Role of Public Agency in Housing-led Urban Regeneration Policy Network toward Sustainable Community Building: Happy House of Seoul, Korea

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주거재생 정책네트워크에서 공공기관의 역할 : 해피하우스 사례를 중심으로

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ABSTRACT : Although the role of public sector and aim of housing-led urban regeneration policy in this era have been changed in the wake of new partnership among various actors, network approach to understand these phenomena is yet under researched particularly in housing and regeneration sector. The focus of this study is to identify the role of public agency representing public sector within policy network toward sustainable community building through housing-led urban regeneration. After analyzing Happy House project of Seoul, South Korea, it was identified that policy network of housing-led urban regeneration was lead organization-type policy community, where Korea Land and Housing Corporation(KLH) favored efficiency, internal legitimacy and stability with public-like top-down relational role. According to the framework of Provan and Kenis(2007), KLH is to be said effective in terms of efficiency and stability but less effective in terms of legitimacy. We hope this study could contribute to better understanding of housing-led regeneration policy network in regeneration policy of Korea and other parts of the world, particularly developing countries.

Key Words : Housing-led regeneration, Policy network, Sustainable community, Happy House project

요약 : 다양한 주체들 간의 파트너십 형성을 계기로 주거재생 정책의 목표와 공공의 역할이 변화하고 있지만 이러한 현상을 네트워크적 관점에서 접근한 연구는 부족한 실정이다. 본 연구는 이러한 점에서 주거재생을 통해 지속가능한 공동체를 형성하고자 하는 정책네트워크에서 공공부문을 대표하는 공공기관의 역할을 분석하는 것을 목적으로 한다. 서울의 해피하우스 사례를 중심으로 분석한 결과 토지주택공사가 주도하는 선도기관형 정책공동체에 해당하며 효율성과 내적 합법성, 안정성을 추구하는 것으로 나타났다. 아울러 Provan and Kenis(2007)의 틀에 따르면 토지주택공사는 효율성과 안정성 면에서는 효과적이었으나 합법성 면에서는 다소 덜 효과적이었던 것으로 평가되었다. 본 연구는 한국과 다른 개도국들의 주거재생 정책네트워크를 이해하는 데 기여할 것으로 기대된다.

주제어 : 주거재생, 정책네트워크, 지속가능한 공동체, 해피하우스 사업

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I. Introduction

Structure of housing provision (production, exchange and consumption) through urban regeneration evolves continuously responding to changing environment of social context and urban situation. Role of public sector has been downscaled and alternative forms of public service delivery have been widely scrutinized following government reform agendas derived from Neo Liberalism. Change in government functions over decades has been hollowed out, and is regarded now as much as an enabler working in partnership rather than a direct service delivery (Ball and Maginn, 2005). Also, there was a shift in main strategy of housing-led urban regeneration from 'land and property' dimension supplementing input control to 'people and community' dimension supporting output control (Tiesdell and Allmendinger, 2001). It means both physical and social regeneration are needed, and thus involving communities has been a key element of regeneration and has been re-emphasized. It is suggested that involving community will give rise to more effective and sustainable regeneration solution, help local people control over social problems as well as contribute to democratic renewal (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2002). Although the role of public sector and aim of housing-led urban regeneration policy in this era have been changed in the wake of new partnership among various actors, network approach to understand these phenomena is yet under researched particularly in housing and

regeneration sector. This kind of evolution, as Doak and Karadimitriou(2007) recognize, should be understood through integrated perspective including meaning, process, form and matter. Among the literature around contemporary housing-led urban regeneration changes, however, issues from latter two perspectives are relatively less delved than those from former two aspects. For example, meaning of urban regeneration was explained as the strategy of people and community evolved from brick and mortar, while process of it as partnership and involvement from command and control (see Cameron, 2006; Kleinhans, 2004; Tiesdell and Allmendinger, 2001). On the contrary, form as a policy network comprising public and private actors and their interrelated cooperation and conflict, and matter about how to achieve socially coherent and livable (instead of leavable) community not by simply relying on displacement are to be more studied. Interactions between policy changes and existing structure of housing are more complex than expected, and thus it needs clear recognition about the role of institutions and about the constraints and influences on the actions of the actors in housing research (Ball and Harloe, 1992). Role of public sector is still important to facilitate and maintain policy network in housing-led urban regeneration scheme for deprived areas where voluntary participation from rent-seeking private sector or existing residents is hard to expect, especially in the era of predominance of community building rather than property-led redevelopment

and displacement. However, as previous kind of service delivery mechanism initiated by government is not available anymore, institutional agency on behalf of government is necessary to intermediate public and private interests through partnership and maintain policy network with less transaction cost to achieve sustainable community building.

The focus of this study is to identify the role of intermediate agency representing public sector of developing countries within policy network toward sustainable community building through housing-led urban regeneration. As Provan and Kenis(2007) acknowledged, more empirical research is needed to test network manager's effectiveness in dealing with tensions according to the different type of network governance. The locus of this research is housing-led urban regeneration schemes from Happy House (HH) project of Seoul, capital city of South Korea. In Korea, Happy House project is the first attempt to regenerate without massive redevelopment or rebuilt, and thus it is expected to give valuable implications in terms of policy network type (policy community-type), intermediate agency (public-type public corporation), initiative (top-down and hierarchical), approach (social democratic) and detailed programs (residential environment improvement-type) of such projects in Korea and other parts of developing countries. For this research, theoretic issues around policy network and sustainable community building featuring role of public sector are summarized first, followed by the conceptual framework of the

research. Then we turn to evolution of housing-led urban regeneration policy and intermediate agency of the case. After these, role of intermediate agencies (Korea Land and Housing Corporation, KLH) in housing-led urban regeneration schemes are analyzed in detail. Finally we summarize main findings of this study and limitation for future research agenda are explained as a conclusion.

Ⅱ. Linking Actors of Policy Network Towards Sustainable Community

1. Policy Network and Role of Public Sector: How They Work?

As Kennis and Schneider(1991: 41) acknowledge, policy network is described by its actors, linkages and boundary; it includes a set of public and private corporate actors, linkages between the actors serving as communication channels for the exchange of information, expertise, trust and other resources, and boundary resulting from a process of mutual recognition dependent on functional relevance and structural embeddedness. Actors perform and interact among each other according to objectives governing their actions such as specific assumptions, constraints on decision-making, set of rules, range of ideas and access to resources in policy network (Healey, 1990). As it understands interaction among actors in policy process as a horizontal relationship intermediated by resource dependence and tries

to overcome public and private dichotomy, it is useful to look at actual interaction of actors participating in policy process (Williams, 2004). While some researchers regard policy network as one of network-type governance based on voluntary coordination, which is different from hierarchy and market in macro level (Hill and Hupe, 2002; Klijn, 1997), policy network is generally understood as a mode of interest intermediation in meso level alternative to traditional theoretic models of interest mediation which are pluralism and corporatism (Blom-Hansen, 1997, Rhodes and Marsh, 1992). Apart from pluralism which assumes dominance of interest groups and neutrality of government, and corporatism which assumes dominance of government and small number of interest groups authorized by government (Bochel and Bochel, 2004; Smith, 2006), policy network model does not presume hierarchical power distribution among actors within network and boundary between public and private sector. It allows horizontal relationship among them although different distribution of resources could affect to the possibility of exclusion from (or inclusion to) networks (Rhodes and Marsh, 1992; Williams, 2004).

Relatively simple typology of policy network is suggested by Rhodes and Marsh(1992) as a continuum from policy community to issue network, and between them there are professional network, intergovernmental network and producer network. Most comprehensive formulation is suggested by Waarden(1992) who identified 11 types of policy network according to the dimensions of actors, function, structure, institutionalization, rules of conduct, power relations and actor strategies. Waarden's framework is helpful to identify not only overall network types but also relational and functional roles of actors. However, one of weaknesses of policy network analysis is that describing different policy network according to such typology may not give critical implication to assess the effectiveness of the network or to link different form of network to policy outcomes (Provan and Milward, 2001). It is worthwhile to acknowledge Provan and Kenis(2007)'s work which identified three basic models of network governance and proposed conditions for the effectiveness of each form. Their typology includes participant-governed (shared) networks, lead organization-governed (brokered) networks, and network administration organization (NAO)-governed (brokered) networks. They proposed 3 basic tensions, i.e. efficiency vs. inclusiveness, internal legitimacy vs. external legitimacy, and flexibility vs. stability, to which network managers must respond. They noted that how these tensions are managed will be critical for network effectiveness, and developed 3 propositions; efficiency, external legitimacy (in a sequential fashion with internal legitimacy for NAO-governed network) and stability are favored by lead organization and NAO-governed network.

Public services are to be delivered through the policy network where actors like provider, producer, customer or other stakeholders

interact with each other. Role of public sector in the era of networked governance should be related to initiating, facilitating or managing policy network and to intermediate interests of each participant within public service delivery network. These roles are not necessarily to be taken by government itself. Rationale for changed role of government stems from provision/production dichotomy in which the provision and the production of public services can be separated (Kolderie, 1986). Provision involves decisions about the public service regarding what to provide, who to pay for it, and who to produce the service. Production is to produce services within the boundary set by providers. This argument is on the same line of new managerial contract government (Clynch, 1999) or hollow state (Milward and Provan, 2000). In this dichotomy, role of government is similar to provider to decide and assign production to governmental sub-organizations, 3rd party or private sector in the form of contract, outsourcing or other institutional arrangement rather than producing itself. Regarding this logic, production of public service within policy network is to be taken by network itself shared by participants or by brokers such as sub-governmental or non-governmental intermediate organizations.

2. Sustainable Community Building Initiated by Public Sector: Possible Option?

Housing plays a key role in the development of sustainable communities (Rowlands, 2010). Communities have always existed and the term suggests a personal and human kind of togetherness as more comfortable classification than institution or organization (Scherer, 1972). According to Tönnies(1887), community (Gemeinschaft) is conceived of either as real and organic life while society (Gesellschaft) is as imaginary and mechanical structure. Recently, there has been a rebirth of interest in the idea of community and desperate need a renewed sense of community (Denhardt and Denhardt, 2000). The classical term of community refers to a condition in which human beings find themselves enmeshed in a tight-knit web of meaningful relationships with their fellow human beings (Poplin, 1972). Roseland(2000: 99) defined 'sustainable community' as a community to seek a better quality of life for all residents while maintaining nature's ability by minimizing waste and promoting efficiency to revitalize the local economy in which decision-making stems from shared information among community members and human, natural and economic elements are interdependent and draw strength from each other. According to Bridger and Luloff(1999), sustainable community can be defined along 5 dimensions; an emphasis on increasing local economic diversity, self reliance on local entities, a reduction in the use of energy, protection and enhancement of natural resources, and social justice. In here, sustainability means not only environmental terms such as minimizing consumption of

natural capital or urban space, but also multiplying social capital and thus mobilizing citizens and public organizations together.

Social exclusion and community capacity are important issues in contemporary sustainable community building. From the network perspective, social exclusion should be understood as relational problem rather than distributional problem, emphasizing on inadequate social participation and lack of social integration or power (Room, 1995). As it is a processes through which poverty and deprivation arise, i.e. results in vicious cycle, it should be reversed to achieve social cohesion through social mix or social balance. To achieve social cohesion, inclusion and empowerment are necessary through local economic development, training and education, or promoting community business (Cameron and Doling, 1994). Social exclusion problem is related with community capacity through the concept of social capital. Originally described by Jacobs(1961) and Coleman(1988), and then developed by Putnam(1995), social capital consists of networks and norms that enable participants to act together effectively to pursue shared objectives, and it emphasizes on the relational or transactional qualities of neighbourhoods and the value of external links (Cole and Goodchild, 2001). Community capacity is defined as 'the interaction of human capital, organizational resources, and social capital existing within a given community that can be leveraged to solve collective problems and improve or maintain the well-being of a

given community, and it may operate through informal social processes and/or organized effort' (Chaskin, 2001: 295). According to Chinman et al.(2005), community capacity includes citizen participation, leadership, skills, resources, social and interorganizational networks, sense of community, community history, community power, community values, and critical reflection. Seeing social exclusion from social capital perspective, it needs to generate positive social interaction in order to raise the social capital or its residents by bridging relationship more effectively both within community and with wider world based on the assumption that a more diverse mix will widen social interaction in a positive way (Cole and Goodchild, 2001).
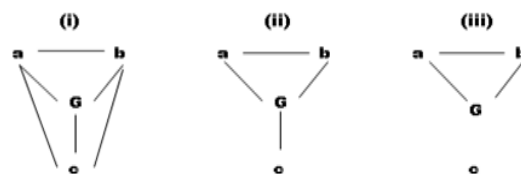
Seen from policy network viewpoint, how to mobilize people in the community is a prior interest and as Denhardt and Denhardt (2000) note, the quest for community has been reflected in the view that role of government is to help create and support community. One of critical roles to be taken by public sector is to help participate through creating, facilitating, and supporting connections between citizens and their communities (King and Stivers, 1998). It still does in deprived areas where residents with lower income and availability have less voluntary willingness to participate; social exclusion and community capacity are also matters of participation or involvement. Community participation involves different aspects such as consultation, representation, service involvement, and empowerment

(Carley, 2000). In networked governance, sustainable community development must be participatory development (Roseland, 2000). Successiveness of government engagement in community depends on building active mediating institutions to focus on interests of citizens and to provide experiences for citizens to act in the larger system (Denhardt and Denhardt, 2000). Thus, possibility of building sustainable community lies in whether intermediate agency can promote mutual understanding and shared vision through formal and informal networking. Here, it is worthwhile pinpointing Cameron and Doling(1994)'s observation that community development is most successful when it is housing-led and local housing organizations may play a lead role in wider community regeneration.

3. Research Framework and Strategies for Case Study

The main objective of this study is to examine relational roles of intermediate agencies within policy network toward sustainable community through housing-led urban regeneration policy, and thus to shed a light on normative role of public sector in the era of network society. Evaluating policy outcomes is not a priority of this study because the case of this study is still in undergoing process; priority is given to looking at the role of intermediate agencies and their possible effectiveness to achieve sustainable community building through policy network. In most policy network studies, level of analysis is interrelated organizations or groups rather than individual as network is mainly understood as a structure or related organization in meso-level (Rhodes and Marsh, 1992); and qualitative case studies are common since policy process is inevitably political which is difficult to be expressed in quantitative terms (Marin and Mayntz, 1991). Thus main strategy of this research is qualitative one based on documentary analysis and professional experiences and informal information gained from the participation in the policy process as an academic expert. Firstly, descriptive analyses for evolution of KLH in housing-led urban regeneration are to be examined as a combination of continuous physical process and social relation of agents involved in housing provision across production, exchange and consumption, which is similar to the conceptual framework of structure of housing provision (Ball and Harloe, 1992; Healey and Barret, 1990). Secondly, main actors and their relationships are identified as a form of policy network. Form of policy network featuring intermediate agency may be clearly captured by the archetypes suggested by Dowding(1995), who identified different intermediation by an actor to link the others as figure 1.

Source: Dowding(1995: 151)

Figure 1. The logical set of policy network

Role of intermediate agency is analyzed through the framework suggested by Provan and Kenis(2007) regarding tensions and effectiveness of network. They argue that successive network managers should recognize and respond effectively to three basic tensions, i.e. efficiency vs. inclusiveness, internal vs. external legitimacy, and flexibility vs. stability, and propose propositions about most likely type of tensions that each network forms favor to be suited effectively as shown in table 1. In here, analyzing response to these tensions and effectiveness of the agency is of importance following their suggestion that more empirical research is needed to test these propositions.

Table 1. Type of tension most likely in each governance form

Governance form of networks	Tension		
	Efficiency vs. inclusiveness	Internal vs. external legitimacy	Flexibility vs. stability
Shared governance networks	Inclusion	Internal	Flexibility
Lead organization governed networks	Efficiency	External	Stability
NAO-governed networks	Balanced but more efficiency	Both but in sequential fashion	stability

Source: Summarized from Provan and Kenis(2007: 245)

Ⅲ. Housing-led Regeneration Policy Network and Role of Public Corporation of Happy House

1. Evolution of Role of KLH in Housing Sector

KLH is a public corporation affiliated to Ministry of Land, Transport and Maritime Affairs and has been a main agency implementing urban housing policy of central government. KLH was launched in 2009 as an integrated organization of Korea Housing Corporation (KHC) and Korea Land Corporation (KLC); main area of the former had been urban housing redevelopment or reconstruction and social housing supply while land development for residential and industrial use had been for the latter. Former KHC was established in 1962 to contribute to enhancing residential welfare through housing supply, management and improvement. Scope of its business covers wide range; housing supply (social and private), new town building, housing welfare, and urban regeneration through residential environment improvement, housing redevelopment and regeneration promoting schemes. Its massive role in housing sector can be identified from relevant statistics. Number of housing supplied by KHC occupies 11% of all the housing supplied by public and private sector during 1962～2006, and 31% of all the housing supplied by public sector (HURI, 2007). Among social housing provided from 2001 to 2009, average portion of KLH is 29.3% while 11.3% for local government; among Nest Rental (30-year rental) housing supplied in 2009, KLH constitutes 94% while 6% of local government (MLTM, 2010). After integration, though suffering from massive volume of debt and thus shrinking its projects, its role in urban regeneration is expected to become bigger following expanded role of

public sector in urban regeneration as a public manager.

2. Overview of Happy House Project in Mapo, Seoul of South Korea

In urban area of Korea, one of the most densely populated countries in the world, high-rise apartments are preferred residential housing type since they are convenient to live in with their exclusive maintenance system and they are profitable stock to invest with their ever-increasing housing price up to now. To the contrary, other types of housing such as detached houses or terraced houses are not so popular since they are relatively old, occupied by middle or lower income households, not managed well and thus overall residential environment is poor. As the gap between these two residential situations is deepening, many of the latter follow either of the ways; turn into apartment area through redevelopment scheme or become deprived area as time goes by. To curb this widening gap between them, Korean government is promoting Happy House Project to regenerate the latter into 'cleaner, safer, affordable, and livable area'. For this purpose, it is planned to deliver public services including housing maintenance, enhancing energy efficiency and improving residential environment through the pilot project from 2011 after consultation research. It was initiated by central government, MLTM and was implemented by public corporation, KLH.

It consists of 3 main parts (KLH, 2009). The first is 'service for housing energy efficiency improvement' to provide an energy efficiency inspection and consulting through executing inspection on thermal insulation performance of wall and window, guiding the maintenance method of finishing material, or investigating devices' efficiency and instructing their replacement cycle; and to improve the existing houses into low-energy environment-friendly ones through guiding standard design and the program of central governments. The second is 'services for housing repair and maintenance' to provide technical management services such as replacement and repair of deteriorated facilities related to water and electricity and to provide information about cost or repair or list of private plumbers. The third is 'housing welfare service and community development' to connect low income households with housing welfare programs supported by central and local governments and to improve community life through supporting local community centers, improvement of parks and playgrounds and consulting on the related housing welfare issues. Pilot project have been implemented from 2011 in 3 local areas of Seoul, Jeonju and Daegu. Among them, project site of Seoul is located in Sungsan 1-Dong of Mapo-district (see figure 2) comprised of 6,375 households in 3,700 housings within $0.8km^2$ where 90% of housings are non-apt type and 171 households (272 people) are low income pensioners.

Source: Mapo Dis. Gov.(2009: 9)

Figure 2. Overview of pilot project area of Happy House in Mapo, Seoul

3. Analyzing Policy Network and Role of KLH in HH

Structure of policy network of Happy House case is captured in below figure 3 where KLH intermediate interests of both groups of public actors in round shape left and private actors in rectangular shape right. KLH has strong relationships with central government (MLTM) and local authority (Mapo District Government). MLTM and MDG are not horizontally linked with KLH since KLH is affiliated to MLTM who developed and funded this scheme and MDG was selected as one of pilot project area by KLH. MLTL has no specific strong relationship with MDG except latent hierarchical relationship which is commonly assumed for the relationship between central and local governments. There were no substantially representative organizations for local community and local builders who participated in the process of the project and thus they are circled with dotted lines. There were some local communities such as Self-governing Residents Committee or People and Village, but they were not included in the

policy network from initial stage and were a kind of target group of public relations. As there is no subdivisional organization, this structure is categorized into lead organization-governed network. While doing a pilot project, Happy House Centers were opened in each area with 2~4 staffs temporarily transferred from local governments. However, they acted as a kind of call center for the service and are not related to the policy network of the scheme. The network type is similar to (ii) of figure 1 since public and private groups are linked through KLH to the other group, and it takes on type of policy community as public actors tend to interact within the public group.
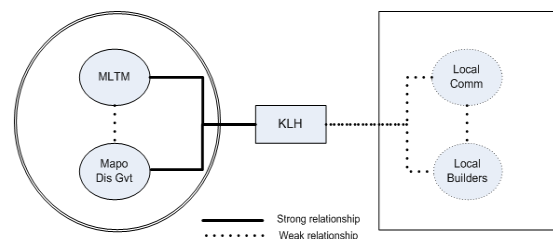

Figure 3. Policy network structure of Happy House regeneration in Mapo

As a policy network manager, KLH favored more efficiency, internal legitimacy and stability. Alike other lead organization-governed networks, KLH favored efficiency and it was inevitably so since there were reasons for the project to be implemented in a speedy way. The project was developed by MLTM in 2009 and pushed forward with a view to be started in 2010 following special research to setup action plan with benchmarking foreign

cases and to survey the need from local residents (Hong et al., 2009). In addition to that, it was necessary to secure project fund from each of MLTM, MDG, and KLH before the start of the project, which would take quite a time to follow legal process. Also, with scheduled merger of KHC and KLC ahead, the then KHC was eager to enlarge its sphere of business and wanted the project to be kicked off before the merging. These situations made KLH hurriedly push forward the pilot project and inclusiveness was not an option for them since in networks involving more members could deteriorate administrative efficiency of the network (Provan and Kenis, 2007). Another reason of not being able to favor inclusiveness was the fact that there was no specific representative local community in private group who could argue about it or collect general opinion of local residents in the policy making process, and that there was no particular legal requirement for community involvement in HH project. As a result, doing survey to identify priority of local demand before pilot project and evaluating the result after the project was a main strategy for getting feedback rather than doing a series of consultations with local residents. Although there was a briefing session arranged by MDG, it was rather a kind of announcement of the service than consultation or feedback.

Internal legitimacy was more favored by KLH dislike other effective lead organization-governance networks which are suited to address the external legitimacy needs of the

network on behalf of the network as a whole (Provan and Kenis, 2007). The project could be started without external legitimacy since the scheme was an experimental pilot project as a form of benevolent welfare service provision without any private cost and thus no veto point would arise outside the network. Also, there was no need to resort to outsider such as National Assembly for grant or budget since project cost could be raised from internal actors through a kind of co-operative matching fund (KHC, 2009). Internal legitimacy was focused more on public group than private group since private actors were in a passive manner. Local community residents could receive the services for free and local builders could have additional business opportunities without their cost, both of which had not been expected to be given, and thus they did not require any specific legitimacy for them. On the other hand, public actors needed internal legitimacy to participate in the scheme as there was no legal basis for the project until yet and they needed to invest their budget. During the process of securing internal legitimacy, the role of KLH was limited due to its relatively weak position in hierarchical chains of government. Instead, MLTM took the role of intermediator by hosting series of meetings of public actors, particularly for the selection of pilot project areas (MLTM, 2009). After one year of pilot project, KLH suggested laying down legal background by revising current Housing Act to establish NAO and to secure budget and personnel support (MLTM, 2011). For the

suggestion to be realized, KLH along with MLTM have to achieve external legitimacy later on.

KLH favored stability like other lead organization-governed networks as hierarchical sustainment was inevitable to push forward HH project. Stability was a priority especially for KLH since, without it, KLH would not have been able to lead the project within limited time, budget and institutional power. Also it was necessary to keep the list of local builders to be contracted and service manual elaborated from survey result unchanged during the process (KLH, 2009). For MLTM, as it was required to be indifferent to select pilot project areas through competitive bidding and to evaluate the result, they tried to fix detailed program, measure of fund raising, survey method, and governance structure in advance and to keep them unchanged (MLTM, 2009). MDG have settled down action plan, time table and their own supporting system including human and financial resources following the guidance of MLTM and KLH (MDG, 2009). Due to the hierarchical policy network structure, action plans set up by each institution and through a series of discussion meetings were regarded valid as a kind of arranged document although there had been no official partnership agreement or formation of formal hierarchy among them. This stability holds strong in public group more than private group where local community residents and builders did not have any impact to undermine the stability or to add flexibility since they were not

structured into a counterpart body with negotiation power.

Ⅳ. Discussion and Conclusion

In this study, we examined relational roles of intermediate agency representing public corporation in housing-led regeneration policy network towards sustainable community development of urbanizing countries. It was identified that policy network of HH regeneration was hierarchical lead organization-type policy community, where KLH of public corporation favored efficiency, internal legitimacy and stability with public-like top-down relational role. According to the result and framework of Provan and Kenis(2007), KLH is to be said effective in terms of efficiency and stability but less effective in terms of legitimacy. Since their less effective response to external legitimacy, functional role of KLH in sustainable community building was quite limited. Among 3 major services of HH, the third is related to community development through supporting local community centers, improvement of parks and playgrounds and consulting on the related housing welfare issues. As the concept of community building is unfamiliar to Korean regeneration policy yet, plan for it was not clear and focused from the beginning (MLTM, 2009). In addition to that, most services enumerated in the plan were those already being carried out through other programs such as housing refurbishment, parking lot building or making green park

related to the other hardware programs (MDG, 2009). Main findings of this analysis are summarized in table 2.

This case of intermediate agencification of regeneration can be seen as taking re-intermediation strategy which was conceptualized by Klievink and Janssen(2008), particularly in the era of public service provision and production dichotomy. Public service delivery was partially intermediated by public corporation instead of former delivery by direct government intervention or direct private supply. As Klievink and Janssen(2008) argued, re-intermediation may be more effective than de-intermediation to the contrary of traditional view that de-intermediation is beneficial for cost cutting and improving efficiency. Of course, there is no clear evidence that HH project is effectively implemented yet, but it could be inferred that sustainable community may be better built through the partnership of

Table 2. Policy Network factors and role of KLH

Factors	KLH
Network governance type	Lead-organization-type
Policy network type	Policy community
Characteristics	Public corporation
Structure	Hierarchical
Efficiency vs. Inclusiveness	Efficiency
Internal vs. External Legitimacy	Internal
Flexibility vs. Stability	Stability
Approach	Top-down
Orientation	More public-like
Relational role	Effective supporter

public, private and intermediate actors in the network. However, with less emphasis on the importance of community building as a social regeneration and partnership, physical regeneration has been favored till now particularly in urbanizing city of developing countries like Seoul. Apart from developed countries like U.K., where policy makers have latched onto community action and partnership as a way forward in regeneration policy (Richardson and Mumford, 2002), notion that solutions which are imposed on a community rather than developed with them won't deliver lasting change is to be further pursued yet through this kind of HH project. In doing so, functional role of intermediate agency to produce public service should be enhanced. In here, role of KLH should be further enhanced as a public agency to coordinate this kind of project, particularly under the current financial burden and enormous debt. KLH needs to understand that HH-type projects are those they have to pursue although they are not lucrative in short term. Also, they need to manage the policy network more actively regardless of governmental interest or private rent seeking. Such role is adoptable to other public agencies affiliated to local government as well.

Even though networks are not completely different from organization and have their collaboration costs as well as benefits, collaborative effort through network is inevitable in modern public service delivery (Agranoff, 2006). Housing-lead regeneration is not an exception of it, and should be networked

effectively through the better role of intermediate agency. We hope this study could contribute to better understanding of housing-led regeneration policy network in regeneration policy of Korea and other parts of the world, particularly developing countries.

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