Article

Refugee and Migrant Integration in Urban Spatial Structures and City Development: Case Study of Busan, South Korea

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Abstract: With the increasing protracted displacements and overall worldwide migration in recent decades, local integration has been considered a durable solution. Accordingly, global agendas have recommended the inclusion of migrant populations, especially within urban frameworks, as cities have always been deemed as migrant hubs. This study examines the influence of migrant spatial integration in city development and municipal policy against the historic backdrop of Busan. From liberation (1945) to post-war industrialization (1960s–1980s), Busan experienced population surges with the inflow of refugees and migrants that historically changed government policies and urban development plans. Based on archival research, secondary data, and GIS mapping, this study explores the influence of migrant populations on the city demographics, physical development, and housing initiatives during different periods. The findings of this study highlight the “local turn” in migrant spatial integration and the production of new urban geographies that portray “humanitarian” and “migrant” urbanism, thereby offering insights into sustainable urban futures for migrant and displaced populations.

Keywords: migrant integration; municipal policy; urban planning history; Busan

1. Introduction

Migration, both internal and international, has been a driving force behind urbanization, economic growth, and population change [1–3]. Technological, geopolitical, and environmental transformations in the recent decades have led to an unprecedented scale of migration and mobility worldwide, particularly within urban areas [4]. In addition, with more than 60% of the world’s refugees and 80% of the internally displaced persons living in urban areas, the importance of migrant integration in urbanization is much more evident than ever before [5]. The 2015 edition of the World Migration Report focused on the significant relationship between migrants and cities, supporting the “right-to-the-city” movement and presenting policy recommendations for integrating migrants into local governance and urban planning [6]. The new urban agenda on sustainable urban development at the Habitat III conference promotes inclusion of refugees, returnees, internally displaced persons, and migrants, regardless of their migration status. Additionally, it also encourages local governments to ensure safe, orderly, and regular migration through planned and well-managed urban solutions that enable the positive contribution of migrants to cities and promote urban–rural linkages [7]. The acceptance of migrant populations has increased despite widespread disinformation that “They (Migrants) are taking our jobs” or “They immigrate illegally” [8], therefore inducing a negative shift in local citizens’ opinions. The How the World Views Migration Report (2015) of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) shows that majority of the survey respondents in major world regions (with a few exceptions in Europe) supported immigration to either remain the same or increase [9]. In addition, in terms of humanitarian planning, due to increasing
instances of protracted displacements, local integration and self-settlement in urban areas have been considered complex but a future solution [5,10–12].

Much of the literature criticizes the concept of migrant integration because of its problematic interpretation involving multiple factors and dimensions and lack of an acceptable definition [13–16]. In addition, migration-related policies and responsibilities have been restricted to national and international levels [17], despite cities being the primary hosting places for migrant populations [18]. In recent years, migration and refugee studies have observed a “local turn” in migrant policies in the European context [19–21]; in general, municipal level policy development has been disregarded, despite the fact that local governments are influential actors in providing basic services, housing, employment, and education for migrant populations [18].

This can be associated with the growing disconnect between the national and local policies as integration is illustrated as a political concern at the central level and as a problem-solving rationale at the local level [22]. Furthermore, such discussions overlook the dynamic relationship between migrants and their settlements [17] and the significance of integration in the spatial context of the host cities [23]. Comprehensive research in certain contexts has revealed migrant integration as crucial to shifting or transforming urbanization processes. Mounting research on China’s hukou system shows changes in city structure and urban sprawl resulting from transforming traditional rural areas into urban villages to integrate rural migrants [24–27]. In the Indian context, studies on migrant inclusion and urban informality demonstrate the importance of Dharavi, home to migrant families and the world’s largest informal settlement, that started as a slum on the edge of the city and is currently an industrial hub and an important business district in the heart of Mumbai [28]. The formal informality of Dharavi has influenced the urban pattern, development strategies, and socio-economic structure of Mumbai for decades [29–32]. Research on humanitarian contexts shows that refugee settlements are also leading to new urban patterns as the boundaries between camps and cities are blurred and overlapped with the emergence of informal settlements [33] or the “in-between spaces” [16,34–37]. Camps in Lebanon are no longer bounded and controlled spatial settlements but represent a permanent temporality within the urban fabric of cities [36]. The image of a refugee camp in relation to its surroundings as the exception has transcended the camp’s shape. In other words, the exceptional area (camp) spreads beyond its limits and expands into the surrounding settlement, becoming a threshold where the refugees, citizens, and other outcasts meet. Such transitional settlements are known as camps-escalps [34]). The fluid informality of these spaces invites other refugees, migrants, and the urban poor, normalizing otherwise transient and isolated settlements through informal low-cost housing and informal economies. Thus, camps-escalps provide urban citizenship to outcasts and outsiders and influence the local socio-economic, political, physical, and legal conditions of a city [37]. Research in African countries has shown that local integration and self-settlement in urban areas are viable solutions, as refugees gain economic self-sufficiency [38,39] and bring urban services that serve both refugees and host communities [12]. Thus, despite varied research on shifting urban dynamics due to migrant integration, little attention has been given to understanding its influence on urban frameworks and vice versa [40]. Also, migrant integration scholarship has focused mainly on the settlement of the migrants in different contexts, social relationships with the host society (intermarriages), and adaptation to the social value system of the settlement region [41], rather than understanding spatial parameters involved in the integration process. The role of migrant spatial integration in urban development can shed light on the significance of integration frameworks at the local level. Migration scholars suggest that in addition to lowering the scale of integration from the national to the local level, the relationship and interaction between these levels must be considered for encouraging a multi-level governance setting [23,42]. Contemplating such propositions, this article aims to explore the processes involved and outcomes of migrant integration at the city level based on the historical context of Busan. From the refugee crisis during the Korean War to massive internal migration in the post-
war industrialization and modernization periods, Busan has embraced migrant populations for decades and can be viewed as a key historical reference for illustrating the process of migrant integration in the city framework. The study will examine the intersection of national and municipal policies implemented for the physical and economic development of Busan and highlight their role in accommodating migrant populations during different periods. Research has noted that housing is said to play a vital role in spatial integration or settlement in host cities [43], as ‘inhabitation’ changes the status of migrant populations from ‘outsiders’ to ‘co-habitants’. Thus, to understand the process of migrant integration at the city level, the interplay between housing opportunities or municipal housing policy initiatives and the urban planning framework will be considered. In doing so, integration will be explained as a process varying across space and time, as a policy, practice, and an outcome and as way of making place for and with migrants and refugees [44]. The findings of this study offer an understanding of the role of migrant spatial integration in creating new cityscapes based on humanitarian and migrant urbanism.

2. Materials and Methods

This study aims to understand the importance of migrants and refugees on the spatial structure and urban dynamics of Busan through its urban planning history. Considering the high volumes of migration flow starting with the migration of rural farmers and the Japanese during the 1930s and 1940s, the settlement of war returnees during liberation (1945), the arrival and settlement of Korean War refugees in the early 1950s, and the inflow of internal migrants between 1960 and 1990, this article considered the period between 1930 and 1990 to analyze the spatial changes in Busan. The study will include four sections: the Japanese Colonial Era (1910–1945), Liberation (1945) and the Korean War period (1950–1953), the Post-Korean War Period (late 1950s), and the Modernization and Industrialization Era (1960s–1980s).

Under each section, first, based on archival research, government documents, photographs, and newspaper archives, the historic background of Busan will be explored to understand the reasons for the inflow of various migrant populations during different periods. National and municipal policies and plans implemented in Busan will be examined to understand the processes involved in integrating such populations.

Second, the spatial dimensions of integration such as housing developments, development changes, and city expansion will be analyzed based on historical maps collected from the National Spatial Data Platform and the Pukyong Modern Historic Records Research Institute (see Table 1). Using the precise coordinates of public buildings such as schools, government buildings, and hospitals constructed during different periods, the maps mentioned in Table 1 were geo-referenced using ArcGIS Pro 3.2. Considering the recommendation of a minimum 20 control points for accurate results [45], 30–50 control points were used, and the maps were rectified using second-order transformations to obtain an RMS of between 20 and 30 m. Thematic maps on population growth and housing development were also presented. The locations of housing projects and data related to national and municipal policies provided in two main references, the History of Busan [46] and 30 Years of Direct Control Administration [47], and the master plans implemented between 1960 and 1990 published by the Busan Metropolitan City Government were used for the analysis. Due to the nonavailability of maps during the Korean War (1950–1953) and the post-war period up till 1960, the analysis for this period is limited to photographic images and data obtained from historical records.

Lastly, the study will present a discussion by explaining the outcomes of integrating migrant populations into municipal policy frameworks in Busan and summarize the findings from the case study of Busan that can be applied to other city contexts facing a migration crisis.
Table 1. Historic maps of Busan used in this study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Year or Date</th>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taisho Era Survey Map of Fusan-fu (2nd revision)</td>
<td>25 December 1934</td>
<td>1:10,000</td>
<td>Survey Department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fusan-fu Revised Survey Map of Showa Era</td>
<td>5 July 1941</td>
<td>1:5000</td>
<td>Ministry of Economy, Inspection and Quarantine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pusan (Fusan) City Plan</td>
<td>1946</td>
<td>1:25,000</td>
<td>Army Map Service, Washington, D. C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Busan City Street Map</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>1:6000</td>
<td>Busan Museum of Modern History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pusan Hang Area</td>
<td>1951</td>
<td>1:25,000</td>
<td>U.S. Navy Hydrographic Office Publications</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Busan City Map</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Not to scale</td>
<td>Busan City Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gimhae Land Use Map</td>
<td>25 June 1965</td>
<td>1:25,000</td>
<td>National Construction Research Institute, Ministry of Construction, NSDP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Busan Metropolitan City Map (54 Cadastral Maps)</td>
<td>5 September 1971</td>
<td>1:25,000</td>
<td>Busan Metropolitan City Planning Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dongrae Land Use Map</td>
<td>January 1972</td>
<td>1:25,000</td>
<td>National Construction Research Institute, Ministry of Construction, NSDP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Busan Metropolitan City Map (62 Cadastral Maps)</td>
<td>15 June 1985</td>
<td>1:25,000</td>
<td>Busan Metropolitan City Planning Board</td>
</tr>
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3. Case Study

3.1. Study Area

Busan is located on the southeastern tip of the Korean Peninsula and is known as the gateway to Korea. It is the second largest metropolis in Korea, with the largest port and an export-oriented industrial base in the southeastern industrial region. In the Japanese Colonial Period, considering the proximity to Japan, the Nakdong River (the longest river in Korea) and the harbor along the Korean Strait Busan were designated as the administrative and trade center. During the Korean War, Busan was the only city to face less physical destruction due to its mountainous terrain and uninvaded territory and thus became the temporary capital of Korea. Until the end of the war, the city experienced an inflow of refugees, of which a large proportion settled in Busan. The legacy of Busan as a wartime capital during the Korean War has been accounted for in recent years, considering the significance of refugees in building the city [48]. From the early 1930s, Busan experienced refugee and migrant populations during different periods, leading to continuous population growth until the late 1980s (see Figure 1). In the post-war industrialization era, due to the rapid industrial development and economic progress due to the influence of a centralized administrative system in Busan, the population of the city increased rapidly. Known to be the second largest port in Korea with a large export-oriented industrial base and designated as the functional center for the southeastern industrial region, the city attracted migrants until the late 1990s, resulting in the evolution of the present-day urban structure of Busan (see Figure 2). Accordingly, the city government strived to integrate such populations by considering them within housing policies and urban development frameworks beginning in the late 1950s. Thus, the historical context of Busan can be a representative example for understanding the importance of migration in the city’s development.
Figure 1. Population growth (1945–2000).

Figure 2. Evolution of Busan city (1914–Present)

3.2. Japanese Colonial Period (1910–1945)

With the signing of the Japan–Korea Annexation Treaty on 22 August 1910, Busan-bu (the administrative division 'bu' represents prefectural office of the Japanese Administration of South Gyeongsang Province during the colonial period) was established as an administrative center for South Gyeongsang Province under a Japanese administration, covering an area of 84.15 km², which expanded to 241.12 km² by 1942 (see Figure 3). Busan Port functioned as the eastern gate of Japan’s trade in Korea and as a significant military base [49]. With the expansion of trade and industry during this period, the city observed an increase in population with an increasing number of Japanese residents and an increasing migration of farmers from other regions of South Gyeongsang Province in search of employment for the construction of ports, roads, railroads, and other infrastructure in Busan [50]. Consequently, the population of Busan-bu increased from 74,138 (17,103 households) in 1919 to 163,814 (37,267 households) in 1934 [51].

With the rising population and trade, the Busan Urban Development Plan under the Joseon City Planning Ordinance was announced on 23 March 1937 and implemented on 1 May 1937, under the direction of the Japanese Government-General of Korea, which accounted for the first urban plan implemented in modern history of Busan [52]. The plan targeted only Japanese settlement areas and followed a conventional zoning system including government-owned land, parks, roads, and private land. It also included the first urban plan for parks and scenic locations and encouraged land readjustment projects to accommodate the rapidly increasing population as Busan-bu became an important transportation route [53]. However, the Korean settlements remained unchanged and further
deteriorated with increasing population and were restricted to the hillsides and outskirts of Japanese settlement areas [50]. Historical accounts of the settlement area alongside the Japanese cemetery and crematorium in Ami-dong explain the miserable living conditions of Korean settlements during this period [54–56].

![Figure 3](image-url) Evolution of Busan city during the Japanese Colonial Period (1934) (a) and after the liberation (1946) (b) on a current city base map.

3.3. Liberation (1945) and the Korean War (1950–1953)

Following the liberation on 15 August 1945, in Busan, where Japanese colonial rule was dominant, the governance system changed from local to central administration to proceed with repatriation. Even with more than 60,000 Japanese residents of Busan repatriating through the Busan Port, the population of city increased by 29%, as 362,920 overseas Koreans returned through the port and temporarily settled in Busan in 1946. Until the establishment of the Republic of Korea on 15 August 1948, the administration of the city was carried out by the U.S. Military Government. On 4 July 1949, following the enforcement of the Local Autonomy Act, Busan was recognized as a directly controlled city and renamed as Busan-Si (Local administrative divisions of Republic of Korea: Si—City, Gu—District, Dong—Neighborhood, Myeon—Township, Ri—Rural village, Eup—Town) on 15 August 1949 [53]. Subsequently, an independent city administration was established, and significant efforts were made to change Japanese customs. Despite administrative changes, in terms of urban planning, the city continued the Busan Urban Development Plan of 1937 prepared for an estimated population of 400,000 by 1965 [54]. However, as the population of the city reached 438,505 by 1947, continuation of the plan resulted in overcrowding due to lack of vacant land and insufficient housing [46] (see Figure 3).

After the outbreak of the Korean War on 25 June 1950, Busan served as a temporary wartime capital from 18 August 1950 to 27 October 1950, and from 4 January 1951 to 27 July 1953. By the end of September 1950, with the implementation of the Act on Temporary Measures for Acceptance of Refugees, facing the least physical destruction due to the War, Busan had become the ‘refugee capital’, as the population increased with the inflow of refugees from all over the Korean Peninsula [57]. The first phase of refugee evacuation occurred on 28 June 1950, three days after the outbreak of the war, and accounted for 160,000 out of the 1.1 million refugees in the Republic of Korea. The second phase of the
evacuation occurred after the retreat on 4 January 1951 when the United Nations Army retreated after the Chinese People’s Volunteer Army (PVA) offensive entered the Korean War. This led to a second refugee influx from Seoul, Chuncheong, and Gyeonggi to Busan [52] and accounted for the inflow of 260,000 refugees to Busan [54]. In response, the Busan city government initially used large-scale public buildings, theaters, factories, etc., to accommodate the incoming refugees. Later, 40 refugee camps were planned to accommodate about 70,000 refugees within the city (see Figure 4). Due to high rental prices, finding an affordable room in the city was difficult and regardless of the provincial governor’s statement in the newspaper requesting residents to subsidize the hotel room rates or housing rent, the situation remained unchanged. Few refugees depended on relatives or acquaintances and a small proportion of native residents voluntarily helped refugees by starting the ‘make and give a room movement’ [58].

Figure 4. Busan city map (1946) showing the location of refugee settlements.
Refugees left with no alternatives built temporary shelters around the city on state-owned lands, government-reverted properties, and in a few cases private lands offered free or for a smaller charge (see Figure 5) [59]. These shelters were mainly built using discarded US military unit materials such as wooden planks, coal tar boxes, wooden boards, and paper boxes covered with straw bags (see Figure 5) [60].

![Figure 5. Refugee shelters (top) and disposed materials from US Military units used for construction (bottom) (source: adapted with permission from HanGeun Kim).](image)

Over 5000 informal refugee settlements and 40,000 informal houses were estimated to have been built during this period in Busan [58]. The vulnerability of these materials to fire and the congestion in these shantytowns resulted in frequent fire accidents. Between 1951 and 1952, 490 fire incidents were recorded and the Great Busan Station, and the Gukje (International) Market Fire Accident in November 1953 destroyed 3000 buildings and temporary shelters, leaving 28,000 people homeless [61,62] (see Figure 6). Following this incident, the city government carried out a full-fledged demolition of informal refugee shelters across the city, considering safety and aesthetic concerns, and planned for a relocation of refugee victims.

![Figure 6. Great Busan Station and Gukje (International) Market Fire Accident in November 1953 (source: adapted with permission from HanGeun Kim).](image)

Due to the lack of economic stability, most refugees depended on informal businesses and the illegitimate trade of US military unit goods or smuggled products in the Gukje (International) Market (see Figure 7). According to records from February 1952, 1150 licensed merchants were estimated, of which 50% were North Korean refugees and 20% were refugees from Seoul. As most US military supplies and relief goods entered Busan Port, refugees were engaged as carriers and laborers for unloading (see Figure 7). Considering the proximity of local markets and docks, informal refugee settlements were concentrated in the city center and along the mountain slopes in the surrounding areas. Demolition of and eviction from settlements located in the central areas were measures to prevent fire accidents, and relocation to areas away from the center enraged refugees due to the high cost of moving and increased distance from their means of livelihood [58].
3.4. Post-Korean War (1950s)

By the end of the war in 1953, most of the informal houses near Gukje Market and Bosu Stream had been demolished to prevent fire accidents. Although refugees initially protested and opposed relocation in the beginning, they eventually moved to designated areas after receiving National Government orders for eviction in July 1954 [57,58]. Under circumstances of no return after the Armistice Agreement (1953), North Korean refugees and people who lost their families during the war stayed back and relocated to nearby hillside villages by purchasing houses from other refugees who returned at the end of the war. In the worst-case scenario, refugees settled in Ami-dong Tombstone Village (a Japanese cemetery turned into a refugee camp) (see Figure 8), located close to the city center, which posed a lesser threat of eviction [50]. The population of these villages continued to grow during this period as more evacuees from other shantytowns were relocated due to frequent fire accidents or the forced demolition of make-shift shelters by the city authorities [59] (see Figure 8).

Following the resolution of the United Nations General Assembly on December 1, 1950, member states launched the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA) as an aid organization to help the economic revival and reconstruction of the Republic of Korea in 1953 [63]. Between 1953 and 1957, the UNKRA focused on building schools, medical and health facilities, factories, and other infrastructure facilities to improve the post-war economy. Earth-block housing was built in Cheonghak-dong (Yeongdo-gu) by importing hand-operated machines from South Africa to produce bricks. Each earthen brick house measured 30 sq. m. (9 pyeong) and included a room, a kitchen, a toilet, and a modern exterior with a cement finish [64].

Policies based on refugees, relief, and self-help housing were promoted by the city government and the Korea National Housing Corporation (predecessor of the Korea Land and Housing Corporation (LH)). Under such provisions, the Welfare Housing Scheme (1954–1959) helped build 2151 homes in Yangjeong-dong and Cheonghak-dong for refugees and victims of the Busan Station Fire (see Figure 9). The Cheonghak-dong welfare housing project initiated the construction of 400 houses and was the first independent housing project in the country. The scope of the project expanded but suffered financial instabilities due to the discontinuation of foreign funds. Based on the National Housing Scheme (1957–1963),

Figure 7. Gukje (International) Market (a,b) and refugees unloading the supplies in Busan Port (c) (source: adapted with permission from HanGeun Kim).

Figure 8. Ami-dong in 1953 (a) and city view following the fire accidents in 1953 (b,c) (source: adapted with permission from HanGeun Kim).
the second municipal welfare housing project was planned for homeless citizens of the middle class or lower economic status, and provided 256 houses in Danggam-dong, Donggwang-dong, Cheonghak-dong, and Gupo-dong. The Refugee Housing (1958–1961) Schemes helped build a total of 1400 houses in Daeyeon-dong, Cheonghak-dong, Jeonpo-dong, Gaya-dong, Dongsam-dong, Yeonsan-dong, and Bongnae-dong for homeless refugees and the impoverished (see Figure 9). The project included self-help housing plans that helped build 600 refugee houses under collective housing plans for the permanent settlement of refugees by purchasing state-owned land parcels and providing construction materials with the financial assistance of the health department and USOM aid. Additionally, 500 relief houses were built in Beomil-dong, Sinseon-dong, and Gamman-dong (see Figure 9) [59].

Despite the improvement in housing conditions, the continuation of the 1937 urban plan until 1962 resulted in congestion, as the city’s population increased to 1,049,363 in 1955, and in response, a restoration plan was prepared for the expansion and extension of roads. The designated uses ceased functioning as a mix of residential, commercial, and industrial land in most areas (see Figure 10). The city government implemented land re-adjustment projects to improve living conditions in the downtown areas. One key example is the Jungang (Central) District land readjustment project, including commercial areas such as Daegyo-dong, Daechang-dong, Jungang-dong, and Donggwang-dong, destroyed during the Busan Station Fire, which was implemented over a total area of 230,000 sq. m. in December 1953. However, the results of such projects were insignificant as the residential areas around the selected project areas were saturated with problems related to traffic, economy, and housing shortages. Thus, the 1950s urban planning and housing efforts focused on the relief and restoration of the city after the sudden increase in population following liberation and the Korean War and lacked proper urban mechanisms for improving the infrastructure and living environment.

![Figure 9. Busan city extent in 1956 and relief, welfare, and refugee housing locations.](image-url)
3.5. Planning during the Industrialization and Modernization Period

3.5.1. Busan in the 1960s

In the 1960s, considering the lack of legal and institutional mechanisms supporting urban development, new planning systems were adopted across the country. The National Land Development Policy was announced followed by the implementation of the first five-year economic development plan (1962–1966), which was continued through the second five-year plan (1967–1971). The basic goal was to rebuild the country by establishing an economic base supported by resources and industrial development in Seoul and Busan. Subsequently, rapid urbanization even with an impoverished economic base in Busan resulted in various problems related to housing, transportation, and insufficient infrastructure. The implementation of the first five-year plan marked the beginning of the industrialization era and Busan’s economy grew faster than the entire nation due to the imports and exports through the port and the development of shoe, plywood, and textile industries. During this period, service industries grew remarkably as Busan became the center for managing the newly constructed Ulsan Industrial Complex, Pohang Steelworks, and Masan Free Export Zone. Accordingly, a large influx of rural migrants from nearby areas in search of employment steadily increased the population of the city (see Figure 1).

The population increase due to the settlement of refugees in the 1950s, followed by migrant laborers, led to acute housing shortages. In addition, the physical environment of the city gradually deteriorated with the spread of unauthorized and illegal housing due to the absence of proper urban management mechanisms. Despite the proposal of measures to prevent higher population concentration in large cities in 1964, the population increased as Busan emerged as a metropolitan center for export-led industrial production and manufacturing in the Southern Yeongnam Economic Zone. Accordingly, three consecutive expansions were planned as Busan reached a saturation point due to continuous influx of population. The first expansion proposed the incorporation of Saha-myeon (west expansion) on 24 June 1961, which increased the city extent to 112.24 sq. kms. The second expansion increased the city area to 119.5 sq. kms by incorporating Yeonsan-dong (north expansion) on 14 January 1963, for relocating residents evicted from the Budu (Pier) district due to a land readjustment project in 1962 (see Figure 1).
The national reconstruction framework outlined in the five-year plans included implementing of legal and institutional instruments and represents a paradigm shift in city planning. First, the enactment of Urban Planning Act (20 January 1962) and Enforcement of Urban Planning Act (30 April 1962) changed the planning process with the introduction of proper zoning regulations and land use planning. Also, in Busan, the first zoning system was introduced on 25 March 1965 and included residential, commercial, industrial, mixed-use, green, and scenic areas and education, entertainment, and fire prevention zones to improve land use and facilitate urban management by dissolving the land uses suggested in the 1937 urban plan. In 1968, the Busan Urban Restructuring Plan (1968) was implemented to address the issues caused by rapid urbanization and propose the future vision of the city with active cooperation and support from citizens. The plan estimated the population of the city to be three million by 1986 and expected a significant population decrease in the future considering stable economic growth. Strategies for the spatial distribution of urban services based on the direction of new residential development were proposed to ensure healthy growth and population dispersion. Accordingly, the main goal was to utilize existing urban policies, build coastal industrial complexes on underused lands, overcome housing shortages by promoting residential development in high-slope areas, and disperse city functions by restructuring Busan’s existing linear urban pattern to a multi-nuclear city structure. The plan proposed Jung-gu (the central district) as the transportation and commercial center, Busanjin-gu (Bujeon-dong and Yangjeon-dong) as
the administrative center, Dongrae-gu as the hot springs area, and Haeundae, Gwangan-dong, and Daeyeon as entertainment/tourist centers (see Figure 11). The plan emphasized improving industrial areas in Seo-gu, Nam-gu, and parts of Busanjin-gu. In order to address housing issues, the housing policies implemented by the Busan city government in the 1960s can be divided into municipal and private housing supply projects, housing for flood victims, and the reorganization of existing residential areas. The self-help housing project implemented during the 1950s by the Ministry of Construction continued during the 1960s with the material supply support of the USOM. However, a pilot project where the land for housing construction was purchased by financial funds raised by a resident union established by the city government was implemented in Oncheon-dong and Bumin-dong to avoid difficulties in providing individual loans. In addition, 372 relief houses were built in Minnak-dong and Goejeong-dong in 1961 for refugees and residents evicted from informal slums in the downtown areas. Between 1961 and 1964, 254 self-help houses were built in Yeonji-dong, Goejeong-dong, Jeonpo-dong, Gupyeong-dong, Cheonhak-dong, Gwangan-dong, Goeje-dong, and U-dong (see Figure 12). Housing repair and improvement projects, particularly roof improvements in residential areas with poor housing conditions, were initiated in 1967. In the case of public housing development, detached municipal housing projects, municipal apartments, and housing by KNHC were initiated under the Public Housing Act of 1963. Housing policies based on the construction of municipal apartments in the city center and detached row housing in the periphery were promoted to support homeless migrants in cooperation with housing banks in the early 1960s.

With the deterioration of the physical environment in the city center, large-scale Land Readjustment Projects were proposed in view of infrastructure development, developmental profitability, and attracting private capital (see Figure 13). Although these projects helped to redevelop downtown areas, they often resulted in the demolition of informal and sub-standard housing, the forced eviction of low-income residents, and their relocation to city outskirts. Such radical policies led to a vicious cycle of illegal housing, as residents with no housing alternatives started building unauthorized houses on the outskirts or in Dong-gu, Seo-gu, and Busanjin-gu, which explains the piecemeal approach adopted due to the lack of a proper master plan (see Figure 14). A representative example of such ramifications is the Budu District Redevelopment Project, which began on 20 September 1962 and was implemented as a countermeasure for the damage caused by the Busan Station Fire Incident (1953). The target area of 488,144 sq. m stretched from the old Busan Station to the Busanjin Station (excluding the railway station relocation site). The project led to the demolition of 4155 informal houses in Yeongju-dong and the relocation of evicted victims to Yeonsan-dong, where 786 public housing units were built between 1965 and 1967 by the KNHC and the local government. The relocation of residents evicted from the land readjustment project sites to newly incorporated areas north of the city, such as Yeonsan-dong, Bansong-dong, Dongsang-dong, and Guseo-dong, can be observed through changes in the population structure of the city (see Figure 12).
Figure 12. Thematic maps of population in 1970 showing the influence of 1960s housing developments.
In 1962, the municipal apartment supply began with Sinchang-dong apartments as a pilot project. This housing initiative implemented to resolve the housing crisis of the 1960s became a model for apartment construction in the following decades. Most projects were built in highland areas because of the high land prices in low-lying areas. Beginning in 1968, large-scale apartment projects were implemented to construct 1128 housing units in 47 apartments in Sinchang-dong, Yeongju-dong (see figure 15), Nambumin-dong, Bosudong, and Yeongseon-dong (see Figure 12).

Figure 13. Land readjustment projects announced by the city government (1968–1969). (Source: adapted with permission from HanGeun Kim.)

Figure 14. Informal housing in Dong-gu (a), Jung-gu (b), and Seo-gu (c) along the Sanbok road. (Source: adapted with permission from HanGeun Kim.)

Figure 15. Yeongju apartments. (Source: adapted with permission from HanGeun Kim.)
In 1969, apartments were built in Sujeong-dong and Dong-gu for the residents evicted from the demolitions around the Daeti tunnel and poor migrants living along the Sanbok road. Although there were shortcomings in terms of quality, these projects made huge contributions to expanding the housing supply for the homeless and the refugees evicted due to demolitions and land readjustment projects. The rise of manufacturing and trade led to residential development near industrial areas such as Sinpyeong-dong, Jangrim-dong, Dangni-dong, Choeup-dong, and Jurye-dong (see Figure 12), including the development of the Sasang Industrial Complex in 1968 (see Figure 16), which dominated the industrial structure during the 1960s, accounting for a second direction of development (west) and resulting in changes to the urban structure of Busan.

Figure 16. Sasang industrial complex plan (1969) (a) and industrial development in Gamcheon-dong, Saha-gu (b) and Beomil-dong, Dong-gu (c). (Source: adapted with permission from HanGeun Kim.)

3.5.2. Busan in the 1970s

The focus on economic development policies in large cities during the 1960s led to regional disparities between provinces. Consequently, to promote balanced development and prevent overpopulation in large cities, the Comprehensive National Development Plan was implemented in 1972 with 1981 as the target year. The plan intended to disperse metropolitan industries into small- and medium-sized cities, and expand transportation networks through roads, railways, and ports. However, in the case of Busan, the labor-intensive industrial structure provided a vast amount of employment opportunities. Regardless of the local industrial dispersion policy, the population surge continued through the 1970s, as Busan played a pivotal role in managing the industrial development of nearby cities through its export-oriented industrial growth. Accordingly, between 1970 and 1979, the population of Busan increased from 1.842 million to 3.034 million, accounting for 8.1% of the national population in 1979.

Housing shortages, traffic congestion, and water shortages continued through the 1970s due to overpopulation and the inflow of the migrant working class. Despite implementing a new zoning system in 1965, topographical conditions restricted the city’s growth and developable land, and the haphazard mixing of residential and industrial uses worsened the physical environment. The City Master Plan was prepared in 1972 for establish a sound urban infrastructure, build a pleasant living environment, and promote social welfare. The plan included strategies for developing three satellite towns: Gimhae (west end) as a center for commercial transport, and Mulgeum and Yangsan (north end) with commercial and industrial functions to accommodate 150,000 people, increasing the city area to 373 sq. kms by 1979. The Gimhae–Sasang, Gwangalli–Haeundae–Sonjeong, and Dongnae–Yangsan axes were chosen as the three strongest development directions, with Seomyeon as the new CBD, emphasizing a multinuclear city structure with efficient land use (see Figure 16). The most notable change in land use planning during the 1970s was the designation of development restriction zones by revising the Urban Planning Act (1965) in January 1971. Based on this ordinance, the Busan city government implemented development restriction zones in December 1971 and designated 86.2 sq. kms for preventing
In terms of housing development, strategies for mass construction and the supply of affordable housing to improve poor housing conditions were considered. Privately led housing supply, municipal apartment projects, housing site development projects, and housing improvement projects were implemented to cover a deficit of 200,000 houses as of 1 October 1970. Additionally, the city government focused on growth-oriented housing policies to expand the housing supply and demand based on income classes. In the 1970s, the public housing supply focused on municipal apartment construction, especially in areas with poor housing conditions. Under the district maintenance project for improving residential environments, 10,000 detached houses were built in Banyeo 2-dong in 1972 (see Figure 17). The KNHC supplied 8046 apartments between 1971 and 1979 in Dongnae-gu, Busanjin-gu, Haeundae-gu, and Geumjeong-gu. With the enactment of the Housing Construction Promotion Act in 1972, administrative and financial support policies were introduced to encourage private housing development, which stagnated during the 1960s due to weak capital and difficulties in business promotion. Consequently, private apartment construction was carried out in new residential areas such as Jung-dong, Namcheon-dong, Sajik-dong, and Suan-dong and in Daeyeon, Suyeong, and Haeundae between 1976 and 1978. Due to the lack of housing sites, few apartment complexes were built in semi-industrial areas such as Deokpo-dong and Banyeo-dong. Housing site development projects were built in Munhyeon-dong, Mandeok-dong, Jurye-dong, and Gamcheon-dong between 1975 and 1979 (see Figure 18). The municipal rental apartments built in Yeongju-dong and Bongrae-dong in 1975, Sajik-dong in 1976, and Jaesong-dong in 1979 mainly targeted residents evicted from redevelopment projects (see Figure 18).

Figure 17. City extent and development directions (1971).

In 1972, policy-based migration projects were implemented to demolish buildings and relocate residents living in informal houses in highland areas and along the
downtown roads to Banyeo-dong, Yongho-dong, Gaeguem-dong, and Mandeok-dong. Housing improvement and redevelopment projects were implemented in 1973 for demolition, relocation, and reconstruction in high-slope areas with poor housing conditions in the city center built by Korean War refugees in Seo-gu (Dongdaeshin-dong, Bosu-dong, and Daechegong-dong), Dong-gu (Jwacheon-dong, Yeongju-dong, Choeup-dong, and Sujeong-dong), and in few areas in Yeongdo-gu (see Figure 18). By 1983, 12,069 houses were improved, but due to the small scale of the project, the demographics and land prices of the project area were unaffected. However, the project carried out reconstruction without altering existing small lots; thus, the aesthetics and living conditions remained unchanged. Other legal instruments such as the Act on Temporary Measures on Promoting Development of Specific Households (1972) and Temporary Measures for Housing Improvement Act (1976) were enacted to improve residential environments in poor residential areas populated by refugees and migrants.

Based on the National Development Plan, the development restriction zones planned in Busan to control population growth included 13 sq. kms of central city areas. However, due to the topographical limitations of Busan, restriction zones resulted in the development of highland areas rather than areas with a greater development potential. Highland area development predominantly involved apartment construction during the 1970s, which had a greater impact on the spatial structure of the city and population distribution compared to the 1960s. As shown in Figure 1, a comparison of population growth between the 1960s and 1970s shows a rapid increase in dongs on the outskirts (or sub-centers) and stagnation in the city center. This resulted from the demolition and relocation of residents due to large-scale redevelopment projects in downtown areas such as Donggwang-dong, Seodaesin-dong, Daechegong-dong, and Yeongju-dong. Between 1973 and 1975, municipal rental apartments were constructed for residents evicted from redevelopment project areas in policy-based migration areas such as Banyeo-dong, Yongho-dong, Jaesong-dong, Sajik-dong, and Deokcheon-dong, which explains the population increase in these areas during the 1970s (see Figure 18). The population increased in the western end of the city along Gaya Road and Nakdong Riverside with the development of factories and the Sasang Industrial Complex and the incorporation of parts of Gimhae-gun in 1978. In addition, the population growth rate along the three developmental directions suggested in the 1972 master plan also increased.

Despite implementing development restriction zones and topographical limitations, the residential land area increased during this period, as semi-industrial and green areas were partially converted to residential use. A total of 14,035 apartment housing units were supplied in Jung-dong, Gaya-dong, Gaeguem-dong, Munhyeon-dong, Yeonsan-dong, Banyeo-dong, Jurye-dong, Daeyeon-dong, and Jaesong-dong after converting green areas into residential (see Figure 18). A total of 6805 apartment housing units were supplied by converting semi-industrial areas to residential use in Sumin-dong, Anak-dong, Sajik-dong, Myeongnyun-dong, Guseo-dong, Oncheon-dong, Banyeo-dong, Geoje-dong, Banyeo-dong, and Jaesong-dong (see Figure 18). Additionally, the construction of apartments in highland areas to improve unlicensed sub-standard housing that continued during the 1970s also accounted for the increase in residential areas.
In summary, Busan’s first master plan attempted to build the multi-nuclear city structure suggested during the 1960s to improve the efficiency of land use and population
dispersal. However, the development restriction zones implemented based on national planning strategies failed because of a disregard of the regional topography in the case of Busan, and resulted in disordered development and urban sprawl along the highland areas. This majorly impacted the urban fabric of the city and continued to characterize the city structure till the present day. The relocation of factories to other regions due to lack of industrial land resulting from development restrictions caused an economic downturn during the 1980s despite growth in the 1970s, as Busan’s economy was based on labor-intensive industries.

3.5.3. Busan in the 1980s

Growth-suppression policies implemented in Busan during the 1970s failed to control migration and population growth as immigration increased from 141,695 in 1970 to 280,831 in 1980. The migration rate to Busan increased from 25.8% to 28.2% and the floating population transferring to and from Busan Station also increased from 307,900 in 1970 to 623,421 in 1980. The population of Busan increased from 3,159,766 in 1980 to 3,797,566 in 1990 (see Figure 1), recording a 4.1% population growth rate exceeding the national average of 1.6%. This demographic trend continued through the 1980s with the expansion of the industrial base, resulting in further deterioration of the residential environment due to housing shortages and insufficient urban infrastructure.

Contemplating such issues, the course of urban planning was changed in the 1980s by revising the Comprehensive National Land Development Plan (1982–1991) that aimed to expand the scope of development by promoting growth suppression policies in Seoul and Busan, preserving the natural environment and promoting rural development and local area development. Based on national strategies, the policy measures in Busan aimed to strengthen development restriction zones and establish industries and educational institutions in the surrounding regions to induce an estimated inflow of 1.41 million people to new areas beyond the metropolitan boundary. This growth suppression policy stagnated the demographic growth rate during the 1990s, resulting in a population of 3.89 million in 1991 (lower than the estimated population of 4.2 million). Simultaneously, measures for downscaling the centrality of the downtown area and development of sub-centers established during the 1970s continued to expand the urban functions and to secure sufficient green spaces within the residential environment. The city government focused on strengthening the commercial and industrial functions of new areas, redeveloping downtown areas to reduce developmental pressure (Busan Region Improvement Plan), planning residential development in Gimhae and Yangsan to compensate for housing shortages, and relocating downtown industries with violations to Jangrim district or new industrial complexes on reclaimed land.

In 1985, the first long-term Busan City Master Plan was initiated with an execution period of 20 years to set future growth directions and provide detailed guidelines for planning and development based on the NLDP. In the inner-city areas, efficient land use was promoted by implementing redevelopment projects and improving poor residential neighborhoods. In contrast, green areas were designated in outer districts to maintain the development restriction zones. However, the city expanded eight times during this period, increasing its area from 384 sq. kms in 1980 to 548 sq. kms in 1988. In accordance with the national strategies, the master plan initiated local area development to improve the residential environment and enhance the commercial function of the central areas by relocating factories to downtown areas. The plan categorized living areas as retail-market-centered areas (neighborhood—small scale), middle/high school or district commercial facility-centered areas (medium scale), and areas centered on city sub-center commercial areas (large scale). Standards for area layout were provided to establish self-supporting amenities for each typology to enhance the living environment and decentralize communal facilities concentrated in the city center, which led to population stagnation in the downtown area.
With the continuous population inflow, housing demand was expected to grow. Hence, initiatives for increasing density of existing residential areas by encouraging efficient land use and promoting mixed-use development and supply of new housing sites by readjusting the existing land use plan were proposed to increase the housing supply. National housing policies during this period provided opportunities for low- and middle-income households to purchase affordable homes and rental apartments through housing funds and lowered construction costs. The Housing Site Development Act was enacted on December 31, 1980, to increase the housing supply and promote affordable housing for low-income households without homeownership.

Accordingly, the 2 Million Housing Units Construction Policy was implemented to supply housing sites for apartment construction. The plan encouraged residential development in suburban areas considering the low investment cost and ease of project execution. However, housing quantity was prioritized over issues related to equity in housing supply and the physical deterioration of the existing residential environment. The plan neglected the spatial structure of the city, as an increase in apartment-based housing supply in suburban neighborhoods or green areas altered the spatial structure.

In the 1980s, the city government implemented municipal housing projects based on public interest and profit-led planning and construction. This successful intervention narrowed the qualitative gap with private sector development. Between 1980 and 1983, 37 housing complexes with 1500 units were built in Jaesong-dong (Haeundae-gu). In 1985, a large-scale municipal housing project, including 16 complexes with 760 housing units in Myeongjiang-dong (Dongnae-gu), and small-scale project of 3 complexes with 40 housing units in Ami-dong (Seo-gu) were implemented. Subsequently, in 1985 and 1987, municipal housing units were built in Anrak-dong (Dongnae-gu), Beomjeon-dong (Busanjin-gu), Dadae, Banyeol 3-dong (Haeundae-gu), and Hwamyeong-dong (Buk-gu). In 1980, public rental apartments for 1000 households were built in Hwamyeong-dong (Buk-gu). From 1981 to 1984, public apartments were built in Hwamyeong-dong, Eomgeum-dong, and Mandeok-dong in Buk-gu and Dadaedong in Saha-gu. The population increase in satellite towns, such as Gimhae and Yangsan, shows the dispersion of the population from central areas to suburbs through the residential development in the 1980s (see Figure 17).

The Korea Land Corporation built five-storey apartments up until the early 1980s, and shifted to high-rise apartment construction with the technological advancements in the latter half of the decade. Consequently, high-rise housing developments with 1998 units in Yeonsan-dong in Dongnae-gu and Magmi-dong in Nam-gu (1984) and with 5260 units in Gaegeum-dong and Danggam-dong in Busanjin-gu (1985) were developed (see Figure 19). In addition, the number of households living in apartments increased four-fold compared with the 1970s. The master plan proposed land reclamation projects in the 1980s to relocate industries and residential developments to highland areas and resolve housing shortages. The number of households living in apartments in areas with 100–200 m slopes increased, even though a major proportion of apartments was concentrated in areas with slopes of less than 50 m.
Figure 19. Thematic map of population in 1990 showing the influence of 1980s housing developments.
4. Discussion

Despite consistent efforts by international frameworks to encourage local governments to consider migrant integration within policy frameworks, the role of cities in developing such strategies is limited. In contrast, migration research in recent years has devoted more attention to the local dimension of migrant integration, marking the shift from a centralist approach (top–bottom) to a localist approach (bottom–top) [65]. Studies have shown how cities and municipalities play a vital role in addressing the challenges of integrating migrant populations [23,42,65]. Nonetheless, researchers have paid little attention to understanding the processes involved in implementing municipal migrant policies and the physical outcomes of such initiatives. Few studies have shown the changing urban dynamics and localization of migrant policies and they lack spatial dimensions and disregard historical references in understanding the actualities of integration in policy frameworks. This paper aimed to fill these gaps by illustrating the detailed spatial impacts and the outcomes of migrant integration in municipal frameworks based on the historical context of Busan. By analyzing the urban planning initiatives and development strategies from the post-Korean War period, a comprehensive account of national and local level plans and physical changes in the city corresponding to the processes involved in migrant and refugee integration, specifically in terms of housing policies, is presented. The following discussion elaborates the process and outcomes of migrant integration in terms of transformative development initiatives that have catalyzed Busan’s urban structure since the beginning of formal urban planning systems.

4.1. Vertical and Horizontal Intersection of Policies

An analysis of the national policies between the 1960s and 1990s reveals the convergence of national planning systems and city policies. Due to the lack of proper legal and institutional instruments, city development remained stagnant until the 1950s. However, the 1960s saw a new beginning with the implementation of the National Land Development Policy (1960) and the first five-year economic development plan (1962–1966). The plans focused on creating a new economic base through industrial restructuring and resource development in Seoul and Busan. Consequently, industrialization policies and legal mechanisms for effective development of these cities were introduced. In response, the Busan city government, within the framework of national planning and through financial support from the state, promoted industrial development and implemented new urban planning instruments considering the deteriorating physical conditions due to population growth. The Urban Planning Act enacted in 1962 designated district improvement project zones in areas with deteriorated living and environmental conditions through the development of new residential areas and expansion of road networks. This act helped in implementing a new zoning system that helped to separate industrial land use from residential and commercial areas. The first park-related law known as the Parks Act (1967) was also enacted to designate and manage national, provincial, and urban parks and to specify natural conservation zones within the city. The city government also planned a multi-nuclear city model (see Figure 10) to decentralize functions and expand the city to accommodate the incoming migrants and the homeless refugees by implementing the Busan Urban Restructuring Plan (1968). Remarkably, municipal housing projects built for relocating refugees, migrants, and other vulnerable populations evicted from redevelopment project areas provided new development directions for city growth but also resulted in urban sprawl.

In the 1970s, national planning continued to focus on expanding industrial development under the first Comprehensive National Development Plan (1972). However, considering the increasing population growth and unbalanced development, spatial planning initiatives shifted to the improvement of living areas and preservation of the natural environment. Accordingly, the urban planning frameworks focused on improvement of residential areas and infrastructure development. Temporary planning initiatives such as the
Act on Temporary Measures for Promoting Development of Specific Households (1972) and Temporary Measures for Housing Improvement Act (1976) were implemented for the improvement of housing in designated downtown areas. Due to the increasing construction activities and damage to the greenbelt areas caused by residential development, the Environmental Conservation Act (1977) and the Urban Parks Act (1979) were enacted. This decade also marks the implementation of the first Master Plan (1972) which focused on increasing the housing supply and managing the ‘disordered urbanization’ caused by rapid migrant population densification. Downtown port areas were also expanded towards the south and west end of the city to strengthen port functions and to reduce pollution especially due to coastal industries. To improve the living environment and urban aesthetics of the city, informal migrant settlements in downtown areas were demolished and evicted residents were relocated to policy-based migration areas such as Yeonsan-dong, Banyeodong, Yongho-dong, Gaegeum-dong, Jurye-dong, and Mandeok-dong between 1973 and 1975 (see Figures 20 and 21).

Figure 20. Yeonsan-dong housing development (a) and Banyeodong housing development (b). (Source: adapted with permission from HanGeun Kim.)

Figure 21. Policy migration areas.

During the 1980s, the second Comprehensive National Land Development Plan (1982–1991) was implemented with the aim to induce local planning and development, national welfare, and preservation of the natural environment. In collaboration with the national government efforts, the city government implemented the Busan Region Redevelopment Plan for efficient land use, supply of mixed-use housing, and land readjustment. However, due to the increased residential development to meet the demands of the increasing migrant population, the greenbelt areas in the city were converted to residential and semi-residential land use.
Thus, the analysis of development initiatives reveals the convergence of national- and city-level policies for urban development and industrial progress, catering to the integration of refugee and migrant populations. Despite the absence of an integration policy during this period, the multi-level governance and the effective coordination between policies at different levels helped in accommodating such populations. The migrants and refugees were not excluded as an isolated demographic in planning initiatives but were considered as a part of the city population. Although the policy framework was based on a centralist approach, the significance of local government in the top-down setup can be observed. Overall, various agencies for housing development, urban planning, resource management, and industrial development worked alongside the city government for the planning and implementation of urban development policies. The housing development in this period portrays an excellent example of the convergence of policy making between different governance structures.

4.2. Housing Development

In the late 1950s, following the Korean War, national and city level policies focused on restoration and reconstruction. Due to the lack of housing alternatives during the war, refugees were forced to build informal and illegal housing, resulting in severe congestion and environmental issues. Despite the repatriation of refugees following the Armistice Agreement, a large proportion settled in Busan, and by 1955, the population of the city increased to more than one million. Considering the housing crisis and deterioration of the living environment, the city government forcibly evicted and relocated refugees to areas farther away from the city center. Despite these rigorous practices, national- and city-level housing policies were implemented to provide better living conditions for refugees. Such initiatives were implemented until the early 1960s, taking into consideration the multitude of homeless refugees and migrants in Busan. International-aid-based initiatives under the UNKRA helped to provide housing and social welfare, thus strengthening the integration of such populations.

Housing policies of the 1960s focused on providing relief and self-help housing with financial support for providing building materials and public land by the USOM and the Ministry of Construction. This period was known for the beginning of the municipal housing supply in the form of apartments in the central areas and detached housing in the periphery by the city government and the KNHC. The municipal housing supply increased during the 1970s, especially in the highland areas, to improve the deteriorating physical environment due to the development of informal settlements. The apartments along Sanbok Road are a representative example of this initiative. Along with new housing developments, housing-repair- and improvement-related projects were implemented to enhance the residential environment, especially in downtown refugee villages and migrant settlements within the city. A few informal refugee villages built during the Korean War continued to exist in the highland areas in the downtown area, as refugees working in ports or owning businesses in Gukje Market preferred to live in the city center. The city government overlooked such settlements and relocated refugees evicted from other areas where demolitions had been carried out to prevent fire accidents in the early 1950s. These refugee villages, including Ami-dong Tombstone Village (see Figure 22), Gamcheon-dong Taegukdo Village (see Figure 22), Uam-dong Cowshed Village, Cheonghak-dong Haedoji Village, Danggam-dong Abayi Village, and Yeongdo Kangkanghee village, formed along Sanbok Road during the Korean War, still define the urban structure of the city and act as historic reminders. This settlement structure also marks the beginning of highland area development in Busan, as a mountainous topography limits low-lying area development. In the following decades, housing developments in highland areas increased with the rising city population.
However, in the 1980s, municipal housing development shifted to satellite towns and suburban areas to disperse the incoming migrant population and prevent population concentration in saturated city areas. Large-scale municipal rental apartments and housing complexes were built in policy-migration areas to accommodate migrant workers. While certain housing sites had shortcomings in terms of housing quality, the public housing projects helped to resolve housing shortages to a certain extent. Thus, the housing initiatives for refugees through relief, welfare, and self-help housing plans during the 1950s and for migrants through municipal row housing, individually owned apartments, rental apartments, and KNHC municipal housing between 1960 and 1990 show the integration of such populations in the city framework through residential development.

4.3. Demographic Change and Economic Growth

The population surges observed in the history of Busan are accounted for by the returnees during liberation, refugees during and after the Korean War, and the migrant workers in the post-war industrialization period. During the Korean War, Busan was designated as the temporary capital of Korea. Consequently, refugees from all parts of the Korean Peninsula fled to Busan, increasing the population of the city twofold. After the Armistice Agreement, North Korean refugees and people who lost their families during the war settled in Busan. As a result, the city population reached over 1 million by 1955. The industrial base established during the colonial period and the port functions of the city provided plenty of employment opportunities during and after the war [66].

During the 1960s, industrial development in the city centered on shoe-, plywood-, and textile-export-oriented industries, as Busan was the first port city with the second largest port in Korea [67]. With the implementation of national economic policies, the city experienced an influx of migrants from surrounding regions, speeding up the overall urbanization process regardless of the poor infrastructure. The migrants and refugee industrial workers increased the economic production of Busan, making a significant
 contribution to the country’s Gross National Product in the following decades. The groundbreaking shipbuilding industry established in the old downtown of Busan during the colonial period continued to flourish through the 1960s, attracting more migrant workers to the city. The population growth due to industrial development led to the outward expansion and distribution of population along the north and west directions of the city (see Figure 23).

![Figure 23. Population density (1970, 1980, 1990) of Busan.](image)

In the 1970s, the implementation of the first Comprehensive National Land Development Plan (1972) led to the expansion of large-scale industrial bases, transportation and communication, and spatial planning in Busan. However, the city’s economy was vulnerable following the oil crisis of 1973 due to its export-oriented industries. However, the number of workers, profits, and exports increased, attracting more migrants. Due to its industrial base, Busan became the functional center and industrial core of the South Gyeongnam region (surrounding provincial area). The industrial progress of the city further led to an increase in the migrant population until the early 1980s. In the 1980s, the economy of Busan suffered a downturn due to national policy limitations and a change in the nationwide trend to a capital-intensive heavy and chemical-based industrial structure. Gradually, as industrial growth stagnated, and with the development of other industrial bases in the surrounding region, Busan lost its function as a core city. The population growth also stagnated in the late 1980s as migrant population growth also reduced due to the industrial decline. However, refugees and migrants living in Busan to date define the demographics of the city, contributing to the economy and social capital.

5. Conclusions

In light of ongoing discussions on migrant integration at the city level, there is a need to understand various approaches to developing such initiatives and analyze their impacts or outcomes on urban development. Previous studies have mainly focused on theoretical interpretations, criticisms of international frameworks, and national or global analyses of integration parameters and dimensions. Recent migration research has explored the importance of localization or municipalization of integration to mark the shift from a centralist approach to a localist approach. However, such studies disregard the spatial dimensions of integration, municipal policy reviews, and the importance of historical references in understanding long-term implications. Additionally, with the increasing humanitarian emergencies or ‘crisis in a crisis’ situations following the COVID-19 Pandemic, there is a need to expand local-level strategies for vulnerable populations such as refugees and migrants for achieving sustainable development goal 11, ‘leaving no one behind’ [68]. That being the case, there is a need to investigate the development patterns in cities with...
migrant migration histories to resolve issues related to the integration of migrants and refugees in cities across the globe.

Considering these research gaps, this article explores the process of localizing spatial migrant integration through city-level frameworks based on the historical context of Busan. Through a detailed analysis of national- and municipal-level interventions implemented during different periods, the study highlights the intersection between different governance levels and the coordination of policy efforts regarding the inclusion of various migrant populations.

The findings of the study highlight a few strategies for managing migrant spatial integration at the city level that may be applied in other contexts.

1. The historical context of Busan reflects the importance of a multi-level governance setting and the coordination of various organizations at different levels for integrating migrant populations. Although integration policies have taken a local turn in recent years, there is a lack of a clearly defined policy framework due to the divergence of national and local policies. In the case of Busan, even though the planning framework illustrates a top-down approach, the coordination and interaction between the national and city governments reflect an effective multi-governance setup. Therefore, it is suggested to ensure horizontal and vertical coherence across different sectors and government levels in migration governance [67].

2. There is a need for a detailed analysis of spatial dimensions of integration to understand how ‘place’ matters in the settlement of such populations and acknowledge their presence in the city context. Historical records indicate migration as a key factor for urban expansion. By considering such remarks, this paper examines housing initiatives and urban development strategies for understanding the significance of physical settlements in the process of integration. The study indicates that by identifying housing and urban development issues and considering migrant populations as a part of the local demographics, current issues, especially in the European context related to migrant housing, can be resolved.

3. Local authorities need to consider such populations as a part of the city demographic instead of segregating them as an exclusive group. The case of Busan represents a narrative of embracing various migrant populations throughout history and accounts for migrant cohesion through space, economy, and industry.

4. Migrants need to be considered as a part of the local workforce to boost economic growth. This assures the economic development of host cities and the self-reliance of migrant populations. The industrial development of Busan based on national economic policies facilitated employment opportunities for migrant populations and attracted more migrants, boosting demographic and urban growth.

5. The problem-solving perspective of the migrant integration process should be shifted to a potential-based perspective [64]. Throughout history, refugees and migrants played a significant role in the ‘making of Busan’, strengthening the local economy and social capital. Therefore, migrants can facilitate economic growth, especially in shrinking or declining cities, catering to the shortage of labor. Also, as mentioned in the SDG Report 2022 [69], with the rising level of income inequalities following COVID-19, economic inclusion can help in providing a sustainable future for vulnerable populations. As in the case of Busan, there is a need to implement economic integration strategies for providing a source of livelihood for migrant populations.

Lastly, the study also highlights the importance of reviewing historical references for understanding the processes used for refugee and migrant populations at the city level and their long-term impacts on city development and urban spatial structures. Future studies can explore urban histories to gain a better understanding of local integration, which is suggested to be a likely solution for the growing number of refugees and migrants worldwide. This study is limited to the spatial integration of migrant populations; therefore, further investigation regarding the intersection between physical, socio-
economic, cultural, and environmental factors can make a noteworthy contribution to migration research.

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**Abbreviations**

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<tr>
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<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>BMC</td>
<td>Busan Metropolitan City</td>
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<tr>
<td>CBD</td>
<td>Central Business District</td>
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<td>IOM</td>
<td>International Organization for Migration</td>
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<td>KNHC</td>
<td>Korea National Housing Corporation (LH)</td>
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<td>NLDP</td>
<td>National Land Development Plan</td>
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<td>UNKRA</td>
<td>United Nations Korea Reconstruction Agency</td>
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<td>USOM</td>
<td>United States Operation Mission</td>
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