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GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE OF SEOUL AS A WORLD CITY IN THE REGION OF PACIFIC RIMS

Inn Kim
Seoul National University, Korea

World city can be understood in relation with the borderless internationalized economy. The main functions for the world city include international financial activities, multinational corporation activities, locations of international organizations, major manufacturing activities, international transportation activities, and the large population. The world city system is a network connecting world hub cities, that is characterized by concentration and centralization of international facilities and activities. The position and role of Seoul in the world city system show the 6th rank among 35 major world cities in terms of various indicators. Moreover, comparing with other 12 cities around the Pacific region, Seoul is the third city just following Tokyo and Los Angeles. As a world city, Seoul becomes a center of East Asia with Singapore, Taipei, Hongkong.

Geographically, East Asian urban system comprises several subsystems including ASEAN economic region, South Chinese economic region, and the Northeast Asian economic region in which Tokyo plays a key role in decision making. These subsystems are interrelated by the flows of people, goods, capital and technology. Broadly, East Asian urban system is understood as a hierarchical system, in which Japan stands at the top followed by the Newly Industrializing Countries and ASEAN countries occupying at the bottom.

The necessity for Seoul to be an international center of the Northeast Asia, the Pacific Rims and the World requires careful strategies of city management and administration. The first strategy is to build infrastructure in relation to urban restructuring, such as hub airport, seaport, and teleport. These 3-P facilities make Seoul be a hub center in transportation network in Pacific Rims. The second is to raise up the appropriate industries in Seoul by restructuring process in industrial sector. The future industries for Seoul should include the high-tech industries such as information industries, R & D, knowledge industries by combining the second industry with the third industries. The third strategy is related to historical and cultural inheritance attracting tourism around the world. The globalization of local culture is a feature of the world city. Seoul has long cultural and historical properties over six hundred years enough to attract international tourists.

I. Introduction: Globalization of World Economy

The last decade of this century moves in the trend of globalization towards the 21st century. The trend of globalization which views the whole earth as one society enables us to expect a new social change. It may safely be said that this trend is closely related with the reorganization of the recent world economy.

The most influential force upon the reorganization of world economy is the internationalization of capital and capitalist mode of production. Over the last 30 years world economy has repeated the cycle of depressions and upturns. It is true that this cycle was accompanied by surplus production of advanced countries. Regarding the recent drop in profits as a crisis, advanced countries adopted new measures to overcome this so called crisis. Advanced countries indeed attempted to increase profits through the division of international labor markets, the creation of

new demand in consumption, and the introduction of flexible production systems. These new tactics and measures were followed by centralization of capital throughout the world, and reorganization of industry (especially in advanced countries). As a result, the world converges into one integrated world system of capitalist economy. In other words, the world is faced with a new trend of economic globalization.

II. The World City and the Status of Seoul

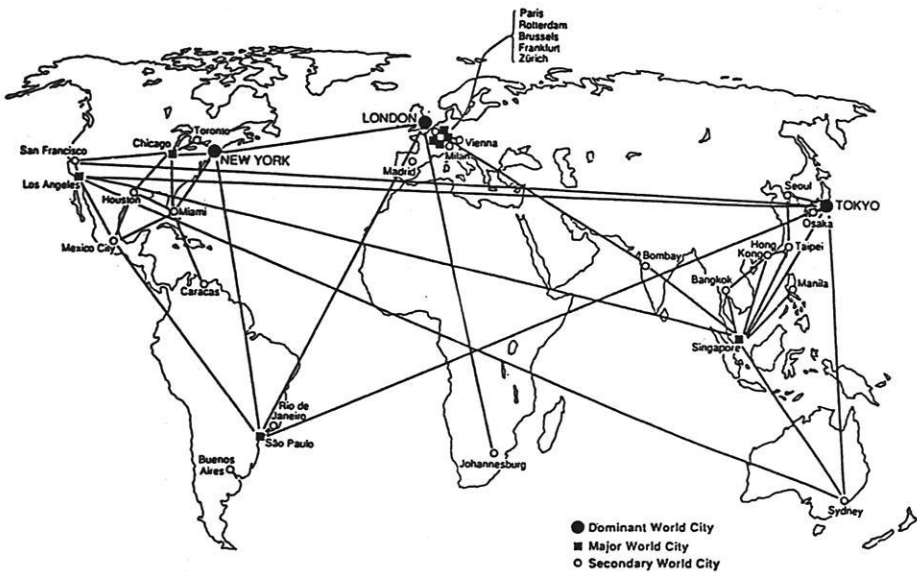
1. The World City

It is not easy to define and conceptualize the world city in one sentence. However, what is important in understanding the world city is that it deals with the world economic system. FRIEDMANN who has worked systematically on the world city thinks that the world city is connected with the appearance of worldwide production and market system. According to him, the world city should satisfy the following seven conditions: an international financial center, the location of head office of a multinational company, the location of executive office of an international organization, a place where service industry grows rapidly, a center of important manufacturing business, a junction of main transportation lines, and population size. With respect to globalization, the world city may be defined as an internationalized place which takes multi-functional role in the order of world economy of capitalist societies. The rise of the world city means the decline of the order of world economy based on the economic situation of each independent country. In other words, lowering the barrier between countries means that the role of world cities connecting countries have increased, though each country still retains its sovereignty.

The system of world cities may be said to be the worldwide network of major urban centers (hub) which obtained comparative advantages while the order of the world economy was in the process of reorganization. These hubs, retaining their relation with world economy, are consolidating their multi-functional positions as global centers.

Figure 1 represents the worldwide network of hubs. KNOX and AGNEW suggested three scales of the network: dominant world city, major world city, and secondary world city. Until the 1960s New York was the largest world city. However, as world economy is divided into three blocs - Europe, North America, and East Asia -, London and Tokyo came to have equal status to New York. What is remarkable is that Seoul has become a world city though it belongs to the low group. (see Figure 1)

Figure 1 The System of World Cities



Source: KNOX & AGNEW 1989, p.61

2. The Status of Seoul as a World City

What is the present status of Seoul as a world city? Table 1, in which FRIEDMANN's criterion of the world city is adopted, shows Seoul's status among world cities. A total of 35 cities¹⁾ are selected and Seoul's status in 1960, 1970, 1980, and 1988 is respectively compared with that of the other cities in Table 1. (see Table 1)

In 1988 the rank of Seoul, determined on the basis of 5 indexes, was the 6th among 35 cities, and it belonged to the group of second tier world cities. In 1970 Seoul, belonging to the group of third tier world cities, was ranked the 26th. The comparison of the status of Seoul in 1970 with that in 1988 shows Seoul's rapid growth as a world city. Even if we exclude the population index in consideration of the urban population increase in the Third World and analyze the other four indexes, in determining the hierarchy of world cities in 1988, Seoul is ranked the 11th. It proves that for the last 20 years Seoul, compared with the other cities, has grown very rapidly as a world city.

Table 1 Rank of Individual and Composit Index of World City Hierarchy

T	1960						1970							
	R City	Pop	MNC	Tra	Mai	Tot	R City	Pop	MNC	Ban	Tra	Mai	Tot	
I	1 London	2	2	1	1	6	1 London	3	2	1	1	3	10	
	2 New York	1	1	4	2	8	2 New York	1	1	3	4	2	11	
	3 Paris	4	4	2	4	14	3 Paris	6	4	7	2	4	23	
	4 Tokyo	3	5	19	9	36	4 Tokyo	2	3	2	12	10	29	
	5 Rome	18	15	5	5	43	5 Frankfurt	35	9	4	3	1	52	
II	6 Mexico C.	10	15	16	8	49	6 L.A.	5	7	8	17	24	61	
	7 L.A.	6	5	17	24	52	7 Milan	13	11	11	10	19	64	
	8 Frankfurt	35	9	7	3	54	8 Mexico C.	4	15	25	16	8	68	
	8 Milan	13	9	11	21	54	9 Rome	22	22	15	6	5	70	
	10 Chicago	7	3	22	23	55	10 Brussels	32	14	9	9	9	73	
	11 San Fran.	17	7	25	7	56	10 San Fran.	23	11	7	25	7	73	
	11 Amsterdam	32	15	3	6	56	12 Chicago	12	5	13	22	23	75	
	13 Hong Kong	16	15	14	17	62	13 Buenos A.	7	15	12	20	25	79	
	14 Brussels	29	12	9	13	63	13 Zurich	34	15	10	7	13	79	
	15 Buenos A.	5	15	20	25	65	15 Montreal	24	9	17	15	18	83	
	15 Miami	31	15	8	11	65	15 Osaka	9	6	6	29	33	83	
	15 Zurich	34	15	6	10	65								
	III	18 Montreal	25	11	13	18	67	17 Amsterdam	33	22	19	5	6	85
		19 Madrid	22	15	15	19	71	18 Toronto	26	8	17	11	28	90
		20 Toronto	27	7	10	28	72	19 Madrid	20	22	22	13	15	92
21 Sydney		24	12	27	12	75	20 Sydney	25	15	15	27	12	94	
21 Stockholm		33	15	12	15	75	21 Hong Kong	19	22	14	24	26	105	
23 Manila		21	15	28	14	78	21 Miami	30	22	34	8	11	105	
24 Rio de J.		10	15	26	29	80	23 Stockholm	31	11	34	14	17	107	
25 Cairo		14	15	21	31	81	24 Rio de J.	10	15	24	30	29	108	
25 Seoul		19	15	31	16	81	24 Singapore	28	22	20	18	20	108	
25 Singapore		28	15	18	20	81	26 Seoul	15	22	26	31	16	110	
28 Bangkok		23	15	24	22	84	27 Manila	17	22	30	28	14	111	
29 Osaka		8	12	32	34	86	28 Bangkok	21	22	26	21	22	112	
30 Sao Paulo		12	15	30	32	89	29 Sao Paulo	8	22	20	32	34	116	
31 Vienna		26	15	23	26	90	30 Delhi	17	15	29	33	27	121	
32 Calcutta		9	15	35	35	94	31 Cairo	14	22	32	23	31	122	
32 Jakarta	15	15	34	30	94	31 Calcutta	11	15	26	35	35	122		
34 Delhi	20	15	33	27	95	31 Vienna	27	22	33	19	21	122		
35 Taipei	30	15	29	32	106	34 Jakarta	16	22	23	34	30	125		
						35 Taipei	29	22	30	26	32	139		

Note - T: Tier, R: Rank, Pop: Population, MNC: MNC Headquarters, Ban: Banking Index, Tra: International Air Transportation Passengers, Mai: International Air Mail, Tot: Total.

Source: Jo, Soon-Jae 1992, p.117

Table 1 Rank of Individual and Composited Index of World City Hierarchy
(continued)

T	1980						1988							
	R City	Pop	MNC	Ban	Tra	Mai	Tot	R City	Pop	MNC	Ban	Tra	Mai	Tot
I	1 New York	2	1	2	3	2	10	1 London	9	2	1	1	2	15
	2 London	5	3	1	1	1	11	2 New York	4	4	2	3	3	16
	3 Tokyo	1	1	3	8	5	18	3 Tokyo	1	1	3	7	6	18
	4 Paris	11	4	7	2	4	28	4 Paris	14	3	6	2	4	29
	5 L.A.	7	8	9	13	8	45	5 L.A.	11	8	10	14	8	51
II	6 Frankfurt	35	10	4	4	3	56	6 Frankfurt	35	15	7	4	1	62
	7 Madrid	21	10	8	17	15	71	7 Seoul	7	7	15	20	13	62
	8 Rome	22	16	18	10	9	75	8 Hong Kong	20	29	4	5	9	67
	9 Chicago	14	6	10	22	24	76	9 Toronto	25	8	14	10	12	69
	10 Hong Kong	20	27	6	11	13	77	10 Chicago	19	6	11	24	10	70
	11 Toronto	25	7	25	12	11	80	10 Madrid	21	14	10	17	18	80
	12 Milan	15	13	14	18	21	81	12 Zurich	34	11	18	9	11	83
	12 Singapore	27	27	5	5	17	81	13 Amsterdarr	33	19	20	6	5	83
	12 San Fran.	24	13	12	25	7	81	13 Singapore	28	29	4	8	20	89
	15 Seoul	12	9	17	28	16	82	15 Milan	17	19	11	18	25	90
III	16 Osaka	10	5	13	27	31	86	16 Brussels	32	15	13	16	15	91
	17 Amsterdarr	33	27	15	6	6	87	17 San Fran.	24	19	19	25	7	94
	17 Zurich	34	16	16	9	12	87	18 Rome	23	15	26	15	16	95
	19 Brussels	32	16	11	14	18	91	19 Osaka	10	5	23	28	31	97
	20 Manila	17	19	20	26	14	96	20 Mexico C.	2	19	21	29	28	99
	21 Miami	30	27	28	7	10	102	20 Sydney	22	19	11	26	21	99
	22 Buenos A.	6	19	20	31	27	103	22 Stockholm	31	8	25	19	19	102
	23 Stockholm	31	10	22	21	20	104	23 Buenos A.	6	19	22	32	27	106
	24 Mexico C.	3	19	32	23	28	105	23 Sao Paulo	3	29	16	34	24	106
	25 Montreal	26	13	25	20	22	106	25 Taipei	26	19	17	13	32	107
	26 Sydney	23	19	19	29	19	109	26 Miami	29	21	33	11	17	111
	27 Cairo	13	27	27	15	33	115	27 Rio	8	19	30	30	26	113
	28 Rio	9	19	33	30	25	116	28 Manila	16	29	29	27	14	115
	29 Bangkok	19	27	30	16	29	121	28 Montreal	27	11	32	22	23	115
	30 Sao Paulo	4	27	23	34	34	122	30 Bangkok	18	29	28	12	34	121
	30 Taipei	28	19	24	19	32	122	31 Cairo	13	29	27	21	33	123
	32 Vienna	29	19	31	24	23	126	32 Jakarta	12	29	24	31	29	125
	33 Delhi	18	19	34	33	26	130	32 Vienna	30	19	31	23	22	125
	34 Jakarta	16	27	29	32	30	134	34 Delhi	15	15	34	33	30	127
	35 Calcutta	8	27	35	35	35	140	35 Calcutta	5	19	35	35	35	129

Note - T: Tier, R: Rank, Pop: Population, MNC: MNC Headquarters, Ban: Banking Index, Tra: International Air Transportation Passengers, Mai: International Air Mail, Tot: Total.

Source: JO, Soon-Jae 1992, p.117

As shown in Table 2, the rank of Seoul among the 12 cities in the region of Pacific Rim rose from 9th in 1970 to the 3rd in 1988, next only to Tokyo and LA. Among the cities in the region of East Asia it is ranked the 2nd, outdoing Osaka, the second largest city in Japan. If we exclude the population index, Hongkong is ranked the 2d,

and Seoul, Singapore, and Taipei are all ranked the 3rd. This shows that the four cities of Seoul, Taipei, Hongkong, and Singapore from NICS, which is usually compared to four dragons, are in keen competition as world cities in East Asia. (see Table 2)

Table 2 Rank of Composite Index of the World Cities in the Region of Pacific Rim

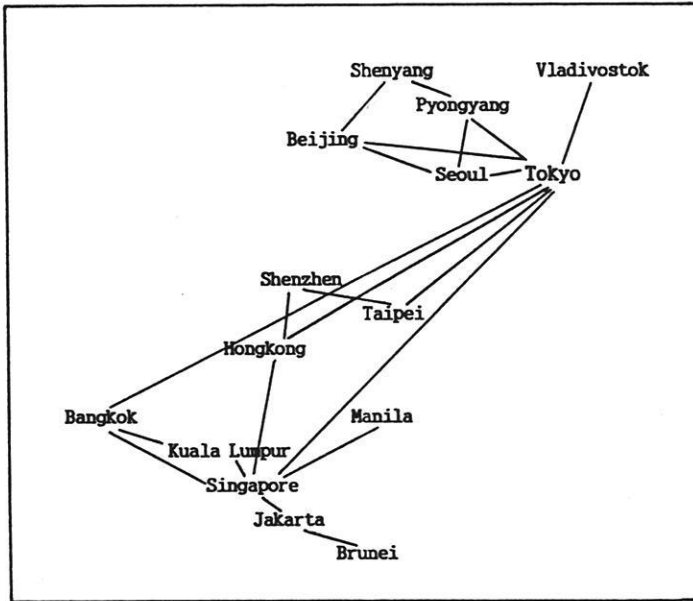
Rank	1960	1970	1980	1990
1	Tokyo	Tokyo	Tokyo	Tokyo
2	L.A.	L.A.	L.A.	L.A.
3	San Francisco	San Francisco	Hongkong	<u>Seoul</u>
4	Hongkong	Osaka	Singapore	Hongkong
5	Sidney	Sidney	San Francisco	Singapore
6	Manila	Hongkong	<u>Seoul</u>	San Francisco
7	<u>Seoul</u>	Singapore	Osaka	Osaka
8	Singapore	Bangkok	Manila	Sidney
9	Bangkok	<u>Seoul</u>	Sidney	Taipei
10	Osaka	Manila	Bangkok	Manila
11	Jakarta	Jakarta	Taipei	Bangkok
12	Taipei	Taipei	Jakarta	Jakarta

III. The Position of Northeast Asia and Seoul in the Era of Pacific Region

1. Mega-Cities in East Asia

In East Asia there are about 60 mega-cities which have a population of more than one million. To be concrete, there are 6 in Korea, 1 in North Korea, 10 in Japan, 9 in ASEAN, 1 in Hongkong, 2 in Taiwan, and about 30 in China (including 12 with a population of more than 3 million). However, it may not be just to say that the size of population is simply the factor determining globally oriented mega-city. In East Asia, only 9 cities may be included in the category. They are Tokyo, Seoul, Hongkong, Singapore, Taipei, Osaka, Bangkok, Manila, and Jakarta. These cities take a form of the world city system and at the same time they represent a hierarchical subsystem according to the economic and political characteristics in the East Asian economic zone (see Figure 2).

Figure 2 The World City System in the Zone of East Asia



The city system of East Asia tends to depend much upon Tokyo's key role in decision making. But the subsystems such as ASEAN economic bloc, the economic bloc of southern China, and that of Northeast Asia connect cities within their bloc which grow rapidly with their dynamic manpower, resources, technology, and international capital. ASEAN nations, formed around Singapore, try to become a crucial economic zone among the world economic regions through active exchanges within the bloc. This bloc is also firmly cooperating politically. The South Chinese economic region connecting Kwangtchow, Taipei, and Hongkong forms a strong international city system supported by the great manpower of China, the international finance of Hongkong, and the technology and capital of Taipei. Moreover, it is emotionally united with the motto of Chinese "one people of same origin". The economic region of Northeast Asia, though its unity is rather loose, actively pursues the cooperation between the nations within the bloc in accordance with the interests of each nation in this group. The open economic policy of China, the Russian policy on the East, and the Japanese policy concerning the East (Japan) Sea are all the factors that have great influence on the unity of this bloc. This region is considered to be no less important than EC and NAFTA both in economic and geopolitical aspect, especially with respect to Japan's political and economic ambitions.

As mentioned above, the status of mega-cities in East Asia reflects the multi-layered city system formed in the order of those of Japan, NICS, and ASEAN. (see Figure 2)

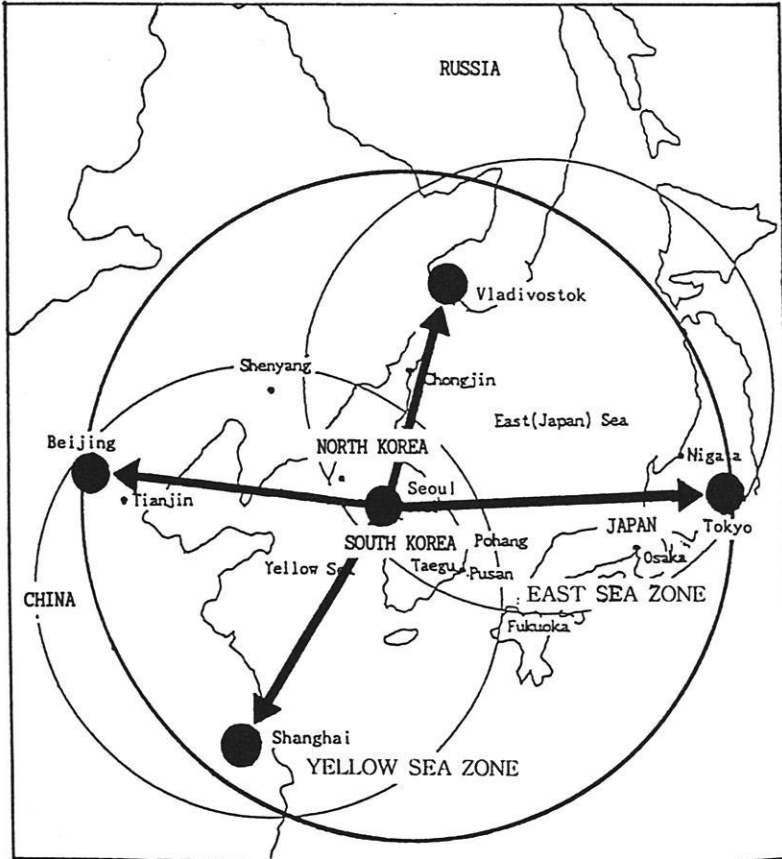
2. Mega-cities in Northeast Asia and the Geopolitical Status of Seoul

The zone of Northeast Asia consists of five countries on both sides of the East (Japan) and Yellow Sea: Korea, North Korea, Japan, Russia, and China. As Russia and China are as wide as continents, this area comprises practically Korea, North Korea, Japan, Far Eastern Russia, and the districts of China along the coast of the Yellow Sea including Manchuria.

If the mega-city is considered on the composite basis of population, world city concept, and the city's hinterland situation, the following cities in Northeast Asia may be said to be mega-cities: Seoul, Beijing, Tokyo, Shanghai, and Vladivostok. Seoul, Beijing, and Tokyo are not only the capital cities whose population is over 10 million but also the central cities in the BESETO belt²⁾. Shanghai is also a super city whose population is over 10 million, and the mouth of Yangze River with huge inland hinterlands. The population of Vladivostok is no more than one million. But according to the 20 year development plan of this city, it would include a total area of 15,000 km² and population increase from 1.5 to 2.3 million. Thus, this city may be regarded as a mega-city in Far-Eastern Siberia.

Accidentally, Seoul is located at the center of these mega-cities. That is, the other four mega-cities are located within two hour distance from Seoul by airplane. So, as shown in Figure 3, Seoul has a comparatively good locational advantage as a hub among the major cities in the Northeast Asian region. Japan shows interests or tries to take initiative in developing the economic bloc around the East (Japan) Sea, while China in developing the bloc around the Yellow Sea. To be more concrete, Japan tries to develop the coastal area of the East Sea which lags behind economically, while China attempts to construct a "C" shaped economic zone along the coastal area of the Yellow Sea. Moreover, China hopes to construct "another Singapore" in a district located in the southeast of Shanghai. On the other hand, Russia plans to develop a triangular zone around Vladivostok. It is regrettable that Northeast Asian zone is divided into the bloc around the East Sea and the bloc around the Yellow Sea. Though mega-cities in Japan, China, and Russia form only a marginal bloc topographically, they make every effort to take the initiative in the development of Northeast Asian zone. Tokyo, though already an international city, is handicapped topographically compared with Seoul. The development of the area around Vladivostok is not expected in a short period. Beijing and Shanghai are only new starters in the competition of capitalist market. Now it is time that Seoul, with its comparatively good locational advantage, should try to take the lead in stepping up as a world city not only in this region but also in the world. (see Figure 3)

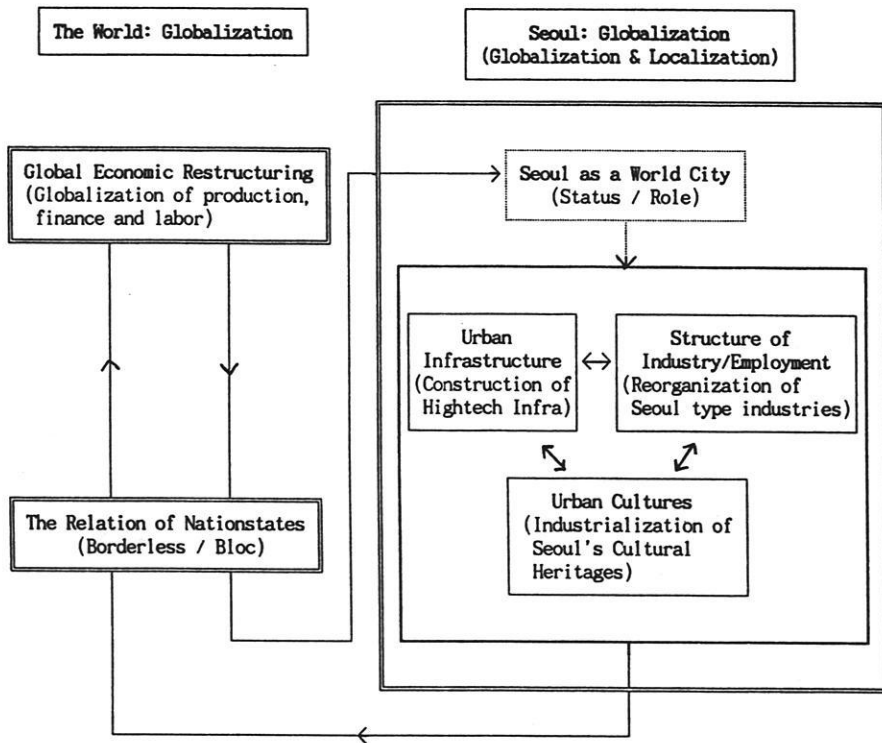
Figure 3 The Locational Advantages of Seoul as a Hub in the Northeast Asian Region



IV. Seoul: Its Urban Management Strategy as a World City

The urban management tactics of Seoul in the 21st century should satisfy the already mentioned 7 conditions of the world city suggested by FRIEDMANN. How many conditions are satisfied in Seoul? The realistic urban management strategy of Seoul should be focused on the reinforcement of the urban functions in view of these conditions. Figure 4 suggests a model of the strategy. (see Figure 4)

Figure 4 Model of Urban Management Strategy for Seoul as a World City



The first management strategy is to construct hub airport, seaport, and teleport to reorganize the spatial structure of Seoul and its hinterlands. A new international airport is already under construction in Yongjong Island near Seoul. A communication satellite will be orbited in 1995 as a means of constructing a teleport with our own technology. The construction for harbor improvement is under way in Pusan, and new seaports are under construction in Kwangyang and Asan respectively. If the construction of these hub airport, seaport, and teleport is completed, Seoul would be one of the world transportation centers connecting the airline traffic with the surface traffic throughout the world.

The second management strategy is connected with the reorganization of industrial structure of Seoul. New industries fitting to Seoul are those with the combination of manufacturing and service sectors. These industries are expected to create high technology and new employment, including semiconductor production industries, computer software industries, information and communication industries, designing, entertainment industries, international financial activities, and knowledge-intensive industries and so on. Seoul and its adjacent areas have great potentiality for the development of this kind of new industries. We call them "Seoul type" industries.

The third management strategy is concerned with the cultural inheritance in Seoul. The visible or invisible cultural legacies of Seoul should be internationalized. Globalization implies "the most unique is the most global." Thus, innumerable cultural legacies of Seoul with a history of 600 years as capital city may prove to be international ones which various peoples around the world can enjoy. As one of the characteristics of the world city is the attraction of many tourists, tourism should be settled as a major future industry of Seoul. The improvement of the tourist facilities and services are being considered as an important part of the urban management strategy of Seoul. For example, Seoul over 10 million inhabitants has few full-scale convention centers, despite the fact that international events have been frequently held here since the 1988 Olympic Games.

V. Concluding Remarks

The world city system is a network connecting world hub cities, that is characterized by concentration and centralization of international facilities and activities. The position and role of Seoul in the world city system show the 6th rank among 35 major world cities in terms of various indicators. Moreover, comparing with other 12 cities around the Pacific region, Seoul is the third city just following Tokyo and Los Angeles. As a world city, Seoul becomes a center of East Asia.

Geographically, East Asian urban system comprises several subsystems including ASEAN economic region, South Chinese economic region, and the Northeast Asian economic region in which Tokyo plays a key role in decision making. These subsystems are interrelated by the flows of people, goods, capital and technology. Broadly, East Asian urban system is understood as a hierarchical system, in which Japan stands at the top followed by the Newly Industrializing Countries and ASEAN countries occupying at the bottom.

The necessity for Seoul to be an international center of the Pacific Rims and in the World requires careful strategies of city management and administration. The first strategy is to build infrastructure in relation to urban restructuring, such as hub airport, seaport, and teleport. These 3-P facilities make Seoul a hub center in transportation network in Pacific Rims. The second is to raise up the appropriate industries in Seoul by restructuring process in industrial sector. The future industries for Seoul should be knowledge based industries by combining the second industry with the third industries. The third strategy is related to historical and cultural inheritance attracting tourism around the world. The globalization of local culture is a feature of the world city. Seoul has long cultural and historical properties over six hundred years which are powerful enough to attract international tourists.

NOTES

- 1) The 35 cities listed in Table 1 are those cities which were cited as major world cities in the nine following resource papers. I selected the 35 cities for my comparative analysis.
Resource papers:
 1. THRIFT, N. 1989. "The Geography of International Economic Order", in R. JOHNSTON and P. TAYLOR (eds.), A World in Crisis? New York: Blackwell.
 2. KNIGHT, R. 1989. "The Emergent Global Society", in H. EWERS et al. (eds.), The Future of the Metropolis. New York: Walter de Gruyter.
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 9. ROBSON, W. and D. REGAN 1972. Great Cities of the World: Their Government, Politics, and Planning. New York: Macmillan.
- 2) BESETO is the abbreviation of the first two letters of the three mega-cities: BEIjing, SEoul, and TOKyo.

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