongovernment organizations, and educational attainment were negatively correlated with original resident willingness to relocate. In addition, the employment conditions at the community scale were statistically significant and positive. This result suggested that original residents who lived in regions with high levels of

employment opportunity were less likely to relocate to the new residential redevelopment areas as compared with original residents in communities with fewer employment opportunities.

Assessment of spatial association among three broad regions was done to address urban social justice, economic inequality, and its relationship to accessibility to community or social service assets. Broad regional assessment included urban core (23 residential redevelopment districts), inner suburbs (41 residential redevelopment districts), and outer suburbs (40 residential redevelopment districts). Spatial variation was evident in the relationships between economic inequality, community space, and service characteristics.

All four community space and service characteristics exhibited predicted signs and were statistically significant in the global ordinary least squares (OLS) as summarized in Table 3. The GWR specification revealed marked improvement in parameter estimates and goodness-of-fit when compared with the OLS models. These four GWR coefficients also varied significantly across the sample, supporting the hypothesis of spatial heterogeneity. The relationships between accessibility to elementary schools (*School*) and economic inequality (*Economic inequality*) were significantly negative in urban core areas as described in models 7 and 8. Only inner suburbs were characterized by a significant influence of public transportation facilities on economic inequality as shown in model 9. These results suggested that economic inequality, one important social (in)justice attribute, has much to do with accessibility to social assets or resources and reflects “differential disequilibrium in the spatial form of city” (Harvey 2009, p. 64).

## Conclusion and Policy Implications

In this study of urban residential redevelopment, we use the existing literature to craft a conceptual framework of social justice, social capital, and relocation intention. Empirically, we examined spatial relationships between the relocation intention of original residents testing for the significance of various social justice attributes. Using survey-based data from residents on specific habitat characteristics in concert with secondary data to control for site-specific social, economic, and environmental attributes, multilevel and spatial data analyses were employed with an application of existing social justice practice and discourse within an urban South Korean context. Results suggested that social involvement and networking in residential relocation were significant explanatory elements of original resident relocation intention. These empirical findings can be useful to address the role of social justice and social capital in determining residential relocation.

**Table 3.** GWR Results of Economic Inequality and Access to Community Space and Social Services.

	Minimum	Lower Quartile	Median	Upper Quartile	Maximum	Global (OLS)	N of Location to Fit Model	AIC	Adj R <sup>2</sup>
(6) <sup>a</sup>							69	-166.58	.252
Intercept	0.05634	0.08076	0.09839	0.1320	0.19162	0.012 <sup>**</sup>			
School <sup>***</sup>	-0.00048	0.00003	0.00019	0.00022	0.00030				
Bus	-0.0028	-0.00012	-0.00008	-0.00005	0.00018				
Subway	-0.00005	0.00005	0.00006	0.00011	0.00023				
Public service <sup>***</sup>	<0.0001	0.00010	0.00014	0.00016	0.00034				
Intercept <sup>**</sup>	0.12476	0.15757	0.21077	0.28865	0.34479	0.135 <sup>**</sup>	35	-71.31	.458
School <sup>*</sup>	-0.00042	-0.0002	-0.00011	-0.00008	<0.00001				
Bus <sup>*</sup>	-0.00006	0.00015	0.00029	0.00045	0.00074				
Subway <sup>*</sup>	-0.0004	-0.00028	-0.00012	-0.00004	-0.0002				
Public service <sup>***</sup>	-0.00015	-0.00013	-0.00008	0.00015	0.00026				
Intercept <sup>**</sup>	-0.05408	-0.0123	0.04771	0.09823	0.23123	0.070 <sup>*</sup>	23	-17.10	.358
School <sup>*</sup>	-0.0001	0.00006	0.00022	0.00035	0.00039				
Bus	-0.00058	-0.00018	0.00005	0.00021	0.00055				
Subway	-0.00043	-0.00011	-0.00003	0.00011	0.00018				
Public service <sup>***</sup>	0.00015	0.00025	0.00033	0.00044	0.00073				

(continued)

**Table 3. (continued)**

	Minimum	Lower Quartile	Median	Upper Quartile	Maximum	Global (OLS)	N of Location to Fit Model	AIC	Adj R <sup>2</sup>
(9) <sup>d</sup> Intercept <sup>a,b,c</sup>	-0.83909	0.16029	0.16447	0.18461	0.49969	0.126 <sup>a,b,c</sup>	41	-76.11	.299
School	-0.00365	-0.00025	-0.00002	0.0001	0.00011				
Bus	-0.00116	-0.00011	0.00015	0.00018	0.00239				
Subway <sup>a,b,c</sup>	-0.00017	-0.00017	-0.00011	0.00001	0.00253				
Public service	<0.00001	0.00003	0.00009	0.00027	0.00251				
(10) <sup>e</sup> Intercept <sup>a,b,c</sup>	0.06445	0.09003	0.14202	0.21251	0.49778	0.595 <sup>a</sup>	40	-70.91	.231
School	-0.00025	-0.00012	-0.00005	0.00002	0.00024				
Bus	-0.00008	-0.00006	0.00002	0.00045	0.00061				
Subway	-0.0002	-0.00004	<0.0001	0.00005	0.0001				
Public service <sup>a</sup>	-0.00023	-0.00011	0.00005	0.00012	0.00029				

Note. GWR = geographically weighted regression; OLS = ordinary least squares; AIC = Akaike information criterion.

a.Spatial clustering effect model.

b.Nonspatial clustering effect model.

c.Core area.

d.Inner suburban area.

e.Outer suburban area.

\*p < .1. \*\*p < .05.

The underlying motivation for this study was to link theoretical work on urban social justice with quantitative empirical case study analyses. Explanatory models were developed to test willingness to relocate using various empirical proxies for social justice and social capital derived from the existing literature. Notable analytical results suggested that housing price variation and neighborhood bonds were significant relocation determinants. Specifically, the likelihood of a housing value increase after redevelopment is thought to lead residents to be more likely to relocate. Furthermore, social network and social capital proxies were significant in explaining relocation intention.

From a public policy perspective, an important justification for recent residential redevelopment projects in South Korea is represented by provision of improved housing conditions in a profitable manner for private sector interests (Chapple 2015). Unfortunately, most original inhabitants of these communities cannot afford to resettle despite the interest in pursuing these opportunities. Thus, affordable housing policies and the expansion of rental housing supply can encourage relocation decisions on the part of original inhabitants. From a “just”ness perspective, the social and economic attributes of original inhabitants “should” be considered in the redevelopment process. To do so would entail arrangements for appropriate housing sale prices based on collaboration between and among original residents, redevelopment contractors, and government agencies at the local and national level (Choi et al. 2016). In this respect, the work reported here supports what Friedmann (2011, p. 11) refers to as “the good city” characterized by,

. . . dynamic balances between the part and the whole, the technical and the normative, the pragmatic and utopian, the near present and the distant future, exchange values and use values; it allows us to be visionary with an emphasis on values which include social justice, ecological sustainability, civic empowerment, community and human flourishing (as cited in Healey 2011, p. 198).

While previous research has focused on theoretical approaches to social justice and redevelopment using qualitative descriptive case studies, this study tests these constructs by employing various quantitative empirical models to capture situations in which original residents perceive the dynamic decision-making process—their relocation in the context of top-down urban redevelopment schemes.

Relying on cross-sectional survey data controlled by secondary data on social, economic, and environmental attributes, the original residents’ intention to relocate was examined in the context of social justice and social capital. Despite these efforts to empirically examine the role of social justice and social capital in residential relocation decisions by (un)willingness to be

displaced, several limitations provide caveats to the reported results. Lack of data on actual moving outcomes precludes an ability to speak to differences between households who are at risk of being forced to relocate from the redeveloping neighborhood and those who want to voluntarily leave the redeveloping neighborhood. This further research need can be useful to better understand and ground-truth temporal attributes of actual change. Future studies need to include longitudinal panel data using follow-up surveys conducted to assess whether perceptions of (un)willingness matched actual relocation decisions over time and whether original residents who remained in their home were likely to experience rising housing costs after redevelopment. Such follow-up survey data can provide a better and more realistic understanding of relocation.

Furthermore, most empirical studies associated with residential displacement, residential mobility, or job mobility used drivers including family composition, marital and socioeconomic status of individuals, presence of children in the household, whether inhabitants were employed, housing market conditions, and regional economic structures. The work reported here failed to incorporate these individual characteristics to understand individual propensities to relocate and potentially overlooked several important determinants of displacement. Future research is necessary to adopt these characteristics at the individual level to more fully examine the nexus of “socio-spatial differentials and urban settlement” (Choi et al. 2016).

Creative policy alternatives to address potential displacement of households by income level in urban redevelopment projects exist but were not assessed in this examination. There are likely to be alternative public–private partnerships (e.g., community land trusts, development rights schemes) that could be instituted to reduce the displacement of low-income households in rapidly gentrifying neighborhoods.

Geographic context limits result generalizability. While several studies have addressed urban redevelopment projects and forcible relocation undertaken in Seoul, the research reported here examined an alternative geography that provided a midsized metropolitan South Korean context. Future research is needed to examine specific policies using cross-regional and/or national comparative studies, which can address relationships between relocation decisions of potentially displaced residents by income group in response to residential redevelopment projects. Through document-based analysis and in-depth interviews with stakeholders, future research can compare and contrast urban redevelopment by metropolitan size. In doing so, the testing and evaluation of theoretical constructs associated with “just” urban redevelopment can provide key insights into more effective, progressive, and proactive urban and regional planning praxis.

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## Notes

1. Use of the parenthetical (in) and/or (un) with respect to the terms *voluntary* and/or *willingness* is intended to reflect two very different relocation outcomes. Namely, use of this parenthetical throughout this manuscript intends to include both voluntary and involuntary as well as willingness and unwillingness intentions of residents.
2. South Korea is divided into eight provinces, six metropolitan cities, and one special city (Seoul). These are subdivided into smaller areas such as cities (*si* in Korean), counties (*gun*), district (*gu*), town (*eup*), township (*myeon*), neighborhood (*dong*), and village (*ri*).
3. These *gu* were typical of inner ring suburbs elsewhere in South Korea and involved diverse economic activities such as tourism (e.g., *Haeundae Beach*, Korea's largest beach; *Dongnae Oncheon*, a natural spa; *Taejongdae*, a natural park) and the manufacturing sector (e.g., *Sasang industrial district*).
4. Adjusted to 2012; US\$1 dollar is roughly 1,100 won.

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### Author Biographies

**Hyun Kim** is a postdoctoral researcher in the Notre Dame Global Adaptation Initiative at the University of Notre Dame. His research driven by spatial econometrics, longitudinal data analysis, and content analysis encompasses the intersections of urban (re) development, social capital and social justice, urban planning and governance, environmental policy and planning, multilevel climate governance and anticipatory adaptation policy, climate justice and vulnerability–readiness nexus, food-energy-water nexus and climate adaptation-, planning and policy for coastal community resilience, and science-policy integrated community participatory research.

**David W. Marcouiller** is a professor of regional development economics at the University of Wisconsin–Madison. A resource economist by training, his work focuses on the linkages between natural resources and community economic development with a particular interest in land use compatibility, multifunctional rural landscapes, amenity-driven migration, and community disaster resiliency. He has published more than 200 manuscripts in a variety of outlets that span regional science, planning, resource economics, and rural development.

**Yeol Choi** is a professor in the Department of Urban Engineering at Pusan National University, South Korea. His research, primarily based on quantitative methods, focuses on urban redevelopment policy, housing and real-estate policy, and landscape and urban planning. He has more than 100 published works that have appeared in *KSCE Journal of Civil Engineering*, *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, *Habitat International*, *Journal of the Korea Planners Association*, and *Korea Real Estate Academy Review*.