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# The spread and meaning of *national housing* in 20th-century print media: focusing on newspapers from the 1940s to the 1970s

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## ABSTRACT

This study explores the development of *national housing* as a dominant residential type in the Republic of Korea and investigates the role of print media in shaping and disseminating the vision of *national housing* from the 1940s to the 1970s. Originating during the Japanese colonial period, *national housing* was institutionalized through a state-led modernization process and framed by evolving visual strategies in newspaper advertisements. By visually analyzing 127 cases including design competitions and housing sales announcements and advertisements, this study identifies a transition from state-driven normative discourse to increasingly commercialized and consumer-oriented representations. Guided by visual theories, the study analyzes how layout, typography, and visual images, including floor plans, site diagrams, and bird's-eye views communicate the values of *national housing*. Print media not only delivered state messaging but actively participated in shaping a visual culture of residential modernity. By the 1970s, apartments had become the standardized form of *national housing*, representing middle class identity and national development. In this context, *national housing* functioned not merely as a policy instrument but as a culturally constructed visual narrative. Therefore, this study contributes to broader discussions on the reciprocal relationship between *national housing*, embedded in the discourse of its time, and print media.

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National housing; residential discourse; print media; sale announcement and advertisement; visual representation



## 1. Introduction

### 1.1. Research background and purpose

Contemporary Korean residential culture has been criticized in multiple respects,<sup>1</sup> including privatization, limited housing-type diversity, weakened publicness due to gated enclaves, and the perception of housing as a speculative asset rather than a social good. At the root of these criticisms lies the historical context in which *Gukmin Jutaeok* (國民住宅; hereafter *national housing*), widely regarded as the standard type, has functioned as a normative model. According to the latest Housing Act (Act No. 19,117, enacted 28 June 2023), *national housing* refers to dwellings publicly initiated or subsidized and built under national standards, including a maximum floor area of 85 m<sup>2</sup> per unit.

Emerging in the 1940s, *national housing* became both a representative type in Korea and a historical product of Korean residential modernism, reflecting compressed economic, social, and cultural transformations. Specifically, *national housing* apartments featuring a 3LDK layout<sup>2</sup> – three rooms together with a living room, dining room, and kitchen – with a floor area of 85 m<sup>2</sup>, were widely recognized as Korean middle class housing from the 1970s onward.

Over time, *national housing* was standardized in public consciousness and institutionalized during the modernization. It functioned not only as a physical model but also as a discursive construct aligned with state agendas. This study uncovers the historical origins of the critical perception of Korean residential culture by examining how national housing emerged as a normative model, and how visual media, used as

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<sup>1</sup>The sources that support the view that contemporary Korean residential culture has often been criticized for its privatized orientation, lack of diversity, weakening of publicness, and speculative character include: I.-S. Park (2013). *Apartment in Korean society: Urban and everyday life locked in the republic of apartment complexes*. Seoul: Hyunamsa; C.-S. Park (2013). *Apartment: A society dominated by public cynicism and private passion*. Seoul: Mati; C.-S. Park (2017). *The museum of dwelling by Cheol-Soo Park*. Seoul: Jip; Gelézeau and Gil (2007). *Republic of apartments: Korean apartments as seen by a French geographer*. Translated by Hye-Yeon Gil. Seoul: Humanitas; Son (2009). *Real estate class society*. Seoul: Humanitas; Jeon, Nam-Il et al. (2008). *Social history of Korean housing*. Paju: Dolbegae.

<sup>2</sup>The term “3LDK” designates a residential floor plan in which the numeral “3” indicates three separate bedrooms, and the letters “L,” “D,” and “K” denote a living room, dining room, and kitchen, respectively. Accordingly, a 3LDK layout refers to a dwelling composed of three bedrooms together with a combined living-dining-kitchen space.

a strategic instrument, functioned in this process. Nevertheless, scholarly engagement with its symbolic and visual dimensions remains limited. Few studies have systematically examined how *national housing* came to serve as both a spatial norm and a cultural symbol.

This study investigates the role of print media, particularly newspapers, in shaping perceptions of *national housing* during Korea's modernization (1940s–1970s). It traces how this residential type evolved from an architectural form into a widely recognized social and cultural symbol. Analyzing how print media promoted *national housing* provides a basis for understanding the housing – media nexus of Korea's modernization and why Korean residential forms became standardized in type and size. The study shows when and how advertisements began influencing public perceptions, thereby contributing to interdisciplinary research linking housing, media, and culture, while also offering insights for strategies that use media to shape future housing environments.

## 1.2. Research methods and framework

This study explores how *national housing* evolved from its 1940s emergence to its 1970s consolidation as dominant apartment housing. Particular attention is paid to newspaper sales announcements,<sup>3</sup> which conveyed state-led messaging and aspirational narratives. These materials are analyzed as visual-textual systems reflecting shifting housing discourses.

The research draws on 127 print cases, including design competitions, sale announcements, and sale advertisements from 1941 to 1980 (Figure 1). Sources span three phases: (1) the late Japanese colonial and

Korea's liberation era (1940s–1950s), using magazines such as *Joseon* (朝鮮) and *Architecture*, competitions, and early newspapers; (2) the expansion of detached *national housing* in the 1960s, based on *Housing* magazine, brochures, and state-issued sales guides; and (3) the institutionalization of apartment housing in the 1970s, following the *Housing Construction Promotion Act* of 1972, when apartment advertisements proliferated in major newspapers.

Methodologically, the study combines a literature review with qualitative visual analysis to assess the symbolic and communicative functions of housing advertisements. The literature review was conducted to trace the historical development of *national housing* and its residential perspectives, while also identifying limitations in existing research, particularly the lack of scholarly attention to its cultural and visual dimensions. Additionally, 127 cases of national housing advertisements and competition announcements were systematically gathered from major newspaper archives, including *Chosun Ilbo* (日報; Daily), *Donga Ilbo*, *Kyunghyang Shinmun* (新聞; Newspaper), and *Maeil Business Newspaper*. To avoid duplication, only one instance was counted when multiple reports of the same case appeared in the same newspaper (Figure 2). These collected cases were then categorized into three chronological phases, providing the empirical foundation for the subsequent visual analysis. Furthermore, the collected visual materials were examined through a theoretical framework informed by Vilém Flusser's concept of image-text dialectics<sup>4</sup> and Allan Paivio's Dual Coding Theory,<sup>5</sup> which provided interpretive tools for understanding how layout, typography, and visual images evolved in response to the socio-historical contexts of each period and the

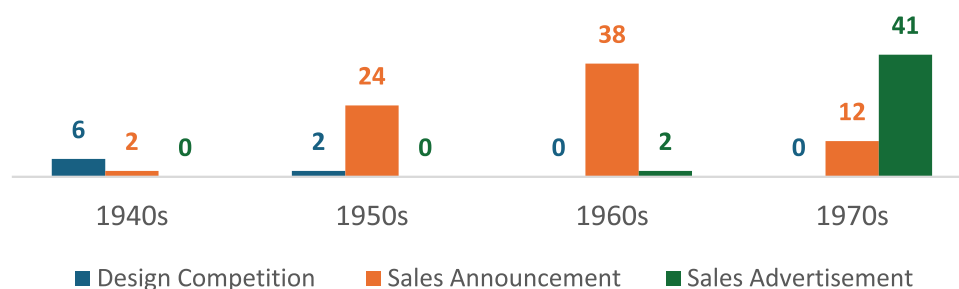


Figure 1. Classification of 127 cases by type and historical period.

<sup>3</sup>In Korea, *national housing* was promoted from the early modernization period by the Korea National Housing Corporation (formerly the Korean Housing Administration). Due to limited government finances and an underdeveloped housing system, housing was primarily supplied through *sales* rather than rental schemes. Revenue from these sales was used to fund subsequent projects or to provide limited rental housing. By the 1970s, as the government recognized the limitations of state-led detached housing supply, it shifted toward private-sector provision of national housing apartments targeting the middle class, while managing the market indirectly through housing finance rather than through direct provision.

<sup>4</sup>In his book *Towards a philosophy of photography*, Flusser conceptualizes the dialectical relationship between images and texts as a historical shift in human consciousness – from symbolic visual representation to abstract textual thought – where both function as mediators between humans and the world, addressing the fundamental issue of human existence.

<sup>5</sup>Dual Coding Theory was first proposed and systematized by Canadian psychologist Allan Paivio in his book *Imagery and Verbal Processes* (Paivio 1971). According to this theory, verbal information and non-verbal information are processed through two distinct channels. Therefore, advertising layouts that effectively combine text and images can create a stronger impression and facilitate longer-lasting recall of the message.

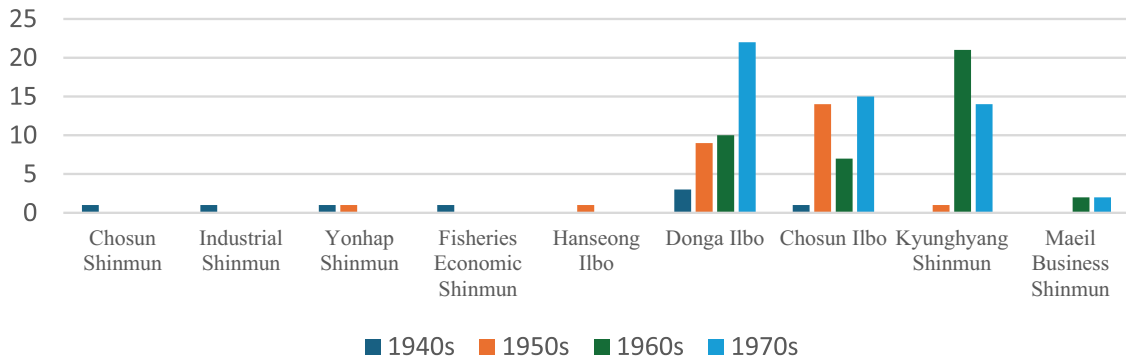


Figure 2. Distribution of cases by Newspaper and decade (1940s-1970s).

meanings they conveyed. Flusser’s idea emphasizes the interaction between visual and textual codes in the creation of meaning, while Paivio’s theory highlights the cognitive impact of combining verbal and non-verbal information. Both concepts are directly relevant to analyzing how housing advertisements convey modern housing ideals.

The analysis focused on layout (organization of information), typography (fonts, hierarchy, spatial arrangement), and images (floor plans, maps, renderings). These were studied in relation to their socio-historical settings. This framework clarifies how *national housing* became discursively and visually embedded in collective imagination, linking state-led housing supply, print media dissemination, and the normalization of apartment living. To illustrate this, Figure 3 situates the methodology within discursive and institutional transformations rather than as mere procedural steps.

## 2. Analysis of previous studies

Research into *national housing* spans diverse topics, including policies, systems, planning, design, residential complexes, housing finance, and rental housing. Although attention to these issues had been fragmented previously, sustained inquiry began in the mid-1970s following the *Housing Construction Promotion Act*. Research in the 1980s refined institutional frameworks, while from the 1990s to 2000s, interest expanded to planning principles, spatial configurations, and historical interpretations. Since the 2010s, attention has shifted toward regionally grounded case studies, rental housing, and user-centered evaluations such as residential satisfaction (Table 1).

This study identifies a key limitation in prior literature: the predominance of policy-technical analysis over cultural or visual interpretations of *national housing*. Particularly within modernism in Korean urban architecture, *national housing* has often been treated

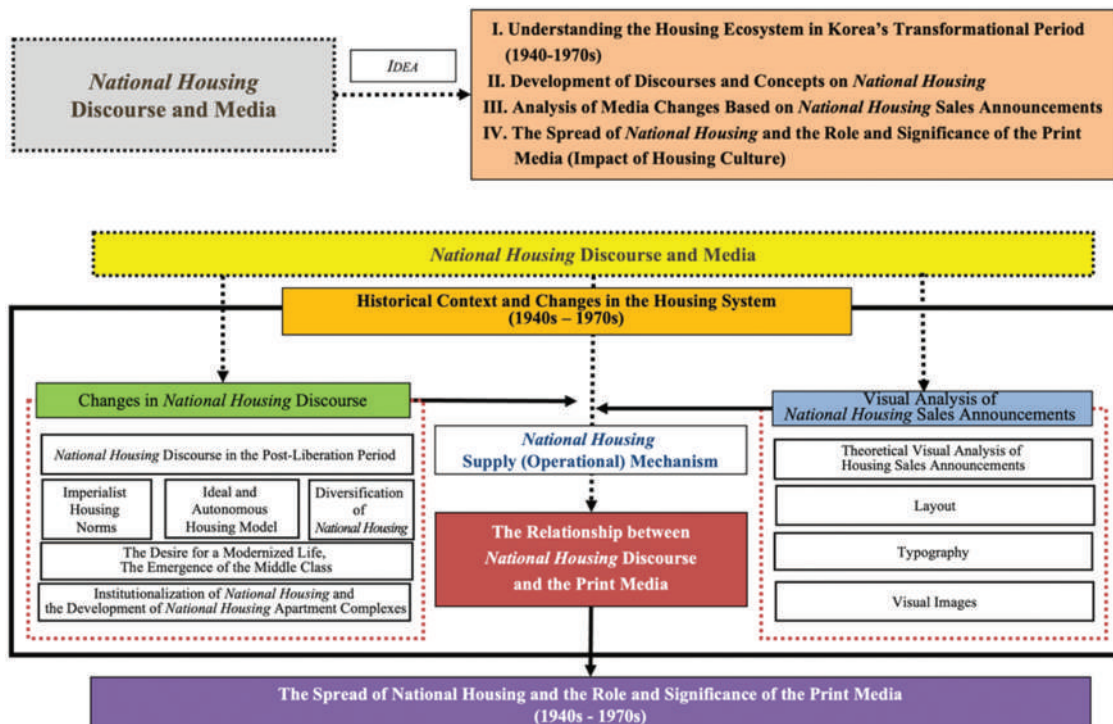


Figure 3. Methodological framework within discursive and institutional transformations of national housing.

**Table 1.** Trends in national housing research by period.

Period under Analysis	Major Research Areas	Representative Researchers & Studies (publication year)	Characteristics
Mid-1970s to Early 1980s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Research on appropriate housing scales</li> <li>● Research on facility standards</li> <li>● Research on standard design</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● C.-H. Cho (1978): National Housing Standard Design</li> <li>● M.-S. Shin (1981): Study on National Housing Issues</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Early research following the enactment of the <i>Housing Construction Promotion Act</i></li> <li>● Government-led research initiatives</li> </ul>
1980s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● National housing policies and systems</li> <li>● Residential perceptions of occupants</li> <li>● National housing funding</li> <li>● Sales, advertising, and marketing</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● K.-H. Kim (1982); S.-J. Cho (1983); Jung (1986): National housing policies and systems</li> <li>● Cha (1986): Residential Awareness</li> <li>● Korea National Housing Corporation Housing Research Institute (1987): Sales and Advertising</li> <li>● G.-B. Lee (1987); H.-J. Park (1988): National housing funding</li> <li>● H.-K. Lee (1989): Marketing</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Expansion of research scope</li> <li>● Focus on policies, systems, and finance</li> <li>● Research extends to residential consciousness and marketing</li> </ul>
1990s to 2000s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Spatial transformation of detached houses</li> <li>● Changes in housing complexes</li> <li>● Apartment size and layout planning</li> <li>● Studies on interior spaces</li> <li>● Competitions for housing design</li> <li>● Examination of historical significance</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● H.-S. Kim (1990); C. R. Park (1990): Detached Houses</li> <li>● J.-C. Cho (1992); Choi (1992): Apartment Scale</li> <li>● Y.-O. Kim (1993); Kwak (1993): Spatial Transformation</li> <li>● Y.-H. Lee (1993); Suh (2004): Design Competitions</li> <li>● H. S. Kim (2003); J.-H. Lee and Lee (2010): Spatial Characteristics</li> <li>● Y.-B. Kim (2011): The Historical Significance</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Comprehensive research on planning</li> <li>● Differentiating detached houses from apartments</li> <li>● Focus on floor plan organization and spatial attributes</li> <li>● Analysis of emerging historical contexts</li> </ul>
2010s and beyond	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Investigations of national housing projects in specific regions</li> <li>● National rental housing policies</li> <li>● Standards for planning and Facilities</li> <li>● Analysis of floor plans</li> <li>● Residential satisfaction</li> <li>● <i>National housing</i> policy and legislation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Gwon, Kim, and Jun (2011): <i>Jangwi-dong</i></li> <li>● Kim et al. (2011): National Housing Policy</li> <li>● Ju (2012); Ham (2016): <i>Ihwa-dong</i></li> <li>● S.-W. Lee, Kim, and Jun (2018): <i>Suyu-dong</i></li> <li>● J.-U. Kim (2011): Land Public Law Studies</li> <li>● Pak and Jeong (2019): <i>Janghang-eup</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Establishment of localized studies</li> <li>● Focus on detached housing-based national housing complexes</li> <li>● Expansion of research on national rental housing</li> <li>● Limited research subjects</li> <li>● Sustained research on <i>national housing</i> policy and legislation</li> </ul>

only briefly or as a subcategory of other housing types.<sup>6</sup> This study redefines its significance in the broader history of modern Korean residential development. By linking the standardization of national housing to distinct historical intervals and analyzing it through visual and discursive perspectives, this study highlights its role as a universally valid housing model – a central goal and distinctive feature of this research.

Research on mass media and housing content has primarily focused on specific media types (newspapers, magazines, and television) and on apartments (Table 2). This study distinguishes itself by examining *national housing* across historical periods, tracing the transition from detached houses to apartments, and assessing how the dissemination of *national housing* was shaped by evolving sales announcements and

advertisements. Through this approach, this study extends beyond previous research.

### 3. Development of the national housing discourse before and after Korea's liberation

#### 3.1. Housing norms for the cultivation of imperial subjects

During the Japanese colonial period, Japan sought to justify its colonization of *Joseon* by proclaiming its *civilizational* superiority and transforming the households of *Joseon* people under the imperial gaze. *National housing* discourse crystallized in the 1940s amid wartime mobilization, with architecture positioned as a tool for managing emergency conditions. In 1942, the Architectural Association of *Joseon*<sup>7</sup> com-

<sup>6</sup>Studies that have addressed *national housing* as a subcategory of urban housing or urban detached housing include those by Cho, Yong-Hoon (1984), Yim (1988), and Yoo, Jae-Woo (2012). J.-W. Yoo, Chun, and Ye (2009) categorized *national housing* as a subcategory of public housing, whereas Kwon (2013) classified it as a subcategory of multi-family housing. In this study, *public housing* refers to housing broadly operated or managed by the public sector, either directly or indirectly, while *national housing* denotes housing supplied through public financial resources, in both for-sale and rental forms.

<sup>7</sup>According to *the Encyclopedia of Korean Culture*, the Architectural Association of *Joseon* was an architectural professional organization founded in 1922 under the colonial policies of the Japanese Government-General of Korea, primarily comprising Japanese architectural professionals, including government architectural officials, architects, contractors, and building material suppliers. Over the course of 22 years, the association published a trade magazine titled *Joseon and Architecture*, which served as a medium for exchanging comprehensive information regarding urban planning, architecture, and housing in *Joseon*, as well as for promoting research findings, surveys, and architectural activities.

**Table 2.** Trends in housing sales announcements and advertisement research.

Period	Major research areas	Representative researchers	Characteristics
Mid- to Late 1990s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Quantitative analysis of sales advertisements</li> <li>● Statistical analysis of newspaper advertisements</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Y.-J. Shin (1996)</li> <li>● H. K. Shin (1998)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● The pre-branding era of apartments</li> <li>● Emphasis on statistical and model-based analyses</li> <li>● Dominance of quantitative methodologies</li> </ul>
Early to Mid-2000s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Architectural characteristics of apartments</li> <li>● Residential culture</li> <li>● Factors influencing residential environments</li> <li>● Social differentiation</li> <li>● Planning aspects of sales announcements</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● S. E. Kim (2000)</li> <li>● C. Shin (2003)</li> <li>● Ji (2003)</li> <li>● Hong, Kang, and Lee (2004)</li> <li>● Y. H. Kim (2005)</li> <li>● C.-S. Park (2008)</li> <li>● Jang (2008)</li> <li>● Seo and Oh (2009)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Expansion of research scope</li> <li>● Concentrate on specific factors</li> <li>● Heightened attention to imagery and societal issues</li> <li>● Shift towards an internal analytical approach</li> </ul>
Late 2000s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Analysis of the characteristics of sales announcements</li> <li>● Analysis of TV advertisements</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Y. H. Kim (2005)</li> <li>● C.-S. Park (2008)</li> <li>● Jang (2008)</li> <li>● Seo and Oh (2009)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Media diversification</li> <li>● Expansion from newspapers and other print media to TV</li> <li>● Enhanced analysis of sales characteristics</li> </ul>
2010s and beyond	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Planning elements in branded apartments</li> <li>● Evolution of residential functions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Ryoo (2010)</li> <li>● J.-S. Kim and Kim (2018)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Emphasis on branded apartments</li> <li>● Analysis of transformation processes</li> <li>● Broadening of previous research contexts</li> </ul>

memorated its 20th anniversary by organizing *National Housing Design Plans Built in Cities* competition, influenced by Japanese debates on national housing.

Unlike earlier competitions, this competition did not require specifications such as family size, construction costs, or actual site locations. Scaled at 65m<sup>2</sup>—half the Japanese middle class *national housing* model (130m<sup>2</sup> for a family of seven) – the design underscored the distinction between Japanese nationals and colonial subjects, positioning *national housing* as accommodation for the subjugated classes of the empire and highlighted material conservation in response to wartime scarcities.

The winning designs featured Japanese-style wooden houses (木造平家建) with tiled roofs, some incorporating *ondol* (溫突, a traditional Korean underfloor heating system) into the *chanoma* (茶の間)<sup>8</sup> to better suit the Korean climate. The first- and second-prize entries showcased symmetrically arranged detached houses surrounding shared communal facilities, while the third-prize design integrated detached houses of varying heights and functions. Drawing inspiration from the Japanese corridor-type dwelling, these hybrids combined Korean *ondol*, Japanese layouts, and Western-style reception rooms. The plans positioned main rooms at the front and service spaces at the back, connected by sliding doors and corridors,

thereby promoting a family-centered living environment (Table 3).

During the wartime regime, Japan consolidated its national mobilization system by setting new housing standards<sup>9</sup> (Suh 2004). The Architectural Association of Joseon treated colonial subjects as imperial citizens and promoted design competitions as tools for both economic mobilization and urban housing relief. To embed these ideals in society, the Association widely publicized the 1942 competition in *Joseon and Architecture* (Figure 4) and newspapers, and organized an exhibition at the *Jojiya* (丁子屋) department store (Toru and Lee 2003)<sup>10</sup> (Figure 5) in Gyeongseong (京城), featuring models, discussions, and critiques<sup>11</sup> (Figure 6). These events maximized public impact by linking architecture with media and modern exhibition spaces, reinforcing national housing discourse and promoting the internalization of lifestyle norms expected of imperial citizens.

### 3.2. Self-reliant and ideal national housing models after Korea's liberation

After Korea's liberation in 1945, a new competition titled "National Housing Design Plans" was launched


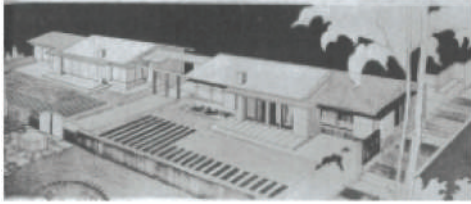
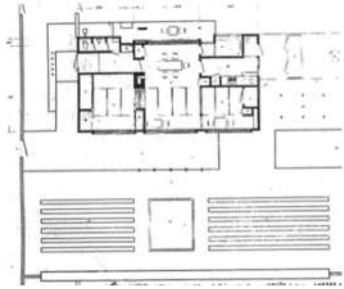
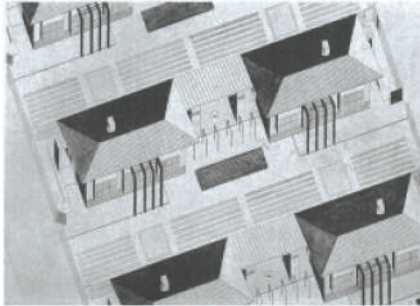


<sup>8</sup>A traditional Japanese family living room, typically a tatami-floored space with a low table (*chabudai*), serving as the everyday communal area for dining, conversation, and relaxation; distinct from the formal *chashitsu* (tea ceremony room).

<sup>9</sup>See Kuee Sook Suh, "The Research on the Modernization of House through The Architectural Association of Chosun – Four Competitions of House Design published in *Chosun and Architecture* during 1922–1944." *Journal of the Korean Housing Association* 15(1), February 2004, pp. 65–67. In the design competitions, both family size and construction costs were clearly stipulated, whereas constraints on facilities and equipment were minimal. Discussions by the Architectural Association of Joseon regarding housing improvement in Joseon transitioned from passive exchanges of individual member opinions in the 1920s to more structured, organization-level debates following the 1931 symposium on Improvement of Joseon-style Housing Construction. Subsequently, as part of the association's 15th anniversary projects in 1937, a design competition titled Housing Architectural Designs in Japanese and Joseon Styles was held. Under the wartime mobilization system implemented in the late 1930s, this initiative continued with the Small Housing Design Competition in 1939 and the National Housing Design Competition in 1942.

<sup>10</sup>See Hatsuda Toru, *Department Stores*, translated by Tae-Mun Lee, Seoul: Nonhyung, 2003, pp. 170–173. At the time, department stores actively organized special events to attract customers and directly or indirectly increase sales. They hosted a variety of cultural and artistic exhibitions, including home-life exhibitions, showcases, art exhibitions, and concerts.

<sup>11</sup>The exhibition featured eight sections showcasing winning design proposals and models from the 1942 competition. Before the exhibition, a panel discussion titled "Critique of Winning National Housing Designs" was held on September 23, 1942, with the proceedings recorded and later published in the magazine *Joseon and Architecture*. During the exhibition, another discussion, "National Housing Exhibition Implementation Committee Roundtable," took place on November 7, 1942, providing insights into the exhibition's content, process, and significance. Numerous promotional materials related to the design competition were distributed through print media, enhancing the impact and reach of its achievements and implications.

**Table 3.** Winning entries of the national housing design competition for Urban construction (1942).

Category	Scale & Features	Floor plan	Perspective view
1st prize	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Two-house combination with shared entrance space</li> <li>● Site area: E-W 14m, N-S 15m (210m<sup>2</sup>)</li> <li>● Building area: 64.98m<sup>2</sup></li> <li>● Household composition: couple + three children (family of 5)</li> </ul>		
2nd prize	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Two-house combination with shared entrance space</li> <li>● Site area: 364m<sup>2</sup></li> <li>● Building area: 64.9467m<sup>2</sup></li> <li>● Household composition: couple + three children (family of 5)</li> </ul>		
3rd prize	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Detached house</li> <li>● Site area: 248m<sup>2</sup></li> <li>● Building area: 64.56m<sup>2</sup></li> </ul>		

[Source: Architectural Association of Joseon, *Joseon and Architecture* 21(10), October 1942, plates].

under the the U.S. Military Government's "Plan to Construct 10,000 Houses,"<sup>12</sup> seeking residential forms distinct from colonial models. Sponsored by the *Joseon* Housing Corporation and the Urban Planning Research Association,<sup>13</sup> it encouraged designs attuned to the daily lives of ordinary people.

Winning entries of the competition discarded Japanese-style forms, adopting functionalist floor plans that accommodated Korea's climate and cultural sensibilities (Jeong 1970). The competition also enhanced awareness among emergent architects about designing homes that addressed citizens's needs (Y.-H. Shin, Lee, and Kim 2001). Detached houses of 15, 20, and 25 *pyeong* (坪; 49.5 m<sup>2</sup>, 66 m<sup>2</sup>, 82.5 m<sup>2</sup>) feature varying numbers of bedrooms to accommodate diverse family sizes (Table 4). These homes utilize corridor-type layouts that blend traditional Korean *ondol* with Western and Japanese style elements.<sup>14</sup> The central living room

(*maru-bang*, 板房) is flanked by *ondol* rooms creating a spatial composition that bridges tradition and modernity. This design approach reflects the influence of Gil-ryong Park's housing improvement theory and the rational, centralized floor plan principles derived from Western functionalism.

The competition's details – including guidelines, participants, and the award ceremony – were publicized in newspapers<sup>15</sup> (Figure 7). Critiques and design plates were featured in *Joseon and Architecture*, while winning designs were exhibited at the Central department store (formerly *Jojiya* department store), shaping public perceptions of the new nation.

Immediately after Korea's liberation, discourse on *national housing* evolved through competitions, activities of research committees, and pilot construction projects led by architects. Newspapers, architectural magazines, and exhibitions promoted these efforts,

<sup>12</sup>In 1946, the U.S. Military Government formulated a plan to construct 10,000 housing units and allocated 6.5 million won to the Korean Housing Administration. However, when the corporation failed to implement the plan, the Military Government reclaimed the 6.5 million won.

<sup>13</sup>The Urban Planning Research Association, established in 1946 by Cheon-seung Lee and Hee-tae Lee, was a research institute that dealt with urban and housing issues in Korea after liberation.

<sup>14</sup>See S.-H. Yoo (1947) "On the Judging of the National Housing Design Competition Submissions," *Joseon Architecture*, 1(1), Joseon Architectural Technology Group, March 1947, pp. 27–28.

<sup>15</sup>The following newspapers featured sales announcements about design competition guidelines, lists of awardees, and award ceremonies: "Guidelines for the National Housing Design Competition," *Dong-A Ilbo*, January 27, 1946; "List of Winners in the National Housing Design Competition," *Gongup Sinmun*, March 5, 1946; "Award Ceremony for Winners of the National Housing Design Competition," *Gongup Sinmun*, March 19, 1946.

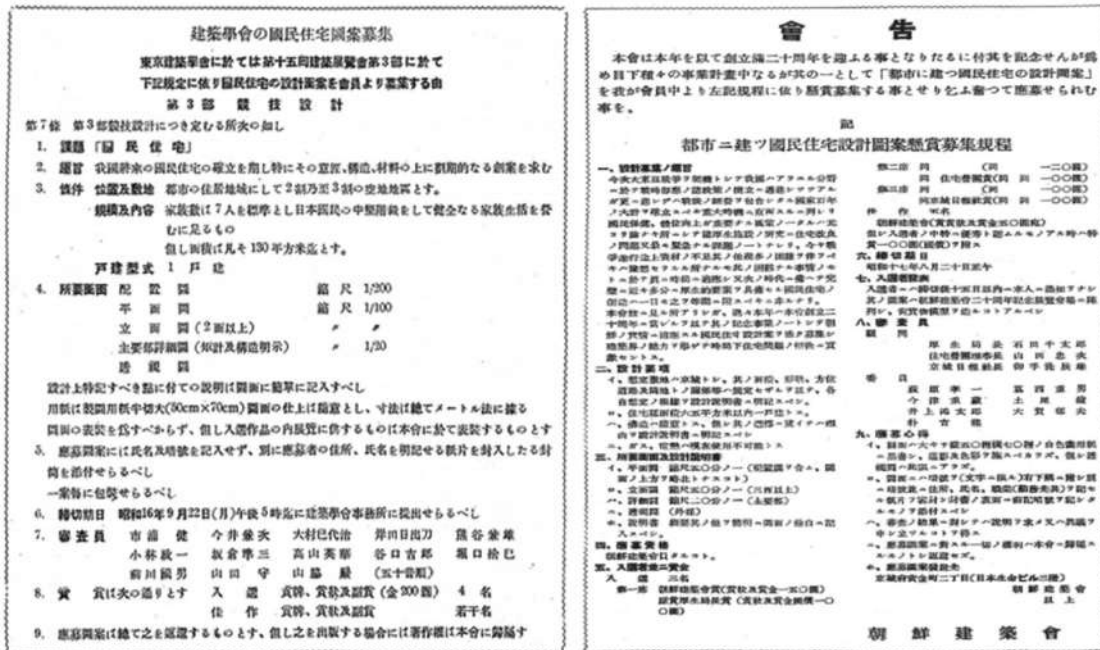


Figure 4. National housing design competition by the Tokyo Architectural Association. [Source: Architectural Association of Joseon, Joseon and Architecture 20(7), July 1941, p.29.] (Left). Guidelines for the national housing design competition in urban construction. [Source: Architectural Association of Joseon, Joseon and Architecture 21(6), June 1942, announcements] (Right).



Figure 5. Gyeongseong Jojiya department store [Source: land & housing museum, postcard photograph, 1937.].

giving tangible form to national housing and broadening its impact. The architectural community leveraged the competition to propose lifestyles merging traditional, Western, and Japanese influences. From this moment, *national housing* ceased to denote colonial imperial subjecthood, emerging instead as an ideal, self-reliant model reflecting the aspirations of

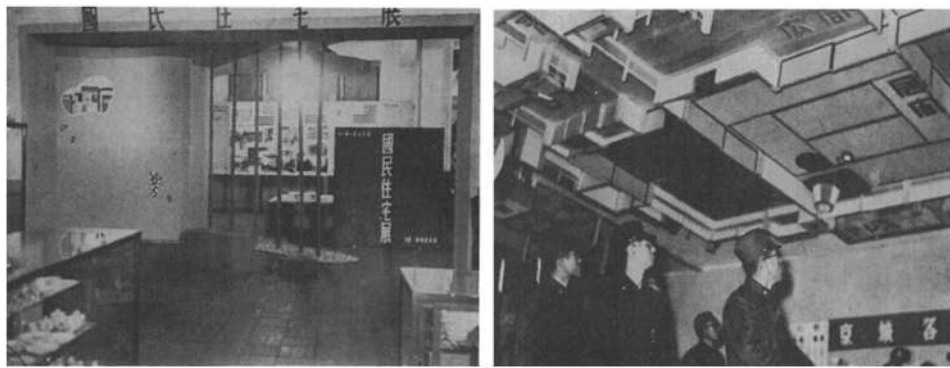
a newly independent nation striving for a better future amid political and social upheaval.

### 3.3. Differentiation of fragmented national housing reflecting the turbulent era after the establishment of the Republic of Korea government

From 1948, through the late 1950s, *national housing* diversified under the Syngman Rhee administration, shaped by foreign aid and Korean war. Projects reflected varying funding sources, construction aims, and implementing organizations, producing fragmented forms that mirrored turbulent historical conditions.<sup>16</sup>

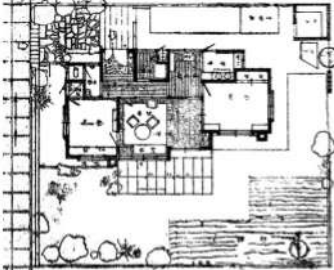
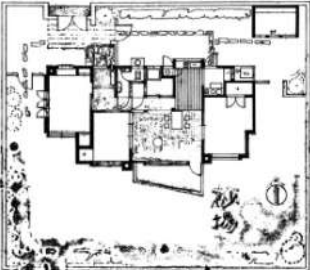

In 1949, the Ministry of Social Affairs' Housing Bureau invited public submissions for "Standard Design Plans for *National Housing*",<sup>17</sup> while the Seoul New Life Promotion Association held a competition emphasizing modern lifestyles and prioritizing economic feasibility, aesthetics, and hygiene.<sup>18</sup> At that time, construction was often outsourced to private organizations supported by government-backed

<sup>16</sup>The Korean War influenced this era, leading to a diversification of *national housing* that reflected the turbulent socio-political landscape. During this period, most *national housing* projects were funded by foreign aid and varied in character depending on the source of the funds, construction objectives, and implementing organizations. As a result, *national housing* became a fragmented concept shaped by the unique historical circumstances of the time.  
<sup>17</sup>See the following newspapers: "Competition for Standardized National Housing Designs," *Yonhap Sinmun*, March 10, 1949; "Housing Design Competition," *Kyunghyang Sinmun*, March 15, 1949.  
<sup>18</sup>In the case of local governments, Seoul Metropolitan City, through the Seoul New Lifestyle Promotion Association, organized a competition in June of the same year for *National Housing* designs that best aligned with modern lifestyles and were economically, aesthetically, and hygienically appropriate. In October of the same year, it was reported that 30 units of National Housing had been experimentally constructed. ("National Housing Design Competition by the City's New Lifestyle Promotion Association," *Dong-A Ilbo*, June 6, 1949; "Promotion of New Lifestyle National Housing Design Plans," *Hanseong Ilbo*, September 2, 1949; "National Housing Construction by the New Lifestyle Promotion Association," *Chosun Ilbo*, October 11, 1949; "Construction of National Housing," *Jayu Sinmun*, October 11, 1949.). In the immediate aftermath of the Korean War, *national housing* was referred to as "National Reconstruction Housing," indicating a reconstruction effort supported by foreign aid to address the severe housing shortages caused by wartime destruction. From the mid-1950s onward, it was also called "National Welfare Housing" or simply "Welfare Housing," reflecting its role in providing housing on a welfare basis for social relief beneficiaries or specific groups affected by the war.



**Figure 6.** Exhibition hall and full-scale ceiling model of the national housing exhibition (November 1–8, 1942). [Source: Architectural Association of Joseon, Joseon and Architecture 21(11), November 1942, Plates.].

**Table 4.** Winning plans of the national housing design competition (1945).

Category	Type 1 (15 pyeong/49.5 m <sup>2</sup> )	Type 2 (20 pyeong/66 m <sup>2</sup> )	Type 3 (25 pyeong/82.5 m <sup>2</sup> )
Floor Plan			

[Source: Y.-B. Kim (2011) "A study on the housing competition promoted by Cho-Sun Architectural Engineering Group in 1946," *Journal of the Korean Housing Association*, 22(6), December 2011, pp. 25–26, p. 29, re-cited; S.-H. Yoo (1947) "On the Judging of the National Housing Design Competition Submissions," *Joseon Architecture*, 1(1), Joseon Architectural Technology Group, March 1947, pp. 28–31.].

loans, while provincial budgets facilitated locally adapted projects. *National housing* thus became a widely used term across government, local, and private organizations (Figure 8).

During the Korean War, housing constructed with UN and UNCACK aid (Heo 2006)<sup>19</sup> was also identified as *national housing* (Figure 9). In 1953, the application guidelines for *national housing* were issued for the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA)-supported projects, and variants such as *National Reconstruction Housing*, *National Welfare Housing*, and *Recovery Housing* (Figure 10).<sup>20</sup> President Rhee's plan for "one million national houses"<sup>21</sup> further shaped public discourse.

Most dwellings were small-scale, row-type units (Table 5),<sup>22</sup> built to minimum residential standards with an emphasis on efficiency. Their layouts centered around a *daecheong* (大廳, main hall), with *ondol* rooms at the front and service areas such as kitchens, restrooms, and entrances at the rear. A narrow interior corridor (東複道) facilitated circulation, reflecting Japanese influence,<sup>23</sup> while north-side entrances incorporated Western planning principles. These features resulted in hybrid, transitional forms shaped by the constraints of war and foreign aid.

During this period, the Republic of Korea pursued housing policies linked to national reconstruction and economic recovery. As a result, discourse on national

<sup>19</sup>See Eun Heo, "The bio-politics practiced by the United States during the early 1950s and the establishment of its hegemony over Korean society," *Journal of Korean History*, 133, June 2006, p. 180. It was an agency under the United Nations responsible for relief and short-term recovery efforts. During the Korean War, when direct UN financial aid was unavailable, this agency served as a channel through which UN member countries could provide food, supplies, and technical support to Korea. Following the armistice agreement in 1953, the responsibilities of the United Nations Civil Assistance Command in Korea (UNCACK) were transferred to the Korean Civil Assistance Command (KCAC).

<sup>20</sup>See the following newspapers: "Allocation of *National Welfare Housing* by Province," *Dong-A Ilbo*, December 9, 1951; "23,000 Units of *Welfare Housing*," *Dong-A Ilbo*, March 6, 1953.

<sup>21</sup>See the following newspapers: "Construction of One Million Housing Units," *Dong-A Ilbo*, September 18, 1953; "The Resounding Hammer of Construction," *Kyunghyang Sinmun*, January 3, 1954.

<sup>22</sup>In the case of the 12-pyeong type (約 39.6m<sup>2</sup>) of *National Reconstruction Housing*, the plan was designed as a rectangular layout measuring 27 feet in width and 16 feet in depth.

<sup>23</sup>A narrow interior corridor, known as *sok-bokdo* (東複道), connected to the entrance and served as circulation between the *daecheong*, *ondol*, and other rooms, reflecting the influence of Japanese residential layouts.





Figure 10. Sales announcement of national reconstruction housing recruitment by the Korean housing Administration [Source: Kyunghyang Shinmun, March 11, 1956].

Table 5. Floor plan, spatial organization, and circulation System of national reconstruction housing (1956, 12 pyeong).

Category	Floor Plan	Spatial Organization and Circulation System
Image		

#### 4. The desire for a modernized life and the emergence of the middle class

##### 4.1. Standardized national housing representing modernized life

During the 1960s, Seoul faced severe housing shortages due to rapid population growth driven by modernization and industrialization. To address this shortage, the government, through the Korea National Housing Corporation (formerly the Korean Housing Administration), promoted standardized national housing. The first national housing project began in 1959, followed by the principle of building

“better houses, at lower costs, and in greater quantities” (Y.-G. Kim 1959), focusing on mass production for ordinary citizens (Figure 13). From this period, national housing incorporated cultural elements, adding a new dimension to Korean housing history (K.-T. Kim 1964). It was recognized as an efficient and cost-effective solution for the public.

Since the 1950s, the Corporation had worked to standardize designs of diverse residential types—row houses, prototype houses, reconstruction houses, national reconstruction houses, and small-scale national housing<sup>24</sup>—seeking mass production through standardization. Annual design plans for national housing emphasized

<sup>24</sup>In the 1950s, the Korean Housing Administration sought to standardize diverse housing types for mass supply. Row houses referred to two-unit dwellings sharing a common party wall. Prototype houses were model units built to exemplify new residential standards and enable mass production. Reconstruction houses and National Reconstruction Housing were built with foreign aid in the immediate aftermath of the Korean War to address wartime housing shortages. Small-scale national housing denoted units of about 10 pyeong (33 m<sup>2</sup>), smaller than the typical national housing of the time.

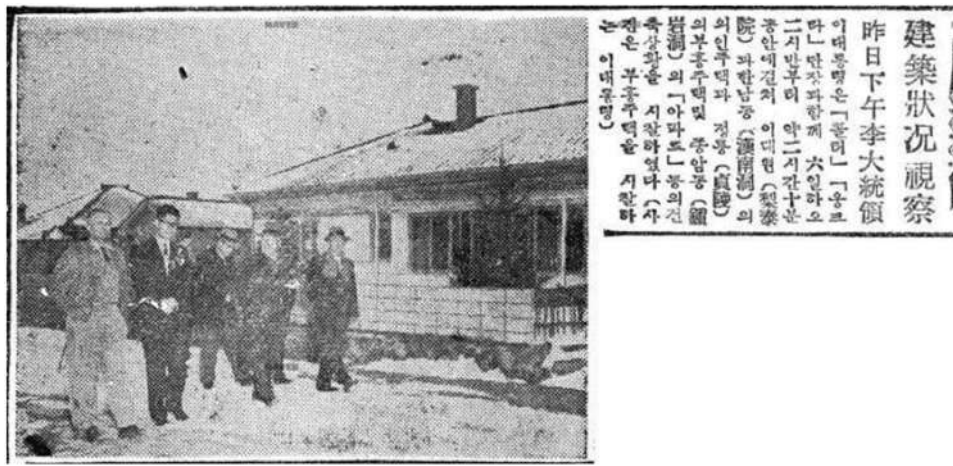


Figure 11. "Inspection of housing construction progress" [Source: Chosun Ilbo, January 7, 1958].



Figure 12. President Syngman Rhee inspecting welfare housing [Source: Chosun Ilbo, April 25, 1958].

efficiency and practicality with straightforward layouts,<sup>25</sup> later implemented nationwide.<sup>26</sup> Continued regulation of design documents supported expansion of the housing supply and laid the basis for nationwide mass production.

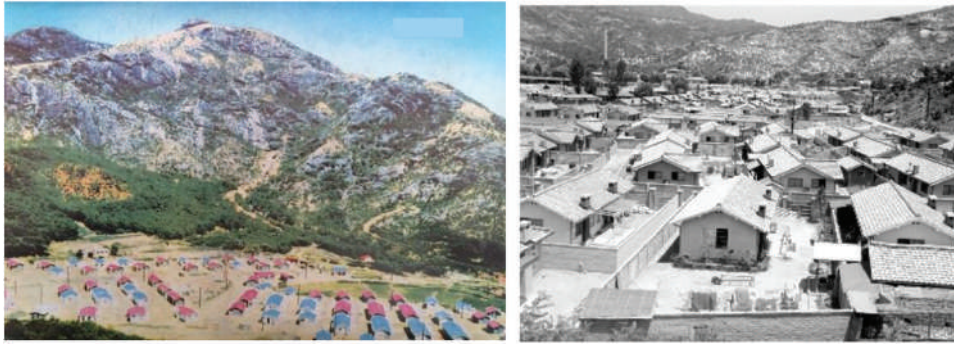
In the 1960s, *national housing* was envisioned as affordable housing for the working class, produced en masse through simplified designs, standardized forms, and regulation. Initially, detached and row houses were provided, but over time, they evolved into elongated rectangular floor plans with gabled

roofs. Centralized designs featuring *maru-bang* fronts became prevalent, while windows and doors were standardized according to the function of each room (Table 6). This spatial organization merged a traditional single-row front section with Western and Japanese-inspired rear double-row layouts. This new approach blended tradition and modernity by separating construction from living spaces, differentiating rooms by their functions, and incorporating sanitary facilities.

During this period, *national housing* was publicized widely through newspapers and magazines. Citizens

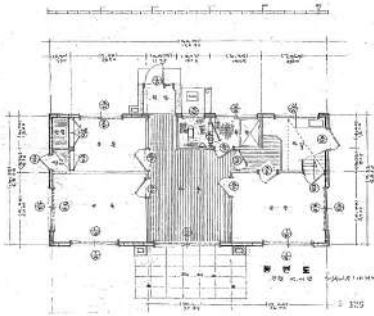
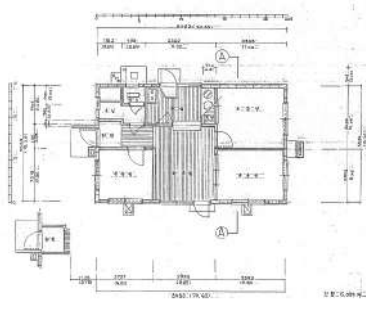
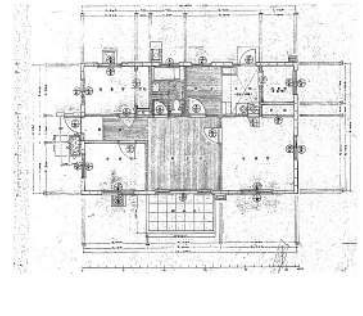
<sup>25</sup>The organization began its annual production of design plans for *national housing*, focusing on economic efficiency and practicality with straightforward floor plans. See Architectural Research Department, Housing Issues Research Institute. 1963. "Regarding National Housing." *Housing* 12: p. 35: "Infinite occupants, infinite individual demands, thus infinite construction conditions – the only solution satisfying these conditions is the floor plan itself." At the time, the goal of national housing construction was to build economically, aesthetically, and hygienically suitable homes.

<sup>26</sup>The standardized designs were implemented nationwide, focusing on public housing and expanding each year. Housing projects were largely based on standardized national housing designs until the mid-1960s, and in some residential complexes, these standards persisted into the early 1970s. For instance, in the early 1970s, the construction of housing complexes, including those from the 1960s such as *Sanggye-dong* and *Yeongdeungpo-gu*, followed these standardized plans.



**Figure 13.** Perspective drawing and view of Bulgwang-dong national (welfare) housing complex. [Source: Korean Housing Administration, *House & Home* 1, July 1959 (Left)/Photo gallery, National Archives of Korea, June 1960 (Right).].

**Table 6.** Major floor plans of national housing in the 1960s.

Catego-ry	1962 National Housing, 15-pyeong type (49.5m <sup>2</sup> )	1964 National Housing, 15-pyeong type (49.5m <sup>2</sup> )	1968 National Housing, 20-pyeong type (66m <sup>2</sup> )
Floor Plan			

[Source: Korea National Housing Corporation (1962, 1964, and 1968).].

accessed information via sales announcements and locally distributed leaflets (Figures 14 and 15). In 1962, under the First Five-Year Economic Development Plan, the government launched a housing construction scheme aiming for “one household, one house,” advancing proactive policy (Korea Housing Finance Corporation 2016; Korea National Housing Corporation 1979).<sup>27</sup> The strategy emphasized mass production of affordable, standardized, high-quality *national housing* in varying sizes to accommodate households nationwide, seeking to enable homeownership (Figure 16).

As national housing was supplied as public housing by the Corporation, dissemination of information through print media framed it as a feasible option for universal housing.

#### 4.2. The national development strategy and the emergence of the middle class

From the 1960s to the 1970s, Korea underwent rapid political, economic, and social change. The state framed citizens as both agents and subjects of modernization, with national identity serving as a public narrative supporting Park Chung-hee’s regime. Citizens were mobilized as drivers of growth, with acceptance of state authority demanded. This rhetoric led to social tensions, with anti-government protests intensifying after opposition to the 1964 Korea-Japan Treaty.<sup>28</sup>

By the mid-1960s, facing domestic and international challenges (H.-Y. Cho 2007),<sup>29</sup> the government advanced the concept of a “middle class,” arguing that cultivating it was vital to democracy. Within centralized

<sup>27</sup>See Korea Housing Finance Corporation, *Seventy Years of Housing Finance in Korea*, 2016, pp. 36–37. In the 1960s, various housing-related laws were enacted or revised, including the Housing Corporation Act, Public Housing Act, Building Act, Urban Planning Act, and Housing Fund Management Act (1963), as well as the Korea National Housing Corporation Act and the Housing Funds Operation Act (1963), and the Land Expropriation Act. In 1962, the government reorganized the National Land Development Agency into the Ministry of Construction, linking housing construction to broader national economic development.

<sup>28</sup>In the mid-1960s, Korean society entered a period of escalating anti-government movements and social unrest triggered by events such as the protests against the Korea-Japan Treaty starting in 1964, normalization of diplomatic relations between Korea and Japan (1965), the Blue House Raid (1968), the Nixon Doctrine (1969), protests against the constitutional amendment allowing a third presidential term (1969), the self-immolation of Jeon Tae-il (1970), the collapse of the *Wau* Apartments (1970), and the *Gwangju* Housing Complex Incident (1971).

<sup>29</sup>See Hee-yeon Jo, *Park Chung-hee and the Developmental Dictatorship Era: From May 16 to October 26*, Seoul: Yeoksabipyongsa, 2007, p. 144. During the 1960s, Park Chung-hee’s regime consistently faced crises, indicated by frequent declarations of martial law and emergency measures.

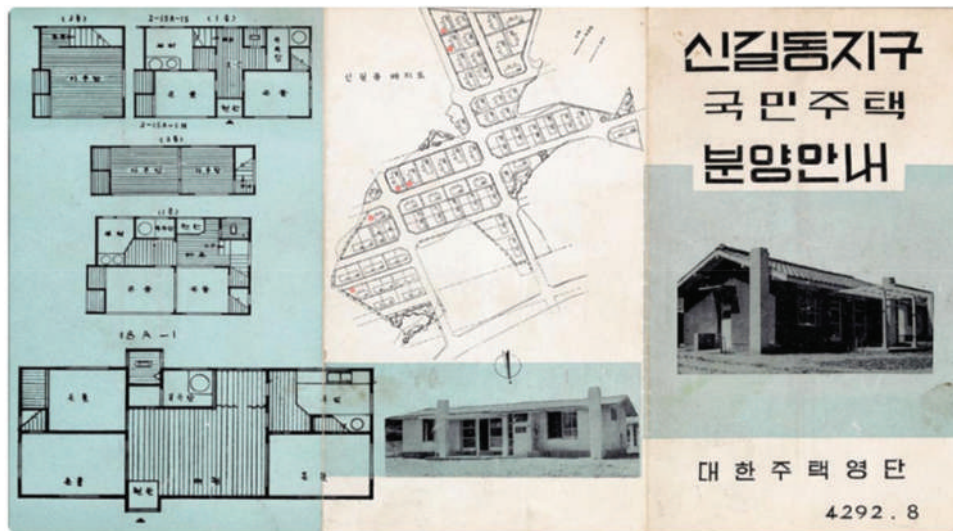


Figure 14. National housing sales information leaflet for Singil-dong, 1959 [Source: land & housing museum].



Figure 15. Cover image of housing magazine [Source: Korea national housing Corporation, House & home 9, August 1962].

governance, the selectively defined middle class became a strategic base to bolster the authoritarian regime. Housing policy prioritized homeownership via supply-driven approaches emphasizing quantitative production under the “one household, one house” policy. This primarily targeted the middle class, who had resources to buy homes, rather than working class households (Figure 17).

Housing provision followed a dual system: the government supplied *national housing* and apartments of 15 *pyeong* (49.5 m<sup>2</sup>) or larger to the middle class, while local governments handled citizen apartments and small-scale housing for workers. Yet private developers dominated supply, focusing on mid-income housing, which was more profitable and less reliant on state subsidies (Figure 18). Consequently, low-income

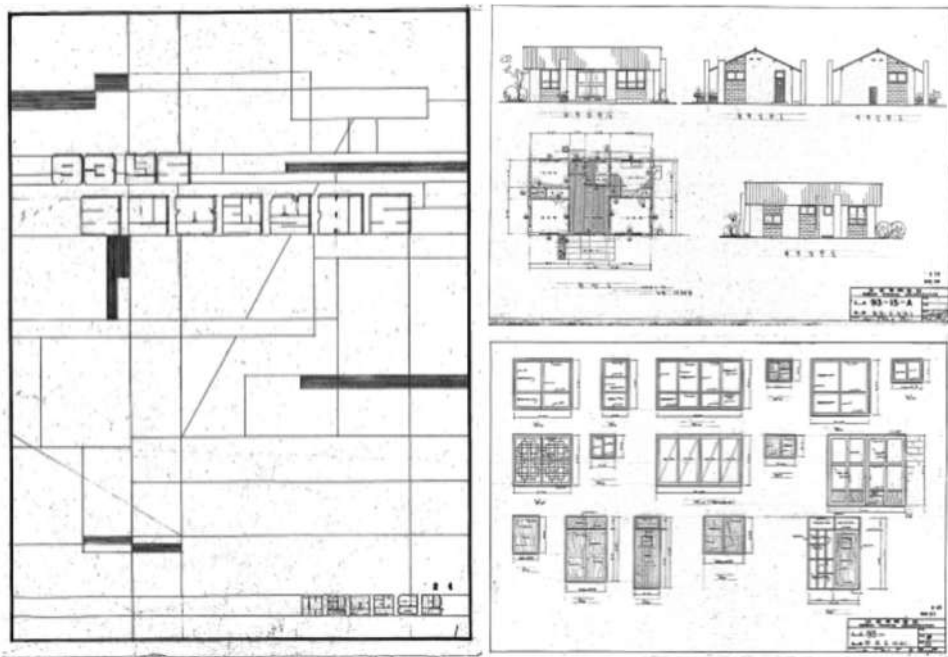


Figure 16. Cover of 1960 national housing designs (left), standard plan for type 15-pyeong a (93-15-A) (top Right), and common window specifications (bottom Right). [Source: Korean housing Administration (1960)].



Figure 17. “Low-cost housing design” (left) and national housing sales information. [Source: Kyunghyang Shinmun, April 11, 1962 (Left); Kyunghyang Shinmun, July 29, 1963 (Right)].



Figure 18. Sales advertisement for Gaebong-dong private-sector housing (national housing). [Source: Dong-A Ilbo, August 25, 1969].

housing was neglected. Over time, *national housing* bifurcated by size and type, splitting into detached/row houses and apartments.

During this transitional phase, policy shifted from the *Public Housing Act* to the *Housing Construction Promotion Act*. *National housing* discourse grew more

complex, stratified by type and size, and aligned with the emergence of middle class apartments. Debates arose over appropriate housing models for the middle class and how to reform the housing system to better support their supply.

## 5. Institutionalization of national housing and the supply of national housing apartment complexes

### 5.1. Institutionalization of national housing and the formation of a size-based housing supply system

In 1972, the *Housing Construction Promotion Act* codified the legal definition of *national housing*,<sup>30</sup> shifting from public housing to a standardized system based on housing size and type. This marked a transition toward apartment-type housing supplied in large-scale complexes. The Act unified previously diverse categories – classified by construction entities, funding sources, or housing type – under consistent size-based eligibility criteria.<sup>31</sup>

*National housing* policies were restructured around unit size and financial support. Only housing that conformed to institutional regulations qualified for benefits, redefining the scope of public housing. This shift transferred the housing supply system from state-led mass production to a mass supply model increasingly driven by private developers. Private construction projects became eligible for national housing funds through the Housing & Commercial Bank if they met size criteria. As a result, *national housing* expanded beyond the public sector and gained recognition as a distinct type with regulatory and normative value, forming the foundation of Korea's housing system.

Institutionalized size standards also established benchmarks for taxation, finance, and land supply. Eligible housing received tax reductions on acquisition, registration, and property taxes, as well as income and value-added taxes. Special provisions enabled preferential land sales or leases for *national housing*, with prices varying by region and unit size. These measures consolidated *national housing's* role as the backbone of Korea's housing supply and finance system.

### 5.2. National housing apartment complexes as the new standard of residential culture

Initially focused on detached and row houses, *national housing* shifted decisively toward apartments after the *Housing Construction Promotion Act*. In the private-sector market reliant on private financing, national housing apartments evolved into complexes reflecting both state policy and consumer preferences. By the 1970s, the construction industry had expanded and specialized, with major corporations leading mass production. As a result, Korea's housing system developed into a supply-driven ecosystem.

As this ecosystem evolved, *national housing* established a new standard for supply, finance, and management based on unit size. Standardized apartments of up to 85 m<sup>2</sup> came to be regarded as the definitive benchmark for modern residential living.

Government policies to expand apartment supply and the Act's enforcement in the 1970s accelerated this transition. Reinforced-concrete (RC) apartments were preferred over masonry or precast systems for their efficiency and flexibility. With the spread of apartment housing, new residential patterns emerged: upright living with distinct dining and sleeping spaces, modernized kitchens, functional zoning, and personalized bedrooms. These changes led to the widespread adoption of the 3LDK floor plan, which standardized Korean apartment design. The gradual integration of the living room, dining, and kitchen produced the transitional LDK layout, signaling a new residential order (Table 7).

As *national housing* apartments became private-sector products, their promotion shifted to sales advertisements in newspapers and magazines (Figures 19 and 20). This marketing fostered the perception of *national housing* apartments as the ideal middle class option and reinforced their status as symbols of superior residential quality.

To expand construction through private financing, both sectors adopted the pre-sale system (W.-K. Shin 2020)<sup>32</sup>, requiring advance payments before completion. Its spread and regulation in the 1970s shifted discourse from physical housing to the promotion of model homes – display units showcasing layouts of yet-to-be-built apartments. Widely advertised, these model houses heightened competition between

<sup>30</sup>According to Article 2 (Definitions) of the *Housing Construction Promotion Act*, *National Housing* is defined as "housing constructed with funds provided by the Korea Housing Bank and local governments under this *Housing Construction Promotion Act*, and supplied (leased or sold) at affordable rents or prices to citizens who do not own a home."

<sup>31</sup>The unit size standards for national housing were specified in Article 19 (*Size of National Housing*) of the *Enforcement Decree of the Housing Construction Promotion Act*, enacted in 1973. According to these regulations, *national housing* for detached houses was defined as having a floor area between 60m<sup>2</sup> and 85m<sup>2</sup>, while multi-family units and apartments were required to have a floor area per household between 40m<sup>2</sup> and 85m<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>32</sup>The apartment presale system began in the 1960s, initially centered around public housing developments requiring prepayment of a portion of the housing price by prospective occupants. This presale structure became institutionalized beginning with the Hangang Mansion project and subsequently expanded from the public sector into the private sector. Although the system emerged as a result of Korea's unique market environment characterized by inadequate formal financing mechanisms, it positively contributed to housing construction growth and the development of the housing industry during the difficult housing market conditions of the 1960s and 1970s. However, from the perspective of general consumers, this resulted in a supplier-oriented housing market system that shifted construction costs directly onto consumers.

**Table 7.** Major floor plans and spatial organization of national housing apartments in the 1970s.

Category	Floor Plan	Spatial Organization	Symbols and Abbreviations
1975 <i>Jamsil Complex</i> 3-4, 17-pyeong RC Apartment (56m <sup>2</sup> )		Separation and isolation of <b>K</b> (kitchen)	<b>R</b> (Room), <b>L</b> (Living room), <b>D</b> (Dining room), <b>K</b> (Kitchen), <b>B</b> (Bathroom), <b>E</b> (Entrance), <b>U</b> (Utility room), <b>C</b> (Closet)
1976 <i>Jamsil Complex</i> 5, 35-pyeong RC Apartment (T-type, 115.5m <sup>2</sup> )		<b>LD</b> (Living +Dining) + <b>K</b> (Kitchen)	<b>R</b> (Room), <b>L</b> (Living room), <b>D</b> (Dining room), <b>K</b> (Kitchen), <b>B</b> (Bathroom), <b>H</b> (Hallway), <b>E</b> (Entrance), <b>U</b> (Utility room), <b>C</b> (Closet)
1977 <i>Banpo Complex</i> 2-3, 25-pyeong RC Apartment (82.5m <sup>2</sup> )		<b>L</b> (Living) + <b>DK</b> (Dining+Kitchen)	<b>R</b> (Room), <b>L</b> (Living room), <b>D</b> (Dining room), <b>K</b> (Kitchen), <b>B</b> (Bathroom), <b>H</b> (Hallway), <b>E</b> (Entrance), <b>U</b> (Utility room), <b>C</b> (Closet)
1979 <i>Dogok Complex</i> 3, 25-pyeong RC Apartment (Tower-type, 82.5m <sup>2</sup> )		<b>LDK</b> (Living+Dining +Kitchen)	<b>R</b> (Room), <b>L</b> (Living room), <b>D</b> (Dining room), <b>K</b> (Kitchen), <b>B</b> (Bathroom), <b>H</b> (Hallway), <b>E</b> (Entrance), <b>U</b> (Utility room), <b>C</b> (Closet)

[Source: Korea National Housing Corporation (1975, 1976, 1977, and 1979); Shin, Woon-Kyung, A Study on the Historical Transformation of National Housing, PhD Dissertation, University of Seoul, 2023, pp. 214–217].

public and private developers and diversified available housing products.

With size standards institutionalized, governance of housing increasingly shifted toward the private sector in line with market logic. Advances in construction technology enabled mass production, while the 3LDK

layout became consistently adopted as the normative grammar of Korean apartment life. By the late 1970s, public housing policy was redefined around unit size, apartment form, and financial support, positioning *national housing* apartments as both regulatory foundation and cultural aspiration.



Figure 19. Early to mid-1970s national housing apartment sales advertisements. [Source: Dong-A Ilbo, October 16, 1973 (Top); Chosun Ilbo, February 22 (Middle), 1975; Chosun Ilbo, May 16, 1975 (Bottom).].



Figure 20. Aerial view of Jamsil district apartments [Source: Kyunghyang Shinmun, August 10, 1977.].

## 6. Visual analysis of national housing sales announcements

### 6.1. Analysis subjects

This study draws on 127 newspaper announcements and advertisements related to *national housing*, collected from the Naver News Library and the National

Newspaper Archive of Korea. Keywords<sup>33</sup> associated with national housing guided the search, and duplicate or irrelevant materials were excluded. The final dataset spans 1941–1980 and includes design competition notices as well as sales announcements and advertisements from major newspapers such as *Chosun Ilbo*, *Donga Ilbo*, *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, and *Maeil Business Shinmun*.

Early materials were issued mainly by public institutions and architectural organizations, emphasizing design norms. By the late 1960s, however, advertisements became more commercial and consumer-oriented, reflecting the shift from state-led publicity to a market-driven media landscape.<sup>34</sup> This dataset thus captures evolving representational strategies across changing governance, economic, and cultural contexts.

### 6.2. Scope and methods of analysis

Among the 127 collected cases, 65 (51%) appeared between 1968 and 1980—a period of rapid urbanization, economic expansion, and the rise of apartment-based *national housing* (Figure 21). This period also marked the professionalization of housing marketing in newspapers. Accordingly, the analysis focuses on these years while situating earlier and later cases in a broader historical trajectory.

Rather than applying a quantitative or frequency-based method, this study employs qualitative visual analysis, interpreting announcements and advertisements as cultural artifacts that encoded ideological and aspirational values through layout, typography, and image composition. Although some late 1970s advertisements adopted color, analysis centers on black-and-white formats, which dominated and effectively conveyed key narratives.

The analysis identifies design logics and compositional strategies specific to each era, showing how visual cues functioned not only to attract attention but also to embed narratives of modernity and normalize *national housing* ideals (H.-S. Park 1994). Sales announcements and advertisements are thus examined for their semiotic functions beyond information delivery.

To clarify the procedure for the cross-analysis, each case was divided into three components: layout, typography, and visual images. These components were then analyzed together to uncover how their interaction produced broader representational strategies. For

<sup>33</sup>The *Naver News Library* provides original newspaper articles, texts, and images published by *Kyunghyang Sinmun*, *Dong-A Ilbo*, *Maeil Business Newspaper*, *Chosun Ilbo*, and *Hankyoreh* from 1920 to 1999. The *Korean Newspaper Archive* offers original articles, texts, and images from 106 newspapers including *Maeil Sinmun*, *Daehan Maeil Sinbo*, *Chosun Ilbo*, and *Dong-A Ilbo*, published between 1883 and 1966.

<sup>34</sup>*Bunyang Gonggo* is a compound term consisting of *Bunyang*, meaning “selling divided land or buildings,” and *Gonggo*, meaning “public announcement” or legally, “an official notice disseminated widely to the public by government agencies or public organizations through advertisements, postings, or other public methods.” The term *Gwanggo* also carries the general meaning of widely informing the public but additionally implies “intentional activities aimed at consumers to widely promote products or services through various media.” Accordingly, it is necessary to distinguish slightly between apartment sales announcements (*Bunyang Gonggo*) and apartment sales advertisements (*Bunyang Gwanggo*). While apartment sales announcements focus on disseminating public-oriented information and promotions regarding apartment sales, apartment sales advertisements are more commercially oriented, intentionally conveying sales-related information to consumers through various media.

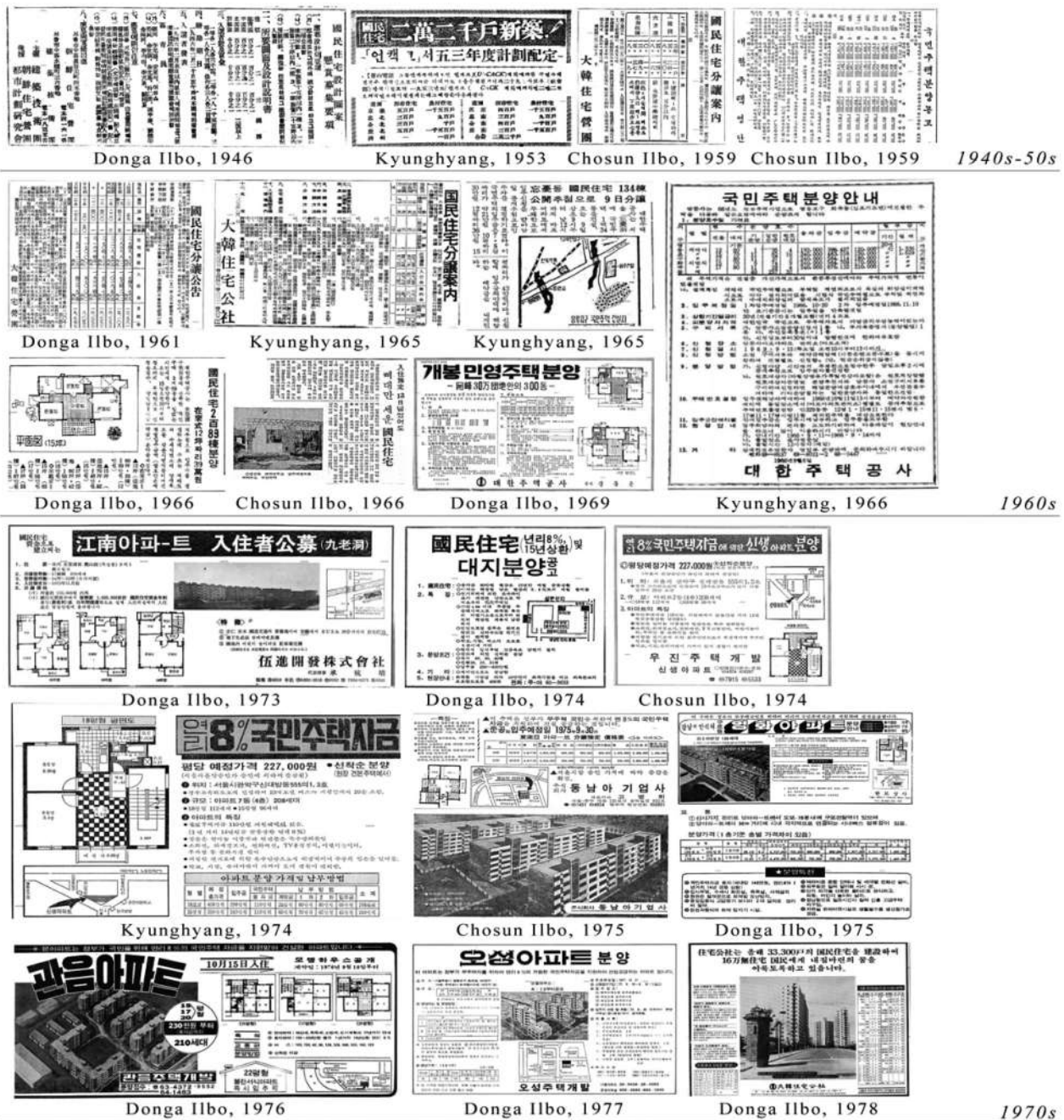


Figure 21. Representative cases of national housing sales announcement and advertisements between 194s and 1970s.

instance, horizontally oriented layouts typically combined bold Gothic typefaces with bird's-eye view images to convey modern efficiency and institutional authority. In contrast, vertically framed layouts employed tabular formats and hierarchical typography to highlight bureaucratic rationalization. By situating these compositional patterns within their historical contexts, the study was able to interpret them both synchronically (as structures at a specific moment) and diachronically (as evolving strategies related to changing housing discourse).

6.3. Elements and characteristics of analysis

A detailed examination of the visual elements in national housing sales announcements and advertisements is

essential for tracing how representational strategies evolved. This study categorizes visual data from 1941 to 1980 according to three core components: layout, typography, and visual images. These elements not only attracted attention but also structured cognitive and emotional responses, serving informational, rhetorical, ideological functions in shaping residential desire and social perception.

Layout refers to the spatial organization of text and images. Applying Paivio's Dual Coding Theory, this study interprets how verbal and visual content together enhance comprehension and recall. Based on observed eye-movement patterns and reading logic, layouts are classified into H-, F-, Z-, and T-shaped formats. consistent with the Gutenberg

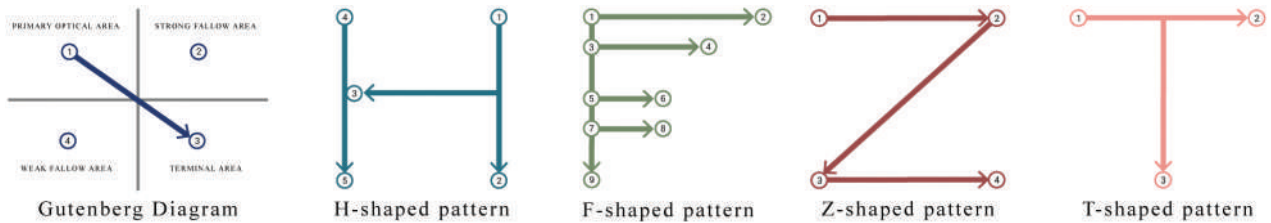


Figure 22. Types of layouts.



Figure 23. Typography: visual flow lines and visual weight.

Diagram<sup>35</sup> (Figure 22). Vertically oriented sales announcements and advertisements often adopted the H-shaped structure, while horizontal formats employed F-, Z-, or T-shaped structure to guide focus and emphasize hierarchical content.

Typography shaped how messages were visually communicated through font choice, arrangement, and proportional variation. It structured visual hierarchies that differentiated headlines, sub-headlines, and body text, clarifying content and reinforcing authority (Figures 23 and 24). Particular attention is paid to contrasts – such as *Myeongjo* (serif) vs. *Gothic* (sans-serif), bold vs. regular weights – which directed emphasis and constructed credibility. Visual weight and flow lines (Y.-J. Lee 2011)<sup>36</sup> are analyzed to explain how typography guided perception and established institutional tone. Typography thus worked with layout to enhance readability, create aesthetic appeal, and strengthen messaging strategies.

Visual images functioned as the most immediate and emotionally resonant element. Drawing on Flusser’s philosophy of photography, images are treated not as neutral illustrations but as cultural devices projecting symbolic meanings and aspirational

lifestyles (Flusser and Mathews 2000). Floor plans, location maps, and aerial perspectives conveyed technical detail while simultaneously evoking imagination and desire. Their affective qualities invited identification and emotional engagement, shaping the cultural perception of modern housing.

By analyzing layout, typography, and images in cross-relation rather than isolation, this study shows how announcements and advertisements communicated both technical specifications and aspirational values. Layout provided structural logic, typography conveyed emphasis and authority, and images generated affective resonance. Together, they illustrate how visual media normalized *national housing* as a cultural ideal. This integrated approach – linking Paivio’s Dual Coding Theory to text – image interplay and Flusser’s philosophy to the affective dimension – clarifies how informational clarity and aspirational appeal were jointly constructed, thereby highlighting both the evolution of visual forms and the methodological grounding of their ideological functions.

## 6.4. Analysis results and implications

### 6.4.1. Analysis of national housing sales announcements from the 1940s to the 1950s: transition from wartime standardization to post-Korean war reconstruction

During the 1940s and 1950s, national housing sales announcements evolved in response to shifting political and economic conditions. In the early 1940s, under Japan’s wartime economic system, the Architectural Association of Joseon promoted standardized urban housing through the 1942 National Housing Design Competition. After Korea’s liberation in 1945, the discourse continued to address urgent postwar needs for economical and practical housing. By the 1950s, the Korean government assumed a central role, and

<sup>35</sup>The Gutenberg Diagram is a visual model explaining the typical pattern readers follow when viewing a page. Generally, readers start from the top-left corner and naturally move toward the bottom-right corner – a path known as the “strong visual flow.” Conversely, movement from the top-right to the bottom-left is considered a “weak visual flow” and receives relatively less attention. This diagram assists designers by suggesting the placement of key content along the strong visual flow path and supplementary information along the weaker visual flow, thus enhancing layout effectiveness.

<sup>36</sup>According to Yong-je Lee’s definition, the visual center refers to the optical midpoint within individual letters, and all letters have such a visual center. The visual flow line is the optical axis connecting individual letters – horizontal axes for horizontal writing and vertical axes for vertical writing. Therefore, visual centers and visual flow lines do not always coincide. The visual center’s position varies according to letter structures, while visual flow lines may form independently around the letter shapes, separate from their visual centers.

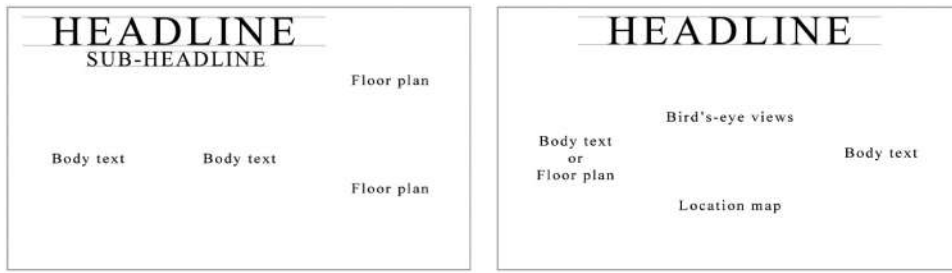


Figure 24. Typography: headline, sub-headline, and body text.

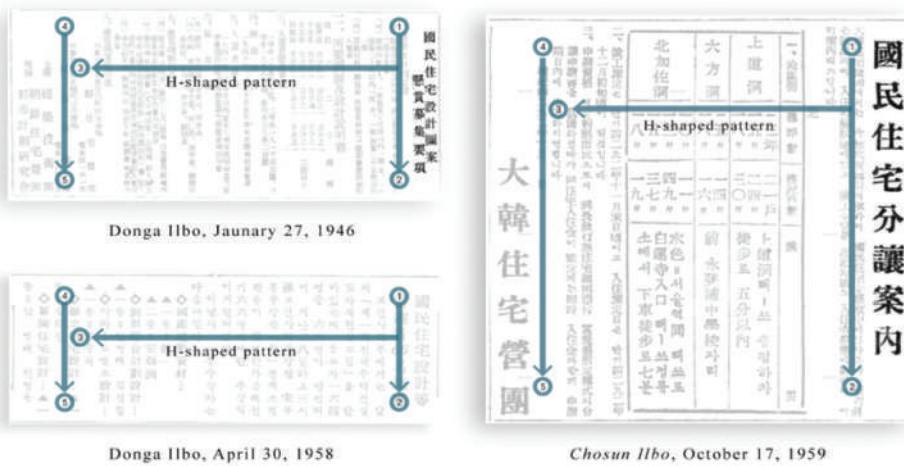


Figure 25. H-shaped layouts in the 1940s and 1950s.

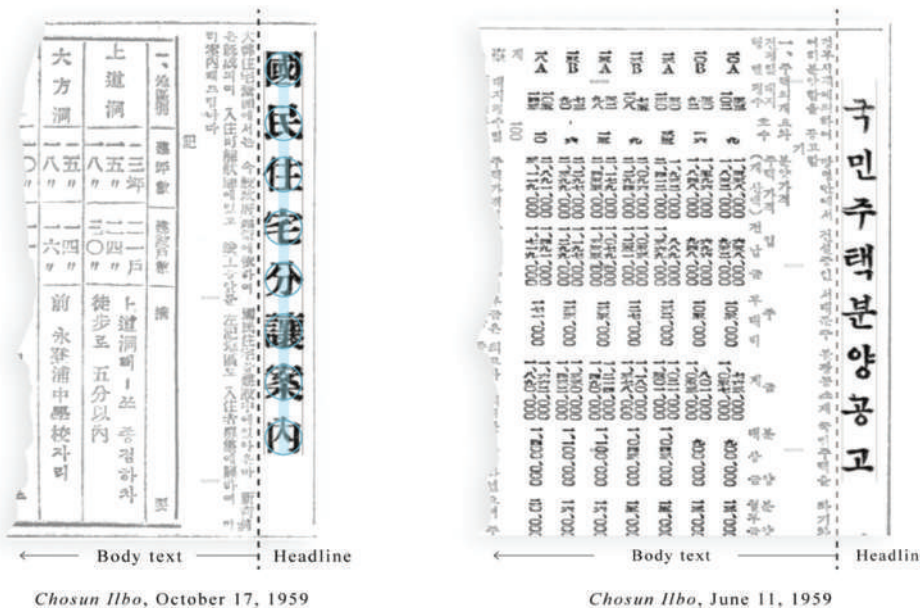


Figure 26. Visual hierarchies of headline and body text in the sales announcements from the 1950s.

newspaper coverage shifted from design competitions to reconstruction plans, budget allocations, and the introduction of formal housing policies. This period marked a transition from design-led discourse to policy-based implementation.

**(1) Layout**

Sales announcements of the 1940s primarily used a right-to-left vertical writing style (右縱書)<sup>37</sup>, framed within box layouts to emphasize key information. For example, a 1946 *Donga Ilbo* announcement isolated

<sup>37</sup>This use of right-to-left vertical writing (右縱書), typical of Chinese character usage, should not be regarded as a new finding specific to the Korean context but rather as a conventional practice widely shared across the East Asian Sinosphere. Korean, Chinese, Japanese, and Vietnamese traditions all employed this form, which originated from brushwork on bamboo and wooden slips before the invention of paper.

essential competition details, facilitating immediate comprehension. However, these early formats lacked consistent hierarchy, producing fragmented reading paths.

By the late 1950s, layouts incorporated clearer distinctions between headlines and body text. Information such as house sizes, sales terms, and prices was increasingly organized in tables, and the introduction of the H-shaped layout improved readability by creating a structured, hierarchical format (Figure 25). This evolution from loosely arranged 1940s designs to more systematic 1950s formats reflected broader state communication strategies that emphasized clarity and bureaucratic rationalization.

**(2) Typography**

Typography was critical in enhancing the readability and structure of national housing sales announcements. Bold, oversized fonts were used for headlines, often highlighting institutional actors such as the Joseon Housing Corporation or the Korean Housing Administration. Body text was formatted in smaller fonts, establishing clear visual hierarchies (Figure 26, Left).

In the 1950s, typographic complexity increased. Headlines such as “National Housing Sales

Announcement” were rendered in prominent fonts to emphasize institutional authority. Body text adopted smaller sizes, sometimes using Arabic numerals and emerging Hangul (Korean alphabet) usage for efficiency and accessibility (Figure 26, Right). These changes enabled readers to extract essential details quickly before engaging with more detailed information.

Such practices resonate with Paivio’s Dual Coding Theory, in which visual contrasts enhance processing and retention. Typography thus reinforced textual clarity while simultaneously strengthening the visual authority of state-led housing policies.

**(3) Visual images**

In the 1940s, announcements remained largely text-based, with box frames serving as the main visual devices (Figure 27, Left). The emphasis was on economic utility and standardized planning rather than imagery. By the 1950s, while full-scale illustrations were still rare, structured tables and labeled diagrams became more common (Figure 27, Right), especially for pricing and procedural details.

The shift from dense text blocks to more data-driven formats illustrates how visual devices gradually complemented layout and typography. Together,

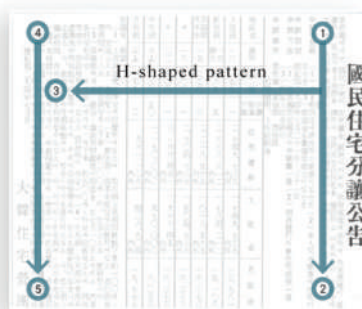


Donga Ilbo, January 27, 1946



Chosun Ilbo, October 17, 1959

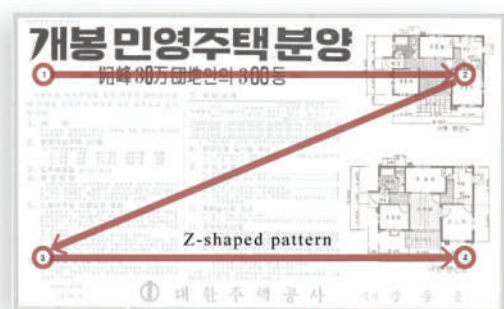
**Figure 27.** The use of box frame, structured table, labeled diagram as visual devices in the sales announcements from the 1940s and 1950s.



Donga Ilbo, July 20, 1961



Kyunghyang, September 6, 1966



Donga Ilbo, August 25, 1969

**Figure 28.** H-shaped, F-shaped, and Z-shaped layouts in the 1960s.

these changes enhanced communicative efficiency and reflected a media logic that prioritized transparency and rationalized information delivery in the modernization of housing discourse.

#### 6.4.2. Analysis of national housing sales announcements and advertisements in the 1960s: transition to structured urban housing development with a focus on detached housing

The 1960s marked a pivotal transition where *national housing* became integral to structured urban development, driven by standardized designs and extensive construction. Policy initiatives such as the First Five-Year Economic Development Plan (1962–1966), administrative district expansions (1963), and the Public Housing Act (1963) accelerated housing project planning and execution. Correspondingly, sales announcements evolved to reflect detailed specifications, payment terms, eligibility requirements, and modern amenities, emphasizing practicality and convenience.

##### (1) Layout

Until the mid-1960s, announcements retained vertical boxed layouts, typical of the 1950s (Figure 28, Left). The 1966 *Hangul Exclusive Use Act* institutionalized horizontal writing (左橫書), altered layouts into narrower, vertically elongated formats (Ku 2012). Reading flows the Gutenberg Diagram, producing repetitive F-shaped pattern (Figure 28, Middle).

By the late 1960s, private-sector advertisements introduced new horizontal formats, as seen in the 1969 Gaebong-dong announcement (C.-S. Park 2021). Its three-part structure guided the eye in a Z-shaped pattern, sequencing headlines, location, conditions, and floor plans (Figure 28, Right). The inclusion of detailed plans validated text and improved reader engagement, marking a clear departure from earlier rigid formats.

##### (2) Typography

Typography in the early 1960s continued the hierarchical clarity of the 1950s, using bold headlines with smaller body fonts. First, *Hangul's* syllabic structure – composed of varied consonant – vowel combinations – posed difficulties in maintaining consistent visual weight and flowlines. In vertically written sales announcements of the early 1960s, these challenges were mitigated by the alignment of vowels to the right of consonants, which preserved visual balance. However, after horizontal writing was officially institutionalized in 1961 through administrative reforms, this stability was disrupted.<sup>38</sup> The differing heights and forms of *Hangul* syllables complicated horizontal alignment, prompting designers to experiment with new typographic solutions. Proportions of consonants, compressed in vertical writing, were restored, and Second, as the amount of information increased, typography became more nuanced in its use of weight, size, spacing, and layout. Early 1960s sales announcements often combined Chinese characters and *Hangul*,<sup>39</sup> reflecting a transitional phase in print culture. Chinese characters retained symbolic associations with authority and erudition, while *Hangul* functioned as the medium of accessibility and mass communication. Their coexistence balanced symbolic weight with legibility, reinforcing rhetorical authority during a period of typographic change. By the late 1960s, as *Hangul* gained dominance, designers further refined horizontal composition through angular forms, reduced letter heights, and wider spacing, stabilizing flowlines and improving readability (Figure 29, Right). These innovations established the basis for the more sophisticated and systematized typographic strategies of the 1970s.

##### (3) Visual images

From the 1960s, sales announcements increasingly incorporated visual elements such as location maps,



Figure 29. Visual flow lines and font and typeface hierarchies in sales announcements from 1960s.

<sup>38</sup>The transition to horizontal writing was institutionalized in the early 1960s. Following discussions at the Secretariat of the State Council in the late 1950s, it was officially adopted as part of the 1961 policy on administrative simplification and codified through the Regulations on Government Documents and related legislation, which modernized official formats.

<sup>39</sup>The coexistence of Chinese characters and *Hangul* in sales announcements from the early 1960s reflects a transitional phase in print culture. While the precise implications are difficult to determine, Chinese characters appear to have retained associations with authority and erudition, while *Hangul* increasingly served as a medium for accessibility and mass communication. Their combined use likely served a rhetorical purpose, balancing symbolic weight with legibility during this period of typographic change.



Figure 30. The use of location maps and floor plans as visual information in the sales announcements from the 1960s.

site plans, and especially floor plans. Maps and site plans provided intuitive information on site scale, orientation, and access to transportation (Figure 30, Left). Floor plans, in particular, communicated the internal structure of units and became central to engaging potential buyers.

As Korea lacked standardized residential layouts at the time, advertisements reflected a mix of Korean, Western, and Japanese influences. The Korea National Housing Corporation sought to refine these diverse types into more systematic forms. A notable example is the *Gaebong* (開峰) Private Housing advertisement (*Donga Ilbo*, 25 August 1969), which presented detailed room dimensions and precise layouts (Figure 30, Right). Such floor plans emphasized not only visual appeal but also practical clarity, allowing buyers to evaluate functionality and suitability.

Amid rapid urbanization and rising demand, the government promoted public housing through frequent announcements that combined textual and visual elements. This integration enhanced informational clarity and consumer engagement, marking a significant evolution in housing communication. By the late 1960s, these practices laid the foundation for more sophisticated, consumer-oriented sales advertisements of the 1970s.

6.4.3. Analysis of national housing apartment sales advertisements in the 1970s: the institutionalization of apartment housing as the national standard

The 1970s marked a period of accelerated urbanization, during which large-scale construction and sales of national housing – particularly apartments – became widespread. Beginning in 1967, the Korea National Housing Corporation shifted its focus from detached houses to apartment construction utilizing public housing funds (B.-J. Park 1967). This transition was reinforced by the Third Five-Year Economic Development Plan (- 1972–1976) and the *Housing Construction Promotion Act* (1972), which sought to address severe housing shortages. Apartments,<sup>40</sup> once regarded as temporary dwellings for working class groups, gained new status as desirable middle class residences. Sales advertisements reflected this shift by emphasizing modern amenities, transportation access, and educational infrastructure, while also adopting more persuasive and visually structured formats.

(1) Layout

By the 1970s, horizontal writing and three-part layouts had become standard, with information presented in a structured sequence of tables, details, and images to allow rapid comprehension. Key content – pricing, location, apartment features, and loan options – was

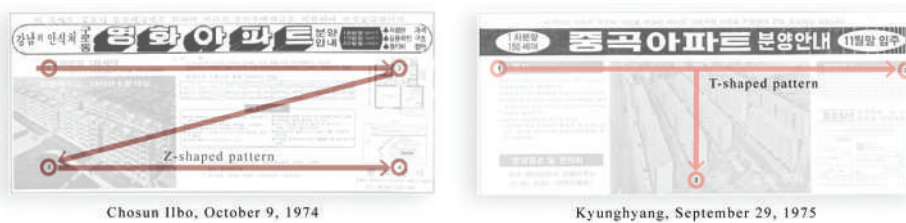


Figure 31. Z-shaped and T-shaped layouts in horizontal-format sales advertisements from the 1970s.

<sup>40</sup>In this study, apartments are defined as a distinct category of *national housing*, in contrast to earlier detached and row houses. Following the enactment of the Housing Construction Promotion Act, national housing apartments were recognized as multi-family dwellings that met the national housing size standard. These apartments were either built directly by the state or public sector or constructed and improved with public funding. Particularly during the 1970s, apartments evolved beyond their previous associations with low-income or temporary housing and became recognized as the quintessential residential environment for the middle class.

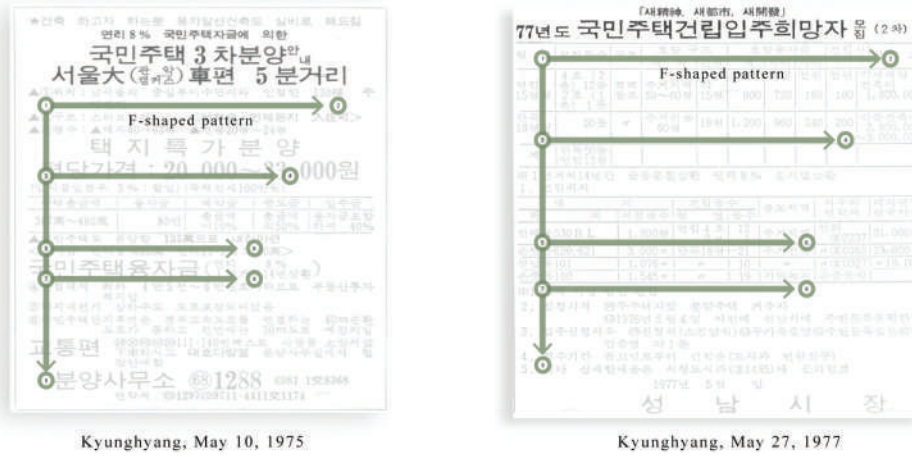


Figure 32. F-shaped layouts in vertical-format sales advertisements from the 1970s.

arranged according to the Gutenberg Diagram, with images positioned strategically to reinforce the text.

Layout variations emerged depending on whether the sales advertisement was horizontal or vertical:

Horizontal-format advertisements typically divided the page into three bands with a 1:2.5 ratio. When images were placed on the left, readers followed a Z-pattern from image to headline to body text (Figure 31, Left). When images appeared in the center with headlines, they formed a T-pattern that concentrated attention in the middle before leading outward to supporting details (Figure 31, Right). The Z-pattern facilitated sequential exploration, while the T-pattern offered immediate recognition.

Conversely, vertical-format advertisements retained square or elongated rectangles dominated by text. Images, when included, were placed at the right or bottom as secondary anchors. The reader’s gaze followed an F-pattern – scanning from top left, across,

and downward (Figure 32). Compared with horizontal layouts, vertical formats relied more heavily on textual information, with images serving supplementary roles.

Overall, layout strategies in the 1970s became increasingly diverse and reader-oriented, balancing efficiency, clarity, and visual appeal to align with new consumer expectations.

(2) Typography

The 1970s saw increased variation in advertisement layouts, which prompted clearer typographic differentiation across headlines, sub-headlines, and body text. Apartment names and main headlines were rendered in large, bold typefaces to capture attention, while sub-headlines provided supporting details in varied weights and sizes. Body text emphasized key points through bolding, spacing adjustments, and, by the mid-1970s, limited use of contrasting color. Although



Figure 33. Typography in 1970s sales advertisements, highlighting hierarchical differentiation of headlines, sub-headlines, and body text.



**Figure 34.** Three-dimensional images in 1970s sales advertisements evolving from simple bird's-eye views (left) to detailed 3D renderings (middle) and low-angle perspective drawings (right).

advertisements remained predominantly black-and-white, such selective contrasts enhanced emphasis and clarity.

First, headlines employed the largest and boldest fonts, often with reduced height and increased width to create a stable visual flow. This lowered the visual center of gravity, enhancing clarity and appeal. From the early 1970s, phrases like “Apartment Sales” or complex names became focal elements, rendered in heavy black fonts for immediate impact (Figure 33, Top Left). By the mid-1970s, headlines grew bolder and more linear, with larger sizes and wider spacing. Some incorporated shadows or 3D effects to signal modernity and prestige (Figure 33, Top Right).

Second, sub-headlines used smaller fonts to present supporting information such as “Sales Information” or “Expected Move-in Date.” Early designs were plain and functional, minimizing ornamentation for readability. By mid-decade, sub-headlines adopted bolder fonts and color contrast to draw attention. In some cases, they were visually integrated with headlines to guide the reader’s gaze (Figure 33, Bottom Left).

Third, body text used smaller fonts and tighter spacing to present dense information. Important content was bolded or color-highlighted. Early in the decade, layouts were simple and explanatory. By the mid-1970s, improved spacing and white space enhanced organization and readability (Figure 33, Bottom Right). Lists and bolded items helped readers quickly identify key points.

These innovations reflected the symbolic role of apartments as emblems of modern living and social mobility. Bold, refined fonts and structured hierarchies not only facilitated efficient communication but also reinforced the prestige and desirability of national housing apartments.

### (3) Visual images

During the 1970s, sales advertisements increasingly incorporated visual elements such as bird's-eye views, location maps, and floor plans. These images enhanced

clarity and appeal, each serving a distinct communicative function.

First, bird's-eye views depicted the exterior design and layout of apartment complexes. In the early 1970s, they were simple black-and-white renderings focused on general form rather than detail (Figure 34, Left). By the mid-1970s, they became more three-dimensional, showing building arrangements, surrounding roads, and environmental features, helping consumers envision the residential setting (Figure 34, Middle). Toward the late 1970s, low-angle perspective drawings emphasized the grandeur and modernity of apartment buildings, reinforcing their prestige (Figure 34, Right).

Second, location maps provided geographic context using line drawings. Early in the 1970s, they showed the approximate location alongside major roads and landmarks (Figure 35, Left). By the mid-1970s, maps included street names, transit routes, and nearby facilities, highlighting accessibility (Figure 35, Middle). By the late 1970s, they evolved into tools that emphasized infrastructural advantages, reflecting a growing focus on neighborhood amenities (Figure 35, Right).

Third, floor plans illustrated unit layouts, showing the configuration of rooms, such as living areas, bedrooms, and kitchens. In the early 1970s, floor plans were basic and favored for their interior specificity. As the decade progressed and bird's-eye views gained prominence, floor plans became less central (Figure 36, Left). Though they still included details like room sizes and window placement, by the late 1970s, many sales advertisements omitted them in favor of model houses, which offered immersive, tactile experiences of layout and design (Figure 36, Right).

Overall, early 1970s sales advertisements primarily used visual tools to provide basic housing information. As the decade progressed, bird's-eye views became more realistic, location maps more detailed, and floor plans less prominent. This evolution marked a shift from simply announcing availability to emphasizing environmental quality and infrastructure. By the late 1970s, advertisements combined concise text with



Donga Ilbo, January 12, 1974



Donga Ilbo, September 10, 1976



Donga Ilbo, June 12, 1978

Figure 35. Location maps in 1970s sales advertisements, evolving from simple landmarks (left) to transit details (middle) to infrastructure-focused maps (right).



Chosun Ilbo, October 9, 1974



Donga Ilbo, September 30, 1978

Figure 36. Transition from floor plans to model houses in 1970s sales advertisements.

persuasive visuals, enhancing informational clarity and aesthetic appeal while signaling a more consumer-oriented marketing strategy.

### 7. Conclusions

This study examined the historical evolution of the discourse on *national housing* throughout Korea’s modernization, tracing its emergence during the Japanese colonial period and subsequent establishment as a predominant housing model. It highlights the interplay between housing discourse and print media, emphasizing how the media functioned as a strategic tool under shifting historical conditions.

During the Japanese colonial period, *national housing* was framed as a normative model aligned with Japan’s imperialist ambitions. Following Korea’s liberation, it was reinterpreted as a symbol of self-reliant living within a modern, independent nation. In the postwar reconstruction period, *national housing* served pragmatic purposes, helping address housing shortages while reinforcing state authority. Media representations communicated these shifts by combining institutional messaging with economic rationality.

In the 1940s and 1950s, *national housing* discourse reflected both external pressures and internal transitions. Initially shaped by Japanese models and later

American aid, housing ideals were disseminated through design competitions and newspaper announcements. Despite limited media formats, sales announcements used boxed frames, simplified layouts, typographic variation, and Arabic numerals to convey messages clearly and comprehensibly. These strategies contributed to the construction of *national housing* as a normative standard of housing suited for a society in flux.

In the 1960s, state-led production of standardized detached housing expanded to middle class families as modernization advanced. A dual supply system emerged – apartments for the middle class provided by the Korea National Housing Corporation, and smaller housing for working class households by local governments. Media mirrored this segmentation through layouts, typography, and visual elements clarifying eligibility, amenities, and aspirations. Horizontal layouts and visual tools such as floor plans and maps became prevalent, while typography emphasized legibility and hierarchy. The *Hangul Exclusive Use Act* of 1966 accelerated typographic changes and adjustments to maintain visual balance.

With the *Housing Construction Promotion Act* of 1972, *national housing* was legally defined, replacing government-operated provision with a new framework of public housing. Apartment complexes within the *national housing* size standard became

the dominant type, supported by tax benefits and institutional financing, and soon regarded as both accessible and culturally desirable for the Korean middle class. Media reinforced this perception by emphasizing standardized layouts, amenities, and lifestyle values.

By the 1970s, housing advertisements adopted more sophisticated visual strategies. Layouts used Z- and T-shaped patterns, typography played a central role in commodifying housing, and visuals diversified to include perspective renderings, bird's-eye views, and model home photography. Floor plans, once essential, receded in prominence as imagery designed to evoke consumer desire gained precedence. These developments marked a shift from functional promotion to the commodification of housing as an aspirational lifestyle.

Ultimately, this study argues that *national housing* evolved not only through housing policy but through its visual mediation in print media. The visual culture surrounding *national housing* sales announcements and advertisements – through layout structures, typographic experimentation, and increasingly immersive imagery – transformed technical policy into everyday visual experience. Cross-analysis of these elements revealed how their interplay conveyed both technical clarity and cultural meanings that established housing standards in modern Korea. This evolution highlights the synergy between visual media and mass housing supply, where representations shaped collective desires and imaginations. Model houses epitomized this transition; they became more than mere informational tool and instead engaged buyers through spatial simulation and tactile anticipation.

Today, *national housing* has emerged as a uniform spatial grammar, characterized by the 85 m<sup>2</sup> limit, the 3LDK configuration, and the apartment form. Understanding how this standardization developed, and its implications offers a foundation for renewed discussions about the Korean housing system. From the 1947 design competition featuring detached houses that blended Japanese, Korean, and Western elements, through postwar duplex categorized under “reconstruction” and “welfare,” to the standardized layouts of the 1960s and the 1970s apartments with RC frames and integrated LDK plans, *national housing* illustrates a trajectory of simplification and consolidation.

Since the 1940s, *national housing* and visual media have maintained a close and reciprocal relationship. What began as a print-based dissemination strategy – through design competitions, newspaper announcements, and sales advertisements – has evolved across various media platforms, now encompassing television, the internet, social media, and YouTube. Historically, *national housing* solidified as a normative form that marginalized everyday diversity, and this

homogenizing trend has persisted despite changes in the surrounding media landscape.

Looking ahead, ensuring the public nature of housing and identifying viable alternatives requires a critical understanding of history and media's role. The lessons from past media practices illustrate how visual strategies – whether through layout, typography, or visual images – have not only informed citizens but also shaped cultural ideals of modern living. While this study focused on Korea, its findings offer comparative insights into how print media and visual regimes activate normative residential types in other modernizing societies. Future research may explore how this dynamic unfolds across different cultural and political contexts – particularly in relation to the role of visual media in shaping standardized housing cultures and the ongoing transformation of housing representation in the digital era.

The sales announcements and advertisements did not merely reflect housing trends but actively shaped public understanding of what housing should be. *National housing*, therefore, was not only a state-delivered product but a socially produced and visually articulated ideal of modern Korean living. In this sense, the research contributes to broader understandings of how print media and housing intersect to construct civic identity, spatial norms, and collective aspirations.

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## Author contributions statement

Woon-Kyung Shin and Hoyoung Kim contributed equally as co-authors to the conception and design of the research and jointly discussed the analysis and interpretation of the data. Both authors collaboratively drafted the initial manuscript. In particular, Woon-Kyung Shin made substantial contributions to the development of the research methodology, data collection, literature review, and writing of the historical background. Hoyoung Kim contributed significantly to the visual analysis, interpretation, and writing of the research findings, as well as to the critical review and editing of the manuscript.

Juyoung Kwak contributed in part to the creation and editing of diagrams that visualized the data analysis and interpretation.

Hoyoung Kim also served as the corresponding author, taking primary responsibility for communication with the journal throughout the submission, peer review, and publication process.

All authors have read and approved the final version of the manuscript and agree to be accountable for all aspects of the work.

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## Appendix

Items	Characteristics	Number	Percentage (%)	Items	Characteristics	Number	Percentage (%)
Gender	Male	243	67.88	Occupation	Agriculture	62	17.32
	Female	115	32.12		Forestry	30	8.38
Age (years)	< 20	12	3.35	Service Industry	129	36.03	
	20–29	56	15.64	Handicraft Industry	58	16.2	
	30–39	103	28.77	Self-employed	46	12.85	
	40–49	117	32.68	Student	20	5.59	
	50–59	50	13.97	Others	13	3.63	
Ethnicity	≥60	20	5.59	Monthly Income	< 1000	64	17.88
	Tujia	193	53.91		1000–3000	129	36.03
	Miao	126	35.19		3001–5000	100	27.93
	Han	32	8.94		5001–7000	43	12.01
Education Level	Others	7	1.96	> 7000	22	6.15	
	Primary	50	13.97	Residence Location	Core Area (0–1 km)	95	26.54
	Junior	136	37.99		Peripheral Area (1–3 km)	194	54.19
	Senior	104	29.05		Remote Area (> 3 km)	69	19.27
	Bachelore	49	13.69				
	Master	19	5.3				
PhD	0	0					
Total						358	100

No.	Theme	Interview Question	Reference
1	Conflict Recognition	Have you noticed any conflicts within Zhangjiajie National Forest Park? Please describe these types of conflicts.	(Walas et al, 2024)
2	Focus of Conflicts	What are the main areas of conflict, such as development vs. conservation or resource distribution?	(Karadayi-Usta, 2025)
3	Conflict Experience	Have you been involved in conflicts with the government, businesses, or visitors? Can you share a specific experience?	(Kruczek et al, 2024)
4	Causes of Conflicts	What do you think are the main reasons for these conflicts?	(Xu et al, 2024)
5	Importance of Opinions	Are the opinions of community members valued in the decision-making process? Can you provide examples?	(Ismail et al, 2025)
6	Conflict Point Mapping	Could you mark the conflict points you believe exist on the electronic map?	(de Abreu et al, 2025)
7	Suggestions	What specific measures do you think should be taken to reduce conflicts?	(Andries et al, 2021)

Conflict Types	Sub-categories	Examples
Protection VS Development (C1)	Land Use Restrictions	A1:Previously we could cultivate medicinal herbs at the forest edge, but now it's all designated as protected area and cultivation is prohibited
	Resource Access Limitations	A2:Collecting wild mushrooms and understory herbs was our traditional income source, but now we need special permits to enter core areas, with many restrictions
	Wildlife Disturbance	A3:Wild boars and monkeys in the protected area have increased and often damage our crops, but we can't control them
Economic Benefit Distribution Inequality (C2)	Ecological Restoration Impact	A4:For vegetation restoration, the land around my home was designated for forest restoration, but the compensation is much less than our previous farming income
	Ticket Revenue Distribution	A5:The scenic area makes so much money, but we only get a tiny share
	Employment Opportunity Inequality	A6:Good jobs are given to outsiders, while locals can only do manual labor
	Price Inflation	A7:daily necessities prices have risen sharply, increasing living costs
	Tourism Income Disparity	A8:Residents near core scenic areas have significantly higher incomes, while remote areas barely benefit

(Continued)

(Continued).

Conflict Types	Sub-categories	Examples
Cultural Development Contradictions (C3)	Commercialization of Cultural Performances	A9:Traditional Tujia songs and dances are over-packaged, losing their cultural essence
	Disruption of Traditional Customs	A10:Too many visitors affect our daily life and festival celebrations
	Architectural Style Changes	A11:Traditional stilted buildings are being modified into pseudo-ancient structures to attract visitors
Infrastructure Pressure (C4)	Traffic Congestion	A12:Severe traffic jams around popular spots during peak season
	Insufficient Waste Management	A13:Tourist waste production exceeds processing capacity, causing sanitation problems
Community Participation Deficiency (C5)	Water Supply Shortage	A14:Water shortages during tourist season frequently affect daily life
	Lack of Decision-making Transparency	A15:Major scenic area decisions are made without consulting us
	Limited Information Access	A16:We're always the last to know about tourism development plans
Environmental Quality Decline (C6)	Ignored Community Suggestions	A17:Our suggestions never receive responses
	Air Pollution	A18:Air quality has declined with increased visitors, especially during peak season
	Noise Pollution	A19:Night entertainment activities in scenic areas seriously affect our rest
	Water Quality Deterioration	A20:The river is no longer clear and fish are scarce due to tourism development
	Ecological Environment Degradation	A21:Tourist trampling has reduced rare plants, like vegetation damage around the King Cypress

Conflict Relationships	Conflict Types						Frequency	Percentage (%)
	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6		
Resident -Manager	375	268	45	140	178	65	1071	47.81
Resident-Operator	60	270	105	83	18	40	576	25.71
Resident-Visitor	0	0	87	153	0	106	346	15.45
Resident-Resident	37	73	29	61	11	36	247	11.03
Total	472	611	266	437	207	247	2240	
Percentage (%)	21.07	27.28	11.88	19.51	9.24	11.03		100