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‘Urban regeneration’ to ‘Social regeneration’:
Culture and social regeneration through the Culture City of East Asia event
initiative in Cheongju South Korea

Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

By

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ABSTRACT

There is continuing academic and policy interest in the potential for culture-based urban regeneration, including the use of major arts and cultural festivals to attract investment, re-imagine places and create jobs. However, the social regeneration benefits of such events have been questioned especially when cultural events focus mainly on high profile economic development in central areas of a city. Social regeneration needs to be built into cultural event planning. This research seeks to examine how a one-year cultural event can play an influential role in aspects of social regeneration by focusing on the 2015 Culture City of East Asia (CCEA) event in Cheongju, South Korea. The CCEA is a collaboration between South Korea, China and Japan held since 2014, and is aimed at cultural exchange programmes, the development and regeneration of provincial cities through cultural programmes, and building solidarity in the East Asia regions.

The research is based on document review, semi-structured interviews and focus groups with residents and community representatives in three areas of deprivation in the city. The key findings from the PhD are that social regeneration impacts are limited with limited engagement with the CCEA. The limited social regeneration impact is traced to the weak integration of social regeneration priorities and provision within the CCEA. It is argued that the CCEA reflects the wider tendency for cultural events to focus on visitors to the area, where main cultural venue is located, and reimagining at the expense of social regeneration. In the Korean context the weak dimension of social regeneration is reinforced by the weak and limited aspect of social regeneration nationally. In the CCEA the potential to engage communities through arts and culture is largely unrealised despite some prospect and pressure to widen the scope of the programme.

The PhD contributes a distinctive Korean perspective to the literature on arts and culture-based regeneration. As this study relies on qualitative methods, it enables a deeper analysis of social regeneration, and local residents were placed into a high priority to attempt to produce a realistic consideration of how residents consider a cultural approach for regenerating an area, developing communities and individual environments. The findings of this thesis not only advance theory within the culture-led urban regeneration literature, but also offer an insight into the opinions of actual residents that can be referred to in the further management of cultural events, to improve the social regeneration through cultural approach.

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Abbreviation

CCEA	Cultural City of East Asia
CCIPF	Cheongju Cultural Industry Promotion Foundation
CMP	Cheongju Master Plan
CURSP	Cheongju Urban Regeneration Summary Paper
CURTC	Cheongju Urban Regeneration Trust Centre (청주도시재생신탁업무센터)
CVP	City Vitality Promotion (도시활력증진사업)
DCMS	Department of Culture, Media and Sports
ECOC	European Capital of Culture
GAR	Gwangju Activity Report
JURC	Jungang Urban Regeneration Committee
KRIHS	Korea Research Institute for Human Settlements
KURC	Korea Urban Regeneration Centre
LCP	Liveable Community Projects (살기좋은 마을 만들기)
MOLIT	Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport
NURIOs	National Urban Regeneration Intermediary Organisations
RBVP	Raise the Vest Village Project (으뜸마을가꾸기)
SABND	Special Act on Balanced National Development (도시활력증진 지역개발사업)
SAUR	Special Act on Urban Regeneration (도시재생 활성화 및 지원에 관한 특별법)
SU	Saemaul Undong (새마을운동)
SZC	The Special Zone for Culture(문화특화지역 조성사업)
URA	Urban Redevelopment Act (도시재개발법)
UREIA	Urban Residential Environment Improvement Act (도시 및 주거환경 정비법)
URIS	Urban Regeneration Information System

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT OF RESEARCH

Over the last 30 years there has been a growing interest in the possibilities for culture-led urban regeneration, often based around investment in large-scale cultural events or facilities (Richards and Palmer, 2010; Garcia, 2004). Culture-led regeneration reflects the increased consumption of arts and culture in society, representing a source of jobs and investment and city re-imaging. But there has also been a growing interest in the possibilities for using arts and culture to tackle social exclusion, build confidence and skills amongst citizens and to help facilitate community cohesion within deprived communities. As in many countries, South Korea has faced problems of deprivation and a number of experiments have attempted to tackle urban decline. In this regard, culture-led regeneration has been part of those initiatives. So far, however, there has been limited assessment of the role and contribution of culture-led regeneration (and regeneration more generally) in South Korea, with little research into the meanings of arts and culture in South Korean regeneration policy. In addition, research into the social impacts of culture-led regeneration is rare.

In order to fill the gap, this study takes as its starting point the debates on cultural activities and its contribution to improvement of social regeneration (Landry, Greene, Matarasso and Bianchini, 1996; Matarasso, 1997; Evans and Shaw, 2004; Garcia, Melville and Cox, 2010; and Ennis and Douglass, 2011). Narrowly, the research seeks to examine how a year-long cultural event can play an influential role in the aspects of social regeneration within declining areas. The thesis focuses on the 2015 Culture City of East Asia (hereafter, CCEA) event - which commenced in 2014 as a year-long event in the small and medium sized towns of South Korea, China and Japan, and initially follows the aim of the European Capital of Culture event - in Jungang-dong, Naedeok-dong and Suamgol in Cheongju, South Korea. This introductory chapter briefly outlines the debates about the contested roles and values of culture-led regeneration by introducing the CCEA and its operation in Cheongju. It then explores the methodology for the research, before setting out the structure for the remainder of the thesis.

1.1. Motivation and Inspiration of the Research

Before carrying out PhD, three motivations became cornerstone to undertake this research. First motivation should be traced back in 2013 when I was working at the social enterprise, which reflects culture-led urban regeneration programmes in the deprived areas in Seoul, South Korea. During those days, my responsibility was to encourage the deprived areas where suffered from the cancellation or delay of urban redevelopment and the New Town initiatives. At the time, the use of cultural elements (such as mural painting, public art, small-sized gardens, etc.) had been considered as an effective way to improve the deprivation. However, many of residents were not happy and protest the culture-led urban regeneration schemes when worked at the targeted areas. My fundamental questions started from this point 'why residents showed uncooperative attitude and had dislike for the culture-led regeneration initiative?'. That questions also have led me to have a thought about 'then how culture-led regeneration can create social regeneration opportunities such as community cohesion and development?'. These thoughts were the first motivation to carry out this research.

Second motivation come from the successful transition of cities from a declining industrial city to the cultural city through the European Capital of Culture Event. The event actually inspired many local authorities and central government to utilise cultural events as key drivers of culture-led regeneration, because it created substantial economic and social benefits. Since 2014 in South Korea, the Culture city of East Asia event which benchmarked the European Capital of Culture Event for regenerating and developing metropolitan cities of South Korea, China and Japan was commenced. The start of this national one-year event inspired me to undertake the research about examining the inter-relationship between culture-led regeneration and social regeneration.

Finally, the term urban regeneration and the use of culture for regeneration initiative are extremely becoming buzzword in South Korea. However, most of current published research focuses on economic growth, tourism development and internal investment

strategies. Therefore, those sometimes failed to ask questions surrounding the end impacts upon communities and local residents. In order to fill the gap, I tried to conduct the impacts of culture-led urban regeneration on social regeneration by discussing with local residents.

1.2. Debates about the Social Regeneration Impact of Culture-led Approaches

In recent years the role of culture has been considered as being of unprecedented significance and as providing a means to resolve political and socio-economic problems within urban areas (Yudice, 2003). Vickery (2007) emphasised that culture-led regeneration has a distinctive characteristic of integrating cultural elements within urban strategies as culture – itself including design, art works, cultural activity and architecture – is indissoluble from people’s living. In this sense, culture can act “as catalyst and engine of regeneration” (Evans, 2005, p. 968). In terms of social regeneration opportunities, the use of arts and culture “can be a primary empowerment tool utilised by regeneration and neighbourhood renewal practitioners in order to achieve wider regeneration aims based on educational attainment, health, crime and social cohesion” (Northall, p.3. n.d.). In addition, various arts classes or performances can play a tacit role in enhancing an individual’s literacy and social communication skills, as well as facilitating community cohesion between ages and differing cultural backgrounds (Ibid.).

Amongst various approaches within culture-led urban regeneration initiatives, the role of cultural events has attracted growing attention from academics and policy makers over the last 30 years (Richards and Palmer, 2010; Garcia, 2004). As cultural event strategies have become a key motivation for urban regeneration, its significance can contribute to cultural, economic and social regeneration. Cultural events can stimulate citizen participation, improve cultural provision and create collaborative networks between actors within other cultural sectors (Liu, 2016). A number of benefits of cultural events within culture-led regeneration initiatives have been demonstrated and discovered in many cities. Positive contributions of cultural events to regeneration might include place promotion, tourism, new physical and social infrastructure, employment and training opportunities, increased property

values, community cohesion, re-use of redundant buildings and the use of arts and culture to enhance personal or community wellbeing (Ennis and Douglass, 2011). In practice, the successful transition of Glasgow from a declining industrial city to the cultural city through the 1990 European Capital of Culture (hereafter, ECOC) has inspired many local authorities and central governments to utilise cultural events as key drivers of culture-led regeneration, because the ECOC created substantial economic and social benefits (Garcia, 2004).

There are, however, a wide range of tensions between the priorities in culture-led urban regeneration approaches. One notable argument is that many cultural elements within urban regeneration processes have become commercialised, with attention focusing significantly on economic and physical results while bringing limited benefit to disadvantaged groups and communities. Boyle and Hughes (1991) note that the use of cultural places in the context of urban regeneration could spoil indigenous identities as aims focus on commercial and private sponsors that can attract large audiences. As a representative example, Mooney (2004) describes an experience arising from the ECOC of Glasgow in 1990 that the event enthusiastically pursued selling Glasgow as a place for inward investment rather than as a celebration of Glasgow's culture and the life experiences of urban citizens. In this case, economic factors are prioritised over a unique cultural strategy tailored to local characteristics.

Despite the complicated features of culture-led regeneration initiatives, the use of arts and culture within urban regeneration policies is becoming more important in South Korea. From the 1990s (and the growth of policies favouring interurban competition within the structures of local government) arts and culture have acted as a catalyst for city marketing policies through the hosting of various local festivals, cultural activities and through the creation of grand-scale cultural facilities (Park, 2015a). After the 1990s, the use of cultural policy and planning was additionally regarded as key tools of urban development in the metropolitan cities of South Korea (Ibid.). It is true that cultural elements were normally reflected to renovate several mid-sized cities and develop local economy in response to global market demands during the 1990s (Lee, 2007). However, the economic-centred cultural interventions were criticised for creating result-oriented bureaucracy management with to

significant tax leakage, the interruption of building construction (Choi, 2016a; Kim, 2016a), the destruction of local characteristics and a significant commercialisation of culture. In terms of social outcomes in the arts and cultural fields (such as community development, conservation of historical local culture, cultural preference, and social cohesion), it tended to be ignored. Particularly, Hong (2013d) notes that “as culture increasingly becomes a product to be consumed in the global economy, the value of local culture continues to be at risk” (p. 29). The preservation of local culture, the balancing of growth between culture and the local economy, and the creation of cultural projects with close citizen interaction, were desperately needed in the regenerative process.

In the early 2000s, the use of culture within urban regeneration started to be expanded, and was associated with shifts away from large-scale projects at national or city level to medium and small sized cultural attempts within the local community. Numerous programmes (such as festivals, education programmes, and arts projects) were officially institutionalised by the South Korean central government in 2005 to intervene and tackle the social problems of declining areas, including dwellings, welfare, work, environment, health, safety, culture, landscape and transportation spheres (Prism, 2009). This was a shift to try and broaden the impacts of cultural interventions, rather than focusing on economics only. Also, as the top-down approach has significantly proliferated within the cultural context of South Korea, bottom-up strategies and the promotion of residents’ participation were actively implemented to solve the urban and social problems of disadvantaged areas. Based on the notion of culture-led urban regeneration, the culture-led initiative was magnified to stimulate social regeneration opportunities in South Korea.

1.2.1. A Rationale for Research: The Absence of Social Regeneration Research in the Aspects of Culture-led Urban Regeneration

Despite the proliferation of cultural initiatives aiming to tackle wider social issues, there is a lack of in-depth research into its actual efficacy. There has been research into one-off events; the cultural policy frameworks of regions; the tourism benefits of cultural

investment; and theoretical approaches into culture-led regeneration (Vickery, 2007; Craggs, 2008; OECD, 2009; McCarthy, 2007). However, there has been little research into the perspectives and experiences of citizens impacted by such initiatives, and there has been little work on community development or personal improvement. The low profile of social research in contemporary culture-led regeneration initiative reflects the reality that integration with cultural resources and urban policy has been principally evaluated by the outcome of commercial and infrastructural development. Many researches have questioned regarding the benefits that cultural elements (e.g. mega-events or signature buildings) can bring into a city? What is the role of culture in economic development? What is the economic valuation of cultural goods and services? How can cultural elements contribute to a growth of tourism and internal investment? This is not to say that such questions should be a major concern in assessing a culture-led urban regeneration strategy. However, the evaluation process of culture-led regeneration frequently fails to ask questions surrounding the end impacts upon communities – Are cultural resources being used to spread culture, or just to focus on economic development? Are the symbolic facilities or mega-events being integrated within the local community and benefiting local citizens? How can residents consider and shape a culture-led regeneration strategy?

In South Korea, there is now an extensive literature concerned with culture-led urban regeneration processes that have dealt with visitors' motivations and the market segmentation of mega-events; the use of cultural facilities after the completion of events; the structural relationships among tourism impacts and benefits on the basis of the pre- and post-survey of local residents in quantitative way; the effects of mega-events on destination image and city branding; the activation of the local economy through cultural event projects, and so on (Lee, 2012; Kim, 2013a; Lee, Kim and Kim, 2014; and Lim, 2011). As emphasised above, the essential purpose of urban regeneration is to offer a better economic and social life, but social impact studies in particular have been neglected.

To bridge the gap, this research seeks to examine how a year-long cultural event can play a crucial role in the aspects of social regeneration within declining areas by focusing on

the CCEA in Cheongju, South Korea as a case study. According to the published articles, newspapers and evaluation reports, there is no doubt that the nature of CCEA made an ideal vehicle to deliver cultural vibrancy, economic growth and contribution to community solidarity for a year in Cheongju. In terms of urban regeneration perspective, the CCEA was a tool in increasing the city's consumption and culture, and produced an ever-proliferating number of festivals in the city. Since the event in 2014, policy and strategy have been constantly expanded and enriched, and six more cities of three nations hosted the event in 2016 and 2017. However, there has been a lack of studies examining the actual impacts of the CCEA. This research therefore, is intent on examining the CCEA initiative in order to address two key themes. First, to move forward scholarly debates on the role of cultural events in social regeneration by exploring residents' opinions, and second, to develop an understanding of the wider context in terms of culture-led regeneration within South Korea and the targeted area.

I have briefly reviewed the history of culture-led regeneration, and the lack of social regeneration research in the field of cultural initiative approach so far. In the rest of this chapter, I seek to examine the case study under review in this thesis – the CCEA and its operation within Cheongju, South Korea.

1.3. The Cultural City of East Asia and Its Operation in Cheongju

Historically, South Korea, China and Japan have endured tensions such as conflict, war, colonisation, territorial disputes and enforced sex slavery, leading to a lack of solidarity and mutual understanding, although they do have close cultural ties (Pre-2014 Asia Culture Forum, 2014). To aid in attempts to create further ties, the countries have sought to connect their provincial cities through diverse cultural activities. The first step towards cultural integration resulted in a joint statement on September 28 in 2013 by the Cultural Ministers of South Korea, China and Japan, to create a new cultural partnership that will involve the joint programming of performances, exhibitions and multifarious cultural projects. According to this initiative, the 2014 CCEA project was developed to “foster mutual understanding and a sense of unity

within East Asia so as to strengthen international transmission of diverse cultures in the region” through a variety of cultural events (Foreign Press Centre Japan, 2013). The inaugural CCEA was hosted in Gwangju in South Korea, Quanzhou in China and Yokohama in Japan in 2014.

The CCEA was initially designed to last one year, with the selected city showcasing their cultural programmes on an international stage. Primarily, the aim of CCEA is to share mutual understanding of culture and strengthen a sense of unity by exchanging cultural activities in the region (Foreign Press Centre Japan, 2013). Also, as cultural events have been playing a fundamental role in developing European cities, the initiative aimed to use the CCEA as a powerful instrument of regional regeneration of East Asia (Myeongsung Park, the art director of CCEA). In this sense, ‘exchange cultural programmes’, ‘development and regeneration of provincial cities through cultural programmes’, and ‘build solidarity in the East Asia region’ became the essential purposes of the event (City of Yokohama News Release, 2014). Moreover, as the CCEA benchmarked the ECOC, the initiative hoped to demonstrate the positive ripple effects surrounding the contribution of culture to vitalising urban regeneration (Gwangju Activity Report, 2015, hereafter GAR).

Cheongju has long been renowned as a cultural and educational city, and the cultural resources epitomise the city’s vibrancy. Cheongju was the second CCEA city in 2015 and aimed to reflect the city’s aspiration, history and cultural diversity. In 2014, the judges admired Cheongju’s great cultural heritage and outstanding plans for 2015’s CCEA along with Qingdao of China and Nigata of Japan. The year-long programme showcased its cultural diversity from high art, international biennale to small music concerts. By hosting the second CCEA in 2015, Cheongju city received unprecedented national recognition as a city of culture, and was given an opportunity showcase innovative cultural ideas, the enthusiasm of citizens and the creative skills of those living within the city. During the CCEA, the city held, abundant cultural programmes – 27 main events were managed for a year, and the full CCEA programmes including not only main events, but also overall exhibition days, performance days, and educational classes totalled over 70 activities in 2015. However, there were criticisms that the approach became top-down (being inherited from the national South Korean Government) and local businesses frequently expressed concern over the availability and accessibility of

government authorities. These criticisms highlight the lack of opportunities at local level for large cultural enterprises to become involved in the CCEA.

1.4. Research Aim, Objectives and Research Questions

The aim of this research is to examine how choices were made about social regeneration impacts in the Cheongju CCEA programme that ran from March to November in 2015 and to explore the impact and implications on individuals and communities in areas of deprivation. Importantly, this research is centrally a study of the importance of resident perception of culture-led regeneration and the importance of them being part of the process. In this sense, the central contribution around the importance of resident voice is centre stage to comprehend social regeneration aspects by culture-led regeneration initiative. In this research, examining residents' opinions is a main objective to understand what community really needs in the process of culture-led urban regeneration process.

The objectives of the research are as follows:

- To examine how social regeneration has been considered in the planning of the CCEA event.
- To use a range of sources to consider the impact of the CCEA on social regeneration in Cheongju.
- To analyse the practical views of local communities about the social regeneration impacts by cultural events through discussing with authentic local residents in a qualitative way.
- To link the case study to wider debates and understandings on the relationships between culture-led urban regeneration initiatives in South Korea

The key research questions are:

- Have culture-led approaches created social regeneration opportunities in Cheongju and, if so, what opportunities and for whom?

- What are the possible problems and tensions in using cultural events to support social regeneration in Cheongju?
- How does the CCEA in Cheongju reinforce or challenge wider literature on the role of cultural events in social regeneration?

1.5. Theoretical and Methodological Approach to the Thesis

To understand the methodological approach to this research, this section is a reflection broad philosophical approach that will link to a more detailed discussion of methodology in Chapter 5. This thesis is a qualitative study that employs a case study approach, focused on the CCEA in South Korea. A case study approach can be used to develop a detailed analysis of a case, and can often be used to examine a process, activity, event, and programme (Yin, 2009). The intention of case study research is to gain an in-depth understanding of the concerned phenomena in a real-life setting – in this case, to understand how cultural events can contribute to social regeneration in three neighbourhoods of Cheongju. The study will address the social regenerative factors of the project, explore the various viewpoints of stakeholders and ordinary residents, contribute to wider debates on the interrelationship between culture, arts and regeneration, and to identify the possible impacts.

This research is situated within a constructivist paradigm which stresses that the nature of knowledge, setting aside or greatly reducing the role of external and transactional realities (Philips, 1997). The philosophical paradigm of constructivism is based on relativist (as opposed to a realist) ontology and a subjectivist (as opposed to an objectivist) epistemology:

- A Relativist ontology sees realities as being multiple, socially and experientially based, and they can depend on individuals or groups holding various constructions and ideas about the world in which they live (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). A focal point is that reality does not exist outside individual belief; rather reality is about individual and group interpretation (Blaikie,

1993, p.94). Constructivism has a diversity of interpretations that could be employed to the world.

- A transactional and subjectivist epistemology states that truth comes from the interactions within any given situation – there is no single truth (Berlin, 1987), and it is the individuals' thoughts (or constructed realities) about the world that is important for analysis. Also, “the investigator and the object of investigation are assumed to be interactively linked so that the findings are literally created as the investigation proceeds” (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, p.111). A subjectivist approach has its essential basis on relativism, emphasising a significant role for the individual, and concluding that knowledge cannot exist without individuals to construct it. Each individual would construct their world depending on their background, experience and the social forces reflecting on them; knowledge is subjective.

The aim of constructivist inquiry is the interpretation of research participants' thoughts that can be used to produce a substantive theory (Charmaz, 2006). Moreover, individual constructions can be elicited only through interaction between researchers and respondents (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). The truth about 'what is what' (ontology) is socially negotiated (relativism) with multiple participants and the true meaning of knowledge (epistemology) is internally constructed (subjectivism) in constructivism (Waters and Mehay, 2010). For research that claims to be relativist, transactional and subjectivist, we must emphasise that: a) social research can produce multiple constructed realities that can be studied, b) humans should be the primary data collection instrument, c) the knower and the know are inseparable, and d) the researcher has to be the primary data-gathering instrument to fully understand and describe the phenomenon (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

To adopt these philosophical stances to a research setting, this research relies mainly on qualitative methods of research. In order to answer the research questions, policy documents, minutes from meetings, event websites, policy review, local newspapers and urban regeneration or culture-led urban regeneration related articles will be reviewed and analysed. Specifically, the documentation and processes involved in organising the event and

regeneration programmes at the national South Korea level will be reviewed in detail in the literature review chapters. Further, due to the short history, semi-structured interviews are used with key people involved in the planning and management of culture-led urban regeneration of South Korea for supporting literature review materials. For achieving the residents' views about the CCEA and its impacts on social regeneration, focus groups and individual interviews have also been conducted through two phases field-research to examine whether and how the CCEA influences on different areas and constituencies of deprivation and disadvantage in the city.

1.6. Structure of Thesis

The remained of this thesis is organised into ten chapters. Chapter 1 has served to introduce the necessary background and, context in which this research focuses on, it has outlined the research problem in the aspect of culture-led regeneration and briefly discussed the methodology that will be adopted. Chapter 2 explores what arguments are made for using culture within the context of urban regeneration theory and practice. Although the aim of this research is to concentrate to the CCEA and culture-led regeneration project of South Korea, reviewing the relevant academic literature at the international level has played a role in the development of this research. Chapter 3 and 4 establish the conceptual framework in order to aid understanding about South Korea's current situation and history of urban regeneration. Chapter 3 identifies the failure of urban redevelopment initiatives to establishment of urban regeneration policy in 2014. Chapter 4 examines the history of cultural policy and identifies how it has been integrated within urban regeneration processes, touching on the practical cultural examples which have been adopted in regenerating a city after the legislation of the Special Act of Urban Regeneration in 2013. Due to the short history of the projects (and recognition that the procedures of culture-led urban regeneration within South Korea have been rarely been researched); this chapter provides the expertise offered by interviewees which the author met during the field-research for supporting literature materials.

Chapter 5 outlines the practical aspects of the research, starting with the research design and identifying the research questions to accomplish the research objectives. The

methodological approach and application of qualitative methods to social research is demonstrated. This chapter also examines issues surrounding the data collection processes. Chapter 6 introduces the case study city that forms the basis for the empirical investigation of the thesis; - Cheongju, South Korea. This chapter outlines the fundamental context for the significance of urban regeneration initiatives in Cheongju. Chapter 7 scrutinises the CCEA in relation to the context, management and impacts of the event in Cheongju. In Chapter 8, I analyse the impact of CCEA through the interviews, focus groups, and documentary analysis. Notably, this research is done in two field-research phases, leading to the analysis being distinctively divided into two sections. Finally, Chapter 9 offers an overview of what has been achieved in regard to the CCEA 2015 and answers the overriding research questions. And the implications of this research for the management of cultural events and culture-led urban regeneration initiative are discussed. Also, it discusses the contribution of the thesis, and suggests avenues for further research.

CHAPTER 2: ARTS, CULTURE AND SOCIAL REGENERATION

2.1. Introduction

Urban regeneration can involve a vast range of activities with different beneficiaries and different priorities (Garcia, 2004). The general underlying principles of projects are to improve the economic, social and physical circumstances of deprived and disadvantaged areas and households by adapting the existing built environment (Garcia, 2005; Hyslop, 2014). Amongst different priorities in the context of regeneration, Ginsburg (1999) stresses that social regeneration means “the improved and appropriate delivery of welfare services in poor neighbourhoods and the empowerment of local communities in regeneration process” (p.55). In this regard, this thesis specifically focuses on the role of cultural events in the social regeneration of deprived communities, especially in terms of securing benefits, an increased quality of life, community development and arguably improved social well-being for individuals facing disadvantage.

Based on these arguments, this chapter firstly examines what urban regeneration seeks to do, the social dimensions of urban regeneration and the possible conflicts between social regeneration and other approaches (such as economic or physical). Secondly, it specifically examines how culture and arts might help with regeneration schemes, and addresses any potential tensions that may arise. Finally, this chapter reflects on the experience of previous major cultural events such as the European Capital of Culture in Glasgow in 1990 and Liverpool in 2008, and the UK City of Culture in Derry-LondonDerry in Northern Ireland in 2013.

2.2. Defining Social Regeneration

This chapter begins by locating social regeneration as one of a number of different approaches to urban regeneration. In order to comprehend it, this section briefly handles the fundamental aims of urban regeneration, the social dimensions within the urban

regeneration context and exploring the potential overlaps and conflicts between different regeneration approaches.

2.2.1. What Is Urban Regeneration and What Does It Seek to Do?

Over the last three decades, urban renewal and urban regeneration have become important spheres of public policy in many countries around the world. The term urban regeneration appeared as a new phrase in the 1980s, evolving from the term 'urban renewal' to ameliorate the negative consequences of deindustrialisation such as widespread depopulation and dereliction. The aim of urban regeneration was to rectify unhealthy living circumstances and multiple problems of deprivation (Vickery, 2007; Jones and Evans, 2008). Above all, it is impossible to discuss urban regeneration without looking at previous policies of urban renewal and political contexts in which it operates. Prior to the 1970s, the dominant idea for developing cities was urban renewal through physical interventions or property-led development (Jones and Evans, 2008). The main interventions of urban renewal were to attempt to operate large scale housing improvements, the bulldozing of deteriorated areas, and property development (Ball and Maginn, 2005). Its aim was to improve living conditions in a time of economic growth. However, many renewal initiatives de-emphasised community and society improvement by focusing primarily on the construction of new buildings and replacing undesirable land uses with high-density housing.

Couch (1990) argues that "urban regeneration moves beyond the aims, aspirations and achievements of urban renewal, which is seen as a process of essentiality, physical change, urban development (or redevelopment) with its general mission and less well-defined purpose and urban revitalization (or re-habitation) which whilst suggests the need for action fails to specify a precise method of approach" (p.2). Arguably, the concern of urban regeneration has risen from the deterioration of cities associated with the decline of traditional industries, loss of employment and a decrease in population in North America and Western Europe (Tallon, 2010). From the 1970s onwards, increasing economic competition and economic restructuring has led to an increased emphasis on the need for a more holistic regeneration approach. On the basis of previous urban experiences, a number of experts

emphasise the significant role of urban regeneration in tackling a wide range of problems. Jones and Evans (2008) insist that urban regeneration has sought to ameliorate economic, social and environment transformation of derelict urban areas, while a regeneration initiative is defined by Roberts (2000) as “a comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems, and it seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental conditions of an area that has been subject to change” (p.17). As Roberts emphasises with regard to the harmonisation of the economic, physical, social and environmental issues, urban regeneration practically attempts to combine these domains within the process (Jones and Evans, 2008). Furthermore, encouraging and seeking the fullest possible engagement and co-operation of multi-agency has become the preferred method in processes of urban regeneration (Roberts, 2000; and Carter, 2000), as such partnership working can build “shared interests, reciprocal support and mutual benefit with each partner contributing according to their respective resources, strengths and areas of expertise” (Carter, 2000, p.49). Between different interests, such partnership working can bring a particular dynamism to problems of urban renewal.

2.2.2. The Social Dimension of Urban Regeneration

Within many urban regeneration schemes the social dimensions (i.e. enabling people to access opportunities, overcoming multiple deprivation and improving economic opportunities and social well-being) are considered as important. Ginsburg (1999) emphasises that “the improved and appropriate delivery of welfare services in poor neighbourhoods and the empowerment of local communities in regeneration process” should be prioritised in the process of social regeneration. Usually, social regeneration involves a combination of interventions that focus solely on people (improving skills, health, confidence, and education achievement) and/or places (community facilities, better environment, creation of job opportunity and internal investment). Further, Ginsburg (1999) and Evans (2005) stress that to achieve successful social regeneration, policies should encompass a variety of social factors – from the initial proposal of policy to final evaluation of the outcomes – including social care for disadvantaged people, creation of employment and training opportunity, empowerment

of local communities in decision-making processes, and investment for neighbourhood civil society.

2.2.3. Possible Conflicts between Social Regeneration and Other Approaches

In recent years the focus of regeneration has shifted from physical renewal to a broader concern with improving the quality of life and creating opportunities for disadvantaged communities. This approach sits alongside a strong emphasis on improving the economic competitiveness of cities which sometimes conflicts with the goals of social regeneration in terms of policy objectives, funding and priorities. The potential for conflicts has always been present when pursuing social regeneration policies alongside other approaches (e.g. physical and economic approaches).

Many experts such as Ginsburg (1999) and Jones and Evans (2008) stress that urban regeneration initiatives should ensure equal access to all areas including physical, environmental, economic and social spheres. Yet there is controversy over combining economic and social approaches to urban regeneration. As priorities have moved away from physical regeneration and towards forms of social and economic regeneration (Weaver, 2001), being able to balance economic and social effects has become key to urban regeneration efforts, particularly as economic and social approaches have, at initial glance, different objectives and purposes. For example, economic-led regeneration is largely focused on inner-city investment, consumer spending, attracting a skilled workforce and raising property values (Ennis and Douglass, 2011). On the other hand, social regeneration tries to tackle problems associated with unemployment, poverty and crime, while trying to improve poor amenities, a lack of education and weak housing conditions (Ginsburg, 1999; Evans, 2005). In many economic regeneration projects, central government and local authorities often coordinate to boost economic growth within an area mainly using a property-led approach (Jones and Evans, 2008). Ginsburg (1999) argues that these approaches tend to consider a property-orientated project as key to create benefits for local people and small business in poor neighbourhoods. However, such initiatives can cause problems and can often fail to address social and environmental problems, fail to respond to local community needs and can often

result in public money being used to subsidise private investors (Ginsburg, 1999; Evans and Shaw, 2004). Roberts (2000) emphasises that it has not always been the case that focusing on economic improvement is the only answer to finding a solution to urban problems.

Property development and economic approaches have dominated the urban regeneration policy sphere (Ginsburg (1999), and Evans (2005)). However, those approaches can neglect the need for an explicit area-based social intervention (Ginsburg, 1999). Ginsburg argues that public buildings, leisure facilities, public transport, new apartments and employment opportunities are a major element of urban regeneration, however, regeneration initiatives should not exclude the welfare and economic well-being of residents and small businesses, and the cohesion of communities in the area (p.56).

This first section has explored the main features of urban regeneration which is often used to resolve urban problems including economic collapse, ecological degradation, urban decline and social exclusion (Mehdipour and Nia, 2013) in brief. As discussed, there are a variety of functions to urban regeneration: to fulfil the continued needs for the physical replacement of many elements of the urban fabric such as housing and industrial areas; to highlight the importance of economic success as a linkage between social growth and urban progress; to make the best possible use of urban land and to avoid unnecessary sprawl in order to ensure optimum beneficial and effective use of land within the urban area; and to enable urban policy to be shaped through the collaborative planning process pursued by a multi-agency approach (Roberts and Sykes, 2000). To implement regenerative initiatives, a wide range of potential urban regeneration approaches spanning various aspects of economic, physical, cultural and social have been undertaken (Roberts and Sykes, 2000; Jones and Evans, 2008; Tallon, 2010). In particular, social regeneration is highlighted as being important in this thesis because the essential purposes of urban regeneration are to improve the quality of life of local residents living in a deprived area. However, the low profile of a social-led approach reflects the fact that urban regeneration schemes have continuously been influenced by pressures related to the infrastructural development of property and economic growth (Ginsburg, 1999). As a result, the social element associated with urban regeneration projects largely remain in the shadow of the economic forces surrounding property

development (Ibid.). To sum up, there have been (and likely always will be) controversy in the debates between economic, physical and social approaches to urban regeneration.

Despite the low profile of social aspects in regeneration projects, the culture and arts have played a determinant role as a force for community development as well as economic growth in shaping urban regeneration process (Landry, Greene, Matarasso, and Bianchini, 1996; Ennis and Douglass, 2011). To evidence this, the next section examines how culture and the arts might help with regeneration schemes.

2.3. Culture, Arts and Regeneration

There is now a strong body of literature arguing that arts and cultural activities can help to support economic and social regeneration (Matarasso, 1997; Costello, 1998; Stanziola, 1999; Evans, 2005). Williams (1995), Matarasso (1997) and Putnam (2000), for example, suggest that arts and culture can play a catalyst role in building social capital and the articulation of community goals and needs. Encompassing cultural activities in urban development strategies can help to create regeneration opportunities, change people's perceptions about a place (amongst those who live there and potential investors), and improve well-being. Based on the previous literature, this section explains how culture and the arts might help with regeneration (especially social regeneration), how culture and arts might be used in different ways, and the possibility for tensions and limitations in the use of arts and culture to support regeneration.

2.3.1. The Rise of Arts and Culture in Regeneration

In the context of urban regeneration, the term 'culture' embraces a wide range of categories, from architecture and design to cultural activity, artistic works, cultural events (i.e. sports), creativity and the knowledge economy (Jones and Evans, 2008). Before the 1960s, the meaning of culture was weighted so that almost all cultural components had a close relationship with 'high culture' without any recognition of economic impact. Between the

1960s and the 1970s, however, the need to integrate culture with the economy was recognised within municipal authorities and there was a post-materialist cultural shift to promote cultural elements in more effective ways (Navarro and Clark, 2012). From the beginning of the 1990s onward, cultural materials began to attract attention as a way to create urban development, alongside a growth in interest in the benefits associated with the 'creative' economy. In this regard, it was recognised that culture, and policies to promote culture, could not exist in isolation and instead should be closely integrated with several realms to improve urban regeneration initiatives. Throsby (2010, p.2) argues that as the term 'culture' has been continuing to enlarge its application to cultural policy, the scope of cultural policy is transforming from "a concern solely with the arts and heritage to a broader interpretation of culture as a way of life". Further, combining cultural productions and any type of public policy - from economic improvement to housing, city planning, social issues, infrastructure and education - possesses a synergistic correlation (Landry, 2003). Particularly, cultural policy became a crucial segment in urban planning and a 'cultural intervention' is now a powerful communication tool for achieving a new post-industrial urban identity (Vinci, 2008).

The cultural approach to urban regeneration is today entrenched in Western European cities and is already viewed as a way to revive a previously unfashionable area (Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993; Tallon, 2010). Since the 1970s, many cities recognised that culture can be an effective trigger to help make them competitive and to improve their economy (Ennis and Douglass, 2011). Jones and Evans (2008) argue that cultural resources, such as art galleries or sports stadiums, have anchoring qualities for regeneration programmes, and such an obvious manifestation attracts private investment in a declining area. For instance, cultural inputs (the harnessing of traditional crafts, local events, artworks' exhibitions, etc) are recognised as a way to bring employment and tourism to suburban areas that have suffered from industrial decline (Duxbury, Campbell and Keurvorst, 2009). Culture-based urban regeneration initiatives are also regarded as a driver to tackle problems associated with social exclusion, mental health, and anti-social behaviour (Ibid.).

2.3.2. What Comes Under the Remit of Arts and Culture in Relation to Social Regeneration

My own blunt evaluation of regeneration programmes that don't have a culture component is they won't work. Communities have to be energised, they have to be given some hope, they have to have the creative spirit released
(Robert Hughes, Chief Executive of Kirklees Council, 1998).

Evans (2005) argues that “culture is a critical aspect of mediating and articulating community need, as development is planned and takes shape, through culture’s potential to empower an animate. This should in turn lead to participation in, and ownership of, regeneration by the residents and other beneficiaries in an area (p. 959)”. Thus, there is no doubt that the development of arts and culture has emerged as a significant component of wider policy for regenerating post-industrial or declining cities. This section of the chapter begins with a definition of culture and arts that may be used to help create regeneration opportunities. It then explores how specifically culture and arts can help to support regeneration, with an emphasis on social regeneration.

As early as 1999, the UK Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (hereafter, DCMS) pointed out that “arts and sport, cultural and recreational activity, can contribute to neighbourhood renewal and make a real difference to health, crime, employment and education in deprived communities (DCMS, 1999, p.8)”. Thus, the role of culture and arts within cities is recognised here, and it has been argued that cities need various cultural resources (such as local events and a symbolic built environment) in order to function and cultural elements could become a catalyst for boosting the urban economy (Oakley, 2015). Undoubtedly, the use of culture as a driver to create and galvanise urban regeneration has been trialled extensively over the past 30 years (Northall, n.d.). Catterall (1998, p.4) highlights that “culture, but not just its aesthetic dimension can make communities. It can be a critical focus for effective and sustainable urban regeneration”.

In social regeneration terms, arts and culture “can be a primary empowerment tool utilised by regeneration and neighbourhood renewal practitioners in order to achieve wider

regeneration aims based on educational attainment health, crime and social cohesion” (Northall, p.3. n.d.). For instance, arts, music classes or diverse performances can play a tacit role in improving an individual’s literacy or social communication skills and breeding community cohesion between all ages and different cultural background neighbours in a community, which are considered the most imperative purposes of urban regeneration (Ibid.). Matarasso (1997), and the DCMS (1999), lay stress on using cultural activities for urban regeneration, arguing they can prove to be an effective instrument to promote residents’ engagement. Such cultural participation of residents could foster social improvement in a deprived community for personal growth, enhancing individual potential, and boosting the self-confidence of people and increasing their sense of self-worth (Ibid.). Further, these improvements can strengthen people’s social networks, improve employability prospects, and provide a positive sense of identity for people at risk of exclusion, such as disadvantaged people, disabled people and minority ethnic groups (Matarasso, 1997 and European Commission, 2005). In terms of building social capital, Delaney and Keaney (2006) insist that different forms of social capital are more likely to be generated by involving people in cultural participation together rather than just listening or viewing alone. In practice, those who are involved in cultural groups and organisations, both as members and as participants, tend to have more favourable impressions of their neighbourhoods and the host city itself, as well as stronger correlations with higher levels of social trust (Ibid.).

Apart from social regeneration, culture and arts can be used in different ways. Culture and arts have achieved prominence as providing a force for economic development, physical (environmental) improvement and community development (Evans, 2005, Ennis and Douglass, 2011, See Figure 2-1). In terms of physical regeneration, culture and arts policies can be used to promote the quality of the public realm, re-use redundant buildings, create environmental improvements, and increase the public use of space which can all lead to a reduction in vandalism and an increased sense of safety, pride in a place, development of living and working circumstance, and the incorporation of cultural considerations into future plans (Evans and Shaw, 2004). Converting redundant buildings for cultural use such as galleries, museums, performances spaces and workspaces for creative businesses is a visible attempt at urban regeneration (Ibid.). Further, along with the rebirth of unused buildings and

spaces, ancillary businesses such as cafes, and providing new street lighting, pavements and public arts could also emerge (Ibid.).

It has been argued that, in economic terms, culture and arts can directly or indirectly influence features such as inward investment, higher resident and visitor spend, job creation, employer location / retention, retention of graduates in a creative area, a more diverse work force, the development of new business, retail and leisure areas, more public-private-voluntary sector partnerships, more corporate involvement in the local cultural sector, and increased property prices in residential and business areas (Evans and Shaw, 2004). A summary of the evidence of culture’s contribution to regeneration can be found in Figure 2.1.

[Figure 2-1: An overview of the evidence of culture’s contribution to regeneration]

Physical Regeneration	Economic Regeneration	Social Regeneration
<p><i>Policy imperatives:</i> <i>Sustainable development</i> Land use, brownfield sites Compact city Design quality (CABE, 2002) Quality of Life and Liveability Open space and amenity Diversity (eco-, landscape) Mixed-Use/Multi-Use Heritage conservation Access and Mobility Town Centre revitalisation</p> <p><i>Tests and measurements:</i> Quality of Life indicators Design Quality Indicators Reduced car-use Re-use of developed land Land/building occupation Higher densities Reduced vandalism Listed buildings Conservation areas Public transport/usage</p> <p><i>Examples of evidence of impacts:</i></p>	<p><i>Competitiveness and growth</i> Un/Employment, Job quality Inward investment Regional development Wealth Creation SMEs/micro-enterprises Innovation and Knowledge Skills and Training Clusters Trade Invisibles (e.g. tourism) Evening Economy</p> <p>Income/spending in an area New and retained jobs Employer (re)location Public-private leverage/ROL Cost benefit analysis Input-Output/Leakage Additionality and substitution Willingness to pay for cultural amenities/contingent valuation Multipliers-jobs, spending</p>	<p><i>Social inclusion</i> Social cohesion Neighbourhoods Renewal Health and Well-being Identity Social Capital Governance Localism/Governance Diversity Heritage (‘Common’) Citizenship</p> <p>Attendance/Participation Crime rates/fear of crime Health, referrals New community networks Improved leisure options Lessened social isolation Reduced truancy and anti-social behaviour Volunteering Population growth</p> <p>A positive change in residents’ perceptions of their area</p>

Reuse of redundant buildings- studios, museum/gallery, venues	Increased property values/rents (Residential and business)	Displacing crime and anti-social behaviour through cultural activity (for example, youth)
Increased public use of space- reduction in vandalism and an increased sense of safety	Corporate involvement in the local cultural sector (leading to support in case and in kind)	A clearer expression of individual and shared ideas and needs
Cultural facilities and workspace in mixed-use developments	Higher resident and visitor spend arising from cultural activity (arts and cultural tourism)	Increase in volunteering and increased organisational capacity at a local level
High density (live/work), reduce environmental impacts, such as transport/traffic, pollution, health problems	Job creation (direct, indirect, induced); enterprise (new firms/start-ups, turnover/value added)	A change in the image or reputation of a place or group of people
The employment of artist on design and construction teams (Percent for Art)	Employer location/retention: Retention of graduates in the area (including artists/creatives)	Stronger public-private-voluntary-sector partnerships
Environmental improvements through public art and architecture	A more diverse workforce (skills, social, gender and ethnic profile)	Increased appreciation of the value and opportunities to take part in arts projects
The incorporation of cultural considerations into local development plans (LPAC, 1990)	Creative clusters and quarters: Production chain, local economy and procurement: joint R&D	Higher educational attainment) in arts and 'non-arts' subjects) Greater individual confidence and aspiration
Accessibility (disability), public transport usage and safety Heritage identity, stewardship, local distinctiveness/vemacular	Public-private-voluntary-sector partnerships ('mixed economy')	
	Investment (public-private sector leverage)	

Source: Evans (2005)

2.3.3. Potential Tensions and Limitations in the Use of Arts and Culture to Support Regeneration

As seen in Figure 2.1 cultural elements have been increasingly invoked in urban policy agendas and city marketing – it is considered as a magical solution to the various social, economic and urban problems (Pratt, 2009). From renovating the city’s image, to creating cultural quarters (Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993), culture can play a crucial role within the context of urban policy (Dinardi, 2014). However, there have been diverse contentions and tensions along with its popularity and complexity in the process of urban regeneration. This section explains the conflicts and dilemmas that exist in aspects of art and culture, and explores how they are being used and to what purpose.

In the last 30 years, a number of examples of good practice has surfaced, such as through the examples of the ECOC contests in Glasgow and Liverpool, the London Olympic Games, and the construction of the Guggenheim museum in Bilbao. However, various tensions and dilemmas have also emerged along with the development of a cultural approach to urban regeneration. In 1993, Bianchini highlighted the three dilemmas associated with this type of regeneration scheme – the cultural funding dilemma, the economic dilemma, and the spatial dilemma. First, the cultural funding dilemma refers to the complexity in allocating an appropriate balance of investment in temporary and permanent cultural activities. For example, Bianchini argues that reckless investing in landmark infrastructures might generate the creation of expensive, white-elephants and cause problems in gentrification in the surround areas. Such hallmark investment can often interrupt the development of local culture or participatory initiatives at community level (e.g. small-sized community festivals, and residents-led or charity-led events). Second, the economic dilemma refers to the balance between stimulating cultural consumption and supporting cultural productions. Nowadays, service-oriented cities strive to establish themselves as having an attractive cultural quarter, and attempt to excel in providing facilities for consumption in the context of a global economy. Practically, cultural consumption is immediately connected with benefits such as community involvement and the growth of tourism, and cultural productions require long lead times but is often the most effective approach to provide assurance to the local economy and its long-term sustainability (Garcia, 2004). However, balancing these two aspects remains a challenge within the context of culture-led urban regeneration. Third, there is a dilemma in the spatial aspect which includes a challenge to cater for the centre of cities and their suburban

surroundings, and problems associated with gentrification. In this regard, Garcia provided two examples – In 1990 the Glasgow ECOC offered a superlative geographical distribution of cultural programmes, including within the most deprived areas of Glasgow, but was unsuccessful in establishing sustainable structures to carry on the balance after the ECOC was completed; Barcelona does offer an example of how to create a geographical balance in the context of cultural provision, however this occurred at the expense of substituting old low-income areas with new upper-range neighbourhoods. In terms of using cultural hallmark investment to enhance the conditions of deprived communities, this cannot be considered as a success (Ibid.). Such investments aspire to refurbish unused or unattractive amenities through relocating high income groups or creative people while placing pressure on low income groups and often pushing them further to the margins (Garcia, 2004).

Another unsolved contradiction exists between economic and cultural priorities in urban policy (Garcia, 2004). Scott (2000, p.2) underlines that “cities have exhibited a conspicuous capacity both to generate culture in the form of art, ideas, styles and ways of life, and to induce high levels of economic innovation and growth” for surviving in the competitive global era. However, the key question remains as to how such economically competitive cities can retain an authentic local characteristic (Garcia, 2004), and what is the value of cultural elements in the global competitive marketplace? Boyle and Hughes (1991) critically argue that the use of culture to sell places in context of urban regeneration could actually spoil indigenous local culture and identities through an aim of focusing on big name commercial and private sponsors and the desire to attract large audiences. In this case, economic factors can be prioritised at the expense of providing a unique cultural strategy tailored to local characteristics.

There are other prevalent controversies and tensions between economic and social objectives in culture-led urban regeneration initiatives. Bianchini and Parkinson (1993), and Matarasso and Landry (1999) highlight a more fundamental problem between these two aspects that have such an apparent incompatibility, generating disputes between the city centre and the suburbs, between private and public space, between existing residents and tourists, and between economic development and the improvement of quality of life. More

specifically, Hajer (1993) stresses that culture-led regeneration initiatives aimed at consumption and re-imagining do not bring economic benefits to local residents. For example, existing unskilled workers are often unable to access emerging employment in the new cultural sectors; there is often little change to traditional industries and employment sectors; and jobs created by culture-led regeneration projects are usually part-time, focused within the customer service sector is often associated with unreasonably low wages and low job satisfaction (Hajer, 1993). Moreover, culture-led regeneration projects based upon mixed-use areas, flagship projects, and cultural renaissance of city centres often neglect low-income groups in marginalised or suburbs areas (Lewis, 2000). For instance, the revamped image of Glasgow through cultural elements such as the ECOC did not tackle the social deprivation of residents, and had little relevance towards tackling poverty or attempting to address existing problems occurring within the peripheral housing estates (Bianchini, Dawson and Evans, 1992, and Gomez, 1998). Garcia (2009a) adds that even planned cultural programmes for community involvement suffered from a lack of information and promotion to non-participants. The poor coverage and lack of an adequate PR budget resulted in low visibility of the events and a low memory from particularly marginal communities. In case of the 2008 ECOC in Liverpool, the ECOC premises had been designed as prestige arenas in which to enhance Liverpool's urban environment while boosting tourism, but in reality, had little regard for the practical social needs of the local community (Garcia, 2009a).

The potential benefits of adopting a cultural strategy to urban regeneration projects are apparent. An adequate supply of cultural opportunities can generate sustainable benefits within a community and within a city. There is substantial evidence regarding how cultural projects can contribute to the economic and social development of cities and communities (Johnson and Thomas, 2001; DCMS, 2004; Miles and Paddison, 2005; Evans, 2005; McCarthy, 2007; Jones and Evans, 2008; Ennis and Douglass, 2011). Particularly, in the context of social regeneration, "culture is a means of spreading the benefits of prosperity to all citizens, through its capacity to engender social and human capital, improve life skills and transform the organisational capacity to handle and respond to change" (Comedia, 2003). In terms of tensions between culture, arts and regeneration, there are no straight answers, but some lessons can be learned from previous culture-led initiatives. Providing the appropriate levels

of investment, balancing between stimulating cultural consumption and supporting cultural production, offering adequate catering for both the city centre and suburban areas, and avoiding the danger of gentrification remain as key challenges to any regeneration approach. In order to maximise the impacts between economic, social and cultural spheres Garcia (2004) argues that there are a series of key lessons: (a) capital investment and building schemes should have reliable and long-term cost planning, initiated at the beginning of the process; (b) to avoid the predominance of a top-down approach, the local community should be involved in the decision-making process, (c) cultural investment should promote the sustainable products of the local culture to encourage local consumption and sustainable exports, rather than infusing world class products, (d) cultural investment in both people and the community's environment should be prioritised (e) the achievements of culture-led regeneration is assessed through its cultural, economic and regenerative impacts in the long-term.

2.4. Reflections from the Experience of Major Cultural Events

As evidenced in the literature discussed above, arts and culture might find their way into regeneration through different ways, such as small-scale activities or large-scale events, for example. The initiative might be driven by regeneration (bringing arts and culture into regeneration) or social regeneration might be a benefit of wider cultural activities. This PhD looks at a particular feature of the arts and culture-regeneration linkages: the major extended place-based cultural event. In this respect, there is something that might be learned from the experience of similar sorts of events that have already been held, especially the ECOC and the UK City of Culture (hereafter, UKCOC). These two events will be examined in this section.

The ECOC is a year-long cultural event and has been in operation since 1985 to highlight the cultural diversity in Europe, encourage European citizens' sense of belonging to a common cultural area, and foster the contribution of culture in regenerating cities (Creative Europe website, n.d.). The event offers an opportunity to invigorate cultural vibrancy; produce an image renaissance for a previously low-profile city; enhance local perception; increase cultural tourism; ensure active engagement of communities; and attract worldwide

media attention; (Garcia and Cox, 2013). In July 2009, the inaugural UKCOC competition was launched in the United Kingdom. The motivation emerged from the successful ECOC experience of Liverpool in 2008 (Wilson and O'Brien, 2012) and had aims to take a symbolic handover from the Cultural Olympiad of 2012 (Gordon-Nesbitt, 2013). A report into the formation of the UKCOC justified that the fundamental vision was to put culture at the core of city agendas, policies and planning, and to use a cultural agenda as a decisive tool for social, civic, economic and participation agendas (Ibid.). More explicitly, the project proposed to improve cultural sustainability through encouraging artistic strengths, social impacts, economic objectives, support for existing organisations, public-private partnerships, funding, enhancing tourism, improving governance arrangements and create an after-event legacy (Culture for Cities and Regions, n.d.). In these events, there are usually social regeneration dimensions employed, however they are not always explicit. As an example, there is a good literature on the ECOC, especially from the UK (Glasgow and Liverpool) and UKCOC (London-Derry in Northern Ireland) events, that brings out the opportunities but also highlights the tensions inherent in these sorts of approaches to culture-based regeneration.

- The 1990 ECOC in Glasgow

Glasgow's economy, based heavily on shipbuilding and metal manufacture, has dramatically declined since the 1970s, directly impacting urban deterioration and creating problems with severe violence and industrial unrest (Mooney, 2004). In response to this, policy makers sought policies to invigorate long-term physical and economic regeneration schemes on the basis of culture, and through the creation of public-private partnerships (Edward, 2007). In order to host the ECOC, both the Glasgow District Council (GDC) and the Strathclyde Regional Council (SRC) drafted a list of specific objectives to enrich existing cultural organisation programmes, pursue a more collaborative approach to cultural provision, create employment opportunities and increase participation in cultural activities (Myerscough, 1991). In particular, the project organisers aimed to reach out to deprived communities, promote social cohesion and launch a broad cultural remit that would impact on features such as religion, sport, and technology (Ibid, p.2). Glasgow 1990 formed the

foundations for how cultural events and the ECOC could regenerate a city, and kickstarted discussions on wider urban cultural policies (Garcia, 2015).

Within the context of economy development, the Monitoring Glasgow Report 1990 by John Myerscough explains that the ECOC event brought a positive net economic return to the regional economy of £10.3 - 14.1 million. Also, additional employment was calculated to be between 5,350 – 5,580; a number of private sectors (e.g. business sponsorship, charitable trusts, corporate donations (festivals office), other private giving including corporate memberships, and kind giving via festivals office including friends, endowment income and donations) contributed to 340 to 350 new art businesses; and the commitment of the private sectors to cultural events was valued at £6.1 million. According to the Scottish Tourist Board, between 1991 and 1998 UK tourist travel to Glasgow rose by 88% while the foreign tourist rate between 1991 and 1997 grew by 25%, with a 200% increase in conference sales since 1997.

The 1990 ECOC also contributed to social aspects of urban life, impacting on education, the distribution of cultural benefits to marginal communities, the creation of a disability arts movement, and new social work programmes (Myerscough, 1991; Garcia, 2009a). The SRC spent £1.95million on 677 educational initiatives including school projects, community education, and regional projects, to provide broader cultural opportunities to students (Myerscough, 1991). In order to offer various opportunities to ordinary, disabled and disadvantaged residents, many social work programmes were arranged by Glasgow's established arts and culture companies (e.g. Scottish Opera, Scottish Ballet, and the Scottish Academy of Music & Drama) to meet the specific needs of individuals and communities. These projects were focused on gaining and using skills through cultural programmes. Specifically, creative writing sessions led to word processing and publishing techniques, music programmes offered a form of communication for the profoundly handicapped, visual art helped people suffering from dementia, and movement therapy techniques supported children with severe obstacles in verbal communication (Myerscough, 1991).

- The 2008 ECOC in Liverpool

Distinctively, the ECOC in Liverpool 2008 is a compelling lesson in culture-led urban regeneration in the context of “integrating the cultural sector into the administrative and decision-making network for the city” (O’Brien, 2011, p.46). In order to make a successful achievement of ECOC, there was an unprecedented collaboration between the public and private sectors, individuals and organisations, cultural partners, and local artists, who worked together towards one mutual goal (Garcia, n.d.). Furthermore, the partnerships also involved organisations such as tourist companies, national agencies, housing agencies, local communities, voluntary groups, sporting clubs, transport companies, cultural education institutions, and representatives from the health service, (Garcia, 2009b). These efforts attracted 9.7 million additional visits to Liverpool during the ECOC, with an economic impact of £753.8 million across Liverpool, Merseyside and the North West region (Garcia, Melville, and Cox, 2010).

In terms of the social dimension, volunteers and local participants reported a range of social outcomes, for instance through social interactions caused by cultural involvement, the chance to welcome outsiders to the city, and the satisfaction of promoting the city’s culture and heritage (Garcia, et, al. 2010). The 08 Volunteer programme attracted 971 active volunteers, 15% of which were black or minority ethnic, and 6.1% disabled. Through the programme, volunteering participants gained “the opportunity to reach out to others and make connections and friendships”, “great satisfaction from the feeling that they were making a positive contribution to the rehabilitation of Liverpool”, and “their knowledge of Liverpool’s history, heritage and cultural offer, and developed their confidence and the skills in dealing with members of the public” (Garcia, et.al, 2010, p. 22). According to the Impacts 08 Neighbourhood directed by Beatriz Garcia and reported by Ruth Melville, there was active engagement during the ECOC across the city: 66% of residents had been reported to take part in at least one ECOC event, and 14% participants strongly agreed that they had done something new, including visiting a cultural space for the first time or attending a different type of event (Ibid.). Those who are involved in the cultural programmes appeared more likely to feel a positive relation to their community, and had confidence to do so in the future (Ibid.).

- The 2013 UK City of Culture in Derry~Londonderry

Derry~Londonderry is the second largest urban centre in Northern Ireland, but has been known as a heavily militarised area with widespread civil unrest since the beginning of the 1970s (Culture for Cities and Regions, n.d.). In 2009, Derry~Londonderry was classified as the poorest area in Northern Ireland in comparison to 25 other District Council areas. The city suffered from the worst level of economic deprivation in the province (Londonderry Sentinel, 2009). In order to tackle the piecemeal governance approach and to address the deficit in coherent regional physical development, in 1995 the City Vision Board recommended five main features of future policy: culture, economy, community development, community inclusion and environment (Department of the Environment Northern Ireland, 2000). Particularly, Derry City Council said that “leisure and culture in its widest sense has a major impact on the quality of life in helping communities to come together in sharing a sense of identity” (Derry City Council website, n.d.). Furthermore, the city harnessed the importance of quality of life and economic improvement by exploring the capability of cultural elements, arts and leisure spheres as a regeneration-delivering implement (The Regeneration Strategy Board, 2011). This optimism became the catalyst in winning the first ever UKCOC in 2013.

To encourage the quality of life of local residents and to improve the social aspects of urban life, there were several schemes associated with the UKCOC including “redeveloping the former Ebrington army barracks, the upgrade of the rail way line and a multi-million-pound revamp of the public realm with around £80m investment” (Kivlehan, 2013, published in Radius Data Exchange). Bringing a lasting improvement in physical landscape of Derry has had a chance to enhance the quality of life for local people (Morgan, 2015). Furthermore, Derry particularly emphasised that “UKCOC is the focus on equality, good relations and social cohesion which are essential for transformation” (Derry City Council, 2009. p.31), and a year-long event would commit to boost civic identity, a wide range of cultural opportunities, and create the active engagement of public “within neighbourhoods by integrating cultural activities into the wider regeneration vision” (p.31). Shona McCarthy, the Chief Executive of Culture Company 2013, insists that cultural programmes hosted at the schools, local communities and creative art sectors have not only promoted creative practice, professional

experience and cultural participation, but also remained the most prominent legacy of the UKCOC.

The UKCOC included high-art performances from the likes of the London Symphony Orchestra, the Royal Ballet, and the first staging of the Turner prize outside England. However, smaller and community events were also added to take culture on to the streets and to make it accessible to as many people as possible (Graeme Farrow, the executive programmer, interviewed by Caines, 2015). For example, there were attempts to set world records for the longest River-dance, the Turner Prize that was the first time the prestigious art competition outside England, musical entertainment across various venues, and electronic music festivals (Buckler, 2013; BBC, 2013). Such events brought a sense of coming together in a city where wall murals still gave an impression of sectarian division (Buckler, 2013). Furthermore, UKCOC gained support from both unionist and nationalist communities, leading some to argue that this led to unite people in the city while creating opportunities for social interaction and tolerance (Buckler, 2013). In order to encourage young people, Derry provided new computers and creative teaching software for local schools and assembled a cast of young people to perform Hofesh Shechter's Political Mother production. The groups said that they felt they became part of the event and owned what went on their city (James, 2013). Thus, the cultural events affected to not only inspire a new generation, but also to involve communities in a co-operative and supportive way in Derry~Londonderry.

2.4.1. Limitations of the Year-long Events

As mentioned in Section 2.3.3, the tensions between economic and social goals inherent within a cultural approach to regeneration has led to controversial issues within the events discussed in this chapter. In practice, Garcia (2004) states that the 1990 Glasgow ECOC allowed the city to receive an investment in capital projects of £43 million as well as investment in new or refurbished cultural facilities (e.g. Glasgow Concert Hall, McLellan Galleries, and Tramway). However, the systematic establishment of partnerships and workforce structures were neglected by event organisers, who failed to form the strategies that could allow further activities to be produced and distributed in subsequent years. As a

result, the Glasgow ECOC was criticised for being eager to achieve economic benefits rather than approaching with a cultural perspective that could extend beyond 1990 (Booth, 1996). Garcia (2004, p. 319) argued that “culture was used as an instrument for economic regeneration without being supported by a properly developed urban cultural policy”. The economic-centred results by the Glasgow ECOC were listed by Mooney (2004), who stresses that it could provoke more poverty, greater economic hardship and a growing divide between ‘haves’ and ‘have nots’ (p. 332).

The case of the 2008 ECOC in Liverpool, one of the most common criticisms was the inappropriate geographical distribution of event programmes (Impacts 08, 2010). In the neighbourhood impacts research, around half of respondents (56%) felt that only the city centre has benefited from ECOC in 2009. Also, 55% of respondents agreed that ECOC had made no difference to any neighbourhood. This rate of agreement was very high in certain communities, such as 84% in Kirkdale and 83% in Knotty Ash. On the other hand, 64% of respondents in city centre felt that ECOC has made a difference in their neighbourhood. In conclusion, there was lack of community engagement that was not facilitated from the bottom-up and through local structures, and the event was arguably hosted within safe areas (Impacts 08, 2010).

As a means of strengthening the images of cities in the context of the global economy, improving the built-environment, and encouraging social and tourism markets, a greater number of cities have been employing mega-cultural events (Getz, 1991). There is no doubt that (as is evidenced through the literature reviewed in this chapter) a year-long cultural event like the ECOC and UKCOC can contribute to an invigorated cultural vibrancy, producing an image renaissance for a previously low-profile city, as well as enhancing the local perception, increase cultural tourism, and attract worldwide media attention (Garcia and Cox, 2013). However, these mega-events still face challenges and dilemmas. These events have to overcome the inability in using cultural investments to improve the environment of deprived communities, and a sustainable structure needs to be built to maintain the balance once the events are over (Garcia, 2004). In terms of social impacts, it is important to utilise such mega events to refurbish unused or unattractive amenities, although this may have the outcome of

relocating high income groups or creative people while placing pressure on low income groups (Garcia, 2004). Therefore, organisers should consider an appropriate balance of investment, balancing between stimulating cultural consumption and supporting cultural production, appropriately catering for both the city centre and suburban areas, and trying to avoid the danger of gentrification.

2.5. Summary

Examining the possible relationships between culture, arts and social regeneration and why culture-led approaches create social regeneration opportunities is important to examine the arguments made for using culture within the context of urban regeneration in theory and in practice. In this chapter, the potential benefits of adopting a cultural strategy to urban regeneration policy are apparent. Moreover, an adequate supply of cultural opportunities can generate sustainable benefits in a community and the wider city itself. However, as many cultural approaches to urban regeneration have been focused on the creation of flagship buildings or the hosting a mega-event, there are also concerns around the actual social impacts and the impacts on deprived communities. Jones and Evans (2008, p.138) stress that such events or symbolic cultural infrastructures “are only as successful as the uses to which they are put, and high-profile flops have left some areas with embarrassing and very expensive white elephants for which new uses have to be found”. This might also lead to periodic economic or social deprivation in a particular area. Despite the complexities and contradictions of urban regeneration initiatives through integrating cultural strategies, the use of culture and arts is still in the mainstream of urban regeneration policy and will play an ever more important role in further regeneration initiatives.

CHAPTER 3: THE CHANGING CONTEXT FOR URBAN REGENERATION IN SOUTH KOREA

3.1. Introduction

Urban regeneration has gained a large public profile within the South Korean urban policy agenda since the early 2000s, and is of significant contemporary public interest and debate in the country (Kim, 2015a). To fully understand the details of this research, it is important to begin with an understanding of what the concept of 'urban regeneration' means and encompasses in South Korea, and to examine the changing approach from 'urban redevelopment' to 'urban regeneration'. The term urban regeneration does not have a strong history in South Korea, and there is only limited academic and policy literature on the topic. In South Korea, urban regeneration has not been a key concern as priority has instead been given to urban clearance or redevelopment projects, mainly to upgrade poor-quality housing, promote economic development and secure investor profit. However, today social issues and the views of community groups, often ignored in previous processes of redevelopment, have become more prominent in creating stabilised growth and the sustainable development of urban areas in South Korea. It can be argued that policymakers within South Korea have recognised the importance of an urban regeneration policy that aims at the simultaneous adaptation of the physical fabric, economic circumstances, social structures and environmental conditions (Kim, 2015a). Recently, urban 'regeneration' has become a buzzword for rectifying the previous drawbacks of redevelopment policy, with attempts to focus on social and community issues rather than purely economic and property benefits.

Recent years have seen a growing literature on Korean urban redevelopment projects, including academic papers examining how to improve the direction of urban initiatives (Jung, 1996), the relocation and compensation measures associated with renewal projects (Kim, Jung and Jung, 2010), new town developments to create sustainable cities (Lee, Yu, and Kwon, 2015) and gentrification arising from urban renewal policies (Kyung and Kim, 2011; Ha, 2015). A number of studies have focused specifically on urban regeneration including research on: analysing the problems of urban improvement projects and the systems for urban

regeneration (Song, 2010); the public agencies and grant programs of urban regeneration in England (Yang, Kim and Kim, 2007); establishment of key issues, planning goals and development of step-by-step progress model for sustainable urban regeneration (Lee and Lee, 2009); paradigm changes of urban regeneration policy and its tasks (Kim, 2008); and on resuscitating the city and partnerships between private-public sectors (Lee and Won, 2008). Also, many studies focused on comparative research using the examples of Bilbao, Sheffield Manchester, Glasgow, and a range of regeneration programmes within Japan (Cheon and Kim, 2008; Oh, 2010; Yang, 2007; Lee, 2009; Shin and Kim 2007; and Ahn, 2011). After the introduction of the Special Act on Urban Regeneration (hereafter, SAUR) legislation in 2013 (the detailed information is explained in Section 3.5.), more practical-focused case studies have been undertaken, such as evaluation reports examining the regeneration targeted areas, improvements to policy and procedure, the range of economic benefits, the role of stakeholders, and the growing importance of public-private partnerships (Kim, 2014c; Kim, Lee and Lee, 2015; Lee and Ahn, 2016; and Jung, Lee, and Lee, 2016). However, there is still limited research on the social perspectives of community development in deprived areas and how urban regeneration can impact upon citizen quality of life.

Before examining the social regeneration impacts that arise from a cultural approach to urban regeneration in South Korea, it is important to begin with an understanding of why urban regeneration is believed to be more encompassing than urban redevelopment schemes in terms of solving urban problem and enhancing urban sustainability. This chapter begins with an understanding of the urbanisation phenomenon and the problems associated with urban redevelopment initiatives.

3.2. The Impacts of Urbanisation and the Emergence of Urban Redevelopment Schemes in South Korea

In order to understand why the concept of urban regeneration has risen in importance in South Korea, it is first necessary to appreciate the process of urban redevelopment and its possible implications. This section scrutinises the urbanisation processes of South Korea since the 1960s, and examines the redevelopment policies undertaken as a solution to tackle the

problems of drastic urbanisation. As part of modernisation efforts following the Korean War (1950 to 1953), South Korea experienced an unprecedented increase in urbanisation and industrialisation (Lee, 2000). Especially, urbanisation rose dramatically from 35.8% to 85% between 1960 and 1995 (Kwon, 2001). During this period, South Korea developed from a poor nation with an agricultural base to become a global industrial powerhouse. For instance, Seoul’s population swelled from 2.5 million in 1962 to 10 million in 1988 through rural-urban migration and people returning from abroad, having fled due to Japanese occupation and the Korean War. Busan (one of metropolitan city of South Korea) also experienced radical urbanisation from 37% in 1960 to 87.8% in 2000 (National Statistical Office). Furthermore, as could be seen in Figure 3-1, the urbanisation rate has continued to creep up from 89.87% in 2004 to 91.66% in 2014 according to the average rate of main capital cities (e.g. Seoul, Busan, Daegu, Gwangju, Incheon and Daejeon). In this regard, it is known that 47 million people currently live in cities, out of a total population of 51 million (Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport (hereafter, MOLIT, 2015a).

[Figure 3-1: Population Rate in Cities of South Korea]

Year	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Percentage	89.97	90.11	90.29	90.54	90.50	90.78	90.93	91.12	91.04	91.58	91.66

Source: MOLIT (2015a)

This rapid urbanisation triggered inevitable changes to the socio-economic environment, leading to a lack of developable land, a persistent housing shortage and the growth of squatter settlements (Greene, 2003). Such phenomenon had consolidated symptoms of urban deprivation including social polarisation, economic hardship, residential environment degradation, traffic congestion, over-rapid growth and overpopulation in many capital cities (Ibid.). The concentration of people, buildings and economic activities in major cities has arguably resulted in low quality infrastructure and living environments. In this regard, as shown in Figure 3-2, between 2005 and 2010 there has been significant increase in the concentration of deprivation¹, with 96 inner city areas having high-level concentrations

¹ The deprivation was measured by the urban deprivation index of South Korea. It encompasses social economy and environment spheres including the high rate of depopulation, the decline of local business and the degree

of deprivation out of 114 areas in South Korea (MOLIT and Korea Urban Regeneration Centre (hereafter, KURC), 2013). As a matter of fact, the deprivation phenomenon in those cities has been caused by depopulation, low fertility rate, ageing, low growth of economy, housing deprivation and local business decrease (Koo, 2016). In order to solve various urban problems arising from urbanisation, there had been a number of approaches for urban remedies since the 1960s. A key issue is the dominance of an interest in physical redevelopment from 1960s onwards, based on the removal of slum dwellings and the efficient utilisation of urban land in support of economic development. In the next section I examine how urban redevelopment schemes have influenced the designated areas, exploring the gradual shift away from the policies of urban redevelopment and towards policies of urban regeneration.

3.3. Urban Redevelopment in the 1960s

The brutal consequence of the Korean War left many cities in South Korea ravaged in 1953. Few buildings and houses were left standing. From the 1960s onwards, the priority for urban redevelopment was to remove poor quality and slum dwelling in cities. During that period office blocks were built on land cleared of slums, and traditional homes and historic buildings replaced by numerous blocks of flats (Economist, 2015a). The project was implemented through ambitious state-led programmes such as slum clearance and demolition (Kim, Ryu, Cha and Jung, 2013). Large-scale redevelopment projects were regarded as the most effective and influential way to improve and increase housing supply (ibid.).

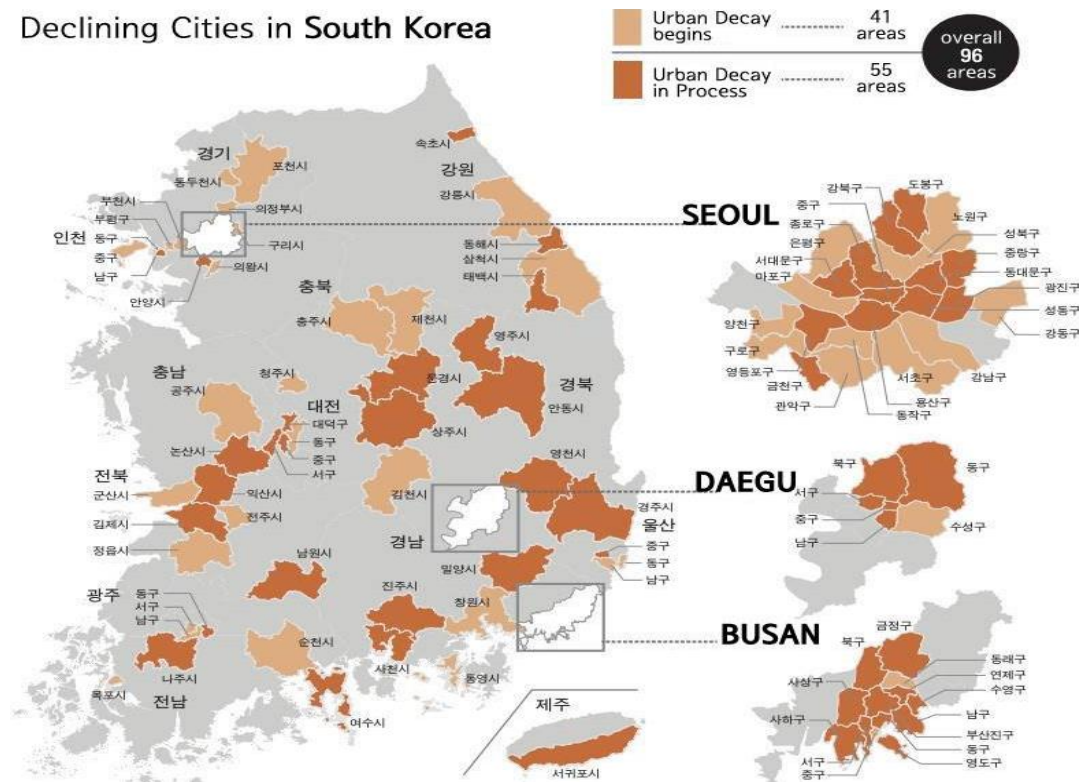
This post-Korean War urban redevelopment strategy drew a massive wave of rural migrants and refugees from outlying areas into the capital cities. This was reinforced with the industrialisation of the 1960s and 1970s, and the massive influx of people from suburban and rural areas mean cities experienced an acute housing shortage, the inadequate provision of

of housing deprivation in the last five years and the rate of deteriorated building over 20 years (Ministry of Land Infrastructure and Transport (MOLIT), and Korea Urban Renaissance Centre (KURC), 2013).

fundamental infrastructure, and weak environmental quality for the average citizen (Ha, 2004). The lack of housing caused a rise in squatter settlements in the surrounding mountains

[Figure 3-2: Declining Cities in South Korea]

Declining Cities in South Korea



Source: MOLIT and KURC (2013). p.6

and hillsides of cities with the highest population densities (e.g. in Seoul and Busan, see Figure 3-3). Squatters began to build their own homes without the consent of the city authorities, leading to unplanned and uncontrollable urban sprawl. The national rate of squatter settlements was around 20% to 30% in the 1960s and 1970s (Ibid.). In order to tackle the problems and accommodate more labour, the government launched an urban redevelopment project called New Town, that sought to relocate squatter settlements from the central urban areas to the surrounding suburbs, with an aim to enhance land efficiency (Lee, 2000; Kim, 1997).

The two primary overarching goals of New Town – to provide resolution to urban problems in large cities and to stabilise the national territory – lead to the project being

developed according to different purposes and different needs (Lee, Yu and Kwon, 2015). After 1966 a sequence of large-scale eviction projects was undertaken, with the Seoul Metropolitan Government undergoing its first major slum clearance project, with the planned replacement of 136,000 squatter units with 90,000 public housings in Gwangju (recently called Seong-nam) (Asian Coalition of Housing Rights (ACHR), 1989). Until that time, the squatter issue had been mainly concentrated in Seoul (Kim, 1997). Central government bulldozed through mountains and built over rivers to build roads, state-sponsored mass housing and new urban infrastructure (Ryu, 2004). However, during this period, people living

[Figure 3-3: Shantytown of South Korea in the 1960s]



Source, Shin (2008). Aving Global news network.

in squatter settlements were often forcibly removed by the state without proper provision for their resettlement, leading to the displacement of more than 230,000 people. The initial aim of the project was to clear poor housing units within three years, and re-build the public housing units to provide living accommodation to the displaced households (Kim, 1997). More than 70,000 housing units were actually destroyed, with only 16,000 housing units being reconstructed by 1970 (Ibid.). The results led to a small number of residents benefitting with higher standard housing than before, however it also led to the displacement of the majority of slum residents, forcing them into the suburban areas near forests, national parks, and

rivers, usually on government-owned land without sufficient infrastructure (Yum 8209, 2013. and Kim, 1997).

3.3.1. New Town Projects in the 1970s and 1980s: Its Negative Outcomes

In the 1970s, the New Town policy as a redevelopment strategy became more pronounced especially after the passing of the Urban Redevelopment Act (hereafter URA) in 1976 (Share and Future, 2016). Aside from Seoul, a number of other municipal governments also embarked on slum clearances after the passing of the URA (Greene, 2003). Such a development-centred approach was designed to boost the national economy, and land was mobilised as a production element to boost economic growth (Won, 2010). However, this state-led urban redevelopment approach focused heavily on physical intervention, and failed to tackle the gap between economic and social inequalities created by structural economic and social change (Lee, 2000). Many of the benefits from the redevelopment strategies went to private developers (e.g. private construction companies) and the state (which could benefit from selling off government owned land and collecting more tax), with little benefit for existing residents. Such unequal distribution of profits also led to violent protests from residents during the 1970s (Ibid.).

The 1980s heralded a new chapter in the urban redevelopment. As the country was becoming industrialised and transformed into a high-technology society, the traditional urban fabric and quality of the existing buildings were dramatically changed (Hong, 2013d). Traditional buildings were replaced by high-rise complexes and skyscraper apartments as the era gradually shifted. The Seoul Redevelopment Planning Report published by the Seoul Institute in 2001 highlights that the demands on development was relatively patchy during the 1970s, yet during the 1980s the active implementation of the redevelopment strategy began in earnest, with the rapid growth of mega-sized firms, an increased tertiary industry in urban areas, and the host of mega-sports events such as the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Olympics. The widespread development of skyscrapers and luxurious buildings changed the

image and appearance of South Korea's cities (Hong, 2013d). However, the changes also led to a number of social problems, including forcible eviction processes in Seoul.

For the 1988 Olympics, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) announced that South Korea would host the 1988 Summer Olympic Games in 1981, with the successful bid sparking interest in urban renewal projects, and the Olympics bringing a heightened demand for land to build sports venues, tourist facilities and accommodation for athletes and visitors (Greene, 2003). Such construction led to the significant spatial pattern of evictions by with a heavy focus on the provision of land for venues and the demolition of slums (ACHR, 1989, p.92). In 1983 the Korean Government listed 227 areas for renewal by 1990, and during the five-year Olympic preparation period 48,000 buildings and housing units were demolished, and 720,000 people were evicted without any replacement housing in place (ACHR, 1989). As a result, the redevelopment projects made significant numbers of people homeless, with widespread evictions, a lack of replacement low-cost housing, and inadequate basic tenant rights (Greene, 2003). This forcible eviction programme in Seoul 1980s is still considered as the largest government-sponsored eviction programme in the world over the past few decades (Scott, 1995) (See Figure 3-4).

[Figure 3-4: Forcible Urban Regeneration Project in Seoul for the 1988 Olympics]



[Source: National Museum of Korean Contemporary History (2015).
<http://muchkorea.tistory.com/402>]

Outside of Seoul, evictions also happened in Busan and Daegu. Under the government of Jeon Duhwan (former 11st and 12nd President of South Korea, 1980 to 1988), the

government, together with large construction firms, unilaterally bulldozed squatter areas and shanty houses (Seo, 2014). As mentioned above, the 1980s was the period when the partnership started with *Chaebol* (A large family-owned business conglomerate in South Korea) and private construction companies. Bringing *Chaebol* into the projects was considered as crucial to fast-track South Korea's economic development, and the urban redevelopment plans were solely managed by the state and the large conglomerates (e.g. Samsung, LG, Lotte, Hyundai, and SK) (Chang, 2009). The large companies and construction firms began to make substantial profits through development schemes such as the construction of high-rise apartments in poor quality housing areas (Seo, 2014). However, the schemes also attracted the interest of criminal gangs involved demolition and evictions, under the form of '*Youngyeok*' (a service company). Such vicious interventions led to suicides and violence, with the South Korean government shifting blame and responsibility to the private companies (Ibid.).

During this time period, the New Town projects were expanded to tackle the problems of six capital cities. In case of Seoul, five new towns (Bundang, Ilsan, Pyeongchon, Sanbon and Joondong, see figure 3-5) were created in the late 1980s to alleviate overcrowding, the shortage of housing supply and to tackle housing price inflation within 20 kilometres outside the city. However, the New Town policy largely overlooked social and economic factors and triggered the polarisation of the local community (Ha, 1998; Kim, 2015a). Coercive eviction and thoughtless New Town programmes also failed to create partnerships between property owners and developers, with tenants not only being forced to leave redevelopment sites but receiving poor guarantees of relocation (Greene, 2003).

[Figure 3-5: The Sites of New Town of Seoul]



[Source: Manuel Alvarez Diestro, www.archdaily.com]

3.3.2. Expanded Process of Redevelopment initiatives in the 2000s and Afterward

The period between 2002 and 2006 was considered as a boom of the New Town redevelopment initiative under the direction of former Mayor of Seoul, Lee Myungbak (also former president of South Korea from 2008 to 2013, and a housebuilder before becoming mayor). Mayor Lee enthusiastically advocated the New Town project to balance house prices and alleviate economic inequality. Along with new government policy (under the president Kim Dae-jung, Democratic party, now known as The Minjoo Party of Korea), the Urban and Residential Environment Improvement Act (hereafter UREIA) was passed in 2002, which contained various types of redevelopment elements such as the Residential Improvement Project; Housing Redevelopment; Housing Reconstruction Project and the Urban Environmental Redevelopment Project. The UREIA initially led to the acceleration of urban redevelopment projects, and the principal aims were to remedy the deteriorating residential environment by combining urban strategies and the necessary laws. Also, the Act integrated and consolidated a number of previous laws – the Housing Construction Promotion Act (1972), the Urban Redevelopment Act (1976) and the Temporary Measures for Residential Improvement of Urban Low-income Group (from 1989 to 2004) (Legislation, 2011). Although the main aims of the UREIA was to ameliorate redevelopment problems arising from previous attempts (such as the dwelling instability of tenant, eviction of residents and unreasonable increases in housing and ‘jeonse’²), reconstructing a derelict area, bulldozing slum areas, and building sky-scraper apartments for profit have been still bringing negative results in the targeted local areas (Lim, 2013). Another problem was that the UREIA placed the protection of the private ownership of domestic property as its first priority, pushing the needs of residents to one side. Land owner associations were created to maximise property values in a targeted area, and they took a responsibility for signing a contract with a private development company (Kyung and Kim, 2011). As a result, a tenant or merchant without

² Jeonse: South Korea’s unusual rental system, known as jeonse, does not involve monthly rental payments. Instead, tenants provide landlords with a deposit, typically between a quarter and half of the property’s value, to invest for the duration of the lease. Property owners keep the returns and then repay the lump sum at the end of the tenancy (Economist, 2014).

property had no input into the processes with little voice as to the future direction of the regeneration projects (Kim, Ryu, Cha and Jung, 2013). The Act's main aim – to foster a better living environment for low-income residents – was largely ignored (Berg, 2012).

The period between 2002 and 2006 saw a real estate boom and more than 1,300 sites were designated as redevelopment projects in Seoul, 370 of which were planned within 35 New Town initiatives (Berg, 2012). At first, the strategy in old towns did seem to increase property values. However, 85% of the planned new town initiatives did not properly break ground until 2011 (*ibid.*), with many residents refusing to back the projects. As a result, many of the large-scale urban housing projects were gradually cancelled. As an example, since 2012 there have been 196 cancelled projects in 606 areas designated for redevelopment due to financing problems arising from the global economic slowdown, the opposition of residents or landowners, and a lack of profitable schemes (Lee, Park, Kim and Lee, 2014; Choi, 2016c). The government did offer some financial assistance, however this was often minimal, with 19 cancelled sites being offered help through the installation of CCTV and supporting remodelling aid. Another 177 areas suffered problems with uneven streets, buildings and insufficient welfare services (Housingherald, 2014). As a result, such proliferation of redevelopment maladies often led to a loss of local characteristics and distinctiveness, excessive profit-centred development led by private developers, inadequate public participation and the absence of local characters. Furthermore, such large-scale housing projects have been constantly criticised for negatively affecting the quality of the physical environment, poor provision of local services, an absence of basic infrastructure, and weak social networking and social exclusion (Berg, 2012).

With the development approach discussed above becoming increasingly criticised and problematic, the term 'urban regeneration' emerged as an alternative approach from the late 2000s. The construction of modern apartments has still proliferated in South Korea, but urban regeneration schemes became a potent alternative in revitalising deprived areas, in particular a large number of cancelled New Town sites (MOLIT and KURC, 2013). It is believed that urban redevelopment has been regarded a crucial issue in South Korea to reinforce the housing environment, however, this can frequently cause not only environmental or physical

problems such as thoughtless demolition, but also social problems including the collapse of social networks and community destruction. In this regard, the practical intervention of urban regeneration became an indispensable way to secure and protect inner city areas and communities. In the following section I will explore the importance of urban regeneration strategies in South Korea, examining how they intended to reduce social problems arising from previous schemes, leading to the emergence of solid legislation to support regenerative plans. I also examine the methods deployed through urban regeneration in one targeted area in detail.

3.4. The Context of Urban Regeneration in South Korea

Urban regeneration as a concept emerged in South Korea around 2000 and does have a different emphasis compared to urban redevelopment. However, due to the short history, there is limited information and secondary analysis about any impact policies and procedures have had, especially in English. Therefore, this section examines a number of interventions and policies that could be classified under the wide banner of 'urban regeneration'. A number of practical and academic experts have argued that urban regeneration offers an opportunity to rectify the mistakes made through previous urban renewal or new town projects (Song, 2010, Kang, 2014, and Yoon and Nam, 2015). It is true that previous urban redevelopment projects offered an opportunity to eradicate the physical problems that arose following the Korean War; however, in many ways the priorities of slum clearance, new towns and reconstruction led to other problems such as poor area designations, urban sprawl, property-led construction, profits occurring to private investors rather than existing residents, community breakup and social exclusion. To tackle these problems, Kim (2015a) argues that urban regeneration policy should be pursued in South Korea as:

- (a) There is evidence of strong patterns of deprivation and disadvantage that have not been addressed by economic or physical development.
- (b) Past waves of intervention were very limited in tackling deprivation and disadvantage.

- (c) There are potentially new dynamics to urban disadvantage due to ageing, low fertility, unemployment, economic structure, etc.

Since the 2000s, the South Korean government started to recognise the importance of urban regeneration policy that aims at the simultaneous adaptation of the physical fabric, economic circumstances, social structures, environmental condition and particularly encouraging local residents participation in wider urban processes (Kim, 2015a). In order to activate these regeneration initiatives, 'the urban regeneration test-bed project' was undertaken in Changwon and Jeonju between 2010 and 2014, with an allocated budget of \$140 million. The project sought to apply the urban regeneration policies, systems, techniques, planning, and construction skills developed by the Korean Urban Regeneration Centre in an initial demonstration site before the projects could be legislated nationally. (Oh, 2014). The Park Geun-hye government announced the establishment of urban regeneration policy as a presidential pledge in 2012. Following this, the specific definition of urban regeneration has been encoded into law under the SAUR (see Section 3.5) in 2013. Although the term of urban regeneration has recently emerged as an alternative procedure compared to urban redevelopment, there have been various other efforts which play a role in improving social and residential environment. Such attempts now became the cornerstone in forming current urban regeneration policy. The next section of this chapter briefly deals with the precedent regenerative attempts for local development and its social influences.

3.4.1. Before the Legislation of Urban Regeneration Policy: Practical Action for Local Development from the 1960s to 1990s

The first practical participatory action for local development was called 'Saemaul Undong (hereafter, SU), which was created by former President Park Chunghee (1963 to 1979) to modernise the rural economy of South Korea in 1970. The SU was also called the 'New Village Movement' and was a community-driven development on the basis of institutional principles (e.g. diligence, self-help, and cooperation as the guiding operational principles) and community participation (Asian Development Bank, 2012). The principal aim of the SU movement was to provide both individual and community well-being through poverty

reduction, improvement of fundamental infrastructure, public service, empowerment of the local community, revitalisation of the community environment, and accepting the role of women in social participation (many Asian societies have rigid and traditional gender-biased roles (Ibid.)). Perhaps even more important to the long-term sustainability of South Korea was the aim of the SU to stimulate people's mentality. The SU movement "built a national confidence infused with a can-do spirit that transformed the former national mind-set of chronic defeatism into new hope, a shared vision of a better life for all, and an infectious enthusiasm propelled by volunteerism at the community level" (Ibid, p. 2). As a result, the movement positively impacted on household income growth, revolutionised the lives of rural villagers, improved social capital; fostered empowerment of communities through self-help and self-reliance, and offered gender liberation through encouraging women to engage politically (Ibid, p. 29). However, one big limitation of the SU was its top-down, centralised, command-and-control structure that governed local administration. These administrative policies frequently discouraged citizens from participating, and often prevented new ideas from being incorporated into SU activities (Ibid.).

[Figure 3-6: The Saemaul Undong]



Source: Lee (n.d.). www.geogetimes.co.kr

After the success of the SU, other community movements were created, such as the 'Urban Lower Class Movement' in the 1970s aimed at reducing poverty, the 'Opposition Movement against Urban Renewal' in the 1980s, and the 'Neighbourhood Recovery Movement' in the 1990s to contribute to local development (Jin, Ryu, Kim, Kwon, and Jung, 2007). There were also similar groups at the metropolitan level created by local authorities. As a representative example, the 'Raise the Best Village Project' (hereafter, RBVP) was created

by the local authority of Jinan-gun in the North of Jeonla Province for developing rural areas in 2001. The strategies for this project were similar to the SU and the project was a primarily bottom-up approach, with an independent budget allocated for community development, a Task Force Team to pursue individual policies, and a budget for resident education offering sustainable community improvement (Haenam newspaper, 2006; Jin, et.al, 2007). The RBVP has continued ever since 2001 and regenerated more than 300 villages until 2010. The key to the success of RBVP was its ability to respect the opinion of ordinary residents with its main goals to attract new businesses, integrate various professionalisms including agriculture, and attempting to have harmonious relationship with residents (Yu, 2011a). The project is still referenced as a good example of community participation and it has been influential in forming current urban regeneration policy in South Korea. The project also proved that the derelict community could be revitalised at the local government level, without entirely relying on central government finances or support.

3.4.2. Before the Legislation of Urban Regeneration Policy: Extended local Development Initiatives Since the 2000s 'Liveable Community Project'

The above resident-led actions and co-operative attempts between governments, private companies and citizen organisations have fostered the direction of urban policy and have officially created a number of 'Liveable Community Projects' (hereafter, LCPs), which were initiated at the end of the 1990s (Jin, et. al, 2007). The LCPs were officially institutionalised by the central government in 2005 (as they had similar key characteristics of urban regeneration policies) and the groups further encouraged resident participation. It was launched as the national urban policy by the Presidential Committee on Regional Development under the Special Act on Balanced National Development (SABND) during the Noh Mu-hyun government (2004 to 2008) (Prism, 2009). As part of a government-wide effort to enhance local environments, the project was jointly implemented by four different Ministries (Figure 3-7). Broadly similar policies applied in each project, although these were filtered through the different Ministry structures within the framework of the LCP. The principle purpose of the LCP was to tackle nine fundamental needs of the community in improving the dwelling, welfare, work, environment, health, safety, culture, landscape and

transportation spheres (Prism, 2009). In further, as a bottom-up approach to development, the project aimed to incorporate local residents into the decision-making processes, while additional government support (e.g. budget and administration supports) was allocated for stronger delivery arrangement (Jin, et.al, 2007).

[Figure 3-7: The responsible Ministries for the LCP]



Source: author

There have been various practical and specific projects within the LCPs, including the creation of a theme park around a railway, a traditional Korean village ‘Hanok’, a well-being theme park around a reservoir, more than 40 small parks, local food shops, and regular local festivals (Figure 3-8). However, the LCPs have noted that the policies were generally limited in creating public-private partnerships, despite one main aim being to co-ordinate governance between the various sectors. Roberts (2000) argues that the trust, reciprocity and capacity for resident engagement are considered as the essential elements in planning community building events, however the LCPs often resulted in uneven trust building between residents, leading organisations and Ministries (Jin, et. al, 2007). Also, it has been argued that the policy making period for the LCPs was too short, leading to problems with sustainability and unrealistic aims and objectives being embedded into policy (Jin, et.al, 2007).

[Figure 3-8: The Experience of LCPs]



[Korean traditional village project]



[Han-pyeong park in Bucheon, Incheon]

Source: CBnews (2012) [Left] / Blog report (2011) <http://emptydream.tistory.com/3215> [Right]

3.4.3. Before the Legislation of Urban Regeneration Policy: The Extension of Policy from the Liveable Community Projects to City Vitality Promotion

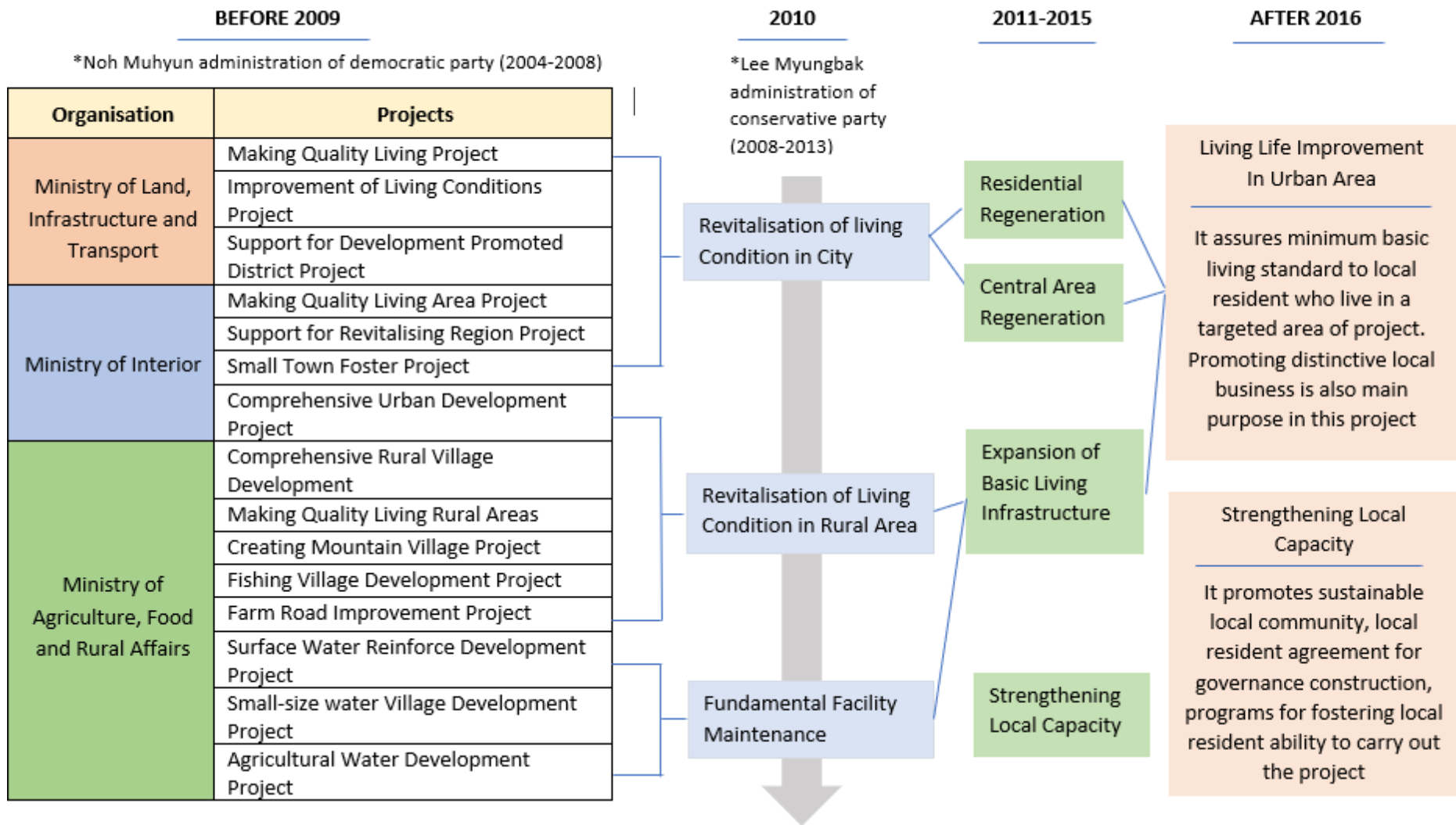
In 2008, the central government administration changed from Noh Muhyun (2004 to 2008) of the Democratic Party to Lee Myungbak (2008 to 2013) of the Conservative Party. The new government undertook a major review of urban policy in 2008 by the Ministry of Strategy and Finance, MOLIT, and local governments, and in 2010 the LCP was expanded and became the 'City Vitality Promotion' (도시활력증진사업, hereafter CVP). The new Act sought to improve four key areas: city vitality, general agricultural, mountain and fishing villages (which were allocated as regions needing fundamental infrastructure) and growth promotion. The initial purposes of the CVP were to improve the living conditions in run-down areas, enhance the maintenance and construction of fundamental infrastructure, and to foster local programmes for community inclusion (Daegu Metropolitan City Website, 2014). The new Act placed greater emphasis on bringing the community into the decision-making process and aimed to nurture engagement with community-led organisations. From 2013, the MOLIT designated 99 administrative units as CVP areas, which were then each targeted for four specific small-scale projects such as 'residential regeneration', 'central area regeneration', 'expansion of basic living infrastructure' and 'strengthening local capacity'. In 2014, there were 155 CVP projects in 64 local government areas, including 26 residential regeneration projects, 58 central area regeneration projects, 54 expansion of basic living infrastructure projects, and 17 strengthening local capacity projects (MOLIT, 2015b). In terms of finance, in 2016 the budget allocated in the CVP was integrated with the newly established urban regeneration scheme

to avoid overlapping financial support, as the two initiatives strived to achieve similar goals. The budget for both schemes was expanded from \$40bn in 2015 to \$144bn in 2016.

The trend towards urban regeneration is thus linked with changing modes of political action and urban governance. Different governmental departments have been involved and different governance arrangements have been implemented, from Saemaul-undong in the 1970s to the CVP today (Figure 3-9). Although the names or slogans for each project were different, and initiatives were operated under different Acts and trialled different policies, these local development initiatives have become key in formulating current urban regeneration structures and arrangements.

As the concept of urban regeneration has often been used ambiguously and covered various programmes of urban redevelopment, new town developments, and sometimes community programmes or local development projects, (Kim, 2010a), the conceptual scope and cognition of urban regeneration has been abstractedly broadened. Over the years there has been a lot of confusion and complexity regarding the definitions, meanings and mutual understandings of urban regeneration at the central and local levels. By recognising urban regeneration's growing importance, the central and local governments, and many academics stress that the vague direction of urban regeneration schemes should have a legal basis in order to be effectively fulfilled (Gill, 2011 and Yu, 2013). In 2013, the central government of Conservative party attempted to define the confused meaning and regulation of urban regeneration using law terminology through establishing the SAUR on 4th June 2013 (Seo and Yoon, 2015). The following section explores the distinctive elements of the SAUR and the specific programmes that were trialled.

[Figure 3-9: The History of Urban Regeneration Changes in South Korea]



Source: Created by author

3.5. Key Elements of the Special Act on Urban Regeneration, South Korea from 2013 onwards

Urban regeneration policy in South Korea has had a range of impacts on urban landscape, community revitalisation, changing the country's image, and socio-economic development. The Special Act on Urban Regeneration has officially staked out the shape of urban regeneration policy that:

- The central government supports local government and communities in formulating urban regeneration planning, which should include strategic and revitalisation planning. The main functional accountabilities of central government depend on the area's particular problems and potential.
- It focuses not only physical improvement but also on economic, social and environment issues, which were created under the old town regeneration strategies
- Makes a decision and supports through en-bloc deliberation of the urban regeneration select committee chaired by the Prime Minister
- Provides package support (such as financial backing and administration support) special regulations, tax reduction, and tax exemptions including corporate tax, income tax, acquisition tax, registration and license tax and property tax (Kim, 2015a, the SAUR article 2)

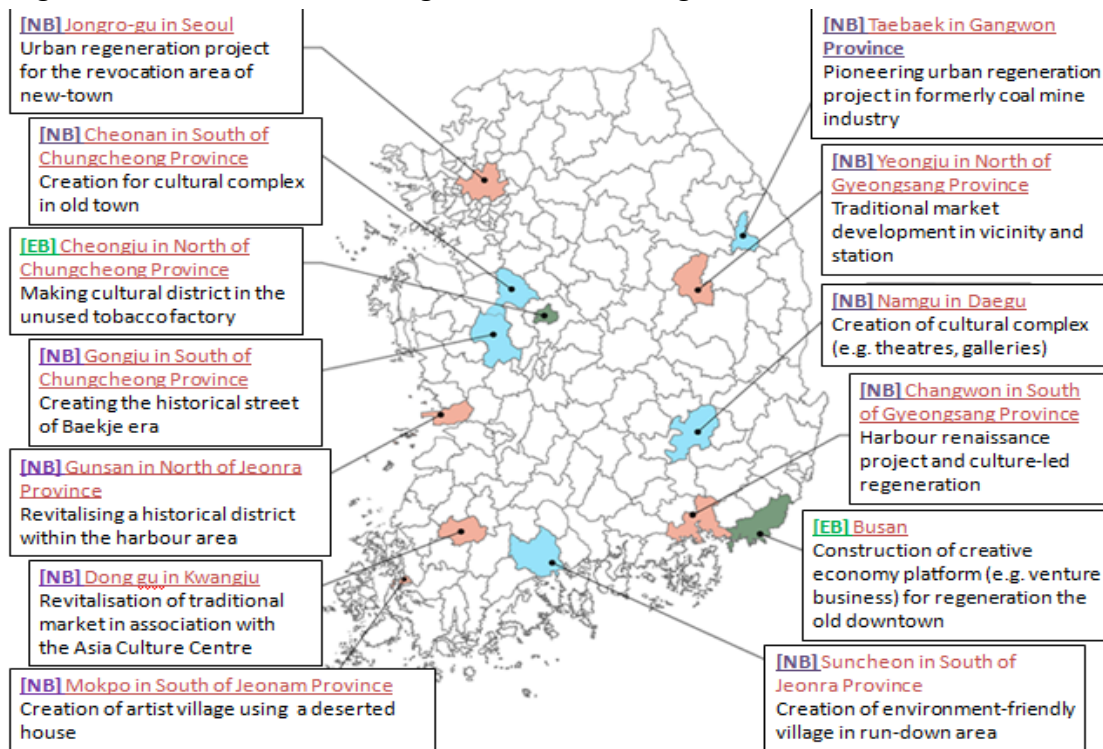
Under the SAUR, urban regeneration projects were restricted to being implemented into specific targeted areas, with a number of accepted types of urban regeneration initiatives listed in Article 2-7:

- I. A series of projects for local development and urban regeneration at national level
- II. A series of projects for local development and urban regeneration at local government level
- III. A community activation project by using the physical, social, human resources of local areas according to the local residents' suggestions

- IV. A maintenance project according to the [Act on the maintenance and improvement of urban areas and dwelling conditions for residents], and renewal project by the [Special Act on the Promotion of Urban Renewal]
- V. An urban redevelopment project by the [Urban Redevelopment Act], and railway station improvement by the [Railroad Construction Act]
- VI. Industrial complex development and regeneration projects by the [Industrial Sites and Development Act]
- VII. Harbour redevelopment project by the [Harbour Act]
- VIII. Commercial market activation project and traditional market area maintenance project by the [Special Act for promoting a traditional market and shopping district]
- IX. Urban or district planning facility project by the [National Land Planning and Utilization Act], and a project by designating demonstration area
- X. A landscape project by the [Landscape Act]
- XI. Any project which is necessary for enhancing urban regeneration by the presidential decree

The SAUR placed a greater emphasis on tackling complex socio-economic-environmental problems and revitalising local communities through collaboration between the public, private, community and voluntary sectors (Seo and Yoon, 2015). Thus, the Act calls for a series of attempts to ensure greater co-ordination between local government, multi-agency and community groups (SAUR Article 3, 15 and 18). If local authorities wish to apply regeneration projects in their cities, they need to demonstrate a willingness and ability to affiliate and integrate with various governmental departments covering culture and tourism, welfare, economy, industry, land, infrastructure and transport (Article 9). To promote co-operation, central government provides direct guidance including strategic planning for local or community levels, while an urban regeneration committee acts as a support system for joint action. Governmental departments (such as culture and tourism, welfare, agriculture, land and infrastructure) are asked to underpin urban regeneration projects in local communities (Seo and Yoon, 2015).

[Figure 3-10: Thirteen Pioneering Areas of Urban Regeneration in 2014]



Source: MOLIT website [Translated by author]

*EB stands for Economic-based regeneration / NB stands for Neighbourhood-based regeneration

3.5.1. Approaches to Urban Regeneration: Economic-led, Social-led and Neighbourhood-led Regenerations

Under the SAUR, there are three overarching themes that aim to stabilise the urban regeneration structure. This includes economic-led regeneration, social-led regeneration at central and community levels, and neighbourhood-led regeneration (known as the Saddlemaeul project, 새뜰마을사업 in Korean). In 2014, 13 of the most run-down areas were selected for the inaugural urban regeneration projects (2 economic-led regeneration projects and 11 social-led regeneration projects, See Figure 3-10). As a new approach to urban regeneration in South Korea based on the SAUR policy, the next section of this chapter briefly looks at how the themes have been applied and operated in the process of urban regeneration.

3.5.1.1. Economic-led Urban Regeneration

The economic-led regeneration initiative is characterised by a joint development on a former industrial site, harbour or railway station. In order to kick-start the economic-led urban regeneration project, the target area should demonstrate attractive investment opportunities and must be able to achieve investment and economic profitability (Jung, Yu, Bae and Choi, 2016). It is also important for selected areas to have untapped economic potential, such as the core facilities that could provide economic renewal or sites creating employment through repair and development (Ibid.) (see Figure 3-11).

[Figure 3-11: Structure of Economic-led Regeneration]

ECONOMIC-LED REGENERATION	
Purposes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduce new economic opportunities • Create employment opportunity through conversion of existing industrial function and business • Spread economic recovery effect to an adjacent area
Target areas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unused industrial complexes • Harbour sites • Railway stations • Riverside • Airports • Relocated sites
Project contents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regenerate the areas surrounding now derelict industrial complexes • Improve the harbour or hinterlands' peripheral area • Upgrade the areas surrounding railway stations for to improve the attractiveness of a city • Redevelop relocated sites • Promote local culture and tourism
Finance support	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Formation of economic foothold through co-operation of public and private sectors

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contribution of in-kind support (such as through the use of government-owned land) • Subsidies to fundamental infrastructure • Combination of investment and loans of urban housing funds
Special regulation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Designate as an area of minimum regulation • Change agenda of urban management plan • Relaxation of regulations for floor area ratio, land to building ratio and parking standards
Inaugural leading areas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Busan (Busan railway station ~ Busan harbour) • Cheongju (Surrounding 1.36km² area of formerly tobacco factory in Naedeok 2 dong) <p>*These two areas were selected in 2014</p> <p>[Cheonan (19,865m² Land of Dongnam borough office), Bucheon (Wonmigu), Daegu (Seogu) have been chosen as an economic-led regeneration target area in 2016]</p>

Source: Kim (2015a), and MOLIT website (n.d.). [Translated by author]

Economic-led regeneration target areas also include former schools, military bases and public offices (MOLIT website, n.d.). This approach is associated with a series of specific laws (e.g. Industrial Sites and Development Act, Harbour Act, Railroad Construction and Safety Act, etc.). Figure 3-12 outlines the outcomes expected through implementing an economic approach, the current difficulties experienced in the targeted spaces, and the associated laws.

[Figure 3-12: The Types of Economic-led Urban Regeneration]

Types	Current Circumstances	Expected Outcomes	Related Law
Industrial Complex	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Equipment industry / low-value manufacturing industry-centred • Shortage of fundamental Infrastructure • Ineffective land use 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location of high-tech manufacturing and integration industries • Attractiveness of multi-function areas such as culture, central business districts and dwellings 	Industrial Sites and Development Act

Harbour	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Struggling with decreasing harbour function ● Ignorance of inner-harbour and dredged soil ground 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Creation of culture and tourism type harbour ● Attractiveness of multi-function areas such as culture, central business districts and dwellings 	Harbour Act
Railway Station	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Fulfilment of simple transportation and distribution functions ● Abolition of freight yard within an inner urban area 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Acceleration of land use ● Transportation hub through transfer centre establishment ● Provision of rental house in an inner urban 	Urban Development Act Railroad Construction Act Railroad Safety Act
Relocated Site	Formerly public organisations, military facilities and abandoned factories	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Maximise the value through integrated development ● Reuse the areas for culture, education and parks 	
Use of Local Assets	Underutilised heritage and cultural assets of community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Attract tourists and floating population by encouraging culture and tourism businesses 	Special Act for promoting a traditional market and shopping district

Source: MOLIT website (n.d.), and SAUR in Article 2 (2013) [re-organised and translated by author]

As an example of how the above operated in practice and how the initiatives called for partnership working, in Busan, seven Ministries participated in the various projects, with different approaches and purposes in order to effectively implement the inaugural regeneration project. Each Ministry has different responsibilities covering their own speciality and expertise (See Figure 3-13). In terms of financial support, \$25bn has been injected by the central and local government respectively in creating a public park, a car park with sufficient space, an extended road, proper public facilities and essential infrastructure in 2014 (MOLIT website, n.d.). Also designated areas can receive benefits from deregulation, such as through

lessening the restrictions on floor area ratios, the building to land ratio, height limits, and tax reduction or exemptions according to the Act 31 and 32 (Ibid.).

[Figure 3-13: Participation of the Government Ministries in Economic-led Regeneration in Busan]

Ministries	Responsibility
Ministry of Environment	Creation of ecology playground and restoration project of a river in the urban area
Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism	Support for local artists and long-term activation of resident participation through cultural activities
Cultural Heritage Administration	Discovery and creation of cultural heritage and tourism assets
Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs	Encourage a community enterprise and improving the walking environment
Ministry of Science, ICT and Future Planning	Management of the creative economy innovation centre
Ministry of Employment and Labour	Creation of local employment: start-up incubator business, finding and encouraging local artists
Ministry of Oceans and Fisheries, and Busan Port Authority	Renewal project of the Busan North harbour and promotion pedestrian-tech businesses

Source: Economic-led Regeneration Seminar in South Korea, 07/12/2015 [Translated by author]

3.5.1.2. Social-led Regeneration Approach at Central and Community Levels

The social-led regeneration approach includes a rich variety of local experiences and perceptions, with more emphasis on the improvement of localities and encouraging community contribution than economic-led regeneration schemes (MOLIT website, n.d.). These initiatives aim to create wider neighbourhood improvement and attempts to work with local people to articulate community needs (Ibid.). The schemes began in 2014, and is split into social-led regeneration at the central and community levels (Figure 3-14). Some 11 areas were chosen as pioneering projects in 2014.

[Figure 3-14: Target Area and Financial Support Structure of Social-led Regeneration]

Types	Central area	Community unit (project size is smaller than central area)
Target area	The area of central shopping district in decline and the relocated site of public organisations	Residential district and local market area
Finance support	\$20 billion (including national expense: \$10 billion)	\$10 billion (national expense: \$5 billion)

Source: MOLIT website (n.d.). [Translated by author]

After the previous emphasis on physical-led redevelopment initiatives, the advent of social-led regeneration aims at creating property and socio-economic improvement (MOLIT website, n.d.) and is more focused on improving the social conditions within deprived communities and encouraging social cohesion, boosting social capital, and promoting community involvement. There are key programmes involved within social-led regeneration, depending on the scale that is targeted:

Central areas

- Create an artist or creative place with public parking space through investment in empty or unused shops
- Expand or remodel fundamental infrastructure
- Launch local festivals
- Revitalise traditional markets

Community units

- Develop the essential infrastructure for daily life such as fire lanes, parking, health care centres, libraries and parks
- Promote small-sized home improvement businesses.
- Produce the opportunity to create income through local enterprises such as cooperative associations or local markets.
- Repair deteriorating buildings (e.g. roof and wall repairs, building structural reinforcements)

Social-led regeneration at the central level usually requires a higher level of private investment and more economic revitalisation than projects at the community level (Kim, 2015a). These initiatives have sought to develop the community's ability to engage in the local economy. As part of the schemes, urban regeneration co-ordinators are trained and dispatched to the target communities to connect the public sector, private organisations and local residents. Urban regeneration-related education programmes (e.g. urban regeneration university³, refer to reference) can also be created for residents and become a supportive way to reinforce the awareness of urban regeneration schemes, while drawing in the active participation of residents.

3.5.1.3. Neighbourhood-led Urban Regeneration (Saddlemauel Project)

The principal purpose of a neighbourhood-led regeneration approach is to deliver local employment opportunities, community training programmes, small-scale property development and basic infrastructure improvement (MOLIT, 2015c). There are a wide range of small projects that are covered under this classification, including fence repairs, the building of shared home, community business promotions, converting vacant homes into rental properties, and providing community (such as a common toilet, laundry and workplace). Target areas should meet three criteria: i) be a poor neighbourhood with detached from fundamental infrastructures, ii) contain households struggling with a minimum level of living standards, and iii) be a congested area with second-class citizens (Ibid. See Figure 3-15).

The Saddlemauel project, launched in 2015, is one example of how this approach can work. The project proceeded alongside economic and social-led regeneration schemes, with a particular focus on isolated areas (e.g. the shanty towns or the hinterland of industrial

³ Urban Regeneration University: The program actually focuses on attracting local resident participation and educational program for recognition of urban regeneration project. All of participants could plan the regeneration initiative by receiving professional help from experts (MOLIT website)

complexes). This project was given a four-year fund of \$2 billion to \$5 billion, with 70% of national subsidy and 30% of local subsidy (Son, 2015b).

[Figure 3-15: Types and Features of Saddlemaeul Project]

Types	Features	Description
<p>Poor Hillside Village</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Congested area by refugee settlement ● Vulnerable safety (e.g. hilly land and landslide) ● Insufficient supply about sewerage, electricity and gas 	
<p>Doss house in city</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Immigrant settlement by demolition ● Low-income groups at the Japanesque building 	
<p>Hinterland of industrial complex</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Settlement of low-income industrial workers ● Vulnerable to noise, rubbish, and disturbance ● Mix of immigrant worker and low-income groups 	
<p>Run-down residential area</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Limited development district ● Declined residential area by renewal project cancellation ● Vulnerable residential area by hollowing out the urban area 	

Source: MOLIT (2015). [Re-organised and translated by author]

The SAUR that is fundamental policy and law of national urban regeneration provides a direct guidance and strategic planning at local and community levels than before. Also, it has three overarching key themes to stabilise the urban regeneration system including economic-led, social-led (central and community areas), and neighbourhood-led regenerations. However, current regeneration initiative has faced challenges for instance, solving the pre-investing expense on previous urban redevelopment project, treating the revocation areas by urban redevelopment project, and recognising social needs of community. Further, providing empowerment to local residents in decision-making process will remain as a crucial point that it was uneven within the urban redevelopment scheme. Biased decision-making by civil servants, stakeholders, politicians, elite groups and experts could inevitably be failed as long as they marginalise the local community voices.

3.6. Summary

This chapter has traced a shift from the aggressive application of urban redevelopment and new town projects to a more people-based regeneration approach. Forcible demolition brought irreversible damage to areas which then suffered from cancelled projects, resulting in a social deficit of community, a fragile sense of urban sustainability and fomentation of community deprivation in South Korea. The shift to various forms of urban regeneration is seen as a crucial way to tackle these problems without thoughtless demolition, the loss of urban amenity, the displacement of communities and social exclusion. However, there are still questions about the potential for engagement with marginalised communities and whether the social aspects of urban regeneration are receiving adequate recognition. By examining urban redevelopment processes, it is apparent that social issues (e.g. quality of life, human rights, local empowerment, and community inclusion) are frequently neglected. If the top-down decision-making processes imposed by civil servants, politicians, elite groups and large-scale firms are continuously utilised in processes of urban regeneration, new regenerative projects may replicate past mistakes.

As this thesis emphasises the social regeneration aspects of deprived communities, the next chapter moves away from a focus on regeneration in general to consider the specific role of culture in the new approach to urban regeneration. It is argued that culture-based approaches have been an integral part of the regeneration and has capability to draw internal investment and allow for the participation of local residents in more comfortable way. By examining the previous literature, the next chapter explores how cultural elements can play an important role in urban regeneration initiatives and examines how social issues can influence the culture-driven regeneration strategy of South Korea.

CHAPTER 4: ARTS, CULTURE AND URBAN REGENERATION IN SOUTH KOREA

4.1. Introduction

The previous chapter explored the development of urban redevelopment initiatives and urban regeneration strategy in general. In this chapter, I seek to situate those debates and examine the context for culturally informed regeneration in South Korea. It is important to consider how cultural elements (e.g. festivals, programmes and mega-events) have been adopted in developing a community and the city, alongside examining the attempts and challenges of current culture-led regeneration strategies to help social regeneration. In this regard, this chapter starts with a discussion of the history of cultural policy within the context of urban planning, and how cultural policy and initiatives have been integrated with urban regeneration process. Next, the chapter moves on to examine individual cultural examples which have been adopted after the legislation of the SAUR in 2013. As already mentioned the short history of culture-led urban regeneration in South Korea means; there is little empirical evidence to underpin the academic literature. Therefore, the chapter includes views from the urban experts who were interviewed during the field-research in 2015 and 2016, as well as articles from newspapers and other secondary sources.

4.2. The History of Cultural Policy within the Context of Urban Planning

There have been a number of changes within cultural policy of South Korea (Yim, 2002). Indeed, there have been 112 different laws relating to culture and the arts within the country, covering cultural heritage and history, cultural industry, and broadcasting and media (Hong, 2013b). This section examines the development of government policy surrounding these issues, before moving on to its application to urban policy and the understanding of the culture-led urban regeneration strategy of South Korea.

An important starting point for thinking about the integration of culture and urban policy in South Korea is the 'Culture and Arts Promotion Act (문화예술진흥법)' that was passed in 1972 under the government of Park Chunghee. The intention of the Act was to formulate and manage a long-term cultural development plan, and it can be considered as an essential structuring starting point for the culture and arts of South Korea (The National Archives of Korea of the Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs, n.d.; and Kim, 1976). As the fundamental law in the arts and culture established, it follows the model German-Austrian law in stressing the state's role in encouraging arts and culture (Kulturfoederungsgesetz) (Hong, 2013b). The government of Park Chunghee centred the priority to economic growth and provided proactive cultural policies by establishing laws, institutions, organisations and public funds (Yim, 2002). In particular, on 19 October 1973, the government of Park announced the first 'Five-Year Plan for Promotion of Culture (문화진흥 5 개년계획)' to bring a cultural renaissance by forming a new national culture on the basis of traditional culture between 1974 and 1978 (Kim, 1976). This plan focused on three broad areas: traditional culture (history, conventional arts, and cultural properties), contemporary arts (literature, fine arts, music, drama, and dance), and popular culture (cinema and publishing) which were the prerequisite for the new creation of South Korea culture (Ibid.). The Act was the inaugural comprehensive long-term plan for cultural policy, and 70% of the total public expenditure was distributed into arts and traditional culture during the 1974 and 1978 period (Ministry of Culture and Information, 1979, p.228).

During the 1970s, the key objectives of cultural policy was the promotion of people's active participation in the culture and arts field, and after this period the cultural policy has been increasingly developed since the 1980s (Yim, 2002). Particularly, central government started to invest large sums in establishing cultural infrastructures (such as the Seoul Arts Centre (Park, 2005)), and on expanding tangible infrastructure (Hong, 2013c). Local governments were financially backed by the central government to establish new cultural facilities including theatres, public libraries, galleries and museums (Ibid.). Hong (2013c, published in World CP website), however, points out that the 1980s' cultural policy system was a "Grands Travaux type of policy resulting in art centres that were monotonous in design and function, and which did not reflect local cultural identity. Unbalanced growth between

hardware and software, the results were also disappointing. Local governments were ill-equipped to run programmes in those facilities”. The policy was more concerned with creating economic benefits than preserving the cultural heritage and traditional arts of the country (Ibid.).

The economic instrumentality of cultural policy investment was intensified in the early 1990s by a new period of interurban competition for economic development, promoted by central government. In line with the growing competition between local governments, arts and culture played a catalyst role for city marketing through the hosting of local festivals and cultural activities, alongside the building of grand-scale cultural facilities (Park, 2005). After the 1990s, the use of cultural policy and planning as tools of urban development in metropolitan cities of South Korea was highlighted through the Liberal Roh Moo Hyun government (2002~2008). The cultural city project, which aims to balance national land development and encourage decentralisation of power from central to regional and local government was introduced to boost cultural urban policy. Specifically, Gwangju (the sixth largest city in South Korea and the Capital of South Jeolla Province) had been inaugurally chosen to become a ‘Hub City of Asian Culture’ and the project was planned to last from 2004 to 2023 as the first long-term national project in the culture and arts field (Park, 2005). It is South Korea’s most ambitious cultural facility development to date and includes a mega-size cultural venue, the Asian Cultural Complex, a Cultural Exchange and an Asian Culture Information unit (Fisher, 2014). With this providing momentum, the cultural city project gradually expanded and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism aimed to “have implemented a cultural policy of renovating several mid-sized cities such as Gwangju, Kyongju and Jeonju as international cultural cities” in response to global market demands (Lee, 2007, p.1). ‘Historical Cultural City in Kyongju’, ‘Visual Entertainment City in Busan’, ‘Traditional Cultural City in Jeonju’, and ‘Entertainment City in Incheon emerged in the early 2000s. As long-term national projects, they are still in progress but there have been considerable conflicts as government priorities have frequently changed. Especially criticisms include the disappearance of the initial purpose, the improper appointment of directors, result-oriented bureaucracy management, leading to significant tax leaks, and the interruption of building construction (Choi, 2016a; Kim, 2016a). For example, one planned building (called the Democracy Peace

Exchange Centre) was neglected as civic groups claimed it would destroy historical resources during construction, and it remained an eyesore until 2016 (Kim, 2016a). Another criticism revolves around claims that the cultural city project was a political project, failing to consider other cultural industries or participants (Ibid.).

4.3. Cultural Elements in Local Development Strategies

Despite of the problems associated with the cultural city project, many cities sought to launch their own cultural policy and strategies in the early 2000s. Beyond the application of culture in large-scale projects, there have been various small and medium sized cultural attempts at the local or community level. In this regard, the 'Liveable Community Projects' (hereafter, LCP) were officially institutionalised by the central government in 2005, encompassing numerous cultural programmes (e.g. festivals, education programmes, and culture and arts projects) into a single policy stream. The LCPs began to intervene and tackle the social problems of declining areas (such as poor dwellings, welfare, lack of work, and low-quality environment, and health and safety issues) through cultural interventions (Prism, 2009). The use of culture within the LCPs became an essential prerequisite for developing a declining city or community, and the LCPs became the cornerstone of current culture-led urban regeneration initiatives. A total of 57 pioneer areas were accepted for the LCP programmes between 2007 and 2009. Three in particular are useful to examine in detail how cultural policy has become integrated within urban policy. These three areas have attempted to preserve local culture through bottom-up strategies that encourage citizen participation. They are the projects in the villages of Hanok in Jeonju, Seongmisan in Seoul and Samdeok in Daegu.

Hanok (traditional Korean house) is a village in Jeonju (Figure 4-1). The project has integrated old and modern cultures to allow for the preservation of tradition, while simultaneously attempting to invigorate the area (Yu, 2012). Hanok village was selected as a pioneer area for the LCPs between 2007 and 2009, as the area has more than 800 Korean traditional houses with the potential for cultural preservation and development (Ibid.). During

the 1970s, the village faced decline as the intensified growth of the urban area forced the manufacturing industries to move to the suburbs (Korea Research Institute for Human Settlements, 2012, hereafter KRIHS). To alleviate the village's problem, the LCP implemented a number of initiatives, such as through the preservation of Hanok structure and traditional playing (e.g. Korean wrestling, Pitch-pot, driving a hoop, etc), employing traditional and local cultural guides, food festivals, music festivals and the creation of local products and foods (Ibid.). The consistent cultural efforts and creation of a variety of creative ideas allowed the village to become the most famous tourist attraction in South Korea (Kim, 2015d). Hanok village has still attracted a record number of tourists in 2017, with over ten million people, a 10% increase on 2015 (nine million) (Kim, 2017b). It is identified that preserving and developing local traditional cultural resources could be the most efficacious in making a successful competitive city (Newsis, 2017a).

[Figure 4-1: The Hanok Village in Jeonju]



Source: Author

The second example is Seongmisan village located within the city of Seoul. The area is well-known as a cooperative village that operates well within its urban surroundings (Yu, 2012). Residents created a location-based solidarity through encouraging participation and collaboration of community projects (Ibid.), initially beginning in 1994 with 20 couples who, unable to access suitable childcare, banded together to raise their own. They invested in a childcare centre (which was the first cooperative childcare facility in South Korea), and opened a cooperative after-school centre in 1999 (Ibid.). Furthermore, the cooperative

philosophy was boosted and advanced by hosting an annual festival since May 2001, and with the opening of the Sungmisan Village Theatre in 2009 (Ibid.). The village expanded its cultural offering through the LCP programme in 2007 with a focus on cultural education, workshops, car-sharing, affiliation between support organisation and vulnerable social groups for enhancing local environment and improving residents' life. The cultural programmes under the LCPs added to the area's cultural prosperity (KRIHS, 2012) and all culture-related programmes are ongoing (Ibid.). One unique feature of this village is that there are no franchised restaurants and cafes which sometimes become a criterion in the evaluation success or failure of culture and arts strategies. As a result, the case of Seongmisan shows that the co-operation of residents and a consistent investment in culture can have considerable power in attracting people, investment and creating sustainability.

[Figure 4-2: Seongmisan in Seoul]



Source: Park (2011). The voice of citizen.

<http://www.siminsori.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=66377>

The third example is the Samdeok village in Daegu, which is a representative case of a bottom-up approach in South Korea. In 1997, the support centre for runaway teenagers was established (now used as a craft shop) in Samdeok village, despite furious resident resistance because of safety and crime issues (Lee and Kim, 2016). At the time, one resident in support of the centre destroyed the wall of his house to create a shared communication space between teenagers and local residents in 1998 (Ibid.) offering further momentum with others. This allowed for the creation of small-gardens, arts exhibition spaces and cultural performance areas, operating within the newly created open spaces. Since then there has

been the creation of a mobile library, community mural painting and other cultural events held within the village (Ibid.). The efforts of Samdeok villagers received further momentum after the designation area of LCPs, with funds going towards space design projects, street art works (e.g. repair of mural painting, artistic work installation, establishment of a community theatre, hosting the puppet pantomime festival and rearrangement of community gallery), and cultural education programmes for residents (e.g. opening the football club, adult arts school, library club, and traditional instrument class for youth) (Ibid., KRIHS, 2012). Such a bottom-up approach (led by residents) attracted government support and blocked the invasion of urban redevelopment initiative – Samdeok village was designated as the urban redevelopment area in 2016, but the village would not be demolished by the redevelopment initiative (Lee and Kim, 2016).

[Figure 4-3: Samdeok-dong in Daegu]



[Source: Yeongnam newspaper [Fun&樂]: (4) Samdeok-dong Livable City Project / right Heo (2010). <http://www.u-story.kr/261/> left]

4.3.1. The Social Impacts of Cultural Investment in the Above Areas

As this study focuses on the social regeneration factors by cultural approach, it is important to reflect on the social impacts of these three case studies. In case of Hanok village in Jeonju, the cultural effects through preservation and development of local tradition fostered local cultural capability (KRIHS, 2012) and created a voluntary willingness amongst residents to further enhance their material surroundings. This created a form of attachment from residents to their local community, creating a snowball effect in which they tied themselves to the conservations of local tradition and culture. As the degree of satisfaction

about cultural programmes in the village has been growing, creative ideas are constantly produced amongst the residents as well as merchants of Hanok village (KRHIS, 2012). Although some people criticised the radical commercialisation of traditional cultural resources, residents' perception about culture and art investments to the village is fairly high and positive.

In Seongmisan village (known as a co-operative village), the resident protest against urban redevelopment initiative led to a community-based cultural event which worked to strengthen the solid relationship and co-operation of residents (Human and Community, 2012). Particularly, the Seongmisan community theatre, opened and funded by the LCPs, still provides plentiful programmes (e.g. youth theatre, community theatre, traditional arts, play, cinema, workshop, elderly cultural programmes), and has been mainly managed and operated by residents (Kim, 2012c). One of the theatre's leading residents said:

“Community is the world. Seongmisan residents enjoy talking each other, share the common interest and creative ideas, play together, sing their dream and bring up child together. Also, the Seongmisan theatre is the place to celebrate and share all the community issues in different ways such as theatre, bazar, playing musicals, exhibition, etc.”. (Yu, 2012, interviewed in the OhmyNews article).

To the residents of Seongmisan village, the cultural and arts resources created by the constant co-operative efforts for developing the community are their prized assets. Community employment added to the social and community value: for example, there are more than 150 people working at the Childcare Centre, Seongmisan School, the Consumer Cooperative and the Theatre to protect and preserve the village (Yu, 2012). As the number of clubs for cultural and arts activities (e.g. Seongmisan Pungmul Band (Korean traditional percussion band), a photography club, a video club, a middle-aged rock band and a village choral group) has been gradually growing, residents feel more satisfied than before, and the quality of cultural education for youth is growing (Ibid.).

Finally, in Samdeok village in Daegu, as many neighbours and public buildings participated in destroying their wall and unlocking the place for public use, the places became filled with rich cultural resources (Lim, 2015). The bottom-up approach with the co-operative nature of residents has solidly formed self-esteem towards community and created a responsibility for preserving the community. Moreover, the participation of residents in community design, street art works, in opening the community gallery and through the management of puppet shows has created a positive change in perception of culture and the area, increasing volunteering awareness, and improving community cohesion through art works (Kim, 2015c).

In Sections 4.2 and 4.3, the development of culture and arts within the cultural policy context and its contribution to city or community has been examined in order to understand how different cultural and arts strategies can be adapted within communities. There is also another example in identifying the relationship between culture and arts, and urban development policy. There has been strategic use of mega-events for modern development including the World Expo, Biennale, Summer Olympics, and Cultural Forums in South Korea (Joo, Bae, Kassens-Noor, 2017). It is believed that those mega-events are helpful catalysts to secure South Korea's position on the international state, trigger economic growth, and improve city development (Ibid.). The next section scrutinises the impacts of these mega-events on urban development.

4.4. The Cultural Implications of Mega-events (The Gwangju Biennale and the 2012 Yeosu Expo)

As this thesis uses large-scale events to develop an understanding of the wider context in terms of culture-led urban regeneration aspect, it is useful to examine the impacts of mega-events on city development (e.g. economy and tourist growth) and the potential improvement of social factors (e.g. cultural perception, community enhancement and residents' living environment). There is no doubt that many metropolitan cities of South Korea have strived to host mega-cultural events to revitalise and promote their cities within the

competitive era (Joo, et.al, 2017). This type of event is, however, often only part of a broader cultural policy whereby a city seeks to enhance an image or reputation through a concentration of various and well-known cultural events during a certain period of time. Sometimes, such cultural strategies tend to discover new driving forces within the local economy through the provision of cultural consumption, and new ways of rebranding a city as a cultural destination. In order to explain these issues, two examples – The Gwangju Biennale and the Yeosu Expo – are examined in this section.

4.4.1. The Gwangju Biennale

The city of Gwangju, lying to the Southwest of South Korea, has been marketed as the representative birthplace of democracy since 1980 (the uprising was actually on 18th May in 1980, (Lee, 2007)). The democratic uprising of Gwangju was considered as a pivotal moment within the nation's history, and the protest retains an unsavoury image as 'a city of resistance', 'a city of democracy', and even 'a city of blood' (Shin, 2004). To change the image of city, Gwangju was keen to transform the city through top-down approaches, away from the political image of a city of resistance to one of an area with a vibrant cultural city (Ibid.). To achieve this, the local government created the cultural festival of 'Gwangju Biennale' in 1995 to shift away from its overly political image (Shin and Stevens, 2013). The Gwangju Biennale had an initial aim to reinvigorate the cultural and historical places within the city (e.g. the Gwangju theatre, traditional market, and 5/18 memorial park) through the display of well-known art works and cultural programmes. The purpose was to act as a significant spotlight and to create a vibrant and memorable cultural attraction during the Biennale periods (Cheon, 2016a). Such cultural efforts were gradually delivering widespread impacts, and its reputation became the anchor to attract the national cultural city project in 2004 (See Section 4.2, Ibid.).

As an example, during the 2002 Biennale, an abandoned railway was transformed to the desires of artists, architects and residents to reinvigorate the deprived area and to preserve the corridor of biodiversity. The deserted space was gradually filled with artistic works – such as recycled sculptures, drawing exhibitions, an open-space museum, plantings

to develop urban economy – and through the teaching of art education. (Cheon, 2016a). A total of 23 artists and a number of residents provided their ideas and time to transform the deserted railway converting the disused tracks into a successful new oasis for citizens and visitors (See Figure 4-4). Another example is the effort in 2008 to revitalise the deprived traditional market by offering space to local or external artists (See Figure 4-5). As the Biennale attracted the creative and talented artists, their works drew visitors to the declining traditional market area (Ibid.). The endeavours were not just confined to showing off artist works, but also included facilitating interactions between the cultural production and enjoyment of ordinary people and increasing cultural tourists alongside traditional market visitors (Ibid.). Since 2016, the Biennale has heavily emphasised two key words – local embeddedness and social participation (Woo, 2016). To achieve this, arts relevancy in the local community of Gwangju was added as the top priority. The biennale has attempted to be deeply engaged in the communication with Gwangju residents by hosting monthly gatherings, schooling projects, artistic screenings and curating street art around the city (Ibid.).

[Figure 4-4: The Abandoned Railway]



Source: Lee (n.d.). The example of Purun Street creation – Abandoned railway in Gwangju

[Figure 4-5: The Traditional Market with Artistic Works]



Source: DongA newspaper (2008) [Left] / Choi (2018) reported in Jungang newspaper

A criticism, however, revolves around the state-sponsored market cultural scheme becoming commercially focused with an emphasis on economic growth, rather than as something that can add cultural value and social cohesion (Lee, 2007 and Joo, et.al., 2017). Many art critics also point out that the Biennale lost their primacy in preserving locality with the internationalisation of the events following the trends of globalisation without any consideration of local characteristics. Furthermore, as the elites and civil servants have been actively involved in various Biennale programmes, the Biennale producers tend to regard the general audience and residents as the merely passive consumers (Yoon, 2006). Such actions have generated widespread apathy for the Biennale amongst residents because of a lack of adequate publicity, unequal cultural opportunities to people living in rural areas, and little sympathy amongst residents (Kim, 2014a). In terms of public involvement, the bureaucratic characteristic of the mega-event has obstructed and restricted the residents' voice and participation in the decision-making process, although the Biennale emphasises its active social participation processes. One more argument is that the Biennale should more fully take into account the needs of residents and the local community rather than predominantly focusing on attracting visitors and investment in city promotion.

4.4.2. The Yeosu Expo in 2012

The second example of a cultural mega-event is the Yeosu Expo, hosted in 2012 under the theme of "The Living Ocean and Coast" with 104 participating countries. Yeosu is located on the Southern Coast South Korea in South Jeolla Province and is well-known as the most picturesque port city in the country. As the city boasts an international ocean resort, it has become a principle tourist destination for overseas visitors. In the gradual process of urban development, the Yeosu Expo was the catalyst to promote Yeosu as a cultural city. The initial intention of Yeosu Expo was the development of the provincial city through cultural activities. The preparation period took four years and £6.2bn was invested to start the event. A total of 104 nations and 10 international organisations participated in stage exhibitions, consisting of 80 pavilions and a large aquarium on a 25-ha area for three months (Citrinot, 2012). As a result, the Expo attracted nearly 8 million visitors with 400 programmes and presented more than 8,000 performances for 93 days (Guideline for EXPO 2012 Yeosu Korea, n.d.). In terms of

cultural tourism, the expo was seen as powerful instrument for tourism development: for example, more than 100 hotel rooms, 5 resorts and luxurious accommodations have been newly established or renovated to accommodate the visitors (Park, 2012b). Furthermore, this mega-event was beneficial in promoting the city as a cultural city (Yeosu, 2013).

However, Yeosu Expo seems to receive more criticisms than positive feedback in the process of management, prediction of audience numbers and promotion methods (Hankyoreh, 2012). As an example, the Yeosu Expo report officially published the number of attendants being over 8 million people during the Expo, but during the Expo's final four days tickets were given away for free to attract 270,000 visitors to meet the final target (Citrinot, 2012). Secondly, the Yeosu Expo provoked an increase in living costs, taxes and property values that generated economic difficulties at a local level. The cost of living index, for example, became the highest in the country during the Expo (Kim, 2014b). In this situation, local businesses struggled with an economic recession and the population suffered with urban sprawl. A third problem was that the Yeosu Expo lost its purpose and meaning after suffering a lower rate of revenue than was expected, low attendance numbers, and a lack of programme arrangements (Kim, 2012b). In order to achieve its tangible purpose, the Expo organisation alternatively hosted famous singers as a key driver to attract more audience – an activity not included as an original aim, leading to criticism that the organisation had lost its key focus (Ibid.). There was an escalation in the self-confidence of citizens and an elevation of local status, however, a confusion of policy, the wrong estimates of audience numbers, lack of an adequate transportation structure, and the failure of a local business strategy all became key criticisms (Ibid.). Finally, the most important challenge of the Expo to date is to offer a sustainable ex post facto management at the newly built infrastructures (See Figure 4-6). Otherwise, as Jones and Evans (2008, p.138) emphasise, “the buildings are only as successful as the uses to which they are put, and high-profile flops have left some areas with embarrassing and very expensive white elephants”, for which sustainable uses have yet to be discovered.

[Figure 4-6: The Infrastructures of Yeosu Expo]



[Source: Chosun newspaper, 2012]

4.5. Interactions between Cultural Strategy and Urban Policy in Urban Regeneration Initiatives Since 2013

In the context of urban regeneration, the culture and arts have been undoubtedly highlighted as a key driver for local development, as the SAUR began its intervention in earnest. In practice, 86 local areas applied to take part in the bid for urban regeneration projects. Amongst them, only 13 areas were chosen on the basis of two initiatives – economic-led and social-led regeneration. In order to operate these regeneration processes, culture related businesses (from design and architecture to artistic works and cultural events) are mainly considered as an effective instrument to implement urban regeneration projects. Most of the selected cities emphasised embracing a cultural component that could occur as an intermediary, distributive and innovative project to generate vitality in economic and social aspects of an area (Lee, Gu, and Bae, 2016). The following section details and reviews the value of promoting culture to enhance regeneration, and involvement of practical cultural works since the SAUR has been legislated as a fundamental policy in South Korea. As could be seen in Figure 4-7, 13 areas were designated as regeneration pioneering areas over four-years from 2014, and of those, 9 areas mainly incubated the strategies regarding fostering cultural resources and creating cultural quarters. Within culture-led urban regeneration processes, a number of specified cultural resources have been delivered within a high-quality cultural strategy at a variety of different scales since 2014. The scale of culture-led urban regeneration

is quite varied, from large-scale projects (e.g. creation of cultural cluster at the harbour and train station, creation of craft and cultural quarters at the abandoned building) to small local-based projects (e.g. revitalisation of historical sites such as coal mine area and railways, provision of a basic facility for young artists, community gallery and street arts (See Figure 4-7). In terms of budgetary planning, the costs vary depending on the type of economic-led or social-led regeneration. Generally, central government supports 50% of national expenses, for example, an area chosen as an economic-led regeneration initiative could receive \$25 billion from the central government, while a social-regeneration designated area can receive \$10 billion (MOLIT website, n.d.).

[Figure 4-7: The Specific Regeneration Strategies in 2014, South Korea]

Types	Local governments		Target neighbourhoods	Businesses strategies
Economic-led	Busan	Dong-gu*	Choryang-dong	Creative economy cluster around the Busan harbour and train station
	Chung-buk*	Cheongju	-Naedeok-dong -Uam-dong -Jungang-dong	Craft and cultural quarters at the former tobacco factory
Social-led	Seoul	Jongro-gu	-Sungin-dong -Changsin-dong	Regeneration within residential areas where were designated as a revocation area of the New Town
	Gwangju	Dong-gu	-Chungjang-dong -Dongmyeong-dong -Sansu-dong -Jisan-dong	Revitalisation of local businesses around the Asia cultural centre
	Jeon-buk	Gunsan	-Wolmyeong-dong -Haesin-dong -Jungang-dong	Creating a historical district within the harbour area
	Jeon-nam*	Mokpo	-Mokwon-dong	Making artist village using a deserted or un-used buildings and houses
	Kyeong-buk	Yeongju	-Yeongju-dong	Boosting the ability of traditional market in vicinity and station

	Kyeong-nam	Changwon	-Dongseo-dong -Seongho-dong -Odong-dong	Harbour renaissance project and enhancing culture-led urban regeneration strategy around Changdong arts town
	Daegu	Nam-gu	-Daemyeong-dong	Creation of cultural theatre street with 100 small theatres
	Kwangwon	Taebaek	-Tongdong	Regeneration of cultural and historical sites (e.g. coal mine area and abandoned railways)
	Chung-nam	Cheonan	-Jungang-dong -Munseon-dong	Creation of basic infrastructure for youngsters at un-used buildings (e.g. accommodation, art studios, etc.)
	Chung-nam	Gongju	-Ungjin-dong -Junghak-dong -Okryong-dong	Creating the historical quarter about Baekje era, and development of traditional market
	Jeon-nam	Suncheon	-Hyang-dong -Jungang-dong	Making of environment-friendly village in run-down area

Source: http://www.molit.go.kr/USR/WPGE0201/m_35396/DTL.jsp

* **Buk** means north of province, and **Nam** is south of province

* **Gu** represents districts

* Also refer to Figure 5 in Chapter 3

In terms of practical implementation, there have been many projects carried out in the designated pioneering cities since 2014. In Mokpo in Jeonnam, 17 cultural interpreters were employed to introduce and explain local culture, the area's historic sites and artistic works to visitors. To support this strategy, the Jeonnam government enthusiastically encourages developing street tours to attract more cultural tourists, and to offer various cultural opportunities (Shin, 2017). In June 2017, the culture and arts enterprise project launched by the local government now offers 50 places to cultural projects, including office space, unused houses and a part of building to enhance a street's vitality. The cultural programmes include from craft, exhibition, photography, performance, design and drawing to food, service and IT. A number of benefits are also offered, such as subsidies for business management to aid in the remodelling the office space and 50% rental fee support for two years (Art hub visual art platform, 2017).

The case of Changsin-dong, Seoul, (Known as the birth place of sewing industry), has been culturally eligible to be preserved. In the context of culture-led urban regeneration, the overriding aim was to protect historical local assets without brutal demolition. The local area aimed to foster a local cultural legacy. For example, the representative local artists 'Nam-jun Baek (Korean American artist, and founder of video art)', and Su-gen Park (Korean painter)' have been culturally symbolised through the public art works in this area (Jang, 2017). \$2.7 billion was also invested to support the historical culture through establishing the memorial space for Nam-jun Baek, the development of story-telling to explain local cultural resources, and support for local artists (Ibid.). Another case is Gunsan's cultural strategy of urban regeneration (particularly Wolmyeong-dong). The initial aims were to preserve the area's modern architecture and revitalise local businesses through cultural injection. In order to realise these aims, the area was designated as a thematic street presenting the cultural assets of the opening port era. The regeneration strategy promotes the creation of design-specialised buildings and maritime parks. Specifically, for the creation of design buildings (See Figure 4-8), a maximum rental limit is coordinated by the land owner, cultural organisation and urban regeneration centre. This means that, if a land owner offers a space or office with around £1,300 deposit and less than £130 monthly rental fee, culture-related businesses (local museums, galleries, etc.) can use the space to host various cultural programmes (Jung, 2017). As a result of this cultural strategy, the numbers of tourists visiting local museums has substantially escalated from 820,000 in 2015 to 1,020,000 in 2016, with the numbers of shops increasing from 437 to 456 (Ibid.).

[Figure 4-8: Design Specialised Buildings Used for Museums and Galleries]



Source: Gimhae newspaper, 2016

4.5.1. The Challenge of Culture-led Urban Regeneration in South Korea

There have been criticisms of the culture-led regeneration project. As mentioned in Section 4.2, significant cultural transformation has been ongoing in Gwangju for operating the cultural city project. A lot of the focus has been heavily centred on constructing the symbolic cultural building (e.g. the Asia Culture Centre), while the adjacent areas and needed improvements of the wider urban environment are often neglected (Park, 2016). While the project had the initial idea to regenerate the surrounding urban area, the focus on the single symbolic building has led to arguments that the project has lost its locality, and has provoked external franchises and high street luxury brands within shopping areas at the expense of local businesses. Therefore, it has been criticised as neglecting Gwangju's own history and philosophy, with the culture-led regeneration projects seeking to produce a result within a short time (Ibid.).

In the case of Cheongju, the area has faced unexpected outcomes in attracting private partnerships. Cheongju was chosen as the economic-led regeneration target area in 2014. The former Tobacco Factory – opened in 1946 with 10 billion cigarettes were produced each year with 3,000 workers, but a decrease in consumption and growth of mechanisation led the factory to be broken up in 2004 – was designated for revival as a cultural complex within the regeneration strategy. After the factory was closed, urban decline gradually fed into the surrounding residential areas, and a number of neighbourhoods raised concerns as to the derelict factory leading to crime, a fear in the urban environment and juvenile delinquency (see Figure 4-9). In order to tackle the problems and implement regeneration, diverse cultural strategies (e.g. the establishment of National Museum Contemporary Art, continuous host of the International Craft Festival, cultural facility development for commercial purpose and securing of profitability, and creating an artist in residence programme), and attracting knowledge industries such as R&D and electronic commerce were planned to be employed at the Tobacco Factory (Park, 2015a).

In the process of attracting private investment, Cheongju attempted to encourage private involvement, however, there was no one in charge of investment as the scheme was considered such a poor business possibility (Yeonhapnews, 2016). Due to this, Cheongju made an effort to consult again with the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport regarding the approach of the Tobacco Factory's regeneration. As a result, Cheongju decided to provide authority to a private company that could determine the future strategy. Moreover, Cheongju suggested to remove any restrictions on the types of regeneration that could be allowed on the site, (Shin, 2015a) leading to criticisms that accepting and entrusting a private company's preferences would provoke ambiguous results and large capital circulation (Ibid.).

In Cheonan, there is also a problematic issue within the culture-led urban regeneration process. As the regeneration project heavily centres on just and equal achievement and the success of stakeholders' purposes, a number of entrepreneurs and local business have faced difficulties. Particularly, under the terms of the culture-led regeneration project, local cultural organisations (such as independent galleries) may be threatened by the building of new galleries or the signature cultural centre (Kim, 2017, owner of local gallery in Cheonan,

[Figure 4-9: A Part of Tobacco Factory]



Source: Asia-economy newspaper (2015)

interviewed by Yoon in Daejeon newspaper). In the same vein, Choi (2017, head of Cheonan Youth Centre, by Yoon in Daejeon newspaper) argues that the large company and the government sometimes use the initial items and ideas created by young entrepreneurs by investing large sum of money in the process of culture-led regeneration. Such phenomenon

led to creative young people working elsewhere and away from the cultural areas (Ibid.). In this sense, many artistic opportunities for young people have been divested under the term of culture-led regeneration (Ibid.).

One final controversial issue is the excessive mural painting works being adopted as a culture-led regeneration strategy. Before the SAUR was legislated, colourful murals and art installations were already spread out and helped to beautify slum areas. Since 2006, the adoption of the mural painting representatively began as a cultural strategy in the small village of Dongpirang in the Sothern coastal city of Tongyeong (initially settled by low income labourers during the Japanese colonial period). These murals significantly impacted upon the area's internal economic growth and re-imagination of village life (Korea Jungang daily, 2016). As the village has seen the rising popularity of the mural painting as a tourist attraction, many local governments are adopting the concept of a mural painting or public art installation scheme to revitalise areas in need of development (e.g. Ihwa-dong in Seoul / Yeomri-dong in Seoul / Haenggung-dong in Suwon / Songwol-dong, Incheon, etc.) (Ibid.).

[Figure 4-10: Mural Paintings at Dongpirang and Ihwa-dong]



Sources: Samsamstroy, 2014 (Right), Choi, 2012 (Left)

At first, the art works can be seen as charming and help contribute to a vibrant environment of a depressed area. However, a sudden influx of visitors causes a certain loss of residential privacy and excessive noise and rubbish around the villages. Moreover, many of the arts works have been spoiled by visitors, and broken works are often neglected by the artists and local government. Such spoiled art works have become an eyesore in many communities. In this aspect, Kim (2017a), a journalist of the Segye-newspaper, highlighted

the community's segmentation by immoderate mural painting acceptance. In his journal, a number of residents expressed their complaint regarding the art works that someone covered the murals with grey paint and wrote 'we want to live like a human', 'desperately oppose of culture-led regeneration project', 'please be quite', 'the invasion of tourist in a village' (see Figure 4-11). Such circumstances created tensions between communities, and the abandoned artistic works and people's aggressive complaints created a violent atmosphere and an image of an area hostile to outsiders.

[Figure 4-11: Resident Complaints in Mural Painting Villages]



[Source: Kim, 2017a]

Despite various problems such as residential privacy, lack of sustainability and the creation of improper artworks that ignore local characteristics, many culture-led regeneration initiatives repeatedly adopt mural painting works as an essential cultural strategy. It is argued that planners and organisers should reflect upon these works carefully when attempting to adopt similar schemes. In this regard, Shaw (2016, p.272) defines that "mural art is used to speak in the name of and depict communities, nations and cultures, as well as to represent an aesthetic element which helps them integrate into their environments". The longevity, legacy, interaction with local environment, and the creativity of local people must also be reflected (Ibid.) when adopting mural painting scheme as a culture-led urban regeneration strategy. The plethora of art works is hardly a solution to revitalise a slum or deprived area: the area's cultural value and an attempt at profound collaboration between local government, artists and residents should be the priorities in the process of culture-led regeneration.

In Section 4.5.1, a number of challenges that culture-led urban regeneration has faced are reviewed by examining academic articles, policy documents, and newspaper articles. Many culture-led regeneration projects are weighted on the development of flagship buildings and through the infusion of unsystematic cultural programmes for achieving stakeholders' goals in the short-term. Regeneration schemes of South Korea also tend to benchmark and follow a successful story that has been implemented in other countries, however, these are often not suitably adopted to fit within local contexts. Fortunately, there has been some research on the efficacy of the above programmes, and a number of experts provide suggestions on how current culture-led regeneration can extend the social benefits of regeneration. This material is reviewed in Section 4.6 and has been gathered from seminars and conferences in South Korea during the field-research in 2015 and 2016.

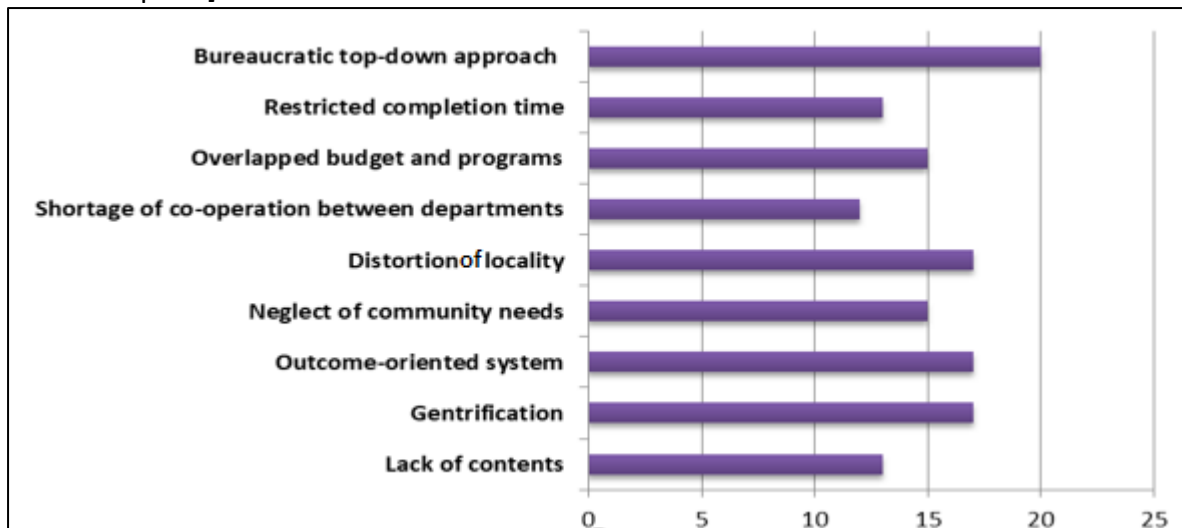
4.6. The Experts' Perspectives in terms of Culture-led Urban Regeneration Challenges

As shown in Figure 4-12, the main concerns that experts have about culture-led regeneration in South Korea are the bureaucratic top-down approach and loss of locality, an outcome-oriented system, the inappropriate arrangement of cultural programmes, causes of gentrification and an unstable public administration system. This section examines each of these issues in turn.

First, the intimate link between locals and their culture has been considered one of the most important factors in post 2000 urban regeneration (Hwang, 2015a). If local characteristics are disrupted or destroyed, then the value of any urban area is meaningless. However, within the projects discussed above the unique locality of each area has often been distorted by the bureaucratic and top-down policies established by central government with its preferences to fund larger cultural projects (Ibid.). In the typical system of top-down urban planning in South Korea, the government normally outsources a number of planning works for maximising the use of external resources and streamlining efficiency for time-consuming functions, but a city's unique geographical and local characteristics can be lost in this process. For example, a private companies' application of the same and replicated "model" of planning

naturally omits the distinctive local features of an area. It can be understood that current culture-led urban regeneration processes tend to generate a narrow perspective of ‘franchising’ of local characteristics within targeted areas (Hwang, 2015a).

[Figure 4-12: The Problems of Urban Regeneration Process in South Korea from Point of View of Experts]



Source: author

Beyond the franchising of local characteristics, the miscellaneous cultural imports and simple replication from the successful examples under the name of globalisation and international exchange are often the cases that culture takes a back seat. For example, if the central government allocates \$70 billion for improving a city’s environment within a short time frame in the process of culture-led regeneration of South Korea, local governments and outsourcing companies normally plan to focus on building a single mega-sized and symbolic facility without any cogitation on the harmonisation of the surrounding local area and traditional characteristics (Hwang, 2015a; Kwon, 2015), because the commercialisation and commodification of local culture is given an immediate high priority in the regenerative schemes of South Korea. In this regard, Hwang (2015a) argues that it is still questionable “why the South Korea’s regeneration strategy does not focus on creating our own planning ecology”. Kwon (2015) and Kim (2015a) stress that such a top-down approach by city authorities might replicate earlier mistakes of property-led redevelopment schemes. Moreover, there has not been the appropriate opportunities for resident engagement in

planning procedures and proper communicative approach between stakeholders and communities for systematic establishment of a bottom-up strategy. It could be argued that the bottom-up approach is unattainable amongst the landscape of prevalent bureaucratic top-down systems.

The second concern of experts is the outcome-oriented system. South Korea's public administration system normally requires projects to be hastened and hurried to create a tangible result within a limited time period (Kim, 2015h). In the aspect of culture-led regeneration, the prevalent outcome-oriented system means that local culture can be devalued. However, these circumstances have been considerably generalised within the process of culture-led regeneration scheme in South Korea (Ibid.). An expert working at an architecture company commented that "outcome-oriented approach could not overcome the failure of urban redevelopment of new-town initiatives. 'Development-centred' and 'outcome-centred' theories in the urban planning of South Korea should be perished. If the stakeholders are constantly engrossed in achieving results, there are no long-term sustainable visions (Hong, 2015)". Furthermore, a limited time period for quick completion would hamper an attempt to provide adequate social provisions (e.g. living expense support, medical benefits, support for rental housing, etc.) and community development (Kim, 2015a). Hwang (2015a) describes the typical outcome-oriented system in the process of culture-led regeneration as "there are no people, but business itself is solitarily left". Such circumstance has also led to a polarisation of opinions between local interests with residents that want to maintain the local economic structure, and the central government that desires to restrict the local economy through creation of mega-sized cultural facilities within a restricted period. These conflicts are still controversial and contested issues in the process of culture-led regeneration (Hwang, 2015a). Outcome-oriented systems and time pressures created through state interventions have been increasingly creating project deferment and ineffectiveness.

Third, the arrangement of various cultural programmes is a controversial problem. In general, a signature building is essentially considered as a priority project when it comes to

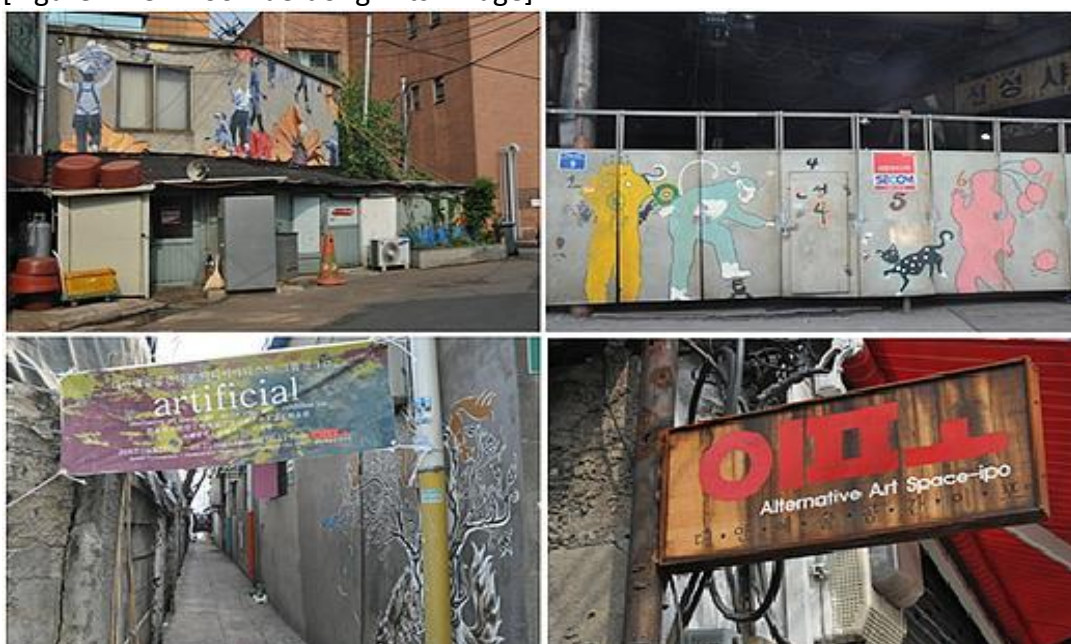
implement culture-led regeneration projects in many cities of South Korea (Kim, 2015h). In this regard, Jones and Evans (2008) emphasise that the “questions of whose culture is particularly important when considering schemes where a cultural facility is being used as an anchor for a larger regeneration programme”. However, there are questions of what a landmark cultural iconic building actually says about the city itself, what impact this may have on the existing local cultures, with the views and desires of local residents being hidden behind a signature building. The inherent weaknesses of constructing a cultural anchor building in the aspect of culture-led regeneration of South Korea is that they can be short-term fragmented, project-based, one-off and on ad hoc arrangement regardless to any inclusive strategic structure for community development (Jones and Evans, 2008; Hwang, 2015a; Ahn, 2015). Therefore, infusing a sustainable cultural programme for local residents is easily abandoned because the public and civil servants are eager to commercialise cultural elements to reinforce economic value rather than achieve community development (Ahn, 2015). The proliferation of mural-painting within villages could be exemplified once again to demonstrate the shortage of appropriate cultural contents. One particular case of mural painting-theme village must not become the prototype for all the other cases. Not only it is extremely short-sighted but this type of ‘trendy’ planning does very little to improve the community or preserve local identity and uniqueness (Jung, 2015). In this regard, mural painting contents are sometimes considered as an effortless work. As a result, inappropriate and uncontrollable painting works have been spread out to a community which already suffers from deprivation.

Furthermore, the causes of gentrification in the landscape of culture-led regeneration in South Korea has been a long running debate. In order to alleviate the deprivation of declining area, many local governments have eagerly attracted young and unique artists to assist in regenerating the area from the darkness of deprivation to create culturally vibrant areas (Kwon, 2015). In Hongdae, Samcheong-dong, Seongsu-dong, and Moonrae-dong in Seoul (See Figure 4-13), a number of artists have created cultural spaces within unused building or warehouses located in a relatively cheap to buy or rent area or deprived area. This phenomenon has resulted in bringing large amount of cultural consumer and investment (Kim, 2015h). As the cultural quarter has been popularly created, various private investments such

as cafés, franchise restaurants and shopping complexes turn their attention to the uniquely formed areas where were previously overlooked. However, such a cultural influx can generate victims who live in culturally gentrifying areas and experience radical growth in rents, grocery prices and local services (Ibid.). It is also possible for the initial artists to be displaced and evicted by commercialisation, because they are unable to afford the skyrocketing rental prices (Ibid.). Although gentrification itself could be considered as a phenomenon that occurs in the development process of a city, the ‘culture departmentalisation phenomenon’ is being criticised as a social issue that harms local cultures at the root in South Korea (Ibid.). According to this situation, just ‘who the beneficiaries of culture-led regeneration’ are remains questionable.

The final challenge of culture-led regeneration is the unstable public administration system of South Korea. The typical job rotation system of civil servants at the central and local government levels has been biennially changing. Practically, stable communication with private sectors, residents and voluntary organisations is a focal point to allow regeneration initiatives to operate successfully. However, frequent rotation amongst staff within the public sector can cause a lack of co-ordination, as the related partnerships need to build another cooperative relationship with different people and organisations every two years as the public

[Figure 4-13: Moonrae-dong Arts Village]



Source: Kim (2014). Pressian news.

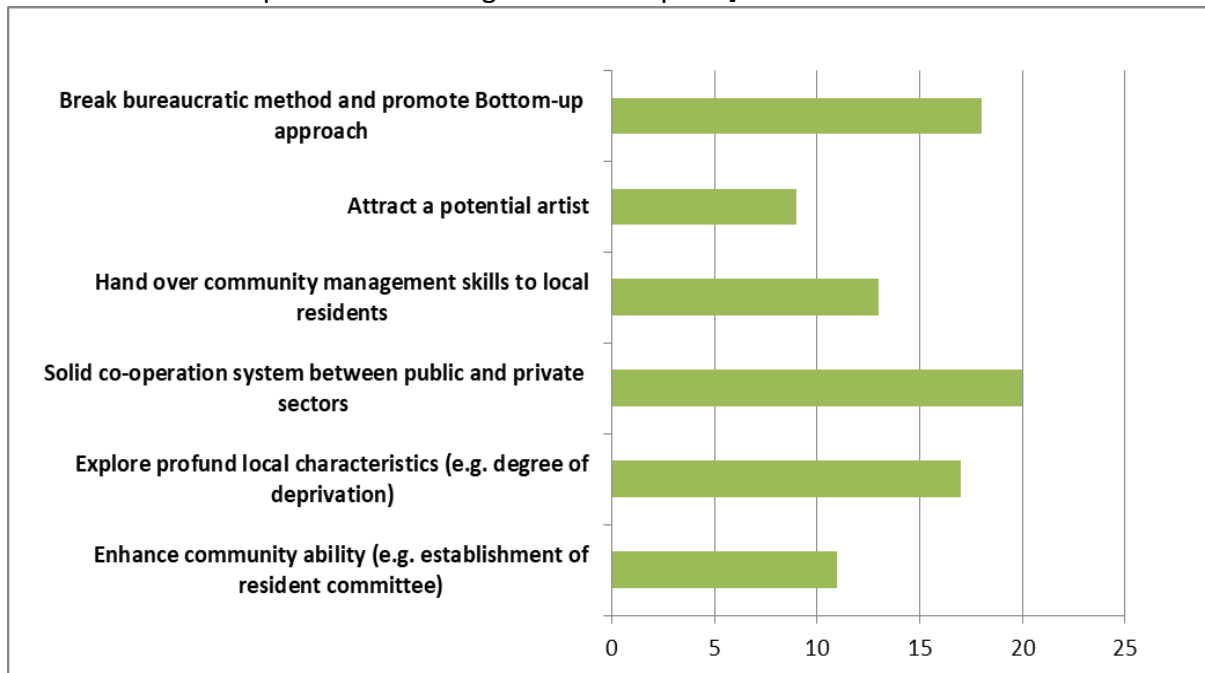
system shifts. Such a public administration system sometimes brings uneven urban planning and an unpredictable delay of projects (Hwang, 2015b; Koo, 2015). The overlapping role and remit of public departments can also cause the duplicated distribution of budgets, inefficiency of finance and inappropriate arrangements of cultural projects (Nam, 2012). It has meant that similar trends and policy are likely to be implanted by several different departments. Specifically, the similar policies related to urban regeneration project exist within diverse Ministries – the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport has 17 regeneration strategies and Acts; the Ministry of Trade, Industry and Energy has 12 strategies; the Ministry of Public Administration and Security and the Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries have 6 respectively; the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism has 5; the Ministry of Environment has 4; the Ministry of Strategy and Finance and the Korea Forest Service have 2 respectively; the Regional Small and Medium Business Administration has 1; the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology and the Ministry of Defence, the Financial Services Commission and the Prime Minister’s Office have 1 policy respectively. Kim (2015a) suggested that “urban regeneration projects are managed and planned by different Ministries, and even various departments at local government level also separately handle the regenerative projects. Therefore, grasping the current condition what projects are belonged to which departments is significantly difficult”. Also, the dispersed support of departments is constantly changing making it difficult to promote a sustainable urban regeneration initiative (Hong, 2015).

4.6.1. Suggestions for Further Development of Culture-led Regeneration

Suggestions for improving the processes and delivery of culture-led regeneration include enhancing partnership, promoting a bottom-up approach, researching more about local characteristics, developing community-led programmes, and attracting artists into a declining area to tackle above challenges (see Figure 4-14). Moreover, beyond the suggestions presented in Figure 4-14, diverse issues have emerged in conjunction with establishing accurate policy direction, ensuring the autonomy of businesses, making an effort to attract proper private investment, creating interactive connections between each department and resolving the difficulties and complexities in allocating budgets. In this section I outline the main suggestions to improve culture-led regeneration – fostering residents’ ability, creating

reliable partnerships for community sustainability, and helping to connect between artists and residents.

[Figure 4-14: Suggestions for Enhancing Culture-led Urban Regeneration in South Korea in the Aspect of Urban Regeneration Experts]



Source: author

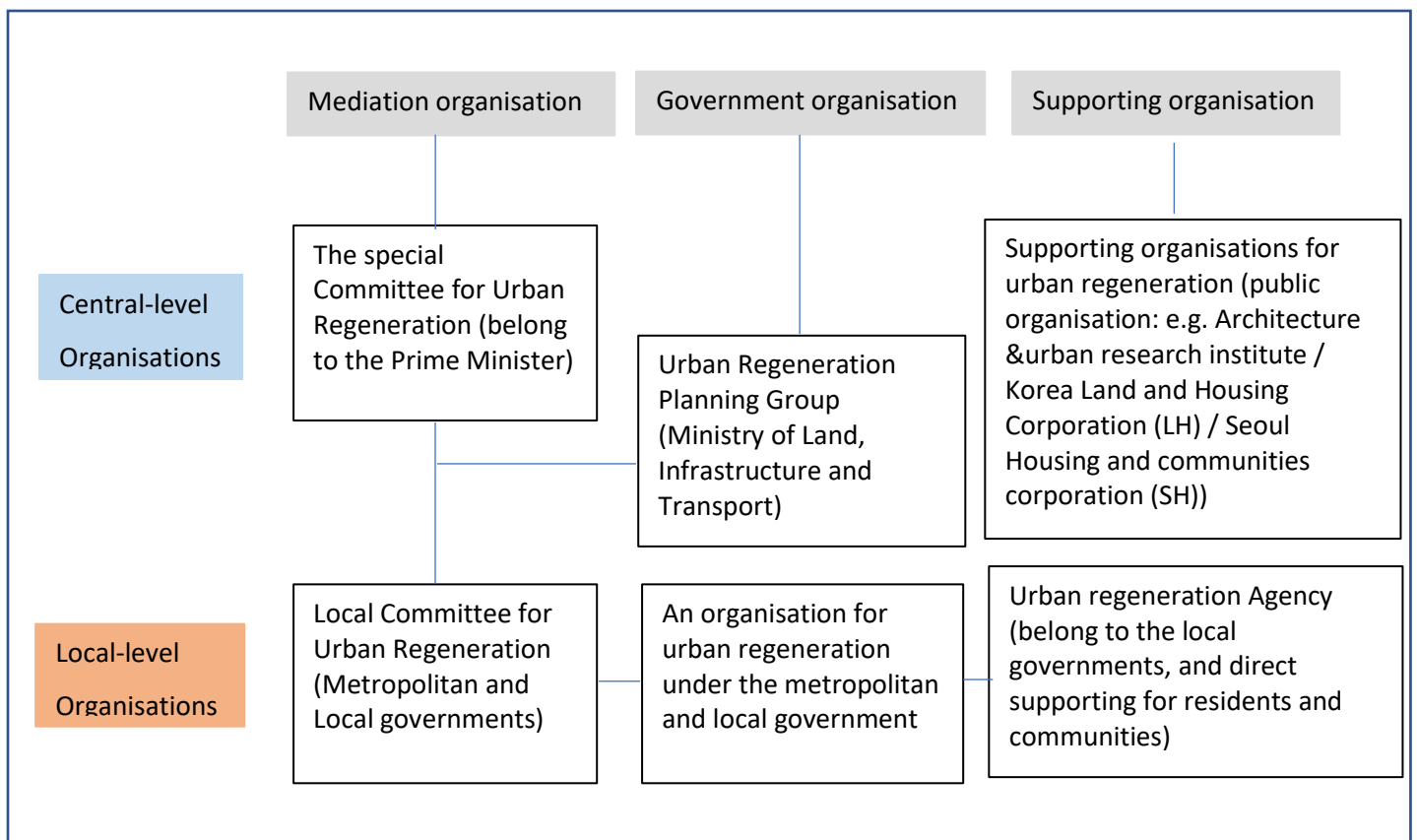
First, there is a need to strengthen the ability of local residents to stabilise and maintain further regeneration projects (Ryu, 2015). The most crucial period in culture-led regeneration scheme is the end time period of the project, once central or local government funding as dried up (Ibid.). If the project cannot find a sustainable way to continue (ideally led by the residents themselves) then the targeted area would return to deprivation (Ibid.). Planners and stakeholders should support the designated communities at the beginning of regeneration projects, for example, by encouraging resident participation, holding a seminar or conference and dealing with diverse community topics related to their locality and possibilities for the future, and by supporting community-led start-up businesses and local products to revitalise the area (Ibid., Kwon, 2015). Ahn (2015) stresses that to attract residents' consistent involvement, culture-led regeneration processes should be started from a small-sized project, with their ability slowly and steadily fostered.

Second, there is a suggestion to create reliable partnerships arrangements. There is no doubt that without co-ordination between public and private sectors, any urban regeneration scheme could not be appropriately sustained (Hwang, 2015a). In the case of culture-led regeneration, there are plenty of opportunities to work together in cooperation with the private sector and independent artists. Therefore, constituting the private sectors and third sectors (e.g. charities and social enterprises), fostering the local cultural organisations and artists is a pivotal point of success. In terms of the composition of partnerships with different stakeholders, it could include local governments, local merchants, medium and small enterprises, conglomerates, transport organisations, local finance organisations, police and land owner. (Koo, 2015). As Koo emphasises, the coalition between public, private, non-profit organisations and residents in partnership with mutual interest is the fundamental essence to sustain regeneration strategies (Lee, 2015a). Ryu (2015) comments that the co-operation of leading organisations (See Figure 4-15) is capable of resolving the problems suffered within failed urban redevelopment initiatives – the exclusion of particular social groups, the stimulation of gentrification, the privatisation of places, the neglecting of local community involvement, and the reliance on a buoyant economy and property market.

A final suggestion is to attract creative people (e.g. artists) into communities. Kwon (2015) asserts that bringing an able artist into a community could be considered as the key of success in South Korea. Richard Florida (2002, p.6) firmly advocates the targeting of the ‘creative class’, arguing that “access to talented and creative people is to modern business what access to coal and iron once was”. In this sense, Ryu (2015) describes as far as the community accommodates the artists, those creative people could be a catalyst to combine all generation of community. If a community, where desires to be transferred into cultural city, should use the artists’ propulsive force, creative and vitality. To attract creative people into a community, local governments have to pay significant attention to establish a comfortable and convenient environment for creative people through developing surrounding areas and creating fundamental facilities (e.g. bars, restaurants, and libraries). In this regard, beyond just attracting creative people, the agenda for securing an attractive residential environment (such as through creating reasonable rental prices) for local artists

should be locally legislated. Otherwise, both cultural consumption and urban gentrification would eject cultural workers as well as cultural organisations if culture-led regeneration projects fail (Kim, 2015h). He powerfully accentuated that achieving successful culture-led regeneration is to put the priority to people such as artists, local merchants and residents. Also, local government and community committee have to make an effort that an artist is able to become a member of community.

[Figure 4-15: The organisation of leading urban regeneration in South Korea]



Source: URIS website, Translated by author (2018).

4.7. Summary

This chapter has reviewed the changing relationship between the culture and arts, and urban development in South Korea. It has shown how ‘culture’ has played an increasingly important role in regeneration activity linked to its perceived economic benefits. However, the link to social regeneration is more complicated. There has been social regeneration

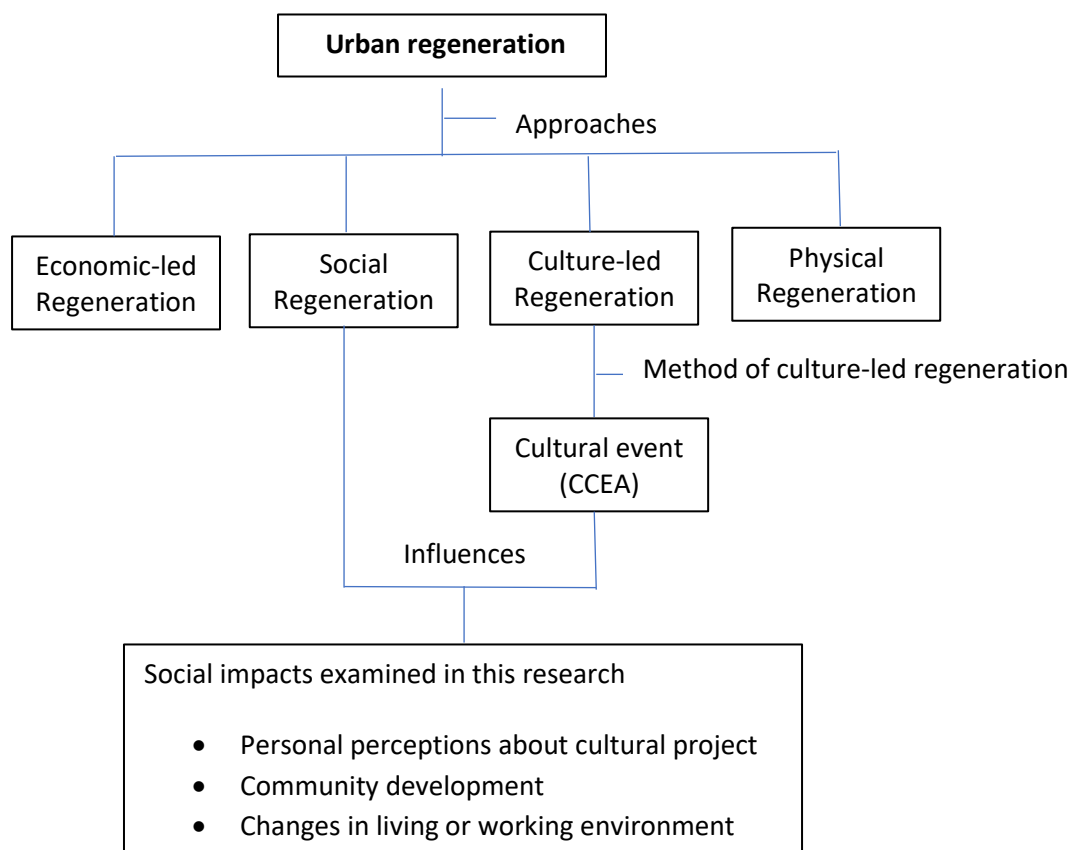
through the use of culture, but the extent to which culture has benefitted households facing multiple deprivation is still debatable. As can be seen from the view of academics, culture-led approaches in South Korea are often too top-down, with insufficient co-operation between departments, resulting in a neglect of community needs, and criticism of inappropriate cultural activity. Some cases (e.g. outcome-oriented system, top-down approach, outcome-oriented management) have led to significant gentrification and the displacement of residents as well as artists. In the aspect of social regeneration, there are examples where cultural influx under the term of culture-led regeneration has provoked residents' anger and complaints. For example, those who living in Dongpirang village or Ihwa village, the culturally famous village through mural painting, made a strong protest against cultural regeneration which was felt to undermine the character and dynamics of the village. Those concerns form part of the context to be explored in the Cheongju CCEA initiative.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

5.1. Introduction

The aim of this research is to examine how various choices were made about the social regeneration impacts of the Cheongju CCEA programme and to explore the impact on individuals and communities in areas of deprivation. The CCEA initiative is used as a case study to develop understanding of the wider context for culture-led urban regeneration in South Korea. The below table outlines visually how this research is structured (See Figure 5-1).

[Figure 5-1: A Broad Context of the Thesis]



This chapter outlines the research design and methodology for the research undertaken in the PhD. It is structured as follows: First, it begins by setting the research

questions, providing an overview of the analysis, and discusses the relevance and application of qualitative methods to social research. Next, it moves on to an explanation of the case-study approach and associated research methods. Finally, the chapter examines the data analysis that was conducted throughout the project, how ethical considerations were dealt with and the possibility of any issues associated with the researcher's own positionality follow.

5.2. Research Questions and Analysis Overview

While there has been much research on the importance of culture-led regeneration and its importance to issues surrounding social regeneration (Ginsburg, 1999; Roberts and Sykes, 2000; Jones and Evans, 2008; Ennis and Douglass, 2011; Tunstall and Lowe, 2012), there has been little analysis that takes a qualitative approach. This is concerning, as within South Korea, the SAUR specifies in Article 15 that urban regeneration strategies should be established or amended through public hearings with urban experts, local authorities and local residents, and encouraging local residents to have a strong voice in designating culture-led regeneration area. It appears that local residents should be considered at the outset within any process of culture-led urban regeneration. Yet, little research has identified just how citizen involvement is actually promoted, whether they are involved within decision-making processes, or whether culture-led urban regeneration initiatives actually contributes to quality of life. To rectify this, the thesis seeks to address four research objectives:

- To examine how social regeneration has been considered in the planning of the CCEA event.
- To use a range of sources to consider the impact of the CCEA on social regeneration in Cheongju.
- To analyse the practical views of local communities about the social regeneration impacts by cultural events in a qualitative approach.
- To link the case study to wider debates and understandings on the relationships between culture-led urban regeneration initiatives in South Korea.

The reason why cultural projects have become the topic of this study is to demonstrate the role of culture-led regeneration as an essential intervention for implementing urban regeneration (Law, 2000; Tallon, Bromley, Reynolds, and Thomas, 2006; and Tallon, 2010). Tallon (2010) insists that contemporary cultural festivals are closely associated with 'urban change and restructuring', 'tourism and place promotion', 'the leisure, arts and entertainment economy', 'the development of night-time economy', and 'local community and culture' (p.236). However, studies of culture-led regeneration generally are weak in terms of the correlation of cultural events with social regeneration, and existing research is often very descriptive with large assumptions regarding decision making and impacts. Such studies primarily centre on a cause-and-effect relationship. Therefore, this research seeks to understand the interrelationships between culture-led regeneration and social regeneration by looking at residents' views and opinions rather than measuring the economic or tourism impacts in a quantitative approach. More narrowly, as this study takes as its starting point the debates on cultural activity and its contribution to improvement of social aspects (Landry, Greene, Matarasso and Bianchini, 1996; Matarasso, 1997; Evans and Shaw, 2004; Garcia, Melville and Cox, 2010; and Ennis and Douglass, 2011), it will ask how cultural intervention influences social regeneration (e.g. individual cultural perception, community improvement, and living or working environment) in three declining areas.

To address these issues, this thesis has three research questions:

- Have culture-led approaches created social regeneration opportunities in Cheongju and, if so, what opportunities and for whom?
- What are the possible problems and tensions in using cultural events to support social regeneration in Cheongju?
- How does the CCEA in Cheongju reinforce or challenge wider literature on the role of cultural events in social regeneration?

On the basis of primary questions, the specified questions that are asked of the participants to this project are listed in Figure 5-2. At the start of the field-research these specific questions were distributed to 121 local residents of three different neighbourhoods

through a questionnaire. A total of 74 questionnaires were returned. Amongst them, 26 respondents agreed to participate in a further in-depth interview or to take part in a focus group. To compare and contrast the CCEA impacts on social regeneration, the same questions were distributed again 10 months after the completion of the CCEA during the second field-research period.

[Figure 5-2: The Distributed Questions for Interview and Focus Groups]

The objective of questions	Distributed questions
General perspective and awareness of the CCEA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The previous level of engagement with urban cultural programmes over the previous 3 years (e.g. Have you ever participated in cultural events over the last 3 years?) ● Are you, or have you been aware of the CCEA? ● Have you participated in the CCEA programmes in 2015? (or are there any reasons for non-participation?)
Practical relationship between cultural events and individual or community development in the aspect of social regeneration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Do you think that cultural activity is an influential driver for regenerating the community? ● Have the CCEA contributed to developing any social regeneration aspects of an individual or the community?
Any changes in living or working environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Have you seen any changes during and after the CCEA in the living or working environment?
The perspective of long-term cultural project	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Culture-led projects have long-term impacts on community sustainability and attracting further investment? (Before CCEA) ● A long-term cultural event has positive impacts on community sustainability and attracting further investment? (During the CCEA)

5.3. The Broad Approach: Discourse, Context and Qualitative Research

In this thesis, a broad mixed methods approach was used, and evidence was gathered through questionnaires, primary data sources, secondary literature reviews and semi-structured interviews with urban experts and residents. Urban regeneration policy has been actively adopted in many declining cities and communities as an alternative solution against

urban redevelopment. However, as part of the research process I found large gaps in the evaluation process of regeneration projects between the economic and social spheres. Policy, academic articles, and government reports tend to accentuate that the upgrading of quality of life of residents, community development and supporting sustainable management of community are the priority principles of any urban regeneration strategy. Yet, almost all reports and results reviewed are dominated by economic profits or the growth of tourism or environment changes. Therefore, I decided to undertake a different approach to the research process by researching residents' personal thoughts and experiences about culture-led regeneration initiatives, to explore the actual and experienced benefits to their lives and communities. Examining a citizen's authentic opinion and experiences can be captured well through a largely qualitative research approach. In order to achieve more detailed answers regarding culture-led urban regeneration strategies and their societal impacts, it was decided that two periods would be considered optimal to grasp any changes occurring between the launch of the CCEA and its completion. The first field-research period began in September 2015 and finished in January 2016. A second phase was undertaken in October 2016. To develop a qualitative research project, the following approach was adopted:

5.3.1. Methodological Approach: The Applications of Qualitative Methods to Social Research

As a largely primary research project, this thesis considers qualitative methods as a crucial approach to analyse and interpret people's authentic opinions and to understand their perspectives, feelings and experiences. An Introduction to Qualitative Research, published by Flick (2009), highlights how qualitative research implies a social reality that can examine the interpretations and lived experiences of participants. Fundamentally, qualitative research stems from the interpretative approach to comprehend social reality and can involve the description of actual experiences of humans (Ibid.). Other principles of qualitative research include:

- A theoretical framework that is not predetermined at the outset of the research process, but in which emerges directly from the obtained data.
- The importance of context, and the importance of researchers being aware of the context in which they conduct their research and the impact their own views and opinions may have on outcomes.
- The emic perspective such as involvement of people, and their perceptions, meanings, experience and interpretations are importantly regarded as a main focus
- Qualitative researchers normally describe, analyse and interpret people, circumstance, and the world
- The relationship between the researcher and the researched is closely interacted and centred upon a position of equality as human beings (Ibid, 2009).

In this regard, a qualitative research approach is useful in this thesis in terms of exploring the meanings of people's cultural experience, describing their perspective or feelings about culture-led regeneration initiatives, in examining the relationship between the CCEA and social outcomes, uncovering the essence of regenerative phenomena within the aspect of people, and generating new theoretical ideas. As individuals are best placed to explain the situations and feelings in their own words in this study, more interactive and in-depth outcomes could be revealed (Flick, 2009).

The reason why this study selects a qualitative methods approach is that the approach to urban regeneration has been gradually accelerating in South Korea and includes impacts on physical and economic forces to impacts within the social and cultural spheres. Thus, the social and cultural dimensions have risen in importance within sustainable urban regeneration discourses since the 1990s (Colantonio and Dixon, 2009). In reality, human beings are normally affected by their experiences and a qualitative research approach can trigger a focus on the real world of participants and their experiences, yet social research within the context of culture-led urban regeneration is rare (Flick, 2009). Most social research participation hints at broad outcomes such as health improvement, a cohesive role in a community, mental health improvement, crime reduction, and enhanced quality of life, but

such studies do not embrace residents' actual thoughts and opinions that should be the main priority in any evaluation of social regeneration impacts. To address this lack of interpretative social research, this thesis attempts to build up an understanding of the inter-relationship between cultural projects and social regeneration through questionnaires, semi-structured interviews and focus groups. To reflect the capability of qualitative approach in the context of social research, this study does not rely on a static time period, but takes into account developmental and dynamic features on process as well as various outcomes of social regeneration by the cultural events in three targeted areas to gain more authentic analysis results.

5.3.2. The Support of Quantitative Approach

Despite the majority of the project utilising a qualitative research approach, this research also adopts a simple quantitative approach in the form of questionnaire surveys. Quantitative research produces the collection and analysis of data, and helps explored people's broad cultural awareness, a level of perception about cultural events, and people's genuine opinions about the degree of relationship between culture-led regeneration, community development and individual experiences and feelings in numeric form. However, while this approach can produce valuable insights, these questionnaires were used mainly to inform further in-depth interviews with participants, and allowed the researcher to identify potential interviewees and to shape a fully-informed interview approach. Bryman (1988 and 1992) stresses that quantitative and qualitative approaches are usually considered as different ways of studying, and have different preoccupations, but through the collection of data, the questionnaire approach was especially efficient at achieving the structural features of participants' responses. During the field-research, the questionnaire was distributed three weeks in advance before the interviews and focus groups were carried out, so the quantitative results provided a general picture of participant views. To reach out to the residents, I frequently visited community centres such as village halls and senior citizens centres to recruit willing volunteers. I also visited door to door for few weeks, with 121 questionnaires being distributed within three neighbourhoods, with 74 answers returned (Jungang-dong: 26, Naedeok-dong: 27, and Suamgol: 21).

Combining quantitative and qualitative researches in this way can help bridge the gulf between macro and micro levels, and these two approaches interactively facilitates each research process (Bryman, 1988). Such a mix of methodologies is defined as the form of triangulation in social science research (Olsen, 2004). The diverse viewpoints and standpoints generated from the questionnaires were revealed, and anonymity offered through the questionnaire approach offered the respondents a level of confidence in giving a particular view or opinion in more comfortable way. On the other hand, there is doubt that the data collected through questionnaires is complete, as some respondents can give incomplete replies (Ibid.). In these circumstances, such answers could hardly be examined, and can lead to misinterpretation while the analysis was in progress. This was resolved in this project through the adopting of qualitative research methods. As Bryman emphasises, the interactions between two research approaches can play an influential role to leverage and complement the qualitative research process in this thesis.

The most helpful aspect of a quantitative approach is that the questionnaires offer the respondents a broad insight about the research and enough time to think carefully regarding the answers during the interview and focus group process. In fact, culture-led regeneration and its impact on social regeneration aspects are unfamiliar within these communities. A number of respondents had little idea about regeneration, cultural events, or the CCEA. However, after undertaking the questionnaire, the interviewees or focus group respondents could concentrate on the relevant issues.

5.4. The Study Designs: Case-study Approach and Research Methods

The research methods of this thesis adopted include interviews with elites and residents and focus groups with residents. This section discusses firstly the strengths of case study, and then moves on to the reasons of choosing three neighbourhoods for empirical research, and examines the challenges.

5.4.1. Case Study as a Qualitative Research Type

The thesis examines the research questions through using the CCEA as a single case study to understand the influences of culture-led regeneration to social regeneration. This section examines why this case study was chosen, and it discusses the strengths and limitations of the single case study approach.

Case study research allows for the examination and understanding of complicated issues and is recognised as a tool in many social science studies (Gulsecen and Kubat, 2006). It becomes prominent when issues with regard to community-based matters (Johnson, 2006) including poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, well-being, are under examination. (Zainal, 2007). The initial aim of a case study approach is to “offer a richness and depth of information by capturing as many variables as possible to identify how a complex set of circumstances come together to produce a particular manifestation” (Institute of Lifelong Learning, 2009, p. 34). In addition, one reason for using the case study as a research method is that “researchers were becoming more concerned about the limitations of quantitative methods in providing holistic and in-depth explanations of the social and behavioural problems in question” (Zainal, 2007, p. 1). Particularly, Yin (2003) stresses five major research strategies in the social science – experiment, surveys, archival analysis, histories, and case studies. In this sense, Yin gives an example that, if the researcher knows “how a community successfully thwarted a proposed highway (See Lupo, Colcord and Fowler, 1971), a survey or an examination of archival records would be less likely used, and doing a history or a case study might be better off “(2003, p. 6). In the same vein, to achieve an understanding of the impacts of social regeneration by cultural events through discussions with residents and urban experts, a case study method is highly relevant to this research. As the thesis seeks to investigate a social regeneration phenomenon by cultural events within its real-life context, a case study research method could be used “when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used” (Yin, 1984, p.23).

Starman (2013) and the Institute of Lifelong Learning (2009) stress that case study research is a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches. Qualitative research has characteristics in emphasising subjective experiences and the meanings it has for an individual. In this sense, case studies can be utilised within the qualitative field, although the fact that they can contain some quantitative elements, (such as with a small questionnaire survey) is also taken into account to support the qualitative results.

5.4.2. Site Selection: The Choice of Cheongju and the Three Residential Neighbourhoods

This research focuses on a case study of the CCEA with a detailed investigation of experiences and impacts in three residential areas. Cheongju was named as the second city of the CCEA along with Qingdao in China, and Yokohama in Japan in 2014. As mentioned in Section 1.2, Cheongju has long been renowned as a cultural and educational city, and its cultural resources accelerate the city's vibrancy and positively influences the lives of citizens. The cultural diversities emerging from Jikji (Korean Buddhist Document) to the cutting edge of the area's cultural industry played an impressive role for bidding process of CCEA. As a result, the judges acknowledged Cheongju's great cultural heritage and outstanding cultural plans for the second CCEA in 2015.

On top of this, this thesis identified three requirements for an area to be selected as an area to be studied:

- To recognise the practical cultural impacts on social regeneration, an area had to suffer with urban deprivation symptoms (e.g. depopulation, building or house deterioration, or a decrease in the numbers of local business).
- To gain a realistic opinion in the aspect of culture-led urban regeneration, people who directly observed the changing local environment were needed.
- Different local characteristics (e.g. location, the varied opportunities of cultural activities, and population distribution) were necessary components to compare and understand the impacts of CCEA

As a result, there were three residential neighbourhoods within Cheongju that were selected for further study – Jungang-dong, Naedeok-dong and Suamgol (See Figure 5-3).

[Figure 5-3: Three research areas in Cheongju]



Source: Created by author

These targeted areas have numerous features in common, but have very different cultural characteristics, benefits and experiences. The chosen three areas have given a strong sense of how the CCEA process influenced on a variety of the population and affected to communities. Each neighbourhood is officially ranked as a deprived area in Cheongju and have been struggling with steady decline such as depopulation, building or house deterioration, and a decrease in the numbers of businesses. These areas have also been actively subjected to culture-led urban regeneration approaches since the middle of 2000s, although the extent of each cultural project has been quite different.

In terms of the spatial context, Jungang-dong has suffered from a basic symptom of old-town deterioration, as a number of commercial shops and public organisations have been closed since the 1990s. Naedeok-dong was a well-known residential area until the late of 1980s, but the closure of the Tobacco Factory and the decline in local businesses has led to not only a reduction in productivity but also local deterioration and depopulation. This

neighbourhood was designated as the fastest declining area in Cheongju in 2015 (Ahn and Kim, 2015). Suamgol was formed by refugees after the Korean War, and now has inherited difficulties in social and environmental issues such as poor access to the city centre, a skills shortage due to the high rate of ageing, and a poor living quality (Kim, 2015b). These three areas also have different cultural opportunities. Many CCEA programmes were held in Naedeok-dong because main of the main venues⁴ are located in this area. Jungang-dong has a few cultural opportunities, yet almost of the cultural programmes already existed and started along with a culture-led regeneration scheme in 2004. Suamgol has had little cultural experience during the CCEA. Thus, each neighbourhood is broadly comparable in terms of absolute cultural experience, geographic location, and population. Such different factors could provide profound and unique answers in varied ways.

5.4.3. Research Methods

After the case study approach and areas were chosen, the project moved on to set the methods for data collection. In terms of the case study approach, interviews, archives, documents, focus groups, observations, audio-visual materials and artefacts have all been identified as ways to meet a research objective (Creswell, 2013; Yin, 2015). Therefore, interviews and focus groups, which are popularly used in qualitative research (Yin, 2015), were used as the main tool in this thesis.

As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, regeneration impacts can be assessed in many different ways depending on what impact is being investigated. This thesis focuses on social regeneration, by using a cultural event as part of a strategy of culture-led regeneration. As indicated in Figure 5-1, this research particularly examined the changes in people's cultural perspective, community development, and any improvement of living or working environments.

⁴ Main venues: In Naedeok-dong, the Cheongju Cultural Industry Promotion Foundation and the Former Tobacco Factory are placed. There are a number of cultural programmes taken place around these venues during the CCEA rather than Jungang-dong and Suamgol.

In terms of social regeneration, meeting the research objectives can be evaluated in various ways, such as:

Secondary material:

- From evaluation or assessment carried out
- From reflections in social media and the media (such as newspapers)
- From data on social issues, economic change, and health, mental well-being and employment data.

Primary data:

- Questionnaire surveys
- Interviews with those involved in the programmes – managing, initiating, developing and delivering
- Interviews with local residents who were or might have been impacted

For this project, secondary data sources that were analysed included government reports, newspaper articles, weblogs, press statements, reports, policy documents and organisational documents which were studied in Chapter 2, 3 and 4. Specifically, the arguments made for using culture within the context of urban regeneration theory and practice through UK cases is examined in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 examined how urban redevelopment and regeneration schemes have been used within different periods in South Korea. The chapter dealt with the failure of urban redevelopment policy to the emergence of urban regeneration initiatives as an alternative solution tackling the flaw of redevelopment through reviewing policy documents, newspapers articles, and evaluation reports.

In order to fully understand the role of culture in South Korea and its relationship with urban regeneration, the brief history of cultural policy and how it has been integrated with urban regeneration process; and the practical implementation were also carried out in Chapter 4 through policy documents, bidding documents, weblogs, websites and newspapers

articles. The materials used in this chapter are helpful to demonstrate the issues being addressed in the context of culture-led regeneration and any regeneration impacts. Particularly, urban regeneration itself is a buzzword and has emerged as an influential trend in recent years in South Korea. According to this phenomenon, there had been numerous conferences and seminars regarding urban regeneration projects during the field-research in 2015, with opportunities to discuss with experts and to listen to their strategies and thoughts about regenerative initiatives. For a deeper comprehension of the culture-led regeneration strategies of South Korea, the answers from experts are analysed as secondary material and included to underpin the South Korea's literature in Chapter 4 along with the classification of current phenomena, existing problems and suggestions for further improvements. As a result, the secondary data collection could be made more specific and relevant to this study. It has also provided essential background about culture-led urban regeneration initiatives, which has a short-history, within South Korea.

One of the advantages of using secondary data is the amount of freely accessible material on the wide range of urban regeneration related resources of South Korea, in contrast to primary data which can be more difficult to obtain. However, a number of limitations in the use of secondary data include the fact that the materials may be somewhat outdated, narrowly focused on economic and tourism matters in terms of urban regeneration evaluation, or considered as a reliable source without much evaluation (Kuma, 2008). In this sense, authenticity, actual experience and feelings were the core elements for specific purposes to conduct social regeneration research by cultural events.

As there has been little specified social research on urban regeneration within South Korea, primary data was mainly collected. This includes questionnaire surveys, interviews with urban experts and local residents, and focus groups. The results of social regeneration by cultural events should not be evaluated by just relying on the stakeholders' quantitative measurements, economic profits, physical enhancement, environmental improvements or government assessment. Instead, the experiences of local residents, their thoughts and needs must be prioritised when conducting social regeneration research. Up to date and reliable answers also create greater validity and a realistic view to the research than secondary data

within the context of social regeneration. However, limited to the time period set aside for this research, finding the participants, organising materials (e.g. designing surveys and interview questions), and organising the research project itself became key problems. Also, there was ongoing concern that respondents did not provide timely responses, with the potential for 'untrue' statements which could affect the data collection process.

5.4.3.1. Interviews at City Level: The importance of interview with city level experts, and effectiveness participating in academic seminars and conferences

In this thesis, the type of interviews conducted can be divided into two spheres – those at the city level (such as urban experts, academic professors, and representatives of regeneration related companies), and those at the community level (such as local residents living in the targeted areas). In particular, the interviews with those at the city-level (or elite interviews) offered an opportunity to access the experts' pre-existing knowledge and assess their views on current regeneration phenomenon. Elite interviewing is closely relevant to case study research (Tansey, 2007). Particularly in the urban regeneration field, research frequently involves the analysis of political and practical developments at the city level, and elite actors provided critical sources of information regarding the political processes and challenges of regenerative schemes in South Korea. In this sense, "conducting interviews with elites can therefore serve the purpose of confirming the accuracy of information that has previously been collected from other sources" (Tansey, 2007, p. 6).

Those interview materials have been analysed as the supportive academic materials in Section 4.6. to underpin the literature on culture-led regeneration and its impacts on social regeneration in South Korea. As a PhD student, having an opportunity to meet with an expert was challenging (See Section 5.4.3.5 – Limitation of Chosen Methodology). However, abundant urban regeneration related seminars and conferences (19 seminars managed by the Korea Urban Regeneration Centre / almost 15 seminars and conferences operated by the Korea Planning Association between September to November in 2015) gave a chance during the field work to immerse myself within the material and obtain key contacts for further interview.

These academic meetings played a crucial role in interacting with a number of experts within the field. I participated in several seminars and conferences associated with culture-led regeneration initiatives and was able to formulate research questions prior to arranging the semi-structured interviews. Notably, if I asked a question to a particular presenter, a number of participated presenters also offered productive answers. There is brief information about the city-level participants below. To guarantee their anonymity, only their surname and position are mentioned (see Figure 5-4).

Yeo, Legard, Keegan, Ward, Nicholls and Lewis (2014) insist that carrying out interviews face-to-face can establish a better rapport between the researcher and the participant. I made an effort to reach out to experts via email and telephone, however the largest barrier was that the majority of requests were rejected or received no reply. Therefore, participation in diverse seminars, asking a question at the Q&A sessions, and direct persuasion were helpful approaches at the researcher’s current position. Although the rapport was not properly established between the researcher and interviewees at this stage, the answers from the experts were more realistic and new rather than those obtained by reviewing published documents and newspapers articles. These discussions allowed the researcher to gain a new understanding about the broad urban regeneration circumstances of South Korea.

[Figure 5-4: Participants at city-level]

Surname	Position
Ahn	Professor at university
Hong	Head of urban architecture company
Hwang (a)	Professor at university
Hwang (b)	Professor at university
Jung	Professor at university
Kim (a)	Researcher
Kim (g)	Head of urban regeneration centre
Kim (h)	Researcher for land and transport

Kim (i)	Researcher for culture and tourism
Koo	Professor at university
Kwon	Head of culture consulting company
Lee (a)	Head of community support centre
Lee (b)	Head of local company
Lee (c)	Head of urban regeneration support centre
Ryu	Professor at university
Shin	Professor at university
Yu	Professor at university

5.4.3.2. The Questionnaire Distribution and Interviews with Local Residents

- Questionnaire distribution

In order to understand how the interviewees were selected during the field-work, the questionnaire distribution process needs to be explained, as most interview recruitment occurred after questionnaire completion. As mentioned in Section 5.3.2, a total of 26 people agreed to a further interview, out of 74 respondents to the questionnaire. Of these, 19 people agreed to participate in focus group held in the three neighbourhoods (Jungang-dong: 6, Naedeok-dong: 7, and Suamgol: 6) (Figure 5-5).

[Figure 5-5: The Process of Obtaining Interviews with Respondents]



To choose the targets for the questionnaire, I conducted a random survey of residents, with an important criterion being to focus on those have lived within the targeted area for at least 20 years, to obtain an insight into how they have observed the culture-led regeneration projects or events within their communities, and to access their knowledge about the community's needs and local cultural value. This also offers a chance to research the differences observed before and after the CCEA. Therefore, one question asked before the questionnaire distribution was 'have you been living in this area more than 20 years?' The demographic statistics of the participants (including questionnaire respondents) are outlined in Figure 5-6. The percentage of female participants is higher (59.5%) than male (40.5%). The participants were aged between 30s and over 70s, and the participation results are listed as follows: 60s (31%), 50s (27%), 40s (18.9%), over 70s (16.2%) and 30s (6.7%). Also, 86.4% of participants had been married (including separation and divorce), and 13.5% single. In terms of employment status, there are 36.4% general private employees, 22.9% unemployed or studying, 18.9% operating their own businesses (e.g. restaurant, shops), 14.8% homemakers, and 6.7% civil servants working in public or governmental organisations. Finally, 37.8% of

questionnaire respondents have lived in their community for 40 to 50 years, and the numbers of people living in the same area for more than 50 years was 10.8% of the total percentage.

[Figure 5-6: The Demographic Statistic of participants]

Categories		Numbers	%	Categories		Numbers	%	
Gender	Male	30	40.5	Employment Status	Employee	27	36.4	
	Female	44	59.5		Civil servant	5	6.7	
Age groups	30s	5	6.7		Homemaker	11	14.8	
	40s	14	18.9		Own business	14	18.9	
	50s	20	27		Others	17	22.9	
	60s	23	31		Period of Residence	20-30 years	23	31
	Over 70s	12	16.2			30-40	25	33.8
Marriage Status	Married	64	86.4			40-50	28	37.8
	Single	10	13.5			Over 50	8	10.8

- Interviews with residents

For the interviews, the researcher initially intended to constitute a ‘humanistic’ approach (Plummer, 2001), being heavily interested in people’s cultural perceptions (Mason, 2002). Therefore, speaking with residents to gather information is an important method to explore the research questions. Qualitative interviews not only add an additional dimension but can also help researchers access the research questions from a different angle or in greater depth (Mason, 2002). It is crucial to undertake this method as collecting residents’ views, understandings, knowledge, interpretations, experiences, and interactions are valuable resources to examine the impacts of cultural events on social regeneration (Ibid.). To explore the understandings of culture-led regeneration and their cultural perceptions, the research was dependant on people’s capacities to verbalise, interact, and conceptualise to generate authentic opinions (Ibid.).

As already mentioned, 26 interviewees accepted the invitation to take part in a qualitative interview after the questionnaire completion. Potential interviewees were asked face-to face to participate in the interview process, and formal interview schedules were sent via email, text or during a phone conversation. The interviews were semi-structured with open-ended and topic-centred questions. In particular, the questions reflected an open-ended format, so respondents could answer flexibly in their own terms, without being forced to produce a certain kind of answer (Bryman, 2016). As the researcher may find it difficult to fully understand the circumstances surrounding the residents’ feelings, experiences and their living circumstances, an open-ended question format allowed for the exploration of new areas and understanding (Ibid.). The use of open-ended questions also allowed for the chance for interviewees to elaborate and describe particular circumstances.

The employment status of the interviewees is quite varied (including those that are retired, acting as a homemaker or running their own businesses). However, their status is not an important aspect of this thesis: instead, the fact that they are a genuine local resident is the focal point of data collection. Most interviews were often conducted in a café or restaurant, but in some cases, the participants’ office, garden or house were used. Typically, an interview lasted between 25 minutes and 40 minutes. Interviewees’ specific information has been formulated below (Figure 5-7).

[Figure 5-7: The Information about Interviewees and Focus Group Participants]

	Gender *Male: M Female: F	Age Groups	Cultural participant between 2011-2014	CCEA participant	Employment Status	Period of Residence (years)
J-1	M	50s	X	X	Own Business	30-40
J-2	F	60s	O	O	Homemaker	30-40
J-3	F	50s	X	O	Employee	20-30
J-4	M	60s	O	X	Own Business	30-40
J-5	M	50s	O	O	Employee	20-30

J-6	F	50s	X	X	Resident*	40-50
J-7	M	60s	X	O	Resident	30-40
J-8	F	40s	O	O	Homemaker	20-30
J-9	F	50s	O	X	Own Business	20-30
J-10	M	60s	X	X	Employee	30-40
N-1	M	50s	X	X	Own Business	30-40
N-2	F	50s	O	O	Employee	20-30
N-3	M	60s	O	O	Employee	20-30
N-4	F	50s	X	O	Homemaker	30-40
N-5	F	60s	X	X	Resident	30-40
N-6	M	60s	O	O	Own Business	40-50
N-7	F	50s	O	X	Resident	30-40
N-8	F	40s	O	O	Homemaker	20-30
S-1	F	60s	O	X	Homemaker	30-40
S-2	F	70s	O	O	Resident	30-40
S-3	M	80s	X	O	Resident	Over 50
S-4	M	70s	O	X	Employee	30-40
S-5	F	80s	X	X	Resident	20-30
S-6	M	70s	O	X	Own Business	40-50
S-7	F	70s	O	X	Resident	40-50
S-8	F	80s	X	X	Resident	Over 50

* Resident means others which was mentioned in the questionnaire category

* 'J' refers to Jungang-dong, 'N' refers to Naedeok-dong, and 'S' refers to Suamgol

* Name in colour participated in interview as well as focus group

5.4.3.3. Focus Groups

After the interview process was complete, the focus groups were planned to achieve more in-depth and detailed discussions. In the process of selecting participants, I chose a number of people who agreed to take part in the interviewee process. At this stage, non-CCEA participants and CCEA participants were personally invited to three different focus groups in order to discuss the impacts of the CCEA on social regeneration. In total, 19 participants were

recruited for the discussion (See Figure 5-8). The focus group lasted between 50 to 60 minutes, and conversations were recorded and transcribed with the participants' agreement.

[Figure 5-8: The Focus Group Participants]

	Non-CCEA Participants	CCEA participants
Jungang-dong	3	3
Naedeong-dong	3	4
Suamgol	4	2

Focus groups have very different aspects than qualitative interviews (Finch, Lewis and Turley, 2014). This method was functional in this thesis, as Finch et.al, (2014, p.212) insists that “participants present their own views and experience, but they also hear from other people. They listen, reflect on what is said, and in the light of this consider their own standpoint further. Additional material is thus triggered in response to what they hear from others. Participants ask questions of each other, seek clarification, comment on what they have heard and prompt other to reveal more”. Furthermore, it is also helpful to use focus groups if there is a lack of individual interviews and the richness of data can be spontaneously created using the group process (Bryman, 2016). In particular, while responding to each other, participants can create more of their own frame of reference on the subject of study (Finch, et.al, 2014).

Compared to qualitative interviews, a researcher has less of an influence on participants than that achieved during a face-to-face interview. Instead, the role of the researcher is to listen in (Finch, et.al, 2014). A focus group can offer more of a “natural environment than that of the individual interview because participants are influencing, and influenced by others – just as they are in real life” (Krueger and Casey, 2009, p.7).

For this project, focus groups offered an opportunity to gather more sophisticated data through discussions with non-cultural participants and participants. The mixture of people with different cultural experiences produced more varied and realistic answers, with diverse feelings and opinions depending on a participants' previous cultural experience. Most participants were unfamiliar with focus group discussion: in order to minimise an awkward environment, I prepared and followed the stages of a focus group process generated by Finch et, al. (2014, See Figure 5-9).

[Figure 5-9: Stages of a Focus Group]

1. Scene-setting and ground rules	The introductory stages of a focus group are very important and should be used to both inform participants about what will be expected of them and also set out the way in which the group will be conducted
2. Individual introductions	This helps the researcher to identify each participant but also ensures each has an opportunity to speak from the outset and identify with each other
3. The opening topic	A general, neutral opener (that relates to the research topic) can help build up the group's discussion and dynamic
4. Discussion	This is the main body of the focus group, with the key issues discussed and explored by the group and space given for them to move the discussion into new areas or formulate their views
5. Ending the discussion	It is helpful to signal in advance that the discussion is coming to an end and gradually relax the focus with some general final points and questions before the researcher clearly ends the group, letting participants know what will happen next and thanking them for their contribution

[Finch, Lewis and Turley (2014). p. 218, see Box 8.1]

- Stage one: Scene-setting and ground rules

Before participants arrived, refreshments and name cards were already displayed to create a comfortable atmosphere. I tried friendly conversation with those present, avoiding the

research topic until the session was underway. After all the participants arrived, the event became more formal with a personal introduction, an explanation on the purpose of the focus group, an outline of the research topic, and the meaning of urban regeneration and its various approaches. How the findings were to be disseminated and what would happen with to the data was also discussed and presented with an introductory paper on the research topic. At this stage, it was made clear “there are no right or wrong answers, that everyone’s views are of interest, that the aim is to hear as many different thoughts as possible” (Finch, et.al, 2014, p. 218-219).

- Stage two: individual introductions

After an introduction to the research topic, the participants were asked to introduce themselves by saying their names and offering simple background information (e.g. residence periods, the reason of participation, what they are doing etc.). This was intended to build up a degree of familiarity. This session offered myself a recognition as to the different perceptions that were being brought into the research. After the introductions were complete, I briefly commented on the composition of the group as a whole, and explained how the seating arrangements were divided according to the participation and non-participation of cultural programmes for contrasting personal perspectives and experiences.

- Stage three: the opening topic

At the third stage, the general discussion began. First, I explained how the culture-led regeneration initiative has been implemented within the three neighbourhoods to promote further discussion. Following this, the conversation moved on to the personal cultural perspectives of the participants to obtain their own views on cultural regeneration and projects. For example, this stage involved discussions on the meaning of cultural activities in their own lives and the feelings of any previous participation in events. It was my intention to begin the discussion with fundamental questions relating to the research topic, in order to engage as many of the participants as possible. I was verbally active, asking further questions and rephrasing the same questions as the need arose.

- Stage four: discussion

Following this, more detailed and specified topics were opened up for discussion. In order to reach to the aims of thesis, the CCEA and its impacts on community and individual life were critically examined, and I attempted to control the balance between individual contributions. For example, if an individual participant made a very lengthy or repetitive comment, non-verbal attempts (e.g. looking at others or gesturing to others to speak), and verbal interventions (e.g. let's hear some other opinions) were used to bring others into the discussion.

- Stage five: ending the discussion

As a final stage, the focus group was concluded in a comfortable way, and it was stressed how helpful the discussion had been. It was also important to reaffirm the nature of the confidentiality and anonymity agreements that had been made, and how the materials would be used within the project. All participants agreed to a second focus group session, leaving their telephone numbers to allow future contact.

5.4.3.4. Limitations of Chosen Methodology

- Elite Interviews: The challenges of accessibility and the proxy developed by attending seminars and conferences

In order to explore the current circumstances of culture-led regeneration of South Korea, interviews with elites involved in policy making, practical management, and academic research is useful to gain in-depth understanding of strategy and challenges. However, compared to non-elite interviewees (e.g. residents), access to elites is difficult as they can “establish barriers that set their members apart from the rest of society” (Hertz and Imber, 1993, p.3). Particularly, gaining access to elites was strongly restricted through this research

process. I therefore had to gain approval from multiple departments prior to having direct contact with elite-level participants, sending several emails to reach potential interviewees. Furthermore, I was dependent upon the time schedules of others and, despite trying to work around their diaries, a number cancelled or could not spare the time to take part in an interview.

These challenges, however, were mitigated through attending seminars and conferences focused on urban regeneration in South Korea, including the strategy for economic-led urban regeneration and social-led regeneration, the use of culture in urban regeneration initiative, the solution plan for gentrification, further strategies in urban regeneration policy making, the strategy for strengthening local capability, the introduction of Special Act on Urban Regeneration, the urban-rural development in the aspect of local regeneration, and improving community sustainability. These events were helpful to broaden my knowledge on the regeneration context and offered an insight on the present issues in South Korea. I was able to meet and talk with the elite interviewees who were not easily accessible otherwise. However, significant time limitation and unsettled environment for interview interrupted to gain more specified and profound answers from the interviewees. Therefore, I attempted to overcome the barriers by drawing on past work documentation, articles, and the latest urban regeneration articles.

- Resident Interviews

The interviews with residents comprised a core component of the data collection. The biggest barrier however was in the recruitment of participants. Invitation was asked in person after the completion of the questionnaire. However, a number of potential residents rejected to participate due to several reasons (e.g. no interest, pressure on participants, and no time). As a matter of fact, pursuing the questionnaire participants to participate in further interview was not easy task because most of participants did not want to commit their spare time for the unauthorised research. In order to invite resident interviewees, therefore, offering reward was inevitable procedure to attract them. During the interview, a range of

unpredicted challenges came up over their lack of consideration on their own cultural perception, the impacts of cultural events on community, and the meanings of culture-led urban regeneration. To resolve these issues, the nature of this research project and the various definitions underpinning it were discussed at the start of each interview. This took around 15 minutes. Many respondents also experienced difficulties in expressing their opinions, acting carefully and passive as they believed the interview process to be an unusual experience. To address these concerns, I tried to communicate in the manner of conducting an everyday conversation, offering a number of practical examples to draw respondents' opinions in more comfortable atmosphere. The examples the Liverpool and Glasgow European Capital of Culture events, as well as the UK City of Culture in Derry Londonderry were illustrated. Any blogs, social network updates, and newspaper articles have been used as supporting material.

- Focus Groups

After the interview, I asked to interviewees once again to take part in focus group – surely offered generous reward for the participants. Organising focus group participants was easier compared to seeking individual interviewees. It seemed that a little rapport and trust had been established between researcher and respondents in the process of interview, so the participated interviewees gave a positive response for the invitation of focus group discussion. However, there were a number of challenges that emerged during the focus group sessions. First, all participants had different characteristics. Although I strived to allow for the equal contribution of participants, dealing with the people who wanted to be the first to respond to a question and who would dominate the discussion was one of the biggest difficulties as a researcher. On the other hand, some people remained silent with simple 'yes' or 'no' answers. In order to draw these participants into the discussion, I attempted to link the discussion with specific questions on their own experiences (e.g. how your experience compared with what's been commented so far?') (Finch, et.al, 2014). With these challenges, I was significantly careful to not make participants feel rebuked or ignored, and constantly emphasised the value of the dominant person's contribution, and the importance of hearing from all participants (Ibid. 2014).

Second, some participants considered that the focus group discussion was a chance to express their complaints and grievances about a process of urban regeneration project (particularly, working processes and management issues), cultural projects and offer advice to one another rather than focusing on answering the research questions I was asking. In this case, I was sympathetic to the problems and listened carefully, but tried to quickly return to the relevant themes of discussion.

5.4.3.5. Effect of Second Phase Field-research through Interviews after 10 Months of CCEA Completion

Most research on major cultural event impact assessments focuses on short-term impacts (Langen and Garcia, 2008). There is a serious lack of long-term studies of impacts. To rectify this, this thesis has tried to analyse two phases of research to evaluate the social impacts both during and 10 months after the CCEA. As such, a second interview session was arranged after the CCEA had concluded.

The environment of interview and focus group discussion at the first phase were sometimes awkward, as many participants had little experience with the CCEA. However, a more relaxing and flexible ambience was created during the second interview period as there was a higher level of trust between the researcher and the participants, allowing them to provide more authentic and accurate answers. Furthermore, the responses were sharper, more refined and at a greater depth than before. For comparing and contrasting the responses, almost the same questions were asked as during the first phase. During the first focus group, 19 participants were involved, and the discussion lasted between 50 to 60 minutes in three neighbourhoods. During the second phase, there were 11 participants who were involved in the focus group discussion of first phase (See Figure 5-10), and I individually interviewed them. Another 8 people could not be contacted or could not attend on the day. Each interview lasted between 20 to 40 minutes.

[Figure 5-10: The Information about Interviewees at the Second Field Research]

	Respondent at the first field-research	Gender *Male: M Female: F	Age Groups	Cultural participant between 2011-2014	CCEA participant	Employment Status	Period of Residence (years)
J-1	J-1	M	50s	X	X	Own Business	30-40
J-2	J-2	F	60s	O	O	Homemaker	30-40
J-3	J-3	F	50s	X	O	Employee	20-30
J-4	J-5	M	50s	O	O	Employee	20-30
N-1	N-2	F	50s	O	O	Employee	20-30
N-2	N-4	F	50s	X	O	Homemaker	30-40
N-3	N-5	F	60s	X	X	Resident	30-40
N-4	N-6	M	60s	O	O	Own Business	40-50
S-1	S-2	F	70s	O	O	Resident	30-40
S-2	S-4	M	70s	O	X	Employee	30-40
S-3	S-6	M	70s	O	X	Own Business	40-50

5.5. Data Analysis

The raw qualitative data was recorded and transcribed at the end of the first stage of qualitative analysis, offering hundreds of pages of data. It is important therefore, to organise the management of this data and allow for interpretation and analysis (Spencer, Ritchie, O’Conner, Morrell and Ormston, 2014). In this regard, the following steps were taken after the completion of the fieldwork.

- First Stage – Familiarisation

The first stage of the analytic process is familiarisation, with all interview materials being transcribed and translated over a seven-month period. Each recording was listened to twice, and a careful selection of interview data to be reviewed and revisited was highlighted. Then, to identify topics and issues, the coding transcripts began by using a Word file to log frequently occurring topics. At this stage, I determined “what themes or concepts will be used to label, sort and compare the data” (Spencer, et.al, 2014, p.297).

- Second Stage – Constructing an initial thematic framework

After the list of topics was compiled, themes and subthemes were named and given numbers to allow for differentiation. The main themes that emerged were ‘background of research’, ‘awareness and perception of cultural activities and the CCEA’, ‘the conscious motivation or impression in attending the CCEA’, ‘the barriers to non-participants in cultural programmes and the CCEA’, ‘the CCEA impacts on community development’, ‘the CCEA impacts on individual living or working environment’, and ‘challenges’. More detailed subthemes were nested within these larger topics to add complexity and clarity. These themes for analysis were mainly inspired by the Neighbourhood Impacts Report published by Impacts 08 – European Capital of Culture Research Programme (directed by Dr Beatriz Garcia). In terms of assessing social regeneration factors by the event, this report used various statements dealing with the degree of community development, perception for the event, changing living or working environment (e.g. anti-social behaviour and crime rate), and the impacts of event on city and residents (See. Impacts 08 (2010), Neighbourhood Impacts Report, Appendix 3). Amongst a number of statements, I selected appropriate statements, which I can easily discuss with local residents, and re-arranged the statement based on the Neighbourhood Impacts Report for the research.

- Third Stage – Indexing

After the themes and subthemes were refined, I began indexing reading each phrase, sentence and paragraph with textual data to determine which part or parts of the framework apply (Spencer, et.al, 2014). In doing this, I created a table with two columns: one to show the transcript and the other to display the thematic reference using a Word document. At this stage, the subthemes were divided again according to their relationship to the three different neighbourhoods.

- Fourth Stage – Reviewing data extracts

The thematic framework was refined after an initial application. First, the indexed data were read once again to ascertain the coherence of the extracted data, and to carefully check to

see if important themes were missing from the initial framework. During this fourth process, “there were themes that needed subdivision to reflect recurrent distinctions in the material, or subthemes that need merging because they were too refined for this initial stage and fragment the data too much” (Spencer, et.al, 2014, p.304).

- Fifth Stage – Data summary and writing

At the final stage, a data summary was created to help manage the large volume of material and to start the ‘distilling’ process to extract the essence of the data. Main themes and subthemes were refined and finalised as patterns emerged between the interviews and secondary data. At this stage, I carefully made an effort to keep following elements – retained key terms, phrases and expressions from the participant’s own language, minimising my interpretation, and revisiting the original expression, keeping material that should not be dismissed.

5.6. Research Ethics

In terms of a guide to research ethics for questionnaire respondents, an indication of what type of questions were going to be asked and a privacy statement was verbally provided before the distribution of questionnaires. A brief description of the CCEA and the research project was also handed out. Moreover, the distinction between anonymity and confidentiality was clearly mentioned in the participant consent form.

The interview participants and focus group participants were given a participant information sheet which included an appreciation letter for their participation, information on the expected duration of an interview or focus group session, the availability of transcriptions and details on how the audio recordings would be used only for analysis and translation purposes. The paper also included information on the university and the supervisory team, as well as the researcher. It was also highlighted that participation was voluntary, and participants’ anonymity could be protected. Along with this participant information sheet, information on the research project was also distributed, introducing the

purpose of research, the reason of participant selection, and the possible benefits by participating in an interview or focus group session. All information on participants were stored and accessed only by the researcher, and all contact information will be deleted after project completion. Finally, due to the nature of the research, politics and controlling participants' opinions were important, however I did not express any of my own personal political comments, attempting to keep a degree of neutrality.

5.7. Reflecting the Researcher and Issues of Positionality

Reporting a researcher's reflexivity in manuscripts is valuable and essential, because one's preconceptions, values, assumptions and position can impact on every step of the research process (Roberts Wood Johnson Foundation, n.d.). Furthermore, in order to complete researcher's reflexivity in the research process, Doucet and Mauthner (2002, p.130) stress that a "wide and robust concept of reflexivity should include reflecting on, and being accountable about personal, interpersonal, institutional, pragmatic, emotional, theoretical, epistemological and ontological influences on our research and specifically about our data analysis processes". According to their assertion, this research was constructed by three personal values particularly on the basis of education, previous working environment, and social background.

First, my personal and educational experience has influenced the shape of this research. I have grown up in a middle-class family and studied music for a Bachelor's degree in South Korea. As such, it is difficult for me to understand fully the issues associated with the meanings and problems of culture-led urban regeneration in the deprived areas. The conceptualisation of problems and the importance of regeneration by cultural elements were first made available to me during a Master's course on cultural policy and arts management, which expanded my theoretical knowledge regarding culture and arts within the United Kingdom. While I was in the university, my focus was simply on arts management within a cultural environment such as at a theatre or gallery or at festivals. However, after learning and researching about the ECOC of Glasgow and Liverpool, which are both well-known cities that have hosted mega-cultural events, the significance between cultural events and the

potential regeneration of deprived areas became a core purpose of my research during the Masters. Therefore, my master's dissertation examined the social effects of mega cultural event through a case study of the UK City of Culture event in London-Derry in Northern Ireland.

Also, my social status affected the fieldwork process. As a PhD researcher at the University of Sheffield, this position played an important role in accessibility to interviewees, particularly city-level respondents. It has meant that respondents I met at seminars or conferences indicated interest when I introduced myself studying at the University of Sheffield, which is considered an influential and pioneering university within the urban regeneration field in South Korea. Also, my status as a researcher gave certain identification to resident participants as well.

Finally, my previous working experience had an impact on conceptualising this research. I was employed as a planner at the social enterprise which worked to regenerate a revocation area being struck by urban redevelopment or new town schemes in South Korea. The principle aim of duty was to find and manage appropriate cultural activity or programmes for rejuvenating the area. Particularly, mural painting and tile arts were main subjects to transform a community in darkness. However, unexpected challenges occurred amongst residents. For instance, they criticised "artistic works make our community grubbier", "such artistic and cultural projects do not have power to regenerate this area", "we do not want to be considered as a mural painting community to public, and regard with distaste coming visitors", etc. Such results in the realistic field were absolutely dissimilar when compared to merely reading the culture-led regeneration related article or report. Thus, previous working experience generated a question that how cultural strategy can influences on community development and social regeneration.

5.8. Summary

This chapter has explored the research strategy and data collection methods used throughout this research project. In terms of data collection methods, the use of semi-structured interviews with elites and local residents, focus groups and secondary data were

specifically discussed. This chapter has also discussed the five processes needed during any data analysis process, the ethical considerations surrounding a research process, and the positionality of researcher during the field work stage. The following chapters contain the main findings generated from the empirical research. The further structure of the thesis is as follows:

Chapter 6 discusses the investigation of Cheongju to provide a basic introduction to contextual information for understanding of the city, and to examine the city's specific phenomenon. The notable feature of the chapter is to offer a reason as to how and why culture-led regeneration schemes can play a significant role through examining the deprivation patterns and the failure of previous Cheongju urban policy. Chapter 7 conducts the analysis in relation to the context, management and impacts of CCEA event in Cheongju.

In Chapter 8 I analyse the social regeneration impacts of the CCEA. Particularly, the perception of cultural participation, community development, and the changes in the living or working environment that have occurred as a result of the CCEA. Further, this chapter presents an overview of how the research questions have been answered, and is based on the results discussed. The specific evaluation of CCEA 2015, the comparison from the temporary events, and lessons from the ECOC are also examined in this Chapter.

CHAPTER 6: THE CONTEXT FOR URBAN REGENERATION INITIATIVES IN CHEONGJU

6.1. Introduction

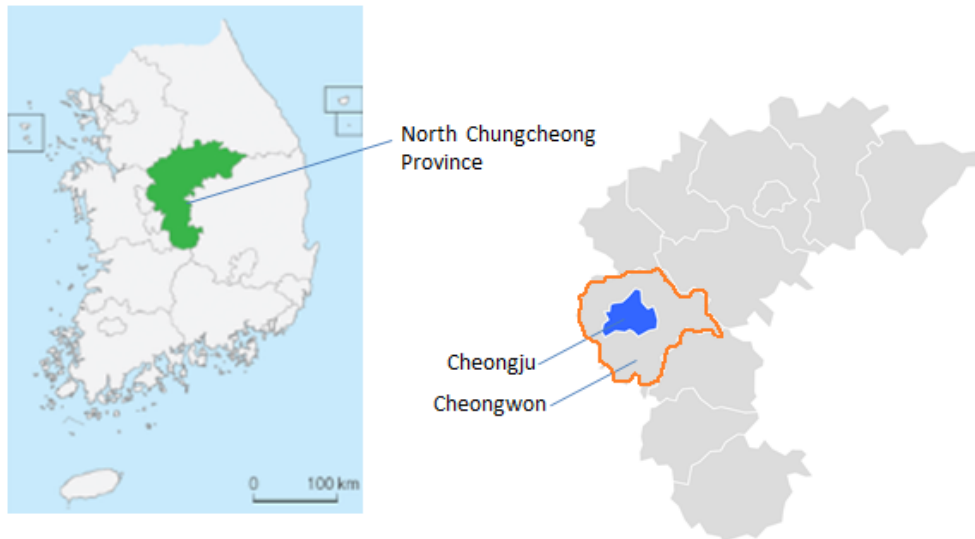
This chapter introduces the case study city that forms the basis for the empirical investigation – Cheongju in South Korea. This chapter outlines the geographical context of city, the changing socio-economic profile and the recent history of urban initiatives. The purpose is to provide the basic information that will help develop an understanding as to why cultural elements have become a crucial factor in Cheongju urban regeneration initiatives, and how cultural elements (e.g. the creation of the cultural quarter and the CCEA) contribute to Cheongju urban regeneration processes. In this sense, the main points made in this chapter are that Cheongju, despite experiencing gradual urban deprivation through socio-economic change and the failure of urban redevelopment policy, have attempted to utilise urban regeneration schemes as a trigger to boost urban development. In addition, this chapter argues that the cultural influx can play a crucial role in developing the urban regeneration processes in Cheongju.

6.2. Geographical Context: The Location and History of Cheongju

Cheongju-si (hereafter, Cheongju) is an inland city located 128km away from South Korea's capital, Seoul. It is the capital and largest city of North Chungcheong Province (hereafter, Chungbuk) (Figure 6-1). Chungbuk is a province in the centre of South Korea and is divided into 3 cities and 8 counties. Cheongju is not only the seat of the provincial government of Chungbuk, but it is also an important regional city of economy, education and culture (Kuk, 2016). As the most rapidly growing city in South Korea, the urban population of Cheongju has increased from 92,342 in 1960 to 630,637 in 2006 and 841,219 in 2015 (Cheongju Master Plan, 2015, hereafter, CMP). The population growth is due to a number of reasons i) the city is a seat of the provincial government, ii) The Cheongju Industrial Complex was established in the city in the 1970s, iii) two motorways mean that Cheongju is well

connected (Kyungbu motorway opened in 1970 and Joongbu motorway opened in 1987), iv) Four universities attract more than 45,000 students, v) Ochang Science Industrial Complex and Osong Health Science Complex are located in the adjacent Cheongju (Kim, 2011), vi) Administrative integration between Cheongju and Cheongwon-gun (hereafter, Cheongwon) has added to the growth for many years.

[Figure 6-1: The Map of Chungbuk, Cheongju and Cheongwon]

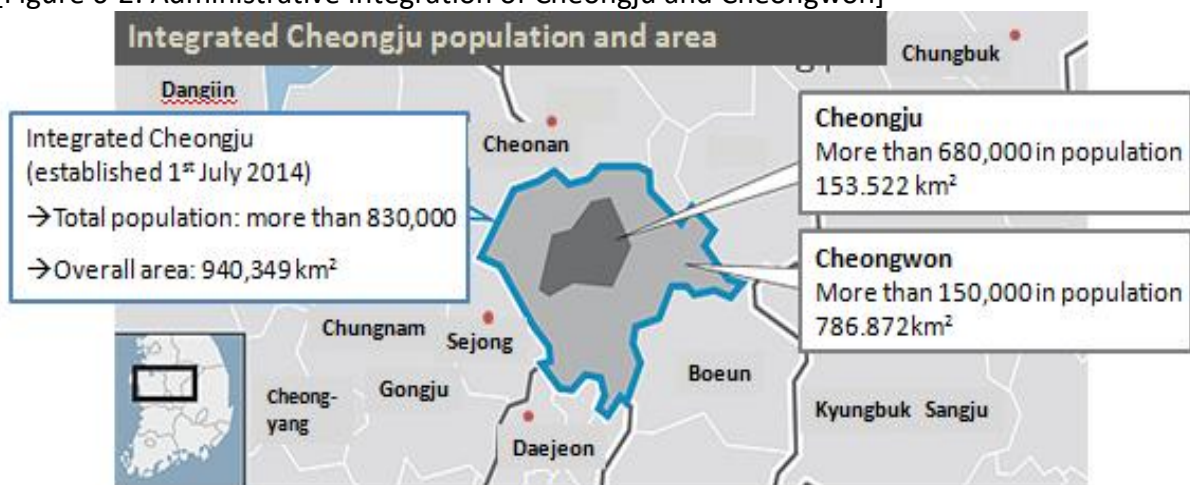


Source: ko.Wikipedia.org/wiki/충청북도 (Left) / created by author (Right)

As Figure 6-2 demonstrates, originally Cheongju (153.522km²) and Cheongwon (786.872km²) were one city; however, the government reformed the administrative divisions of the two cities after the independence of Korea in 1945. Cheongju has been known as the central city, and Cheongwon is the surrounding city which encircles Cheongju. The area of Cheongwon is actually 5 times bigger than Cheongju, whereas Cheongju's population is 4.5 times higher than Cheongwon (Cheongju has more than 680,000 people, compared to a population of 150,000 in Cheongwon). The debate regarding administrative integration has intensified since 2009 under the concept of consolidating the two areas to create a high-technology city, promote the linkages between urban and rural areas, encourage economic activity, and enhance regional competitiveness (Lee and Koo, 2014). After local elections in 2010, a Task Force team was established in Cheongwon. To encourage integration environments, there have been various conferences and co-operative events between the two areas. For example, private companies made an endeavour through forming 28

partnerships, hosting farmers' markets 165 times, and have attempted to help the various farms of Cheongwon. In June 2012, the referendum on increasing the region's integration was voted on by 44,191 people (out of a total electorate of 120,240) and amongst participants, 34,124 people (77.2%) voted in favour in Cheongwon (89.7% of Cheongju citizens already agreed the administrative integration during the resident survey in 2009). The administrative integration was officially confirmed in 2012 with the new city region being named Cheongju (ibid.).

[Figure 6-2: Administrative Integration of Cheongju and Cheongwon]



Source: Jo (2012). MK newspaper. <http://news.mk.co.kr/newsRead.php?no=392899&year=2012>. Translated by author

In terms of the geographical advantages of Cheongju, close links with adjacent cities can be the influential benefit. Cheongju is geographically located in the centre of South Korea. The nearby special administrative city of Sejong-si (hereafter Sejong) was established as a metropolitan autonomous city in 2012, and it is expected that interurban linkages will be extended and broadened between Cheongju and Sejong (CMP, 2015). Sejong (officially Sejong Metropolitan Autonomous City) is a mini capital designed to act as a new multifunctional government hub of Korea, and it is located between three other major Korean cities: Cheongju, Cheonan and Daejeon (Figure 6-2). The former county Yeongi-gun, some parts from Gongju and the county of Cheongwon were merged to create the new metropolitan autonomous city. At least 36 government agencies and offices were relocated by 2015 to address overconcentration in the capital region and promote more balanced national

development (BBC, 2012). The plan is to grow the population to half a million by 2030 and to develop six main economic functions: central administration, culture and international exchange, local administration, university and research, medical and welfare, and industry, all within a ring-shaped public transport system (Multifunctional Administrative City, 2011). This development of Sejong would significantly generate a number of benefits to Cheongju in terms of investment in transportation, the creation of the International Science Business Belt (ISBB) and the growth of a high-tech industry (CMP, 2015).

6.3. The Changing Socio-economic Context

Cheongju's economy has been transformed from largely agriculture and manufacturing industries towards service-based activities over the last thirty years (Lee, n.d.). Initially, agricultural industry was a key driver for economic growth in Cheongju, but as citizen incomes increased, agricultural, forestry and fishing industry employment has lost its primacy giving way first to a growth in the industrial sector, and then to a rise in the service sector (ibid.). Notably, another developmental catalyst is within the manufacturing industries, which have been relatively specialised in Cheongju, and the Cheongju Industrial Complex (hereafter, CIC) has had a galvanising effect on manufacturing sectors of Cheongju (Kim, 2011). The output of manufacturing has the highest proportion at 64.6% amongst other industries including primary industry (2.6%) and the tertiary industry (32.9%) (CMP, 2015).

According to the Quarterly Statistic Report of 2014, there are 56,243 businesses in total in Cheongju, made up of: wholesale and retail: 14,576 (24.3%), accommodation and food: 10,953 (19.5%), institutions, repair and individual businesses: 6,637 (11.8%), transportation: 5,218 (9.3%), manufacturing: 4,369 (7.8%) (Figure 6-3). In addition, Cheongju is seeking to establish high-tech industries covering electricity, information and communication, biotechnology, mechatronics, aircraft, transport industries within the industrial complex to boost sustainable urban development, economic development, job creation and encourage population growth (Shin, 2008; CMP, 2015).

[Figure 6-3: The Number of Industries and Employment]

Type of industry	Number	Employment	Type of industry	Number	Employment
Manufacturing	4,369	72,234	Education	3,062	25,174
Construction	2,089	15,154	Social welfare and Health	2,026	20,893
Wholesale and Retail	14,758	41,018	Art, Sports and Leisure	1,968	5,326
Transportation	5,218	12,496	Institution and Individual service	6,637	14,748
Accommodation and Food	10,953	30,195	Other	5,163	60,608

Source: Cheongju (2015): The research of administrative organisation.

However, the radical economic change within the city region has been associated with a number of issues. Cheongju is ranked 17th amongst 84 areas in terms of city-wide deprivation in 2015, highlighting the fast growth in urban deprivation over the last five years. Cheongju is reported to have the highest deterioration in industrial structure, considerable health inequalities and insufficient medical facilities (Jo, Lee and Hwang, 2010). In the light of industrial structure, the number of jobs in manufacturing has declined, and the financial self-sufficiency of city is relatively low. The development of the adjacent city of Sejong and the changing characteristics of the commercial areas have precipitated the depopulation of Cheongju and the decline of the Cheongwon area (Lee, Kim and Ahn, n.d.).

In the aspect of social change at the national level, the striking issues within South Korea are an ageing population, low fertility and youth unemployment. Despite South Korea's economic growth, the country is facing a threat from within a population that is ageing faster than any other country in the OECD (Economist, 2015b). According to the National Statistical Office, almost 12% of the population were aged 65 or over in 2012. Another notable problem is South Korea's youth unemployment (the jobless rate amongst those aged 15-29) which reached 12.5% in March 2016, the highest rate in 17 years (Huffpost Korea, 2016). The youth jobless rate for people aged 15 to 29 is about 3.5 times higher than for those aged 40 and

above. Under these changing socio-economic phenomenon, the potential growth in the economy could consequently slip by a percentage point to 2.2% in the 2020s compared with an average annualised rate of 7.1% in the 1990s in South Korea (Kim, 2015a).

In this regard, Chungbuk areas including Cheongju are ranked second in South Korea in terms of the high rate of youth jobless (Park, 2015b). The unemployment rate of Chungbuk youth reached 5.4% in September 2014. Cheongju Youth Solidarity Group insists that:

“Young people who live in Cheongju are struck with lower-paid, temporary contracts and get firstly fired during the crisis times. Continuous shortages of youth employment lead to increasing social problems and threatening social harmony”

To tackle this problem, the Chungbuk Provincial government and Cheongju City Council broached the subject of creating a youth vocational school, developing an application system for youth workplace, and invest in schemes such as promoting start-up business centre (Park, 2015b). Despite vocal concerns and new policy initiatives surrounding the issue of youth unemployment, there has so far been very little in the way of concrete action. In terms of an ageing population, Chungbuk had 220,000 elderly people in 2014, which is predicted to increase to 35.9% in 2040. Moreover, population ageing in Cheongju has been far more rapid than in other cities. The proportion of people aged 65 was 6.2% in 2006, but reached 10.2% in 2014 (Newsis, 2014). According to the 2015 Official Social Survey, many of the elderly in Cheongju suffer from financial problems (48.8%), loneliness (28.8%), and health problems (10.4%) (Lee, 2016f).

Social issues within the area also can emerge in different ways, as the city's circumstances are frequently changing. For instance, the population of Cheongju has quintessentially increased since the city was integrated, but formerly the Cheongwon area has suffered from an imbalance between developments within the city centre and surrounding suburban areas. It also means that NIMBYism would be generated in former Cheongwon area, because the area has historically been targeted for more 'unwelcome' -

[Figure 6-4: SWOT Analysis for Understanding Cheongju]

	STRENGTH	WEAKNESS
Internal origin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Locates in the heart of the National space and Metropolitan transportation · The centre of the high-tech Industry · Has a beautiful national environment, and various historical and cultural assets 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Imbalance between city centre and suburb areas · Impossible the coast transit due to geographical position · Generates NIMBYism against landfill sites, incineration plants and other disposal facilities
External origin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Possesses agricultural infrastructure and a plenty of demand in local · Build the triangulation of the high-tech industry 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Increase thoughtless development in suburb areas · Absence of the long-term strategies for Cheongju Industrial Complex
OPPORTUNITY	Strength-Opportunity STRATEGY	Weakness-Opportunity STRATEGY
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Promote the government-supported national development project · Advents the era of environment-friendly · Activates urban regeneration initiatives as a national priority strategy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Formulate the counterstrategy for transferring the government offices · Systematically develop the tourist attractions and cultural spaces · Foster the city as a gateway of capitals · Promote the new growth industry in connection with core industries 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Develop the urban-rural integration project · Harmonise between regions through discovering a local industry · Appropriately allocate the noxious facilities · Promote urban regeneration scheme using the national core policies · Build a supply complex
THREAT	Strength-Threat STRATEGY	Weakness-Threat STRATEGY
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Grow the adjacent city's competitiveness and strength · Depressed the construction and development business due to a property recession · Increase low birth rate and aging · Tumble the human resources and city's vibrancy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Seek mutual cooperation method with the adjacent cities (ex: Industry-Academia partnership, research and development (R&D) institution, and High-tech industrial complex) · Foster the culture and tourism industries · Improve the urban areas through gradual small-scale project · Revitalise the agroecosystem 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Advance the industrial structure within abandoned industrial area · Establish the counterplan to reduce the thoughtless development circumstances in the suburban areas · Enhance the educational and learning environment · Reinforce the welfare system keeping pace with the era of low birth rate and aging

Source: 2030 Cheonjgu Urban Master Plan (2014) (Translated by author)

-development projects, such as landfill sites, incineration plants and other disposal facilities (Cho and Chun, 2011). The concentrated improvement and investment projects within the city centre could also create social exclusion, economic inequality and physical imbalances of the former Cheongwon area. To prevent this form of deprivation, it has been argued that an appropriate understanding of issues such as demographic trends, social factors, economic changes and local environmental issues of Cheongju and former Cheongwon should be critically prioritised over economic profits and the work achievement of civil servants at the city level (Cho and Chun, 2011).

6.4. Identification of Patterns of Deprivation of Cheongju by Examining the Research Targeted Areas

In measuring deprivation, South Korea uses the urban decline indices, which are measured by the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport (MOLIT) and the Korea Urban Regeneration Centre (KURC). The indices include: i) the rate of decrease in the average population in the last five years, ii) the decline rate in the numbers of total enterprises over the last five years, iii) the proportion of deteriorating or derelict buildings over 20 years (over 50%) (MOLIT and KURC). These are then divided into five types of processes - urban deprivation (10 areas) / deprivation (17) / plateau (34) / growth (13) / rapid growth (10). On the basis of these index, Cheongju is ranked at 17th amongst 84 areas in terms of city-wide deprivation. Thus, there has been a concentration of deprivation in certain neighbourhoods of Cheongju., largely caused by depopulation, a decrease in the number of businesses, a high rate of ageing, declining housing stock, a lack of a coherent policy response from government, and a failure to respond to economic and social change.

These deprivation patterns are found in many of the city's inner areas. Examples of the pattern can be seen through examining the research targeted areas (Jungang-dong, Naedeok-dong and Suamgol). In order to understand this, this section briefly examines the major causes of deprivation within the three neighbourhood case study sites.

As shown in Figure 6-5, Jungang-dong was formerly the epicentre of business and commercial activities in central Cheongju until the late 1980s. In the early 1970s, the district was commercially the most active and a focal-point of population movement. It was located at the crossing point of the main roads, and was the site of the Cheongju City Council and other core facilities (e.g. coach station, financial district and stores) (Jungang-dong explanation, n.d.). However, due to the growing development within the surrounding suburbs, coupled with the displacement of the neighbourhood’s main facilities, the commercial competitiveness of Jungang started to decrease in the 1990s. (Ibid.). A number of commercial shops closed and areas that had been economically buoyant started to experience decline, with an associated adverse social cost to communities and local residents. The area has suffered from a basic symptom of old-town deterioration: decreasing population, increasing numbers of vacant shops, a reduction in population movement and ‘slumification’. The depopulation of the area is a stark contrast to the overall population of Cheongju, which experienced a 35% rise between 1990 and 2013 (Hongju, 2014). Jungang district, which has now shown the fastest deterioration, has turned into a hallmark of slum. Plummeting land-

[Figure 6-5: Summary Demographics of the Three Neighbourhoods]

	Jungang-Dong	Naedeok 1-Dong	Suamgol
Population	6,770 (Jan 2015)	10,572 (Jan 2015)	306 (June 2015)
Social Class	High rate of merchants	High proportion of ageing; very young under-represented	Majority of residents are refugees of the Korean War
Cause of Deprivation	Movement of major institutions (e.g. Cheongju train station (1921~1968) and express bus station) since the 1990s	Closure of the Tobacco Factory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Highest deprivation of all neighbourhoods. • Inherent weakness in the living environment

<p style="text-align: center;">Distinctive Features</p>	<p>Constant decrease of shops and market size</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acceleration of fast ageing phenomenon • A number of vacant stores and the fastest building decay 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Significant gentrification phenomenon in process • High proportion of those aged over 60
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Source: Jungang-dong community centre, and Naedeok 1-dong community centre Website

-values, the closing of shops and continuing deterioration processes have been identified as the prominent problems of the region (Jungang-dong report, 2015).

Naedeok-dong is located to the north of Cheongju city and was well-known as residential area until the late of 1980s. The closure of the Tobacco Factory resulted led to a reduction in productivity, immediately leading to significant local deterioration and depopulation. The area is known for the high proportion of elderly households and there have been a number of vacant stores and buildings suffering from decay. As a result, Naedeok-Dong was designated as the fastest declining area in Cheongju in 2015 (Ahn and Kim, 2015). Finally, Suamgol village was formed with refugees from the Korean war who built unauthorised houses and settled down in hillside (now known as the last shanty village in Cheongju). The village has an inherited experience in social and environmental issues such as poor access from the city centre, skills shortages due to the high elderly population, and poor environmental quality (Kim, 2015b). Comparison of the housing condition has also been identified as a widening gap between shanty communities and the rest of Cheongju.

6.5. Urban policy of Cheongju: From Urban Redevelopment to Urban Regeneration

Urban problems and many aspects of urban policy have come and gone over time, and several urban development strategies have been carried out to make the best possible use of urban land and to avoid unneeded urban sprawl in Cheongju. In particular, the collapse of the urban redevelopment initiative can be highlighted as it has significantly left many inner cities blighted by an unstable housing environment, social exclusion as compared to more

prosperous districts, and large numbers of uncompleted building constructions which emerged in response to the task of urban regeneration. As explored in Section 3.3.2, UREIA policy (the Urban and Residential Environment Improvement Act) was implemented in Cheongju as a redevelopment process since 2006. It designated 39 districts of Cheongju (with 2,870,113m²), and the size of project surpassed the new-town project at that time (Kim, 2012a, See Figure 6-6). The purpose of the UREIA was to increase the number of households from 17,630 to 63,810 households, and to expand the population from 48,620 to 178,778 (ibid.). In doing these mega-sized redevelopment projects, the local authority signed a contract with private developers and investors, who provided the capital financing and the subsequent management of project (ibid.).

[Figure 6-6: Designated Districts of Cheongju for the UREIA]

Regions for Residential Improvement Project					
	District	Region*	Area (m²)	Floor Area Ratio (%)	Building Coverage Ratio (%)
1	Naedeok 1 district	597-48	90.300	Less than 190	Less than 60
2	Tapdong 1 district	71-6	29.200	Less than 220	Less than 60
3	Yeongun district	118	32.500	Less than 220	Less than 60
4	Jibook district	241-2	47.700	Less than 190	Less than 60
5	Mochung 2 district	335-96	97.400	Less than 190	Less than 60
6	Biha district	347-3	54.300	Less than 220	Less than 60
Regions for Housing Redevelopment					
7	Yongdam district	175-8	26.000	Less than 220	Less than 60
8	Tapdong 2 district	109	53.800	Less than 220	Less than 60
9	Kemcheon district	181-64	92.600	Less than 220	Less than 60
10	Sajik 3 district	552-17	38.100	Less than 220	Less than 60
11	Sajik 10 district	227-1	53.100	Less than 190	Less than 60
12	Sajik 5 district	644	141.000	Less than 220	Less than 60
13	Sajik 6 district	621-4	60.500	Less than 220	Less than 60
14	Sajik 7 district	440-1	76.000	Less than 220	Less than 60
15	Sajik 8 district	628	69.900	Less than 220	Less than 60
16	Mochung 1 district	47-23	52.100	Less than 190	Less than 60
17	Bokdae 2 district	229-20	50.600	Less than 220	Less than 60
Regions for Housing Reconstruction Project					
18	Yullyang Sacheon district	1502	33.200	Less than 200	Less than 60
19	Naedeok 2 district	671-7	31.700	Less than 190	Less than 60
20	Naedeok 3 district	663-2	79.500	Less than 190	Less than 60
21	Uam 1 district	383-2	209.100	Less than 210	Less than 60

22	Uam 2 district	337-11	80.000	Less than 220	Less than 60
23	Bukmoon 2 district	67-1	19.700	Less than 600	Less than 60
24	Sudong district	337-6	23.100	Less than 220	Less than 60
25	Seun district	21-7	64.900	Less than 220	Less than 60
26	Sajik 1 district	247-1	71.800	Less than 220	Less than 60
27	Sajik 2 district	263-7	48.400	Less than 220	Less than 60
28	Sajik 4 district	215-8	45.800	Less than 190	Less than 60
29	Sugok 1 district	91-7	46.900	Less than 210	Less than 60
30	Sugok 2 district	19-4	78.300	Less than 190	Less than 60
31	Bongmyeong 2 district	1602	42.100	Less than 220	Less than 60
32	Bongmyeong 1 district	193	72.000	Less than 220	Less than 60
33	Bokdae 1 district	833-2	28.800	Less than 220	Less than 60
Regions for Urban Environmental Renewal Project					
34	Bukmoon 1 district	3-2	14.900	Less than 800	Less than 70
35	Bukmoon 3 district	72-1	34.000	Less than 800	Less than 70
36	Namju district	180	90.500	Less than 800	Less than 80
37	Sajik 9 district	235-11	58.300	Less than 850	Less than 60
Deferral Regions					
38	Naedeok 4 district	412-1	68.100	Less than 210	Less than 60
39	Mochung 3 district	133-54	30.400	Less than 190	Less than 60

*Region means address of district

However, when oil prices reached record highs and the global economic crisis exacerbated in 2008, tensions between public, private and residents began to escalate due to the growing financial difficulties of construction firms. The biggest issue was the housing, as many had already been demolished in anticipation of redevelopment projects (Kim, 2012a). Members of the public, private developers and investors blamed each other for the crisis, and a constant delay in remedial action caused social polarisation, social exclusion, community breakdown and economic loss (Yu, 2010). Another serious problem was that there was no lead construction company in charge of overseeing the project due to the real-estate downturn. Therefore, recruiting appropriate developers became difficult, and the situation resulted in an indefinite project delay (Ibid.). It could be argued that the failure of the initiative and the problems emerging within the surrounding environment emerged from such an ambitious planning scheme being launched by a city authority lacking in management capacity. One example of this is explored below in Box 6.1.

[Box 6.1]

Sajik 4 dong is one of the designated areas for the UREIA project to build a 66-storey high-rise residential building. The land owners submitted the proposal to Cheongju council. After this submission, local merchants, residents and social organisations voiced opposition as the project was not believed to be helpful for urban development, instead focused solely on excessively preferential businesses and for the private profit of landowners (Yu, 2011b). Despite the local opposition, the area was designated as a UREIA project in October 2011. However, the main project suffered from financial difficulty caused by a construction business recession, while the developer had bought and already demolished many estates of Sajik 4 dong (Lee, 2011). As a result, the demolished area has struggled with vandalism, crime and illegal trash dumping (Figure 6-7). A resident, in describing the area, said:

When I commute within the area where was designated for UREIA project, I am always shocked by the haunted house without any progress. The area looks like a landfill site and bombed city. Sajik 4 dong case shows the critical shortage of thoughtless urban redevelopment project which absolutely excluded local residents' opinion. Seeking individual profit from the Sajik renewal project led to the deterioration of the area and caused a vicious wound to local residents. Consequently, a number of Cheongju renewal projects have aggravated community demolition, and the collapse of community has polarised and deformed urban functions.

[Figure 6-7: The Demolished Area of Sajik 4 dong]



Source: Kim (2010) and, Chungbuk Newspaper (2009)

In the process of such an urban redevelopment scheme, another serious dispute emerged between private companies and residents, due to a number of different perspectives and purposes. Local residents wanted to maintain the local economic structure and its associated features, however private developers were more concerned with maximising profits and restructuring the local economy. A number of private companies also engaged in undemocratic actions, for example, one outsourced engineering company violently threatened any residents who strongly opposed the redevelopment initiative (Kim, 2010). Thus, a democratic deficit emerged that demonstrated the limited transparency and unresponsiveness of private intervention, causing severe fragility of trust between residents and developers. One interviewee, a local resident, who criticised the previous UREIA project to underpin above arguments.

“During the UREIA procedure, there were not enough explanation as well as persuasion in relation to the redevelopment project of my community, so some low-income residents faced eviction by private developers without an appropriate compensation scheme. It seemed that the initiative focused on achieving private benefits. In practice, our community needed more investment in basic infrastructure such as warehouse or cultural facilities rather than building high-rise apartments or lavish towers. However, the government and private companies were indifferent to deliver our opinions and needs”.

In order to tackle these problems, the central government and Cheongju Council amended the UREIA in 2012 so that private companies and the redevelopment committee could be dismissed by residents’ agreement. This aimed to strengthen residents’ empowerment in enhancing the districts. As a result, the designated redevelopment districts were reduced from 39 to 24 by 2014. Since 2016, amongst 24 districts, only one was successfully embarked on the project, while other districts demonstrated slow progress (Park, 2014).

Due to the collapse of the urban redevelopment initiative, Cheongju has attempted to provide a more practical and holistic strategy to local residents than seeking to engineer large-sized structural change to urban forms since 2014. As an alternative strategy, urban

regeneration became an attempt to reverse rapid deterioration, crime growth, social exclusion, and community malfunction, which all were caused by the urban redevelopment scheme. As an urban regeneration strategy, regenerating the above revocation areas became a high priority to be tackled through cooperative works between the public, private interests and local communities (Cheongju Urban Regeneration Summary Paper, 2015 (hereafter, CURSP). To understand this, the next section introduces Cheongju's urban regeneration history and offers practical examples by tracing from 2004 to the present.

6.6. The Evolution and Structure of Cheongju Urban Regeneration: From 2004 to the Present. A Review of the Research Targeted Neighbourhoods

As argued above, almost all areas designated for an UREIA urban renewal project have not been properly started, while it can be argued that they did in fact accelerate community decline. Urban regeneration in Cheongju is an outcome of past problems and poor policy response. In practice, the necessity of a regenerative scheme has been frequently emphasised amongst people who observed the failure of redevelopment.

“Urban regeneration schemes should encompass a wide range of urban management strategies including adequate investment, social inclusion strategy, physical intervention and strategic planning rather than land-use planning focusing on only private interests or investors' profits” (J-2, Resident of Jungang-dong, October 18, 2015).

In fact, over the past 15 years, a bewildering array of urban development programmes have been launched under the term of 'urban regeneration' in Cheongju. Earlier programmes often became confused when new programmes with similar strategies were launched, and operations were often carried out within different government departments with differing objectives. As a result, the outcomes of regenerative works have been rated poorly for several years. However, following the Special Act on Urban Regeneration (SAUR), legislated in 2013, a clearer direction was revealed, and an ordinance on supporting Cheongju urban regeneration was established in March 2014 (Hong, 2016). It was hoped that the new official direction could create a funding system for regeneration purposes only, creating partnership

system with clear responsibilities of the involved departments and companies. One difference between the new policy and earlier schemes is that previous policies focused on physical regeneration (e.g. housing or road construction), whereas regeneration programmes launched since 2013 have attempted to stimulate economic and social regeneration. In order to construct a working definition of Cheongju urban regeneration, this section provides a brief history of the implementation of urban regeneration managed before the SAUR was established, as well as identifying the principles of SAUR from 2013.

The three neighbourhoods of Cheongju have been selected as the research areas (also, targeted areas of thesis) as they have constantly subjected to active regeneration policies through a cultural approach. To identify the implementation of urban regeneration, the statement of different regeneration scheme is explored by reviewing the cases of the three neighbourhoods. Particularly, Jungang-dong and Suamgol had regenerative operations before the SAUR set up, while Naedoek-dong was designated as the economic-led regeneration pioneer area after the SAUR was introduced.

6.6.1. The Early Days: The Cases of Jungang-dong and Suamgol

- Jungang-dong

In case of the Jungang Urban Regeneration Project, a 23.2% decline in commerce in the last 10 years (2004-2014) has fuelled urban deterioration (Ahn and Kim, 2015). Some 79% of the buildings are aged 20 years or more, therefore remodelling and re-use of empty buildings is imminent (An, 2015). Retail, commercial and cultural sectors are largely found within this area, but strategic maintenance and development has been stagnant because of a heavy focusing on new land development (Ibid.). In order to prevent further deterioration, there have been various endeavours to galvanise the commercial district in Jungang-dong since 2001.

Between 2005 and 2009, the Jungang Urban Regeneration Committee (hereafter, JURC) received funding from Cheongju City Council to create a car-free zone through a 450m pine tree-lined street within the centre of the market area (Lee, 2016d; CURSP 2015, See Figure 6-8). The project aimed to revitalise the street, which tended to have a large number of car accidents, and create a culturally vibrant street that was amenable to local businesses (Shin, 2015). Along with the car-free zone project, a derelict theatre was replaced with an outdoor cultural zone for multiple purposes, such as through the creation of youth cultural spaces, areas for local artists and amateur artists, to provide cultural opportunities including free exhibition and performance spaces, and to revitalise local businesses through cultural investment (Lee, 2016d). In total, both projects costed \$14 billion, which was funded by Cheongju Council. As a result, a wide range of cultural programmes emerged, from flea markets, craft exhibition spaces and regular music performance to small community-based festivals (Ibid.).

[Figure 6-8: Jungang-dong Market Place and Car-free Zone]



Source: author

As the regeneration scheme was actively reflected upon, the Cheongju Urban Regeneration Trust Centre (hereafter, CURTC) was established and managed by local residents and academic experts, with funding worth \$44 million money to encourage the planning, management and implementation of the JURC in 2011 (CURSP, 2015). This acts as the headquarters for the JURC. The centre is funded and supported by resident organisations and the Cheongju City Council, and normally occupies a formerly vacant store or unoccupied buildings within the centre (Ibid.). Specifically, the CURTC has entrusted five vacant buildings

for use as a social enterprise, leisure facility and public office (Property 114, 2013). A distinctive feature of this centre is that local residents can voluntarily contribute to create the space for operating the centre. For example, residents make a payment for deposit, rental fees and refurbishment price, with further support coming from the City Council (Ibid.):

“The CURTC also seriously considers the issues of gentrification. If the market street of Jungang-dong would be revitalised again, it is likely to push rents higher. Then the circumstance would threaten the tenants, who have been working at the CURTC places, to be displaced. In order to prevent, the CURTC makes a deal with the landlords to keep rental prices at a low-level. Such efforts between the CURTC, residents, business owner, artists and landlords created the confidence towards sustainable urban regeneration” (Lee, the director of URTC, interviewed 18 April 2014).

Those regenerative efforts have attracted increasing visitors, growth of local economy and internal investment, and blooming resident participation than before in 2014 (Han, Seo, and Han, 2014, more detailed outcome is examined in the Chapter 8).

- Suamgol

The village of Suamgol was formed by refugees who built their houses and settled down in the hillside area after the Korean War (Kim, 2015b). Between 1949 and 1955, the population of the village was around 64,000 to 81,000, but recently 306 residents who are all over sixty remained in 2014 (An, 2015). A significant concentration of deprivation has remained for several decades, and the village has been named as the last shanty village in Cheongju.

In order to tackle the deprivation within the village, a public art-led regeneration project has taken place since 2008 by employing artists and 10 students of a drawing department of the nearby university (An, 2015). Through the project, cultural and artistic popularity was given to Suamgol village. The rising artistic reputation also attracted the attention of a film maker, and as a result, the village was used as a drama location (‘King of

Baking, Kim Takgu) in 2009. This spread the attractiveness of the villages, mainly to tourists from Japan, China, and Thailand (Ibid.). To maintain the positive phenomenon, 15 local residents have opened local businesses, called 'Masil', to improve the local economy through selling Suamgol souvenirs and local foods to visitors since 2011.

In 2013, artists created the 'Suamgol Arts Village' by using the vacant houses to provide cultural opportunities such as folk painting, water-colouring, pottery, and glass works (An, 2015). To encourage the development of Suamgol, the Cheongju City Council and the Provincial Government of Chungcheongbuk-do support the costs of mural painting repair, management of the tourist information centre, and creation of public toilets and parking spaces (Ibid.). However, as the popularity has been increasingly growing, the proliferation of chain stores is frightening the Suamgol residents (See Figure 6-9). Obvious gentrification has emerged through the building of chain stores, cafes, restaurants and shopping centres around the village (Ibid.). Although, the blighted Suamgol has been transformed by the arrival of artists and their creative efforts, such an invasion can generate the destruction of neighbourhood authenticity and the displacement of the poor residents.

[Figure 6-9: Evidence of Gentrification Phenomenon in Suamgol]





Source: Isak (2016), VisitKorea website

6.6.2. The Structure of Cheongju Urban Regeneration Since 2013

After the SAUR was implemented, the scale and intensity of the regeneration projects enacted at regional and local levels required the creation of a practical agency, called the National Urban Regeneration Intermediary Organisations (hereafter, NURIOs) to create sophisticated strategies and to pump prime private investment into an area (Seo, Park and Lim, 2014). The NURIOs play a crucial role in linking the government's policy and delivery arrangements and are guaranteed direct funding from central government. To boost effective delivery, establishment of the NURIOs were statutory declared through Article 10 of the SAUR (ibid.). According to this requirement, intermediary agencies (e.g. Urban Regeneration Centres, hereafter URC) were set up in many cities to deliver equitable and efficient solutions to locally owned problems. The URCs have no authority or powers over planning or land acquisition but are considered as a co-ordinating body that could kick start investment within areas of deprivation. The URCs can be classified into four distinct categories in terms of

management and administration: local government-led; public or local firm-led; local government and residents-led; and private-led commissioned by local government. In the case of Cheongju's URC, the centre contracted with Chungbuk University (commissioned by Cheongju City Council) with five overarching ambitions:

- Economic regeneration: Use vacant or underused spaces such as shops, and establish areas for culture, leisure and entertainment use.
- Creation of Cheongju's regeneration: Share new terms and ideas, and develop governance systems for effective delivery.
- Creative regeneration: Excavate and discover valuable local assets, and pursue a wide range of culture-led regeneration.
- Integrated regeneration: Maximise partnerships between central government, local authorities, other stakeholders and service providers for more integrated service provision and targeting the needs of deprived areas,
- Linked regeneration: Develop various regeneration programmes for a more secure, competitive and sustainable local future (Cheongju URC official website, n.d.).

Furthermore, to enhance an integrated approach and the formation of partnerships, the centre has attempted to create vertical and horizontal co-ordination with other local authorities since 2015 (e.g. Formed a partnership with Jecheon and Chungju in North Chungcheong Province) (Urban Regeneration Newspaper of Cheongju, 2015). Such co-operative urban strategies show a difference compared to previous urban redevelopment strategies. In the aspect of general managerial performance of the URC of Cheongju, they support community-based business, discover local assets, foster community cohesiveness, actively work with existing communities, provide educational programmes about urban regeneration, assist social enterprises, and establish partnerships between local authorities, key stakeholders and other delivery agencies (Cheongju URC website, n.d.).

6.6.3. Practical Management Since the Establishment of SAUR: Economic-led Regeneration in Naedeok-dong, and Neighbourhood Regeneration in Jeokok-ri

In the context of practical regeneration management, the SAUR was divided into three distinctive categories in 2013 – to formulate economic-led regeneration, social regeneration, and neighbourhood regeneration (See Section 3.5.). For the economic-led regeneration scheme, Naedeok-dong was chosen as an inaugural area in 2014 in an attempt to transform the derelict site into a cultural complex. To fulfil the regeneration purpose, the former Tobacco Factory site was targeted for revival as a cultural complex. The biggest Tobacco Factory was opened in 1946 and at its height produced 10 billion cigarettes each year with 3,000 workers. However, as a result of a decrease in consumption and increasing mechanisation, the factory's operations were broken up in 2004 (Eun, 2016). After the closure of the factory, urban decline gradually set in within the surrounding residential areas. A number of neighbourhoods vigorously complained about the derelict factory because the eyesore building triggered crime, fear in urban areas and juvenile delinquency (Ibid.).

In order to prevent further deprivation, a number of notable strategies are employed to facilitate the development of the quarter, which is composed a number of cultural elements such as encouraging culture and knowledge industries; creating the cultural business park through widening urban leisure facilities; enhancing greater diversity; and re-branding the area to attract visitors (Hwang, 2015a). Apart from injecting cultural elements, these projects have also sought to revitalise the derelict areas by building high quality office complexes, business centres, hotel developments, and leisure and entertainment facilities around the unused buildings.

[Figure 6-10: Expected Plan of the Tobacco Factory]



Source: ENGI's Conpaper (2016). <http://conpaper.tistory.com/39895>

In terms of funding, the flagship regeneration project has been promoted by the wide range of financial structures. The Cheongju City Council, Korea Housing and Urban Guarantee Corporation (HUG), and private companies established the Real Estate Investment Trusts (REITs) to promote the project with \$171billion (the amount is variable depending on the level of private investment) (E-today, 2016). In addition, \$45million from national and local government budgets are invested in cultural facilities and a road extension around the Tobacco Factory (Ibid.). However, the economic-led regeneration scheme has drawn criticism from the local authority. The Citizens' Coalition for Economic Justice Group (CCEJ) of Cheongju condemned that the project tries to concede too much to large capital circulation (Newsis, 2015). They insist that the regeneration project visibly focuses on large private investment, although Cheongju City Council publicly emphasises the core purpose of the scheme is to improve local resident and local business economic circumstances (Ibid.). They said:

“The primary purpose of urban regeneration is to ameliorate a declined old-town and contribute to the revival of existing commercial market. However, the ongoing economic-led regeneration of the Tobacco Factory seems to play a catalyst role to thrive the private companies. The authentic definition of urban regeneration should be reconsidered, because the project is disconnected with local residents. There has been a dubious contribution of the urban regeneration projects to community inclusion and revival of local market. Attracting and building a featureless luxury goods store and distribution facilities are not our requirement as well as needs” (CCEJ, interviewed in Newsis, 2015).

Another regeneration strategy – neighbourhood regeneration (called the Saddlemauel project, See Secion 3.5.1.3.) – is smaller than economic-led regeneration, but focuses on small-sized communities and deprived areas. The first case in Cheongju was Jeokok-Ri (this site is not included as a research area in this thesis) in 2015 which is located in the northeast, 17km from the central area of Cheongju. At the launch of the project, 48 householders with 114 people were living within the community, and the massive dereliction and contaminated house circumstances impacted upon the community’s deprivation (See Figure 6-11). Moreover, 63% of residents were still using a squat toilet as there was no proper water supply facilities (Byun, 2016). This neighbourhood regeneration strategy does demonstrate a good example of partnership. The allocated budget for the project was \$752million from the state, \$122million from the regional authorities, and \$285million from the community (The Presidential Committee Regional Development, 2016). In addition, private investors, for example, the Habitat for Humanity Korea and Korean Reinsurance Company invested \$390million and promised to provide staff to help housing improvement for three years (Ibid.). Public and private agencies carried out the improvement of a derelict roof, demolishing a squat toilet, fence maintenance, creation of park and public space, improving pavement and streetlight maintenance. Such a partnership has delivered double the value in the aspect of urban regeneration initiative that would otherwise have been the case (Baek, 2016).

[Figure 6-11: Jeogok-Ri, Naesu-Eup, Cheongwon-Gu, Cheongju]



Source: News 1. (2015) [Left] / Chungbuk in News. (2014) [Right]

6.6.4. The Role of Culture in the Process of Cheongju Urban Regeneration Scheme

Throughout its history, Cheongju has boasted of its historical assets and abundant cultural resources. Cheongju possesses 18 national treasures, 4 historical landmarks and 5 collections of folk material within the historical culture context. In terms of cultural facilities, it has 33 performance spaces, 140 library facilities and 24 cultural programme halls (Cheongju Cultural City Master Plan, 2016). Twenty-two cultural events, including the International Craft Biennale, Jikji Festival, and Chopstick Festival, take place in Cheongju. Thus, Cheongju is a centre of culture and creativity and allows anyone to create and boast of their own arts (Ibid.).

In terms of regeneration, such historical and cultural resources have been significantly adaptable to boost the declining areas of Cheongju (Kwon, 2015). Some areas have adopted culture and arts programmes to enhance communities before the SAUR was established. For example, the creation of an outdoor cultural zone for the youth, a craft flea-market to encourage the participation of local artists and residents, the growth of mural painting works in the shanty town, the hosting the International Craft Biennale at an abandoned building since 2011, and cultural programmes from arts education to kids' programmes at the former Tobacco Factory. Such cultural efforts have enriched and offered meaning to local residents, and allowed them to feel part of community (Eun, 2016).

After the designation of Cheongju as the economic-led urban regeneration area since the SAUR was established, cultural elements have remained the major way to regenerate the former Tobacco Factory. Cheongju City has promised that culture and arts could contribute to a revitalisation of the abandoned place and to turn it into a vibrant hotspot. In doing this regeneration project, a wide range of cultural opportunities have been planned such as the opening the of National Museum of Contemporary Art, participatory small theatres, and culture and arts spaces (e.g. practice hall, education hall, and exhibition hall). In the process of economic-led regeneration, culture and cultural projects are considered as a valuable catalyst that could encourage a city, a region, and a country by creating an association with ambition and social mobility (Hwang, 2015a). This project aims to create a cultural

regeneration project that is sustainable, durable, and able to stimulate a new creative economy for Cheongju (Ibid.). However, as only a small proportion of residents are able to regularly attend to and enjoy the arts events, barriers are wide and include issues such as accessibility, transport, cost and low cultural awareness. An increased level of resident engagement and the provision of a wide range of cultural opportunities in many inner areas of Cheongju remain challenges to solve in the light of culture-led regeneration.

6.7. Summary

After unifying Cheongju (a central area) and Cheongwon County (a rural area), the size of city and population of the city region has been significantly expanding. However, social and economic restructuring has still led to problems of social exclusion, imbalanced development, multiple deprivation in particular neighbourhoods, economic inactivity, poor education achievement, and high levels of crime in some districts. There are particular issues of Cheongju linked to the ageing population and high levels of youth unemployment.

In order to solve those problems, urban redevelopment policies (such as UREIA) have sought to address these issues by demolishing deteriorating areas. This initiative did appear to have some positive impacts: new developments have been constructed on the 38 designated sites that were suffering from long-term population decline and a large quantity of poor housing condition has been reversed. However, the approach has resulted in heavy physical development and has reproduced widening economic and social inequalities and community segmentation within the targeted areas. The initial purpose of urban redevelopment – that the support of redevelopment would benefit lower income families – as not materialised in a practical sense in Cheongju.

To tackle the problems occurred by redevelopment initiative, the selectivity of regeneration policy has tended to prioritise the citizen-centred service, cohesive partnership with multiple agencies, joined-up thinking, and the empowering local communities. At the time of the research, the urban regeneration situation has been actively progressing in four

areas of Cheongju under the SAUR policy – Naedeok-dong (2014~2018), Jungang-dong (2014~2018), Andeokbyul (2016~2018) and Namju (2017~2020) (CURSP, 2015). In pursuing these regeneration projects, it is acknowledged that the main goal of current regeneration programmes should be to reduce disadvantages in the deprived areas by focusing on underlying issues such as unemployment, an ageing population, crime and education. However, other issues such as improving the physical environment and relying on private investment seem to be prioritised in some areas, as was the case with previous urban redevelopment policies. At this stage, organisers should consider a regeneration scheme that starts with the already existing resources, whether the existing buildings, streetscape, or residents.

In the process of urban regeneration scheme, the cultural events and projects might have been expected to bring benefits in terms of the engagement of residents and the creation of a sustainable community development through cultural intervention. Having a cultural project as just one component of a culture-led regeneration strategy, residents would be part of the initiative because of the sociability and festivity, and cultural elements would create a form of community cohesion and development. In this regard, the following chapters explore this in order to demonstrate the influences of the cultural events in Cheongju through examining the process and impacts of the CCEA approach.

CHAPTER 7: THE CULTURAL CITY OF EAST ASIA INITIATIVE – CONTEXT, MANAGEMENT AND IMPACTS IN CHEONGJU

7.1. Introduction

In this research, the CCEA has been used as a tool to establish whether cultural events can contribute to social regeneration, and if so, how it has also been used as a way to develop an understanding of the wider context for culture-led urban regeneration in South Korea. Although the CCEA has short history, starting in 2014, the experience and subsequent development has become a bedrock in arguments for culture-led urban regeneration in South Korea. In this chapter, I examine how the CCEA has been formed, managed and structured. This chapter also examines the operation of cultural programmes on multiple levels, especially in the context of the CCEA's main priorities (e.g. culture-led urban regeneration, cultural exchange and city promotion). Next, the chapter moves on to examine the strengths and limitations of the CCEA. The key findings of the chapter are that culture-led urban regeneration is one of imperative purposes of CCEA and the event has significantly added cultural value to the existing urban regeneration initiatives of Cheongju. One conclusion is that the event has identified culture's potential role in promoting economic improvement as well as community cohesion.

7.2. Introducing the CCEA: From Background to Cultural Programmes

In order to fully understand the second CCEA that was held in Cheongju, it is important to explore the background and experience of previous CCEA. This section examines in detail what previous programmes were adopted, how the schemes were managed and what impacts emerged in terms of cultural exchange, culture-led urban regeneration, and city promotion.

7.2.1. Background and Purposes of the CCEA

East Asian countries (South Korea, China and Japan) share a common means of communication, the 'Chinese character' and a fundamental understanding of historic experiences and religion (Pre-2014 Asia culture Forum, 2014). However, historically, South Korea, China and Japan have endured tensions that have often resulted in conflict, war, colonisation, territorial disputes and enforced sex slavery, leading to a lack of solidarity and mutual understanding, although still experiencing close cultural ties (Ibid). Despite their closeness in terms of culture and location the three countries lack a level of solidarity and mutual understanding (Ibid.). In an attempt to rectify this, the three countries have sought to connect their provincial cities through diverse cultural activities. The first step towards cultural integration resulted in a joint statement released on September 28th, 2013, by the Cultural Ministers of South Korea, China and Japan. This led to a new cultural partnership involving a joint programming of performances, exhibitions and multifarious cultural projects. According to this initiative, the 2014 CCEA project was created and aimed to "foster mutual understanding and a sense of unity within East Asia so as to strengthen international transmission of diverse cultures in the region" through a variety of cultural events (Foreign Press Centre Japan, 2013).

The scheme was designated to East Asian cities for the duration of one year, and a selected city was offered the chance to parade their cultural programmes on an international stage. The primary aim of the CCEA was to share mutual understanding of culture and strengthen a sense of unity by exchanging cultural activities in the region (Foreign Press Centre Japan, 2013). It was recognised that, as cultural events have played a fundamental role in developing European cities, the CCEA offered an opportunity to act as a powerful instrument to promote regional regeneration within East Asia (Myeongsung Park, the art director of CCEA). In this sense, 'exchange cultural programmes', 'development and regeneration of provincial cities through cultural programmes', and 'building solidarity in the East Asia region' became the essential priorities of the event (City of Yokohama News Release, 2014).

7.2.2. The Previous Experience of CCEA in Gwangju 2014

Gwangju, located in the Southwest corner of South Korea, was inaugurally chosen as the host location of the 2014 CCEA. This was awarded following a Cultural Ministerial Meeting in 2012 in which six provincial cities (Gwangju, Busan, Daegu, Jeonju, Kyeongju, and Bucheon) bid for the chance to host the event. Gwangju was designated as the South Korean host, along with Quanzhou in China and Yokohama in Japan. During this CCEA, Gwangju held more than 20 big cultural programmes, such as the World Music Festival, Gwangju Biennale, Gwangju World Arirang Festival, 2014 Asia Culture Forum, as well as partnership cultural events with central governments and local governments, and cultural workshops across the city for one year. After this, the first CCEA was evaluated and it was argued that the cross-country nature of the events, and the range of public and private partners, not only helped to tackle conflicts between the three nations, but also encouraged social development (Yokohama Joint Statement, 2014). On the basis of these positive results, three nations announced the Yokohama Joint Statement in November 2014, seeking continuous cooperation within the cultural sphere. The Statement includes declarations that the three provincial cities would:

- Further develop administration, culture, arts, tourism, economy and trade under the principle of reciprocity
- Cooperate to allow for effective exchange between culture, arts organisations, businesses and citizens
- Share the influential experience and encourage co-operation between businesses for enhancing cultural cities of East Asia
- Maintain an intimate and sustainable relationship between the related governmental agencies of the three nations, and frequently work together on issues of mutual interest (Pre-2014 Asia Culture Forum, 2014).

Lee, who was in charge of the cultural exchange with China and event management, spoke of the beneficial social and economic aspects that emerged during the 2014 CCEA:

“The CCEA led to rising job creation in the cultural and leisure economy sectors and increased the demanding of human labour force and businesses connected with the event. Particularly, the CCEA brought a positive perception that the national event could be hosted in metropolitan cities. It encouraged people’s self-esteem for Gwangju city. In general, several large-sized cultural events in South Korea are often one-off, so criticisms are always voiced that there is nothing left after the end of the event. In this regard, the CCEA was an opportunity to create long-term cultural programmes and to regenerate the disadvantaged areas by using diverse cultural resources for a long time”.

Using this as evidence of the success of the scheme, in 2015 Cheongju was able to expand and improve the hosting of the event. The next section explores the kinds of cultural programmes that were included in the 2015 CCEA.

7.2.3. The CCEA Cultural Programmes in Cheongju: The Catalyst Role for Existing Urban Regeneration Schemes, Cultural Exchange and City Promotion

As the 2015 CCEA aimed at transforming the city from an industrial base to a vibrant cultural city (similar to the transformations experienced in Glasgow and Liverpool), the organisers planned an expanded set of cultural events and exchange programmes (Nam, 2015). Some 100,000 visitors attended the programmes throughout the year and, once the CCEA was finished, it was recorded the best cultural project since Cheongju city was created (Ibid.). The programmes were divided into two sections – partnership events and special events. Partnership events cover most of cultural programmes that operated during the CCEA, and special events generally described the academic forums or workshops surrounding the tourism strategy developed within three nations, the discussions on exchangeable cultural strategies, and partnership businesses with art experts of other developing Asia countries (See Figure 7-1).

[Figure 7-1: The CCEA Programmes in Cheongju]

	Programmes	Date	Location	Organiser
Special Event	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Culture Forum of three nations -Visit to the cultural facilities - Find and investigate culture related development issues and marketing strategies 	June	Cheongju cultural industry promotion foundation	Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Tourism conference of Korea and Japan - The celebration of 50th normalisation of diplomatic relation between Korea and Japan - Consult about tourism promotion and improvement - Tour at the international craft Biennale, organic Expo and university of Cheongnam 	September	Cheongju	Cheongju City Council
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Culture partnership business - Invite 50 culture and art experts who work in the developing countries (e.g. the Azerbaijani Republic, Vietnam, Mongolia, etc.) -Form a networking with artists - Visit Korea's cultural attraction - Attend Korean language class - Take place joint performance 	July ~ August	Cheongju	Chungbuk Artist Federation
Partnership Events	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 13st Cheongju arts festival - Exhibition - Academic conference - Performance - Jikji marathon 	April	Cheongju Art Centre	Chungbuk Artist Federation
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Spring Culture Festival Cultural experience and concerts 	April	National Cheongju Museum	Cheongju Artist Federation
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Youth Festival Dance, playing and singing competition 	April	Cheongju	Cheongju Artist Federation
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Cheongju Arts Festival Performance, exhibition, arts competition 	April	Musimcheon	Cheongju Artist Federation
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Academic event -Forum for municipal region's airport within East Asia -Forum for East Asia's urban regeneration 	April ~ May	Cheongju and Ningbo, China	Chungbuk development research centre

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Exhibition event -Traditional culture and artworks exhibition of three nations 	May		Cheongju cultural industry promotion foundation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● East Asian Network – East Asia culture market 	Mat	Cheongju	Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The World Day for Cultural Diversity for Dialogue and Development -concert, craft, cinema, drawing, seminar for returning to farm, theatre, food festival, Buggy parade, citizen society competition, etc. 	May	Cheongju cultural industry promotion foundation	Cheongju cultural industry promotion foundation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Flea market 	May (every Saturday)	Jungang-dong Market street	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● King Sejong and Chojeong water festival - symposium about letter and civilisation - Royal ceremonial walk 	May	Chojeong Water park	Cheongju cultural foundation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The 22nd Cheongju Art Festival - Joint traditional performance with Korea, Japan, China, Vietnam and Mongol - Concert of each nations - Watching movie - Folk painting exhibition 	August	Cheongju Art Centre	Chungbuk Artist Federation, and Cheongju City Council
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Cheongju Fortress Festival - Historical performance for Citizen's victory - Food festival - Singing festival for youth - A great religious ceremony for commemorate - Jikji music concert 	September	Around Seongan-street	Cheongju City Council and Cheongju Cultural Federation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 2015 Cheongju International Craft Biennale - International exhibition - Craft conference - Craft fair - Artworks of three nations' youth - Various concert and performance during the Biennale 	September ~ October	Tobacco Factory in Naedeok-dong	Biennale committee
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Guryoung Festival 	September	University of Sewon	Cheongju

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Cheongwon life festival <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Agricultural product market - Agricultural experience event - Various concerts - More than 60 practical programmes related agriculture 	October	Ochang Miraeji Park	Life festival committee
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Chungbuk Arts Festival 	October	Cheongju	Chungbuk Artist Federation
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The Festival for Chinese Student 	October	The Cheongju Arts Hall	Chungcheongbukdo
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● East Asia music festival 'From East Wind' (Korea, Japan, Vietnam and Mongol) 	November	Cheongju Art hall	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Chopstick festival <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Chopstick performance - Academic forum about chopsticks of three nations - East Asia chopstick exhibition - Chopstick related game 	November	Cheongju cultural industry promotion foundation	Cheongju City council, Cheongju cultural industry promotion foundation, and CCEA
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Exhibition events <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The four-ceremonial occasion festival (coming of age, wedding, funeral and ancestral rites) - Modern art exhibition of three nations 	November ~ December	Cheongju cultural industry promotion foundation, Daecheong-ho gallery	Cheongju cultural industry promotion foundation, and Art Chungbuk
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Performance events <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Art company's performance of three nations - Joint performance - Citizen-led performance - Civic group and Cheongju's art society performance 	December	Cheongju Arts Centre	

[source: author]

According to newspapers and local leaflets, 27 primary events were managed for the year. Moreover, the listed events lasted for at least three days, and the full CCEA programmes included not only full events but also overall exhibition days, performance days, and educational classes, bringing the total up to 70 activities in 2015. Most activities were directly procured by government, the Cheongju Art Council, and small arts and community organisations. Through organising CCEA programmes, the cultural fields of Cheongju could form extensive partnerships across public, private and third sectors. As a matter of fact, Cheongju has considered culture as being central to an urban regeneration agenda for many

years, and the CCEA and related programmes were viewed as adding significant added value to existing regeneration programmes:

“Our creative culture-led regeneration scheme at the former Tobacco Factory and diverse range of cultural opportunities from the international biennale to small performances led to successfully have the title of CCEA. And such the national event would magnify the significance for further Cheongju’s cultural approach regeneration projects (Lee, Mayor of Cheongju, interviewed in Jungbu Daily, 2014)”

The scale of the impacts that emerged throughout the year of programmes encouraged Cheongju’s existing culture-led urban regeneration scheme (e.g. the Tobacco Factory in Naedeok-dong, Jungang-dong culture-led regeneration project, See Section 6.4) and allowed the results to be more solid and substantial. The evidence and immediate outcomes are explored in Section 7.3, which examines the strengths of 2015 CCEA.

The CCEA programmes have tended to operate on multiple levels, particularly in the contexts of cultural exchange, city promotion and urban regeneration. There are number of issues that should be addressed. First, cultural exchange activities were co-ordinated by the three nations’ CCEA committee and proceeded by hosting traditional culture performances in each nation and involved a culture swap of young people (e.g. to experience different cultures and lifestyles). Second, Cheongju has adapted various partnership events and linked with the government to widely promote the city as a culturally vibrant area. Third, to create a sustainable urban regeneration environment, the CCEA programmes provided valuable cultural opportunities for residents such as volunteering, creating artistic works with citizens, the support of local artists, the encouraging of residents’ participation (e.g. through exhibition opportunities, the donation of their own cultural works, performances, and community contests, etc.), and offering cultural education and arts classes. When it comes to culture-led regeneration, the engagement of local residents is a crucial factor in creating a successful project. In this sense, a wide range of cultural offerings for all residents during the CCEA would have raised awareness of culture-led regeneration. Furthermore, a range of more tangible outcomes through the resident’s positive contribution to the event, promoting the

rehabilitation of Cheongju's image, and community co-operation have increased not only residents' knowledge of Cheongju's culture and heritage, but also the importance of cultural participation within regeneration.

7.3. The CCEA in Cheongju

The Cheongju's Cultural City of East Asia 2015 had a vision to positively reposition Cheongju as a cultural city representative of the country of South Korea. It aimed to encourage participation in cultural activity by communities across the wider region of Cheongju, and also wanted to create a valuable long-term and sustainable legacy and within Cheongju's cultural sectors. Based on these visions, in this section I examine the hosting process of 2015 CCEA, touching on topics such as the management and structure of the wide variety of the held events, and investigating how choices were made by reviewing the initial CCEA criteria.

7.3.1. Origins

Cheongju has long been renowned as a cultural and educational city, and its cultural resources epitomise the city's vibrancy and positively influences the lives of its citizens. The status of CCEA in 2015 reflects Cheongju's aspiration to drive forward both economically and culturally and offered a chance for residents to be proud of their history while celebrating the city's cultural diversity. In 2014, the judges admired Cheongju's great cultural heritage and praised the outstanding plans for 2015's CCEA, along with Qingdao of China and Nigata of Japan. The year-long series of programmes demonstrated the extraordinary scope available and showed cultural diversity from high art, and an international biennale to free music concerts. Furthermore, Cheongju has sought to use the CCEA to transform the city from an industrial base into a vibrant cultural city such as Glasgow and Liverpool (Nam, 2015).

“As the CCEA benchmarks the ECOC, the event would enhance the cultural exchange and forge a firm network with participated cities. Furthermore, the CCEA would make a constant effort in creating a sustainable cultural project in conjunction with the ECOC programmes (CCEA website, 2015a)”.

Kwang-sub Byun, the director of CCEA Cheongju, argued that “we are having diverse cultures and cultural potential. Such circumstance would act as the seedbeds for the small and medium cities to be transformed into cultural city”.

7.3.2. Management and Structure

- Management

The policy to bid for the CCEA was first set up at the fourth culture Ministers’ Meeting of South Korea-China-Japan in May 2012 in Shanghai, China (this is now known as the ‘Shanghai’ Action Plan). During this meeting, ministers from each country agreed to designate cultural cities for one year and encourage cultural exchange policy between the three nations (GAR, 2015). The policy strategy was created under the premise of ‘the integration of cultural exchange’, ‘consciousness of East Asia’, and ‘understanding of cultural partners’. Furthermore, as the event benchmarked the ECOC the initiative aimed to prove the positive ripple effects about the contribution of culture in urban regeneration (Ibid.).

In terms of selecting the cities and the eligibility requirements, the size of a city did not matter for becoming a CCEA host city, but it was acknowledged that there should be a balance between capital and provincial cities, with an unmistakable cultural brand (created by their own set of cultural elements and symbolic assets (GAR, 2015)). Interested cities were required to compete within an internal competition to stage the CCEA to confirm their cultural position in a league of East Asian cities. However, only provincial cities could be awarded in each of the three nations. As a year-long scheme, a selected city should be able to offer a wide range of cultural programmes, including partnership events in conjunction with the

Ministry of Culture and Tourism; coordination of national cultural events; and sharing cultural exchange programmes within the arts, tourism and sports spheres (Ibid.). For the entire process of CCEA, selected city of three nations could receive funding from their local governments. In case of Cheongju, \$1.2billion was totally funded by the governments at central, regional and local levels of South Korea.

- Structure

After Cheongju was awarded the bid, the CCEA Cheongju Office was set up in December 2014 as a non-profit organisation at the Cheongju Cultural Industry Promotion Foundation in Naedeok-dong. The office was in operation throughout the CCEA (From December 2014 to December 2015) with a team of eight people, a number of whom were co-opted from government departments and private companies. The office was in charge of the organisation of cultural programming, events delivery, the development of volunteers' programme, international relations around the CCEA, close communication with China and Japan, commercial activities from marketing, merchandising, communications, programme funding, monitoring and administration.

To help deliver the strategy and guide the overall processes of the CCEA, cultural expert O-Young Lee (former Minister of the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, and novelist) was co-opted as a chairman. He counselled the principal direction in relation to the opening and ending of performances, academic events and other cultural programmes (Chungbuk in News, 2014). O-Young Lee provided expertise and offered a cultural and creative vision to the CCEA and Cheongju's development (Lee, the chairman of CCEA, the mayor of Cheongju). Particularly, Lee, the vice-chairman, offered an example of the Chopstick Festival, which was created by O-Young Lee during the CCEA and became a creative content for future cultural events of Cheongju. Both the chairman and the vice-chairman stressed in the media interviews that the Chopstick Festival could link South Korea, China and Japan, while the Asian community as a whole could be united under the concept of 'chopsticks' which is already a fundamental part of Asian culture (Oh, 2016). As a result, the chopstick

itself is planned to be developed further to create culture and develop tourism, education programmes, and encourage business growth (CCEA website, 2015b).

The Committee for the CCEA at the local government level consisted of 21 members (in 2014) representing a wide range of fields including the governments, universities, the Chungbuk art council, art institutions (e.g. museum and expo), and tourism organisations. Also, 26 citizen members (such as members of Parliament, professors, academic researchers, the director of a broadcasting company, charity companies and community representatives) were selected to promote and encourage the CCEA (CCEA website, 2015c). These Committees were mainly focused on the brand dimensions of the co-operative programmes, the economic impacts of the events, and any wider structural urban development effects of the CCEA. In addition, they provided a cross-sectoral consultation in terms of policy and direction.

7.3.3. How were choices made?

For achieving the title of CCEA, the process required an explicit framework that should be created. This required the winning city to demonstrate their capacities not only in providing existing and historical cultural strengths, but also in the ability to create sophisticated cultural programmes over the coming years. During the bidding for the CCEA in 2014, Cheongju was acknowledged for its constant cultural efforts and development. The physical infrastructure (e.g. cultural venues and accommodation capacities) were described as plentiful, and the city was praised for being not only prepared for the bidding, but also for holding the event itself. When evaluating the city's cultural attempts to boost urban development, the long-term social, economic and cultural impacts that were planned and evaluated were praised. In terms of the range and diversity of the cultural activities, there are capacities to combine local cultural heritage and existing art forms with innovate and experimental cultural expressions in the city. The committee decided that there were abundant cultural offerings that were sufficient to hold the title of CCEA 2015.

To win the bid, Cheongju had to meet four main criteria: ‘the ability as the cultural city’, ‘the creation of constructive partnerships’, ‘a business plan’, and ‘a marketing strategy’. These four criteria – and how Cheongju met them, is explored in turn.

- Demonstrate abilities as the cultural city

The city must provide a strong commitment to the development of cultural sectors, while the vibrant strategies to boost a city through cultural programmes had to be highlighted. To meet this requirement, Cheongju demonstrated:

- I. A medium and long-term plan to further develop cultural policy, and identify the previous achievement of cultural policies
- II. A plan for urban development and regeneration through the cultural city strategy, and to demonstrate a prior commitment to regional development by integrating cultural programmes within wider city strategies.
- III. A specific plan for hosting the international cultural event and a cultural exchange strategy

- Creation of constructive partnerships

The city must demonstrate the ability to create partnership arrangements, including details on committee composition and the establishment of secretariat as a central feature in leading to successful cultural and urban development. It was also important to demonstrate effective partnership working with the expertise to promote and implement cultural event strategies. Cheongju demonstrated the suitability with a well-organised composition of committee and executive officers. Also, bilateral partnerships between central government, private partners and third sectors such as local enterprise, universities, arts institutions came to be a key characteristic of the strategy.

- Business plans

Creating an effective business plan for the full year was a fundamental step to increase the efficiency of project. Cheongju included the following plans in its proposal.

- I. A clear and concise business plan with explanations on specific practices, in order to avoid the imprecision of purpose and ill-defined explanation which can cause unrealistically high expectations
- II. The desire for sustainability by applying creative and resident-focused cultural programmes
- III. The engagement of experts from various fields of urban planning, including representatives from universities, local companies, art organisations and community groups.
- IV. The feasibility of businesses in exchanging cultural programmes between the three nations.
- V. A strategy for contributing to urban development and regeneration through a cultural approach
- VI. Propriety of funding and the ability to deliver CCEA projects

- Marketing strategy

One more important requirement for the bid was the marketing strategy. In order to prove this, Cheongju emphasised the need to foster diversity, encourage culture-led activities, create a high-quality programming of events to bring more visitors and tourists, creating easily accessible programmes for all people, re-branding the city through cultural activities, and allowing an effective usage of local facilities. Also, Cheongju provided a strategy for the securing budget, a plan to attract local residents' participation and a long-term plan once the CCEA is introduced.

7.4. The Strengths and Limitations of the CCEA as a Regeneration Project

By hosting the second CCEA in 2015, Cheongju city received unprecedented national recognition as a city of culture and was given an opportunity to bring out its innovative cultural ideas, enthusiasm of people and creative skills. Furthermore, arts and culture offered a bigger stage in furthering the urban regeneration initiative. During the CCEA, the abundant cultural programmes and events proved capable of producing noticeable effects in the host city. In this section, I explore what happened during the CCEA and examine its influence on regeneration schemes.

7.4.1. Economic Impacts of the CCEA

An evaluation of the economic benefits of the 2015 CCEA has not officially been revealed, however, some individual projects have published data on the direct and indirect economic benefits of the events. In this section I discuss the benefits of the Cheongju International Craft Biennale, the Cheongwon Organic Life Festival, Cheongju Fortress Festival, and the King Sejong and Chojeong Water Festival, which were the main big events during the CCEA.

- **The 9th Cheongju International Craft Biennale** (16th Sep ~ 25th Oct 2015): The number of tourists to Biennale rose slightly, up to more than 314,021 including 15,700 foreign visitors when compared to 300,300 tourists in 2013. It seems there was small increase in attendance between 2013 and 2015. However, the biennale sparked interest in a number of visitors and artists' participation despite the deadly outbreak of Middle East Respiratory Syndrome (MERS) and a significant economic slump in 2015 (Kim, 2015e). During the Biennale, 2000 artists came from 45 nations and more than 7,500 artworks were exhibited. The programmes included a 'special exhibition of Alain de Botton', a 'Kids biennale', 'pre-docent education in the biennale venues', 'Cheongju International craft and art fairs', 'street markets', 'International craft academic conference', and 'traditional craft workshops', which all added value to the CCEA development (Ibid.). Particularly, the art fair (\$330m), the craft fair (\$240m), and the street

market (\$57m) generated some \$630m in revenue (by 24th October 2015) within the craft sector. This sum was 60% greater than the sum in 2013 (\$400m). Furthermore, the biennale provided an opportunity to reach out and to establish the cornerstone of a world craft cluster in Cheongju (Ibid.).

- **Cheongwon Organic Life Festival (2nd Oct ~ 11st Oct 2015):** The festival began to promote the agricultural products of Cheongju in 2008 (Choi, 2016b). According to the 2015 visitor report of Cultural Contents Research Centre at the University of Chungcheong, 480,000 tourists visited the festival, an increase compared to 2011 (total visitors were 200,000). Particularly, there was a notable growth in tourist numbers during the CCEA. The festival sold various organic agricultural products between 10% and £30 cheaper than standard market price (Han, 2016). During the festival in 2015, these products generated \$350m in revenue while helping to support local agricultural merchants (Ibid.).

- **The 10th King Sejong & Chojeong Mineral Spring Water Festival (27th May ~ 29th May 2015):** During the festival, there were 65,710 visitors to Cheongju, which was a slight rise on the previous year. Some 48% of the total visitors were foreign visitors. These visits generated an economic impact of \$162.6 million (Ahn, 2016).

7.4.2. Social Impacts

The CCEA generated a number of social impacts through various cultural programmes. As mentioned above, culture-led urban regeneration was one of the imperative purposes of 2015 CCEA, so the event included several resident-led cultural programmes for recognising the importance of urban regeneration. These included the improvements made to social cohesion through voluntary works, community solidarity, providing cultural education for young people, and accepting different cultures. In particular, the Cheongju International Craft Biennale set overarching goals for resident engagement. For example, 27,912 people including Cheongju citizens, schools, and community organisations voluntarily participated in

collecting unused CDs, and broadcast them outside of the main venues with messages of hope (Son, 2015, see Figure 7-17). This co-operative artwork programme created various development community networks, as well as strengthening community solidarity, helping people feel a sense of belonging, and increasing a sense of self-worth. Moreover, in order to develop citizen involvement in cultural sector, the CCEA sought to have 'the talent contribution of resident project' for one month. The project included an exhibition of participants' belongings, a local resident-led concert, and volunteering in the promotion of the big cultural programmes on Social Networking Service, while translating works in English, Chinese and Japanese (Kim, 2015f). One volunteer said that "the arts and culture were a delight and offered enjoyment that I have never felt; and the cultural participation also helped me to take up a career within the cultural field".

Another result that emerged is the 'Creative School'. This was run between April and November 2015. The program developed as follows: Invitation seminar (April), Toad and life culture (May), Civic culture (June), Youth camp for three nations (July), Explore the cultural city of Niigata Japan (August), Introduce a famous local restaurant (September), Explore the Cheongju's city space with an architect, photographer and residents (November) (Byun, 2015). The objective of the program was to promote local cultural heritage and provide various cultural opportunities to residents. Throughout the seven-month period, the program resulted in participation from a wide range of groups including civic clubs, youth groups and local artistic communities. This helped enhance citizen awareness of Cheongju's cultural competitiveness. It also strengthened a cultural solidarity amongst residents and offered them degree of pride in their locality (Yoo, 2016). One of participants stressed that the program raised motivation to become involved in other cultural programmes.

The CCEA paid significant attention to the exchange of young people between the three nations. Selected students of each country were offered a number of different experiences, such as participation in traditional cultural activities and home-stay experiences with native people. For instance, the young people of the three nations were offered a tour of Cheongju's traditional market, Korean paper 'Hanji' making, chopstick making, and Korean

folk painting in Cheongju. One participant from Japan illustrates that she “could learn co-operative harmony through cultural activities working with friends (Interviewed in Jungang newspaper by In, 2015)”. Another student from China also praised the project, saying “all activities were enjoyable and impressive, and the most meaningful thing during the exchange programme was the ability to make friends from different countries. This experience provided not only cultural knowledge and diversity, but also helped in improving social and language skills”. Such cultural exchange programmes for young people during the CCEA helped to expand diverse cultural opportunities and invest in the cultural education of the next generation.

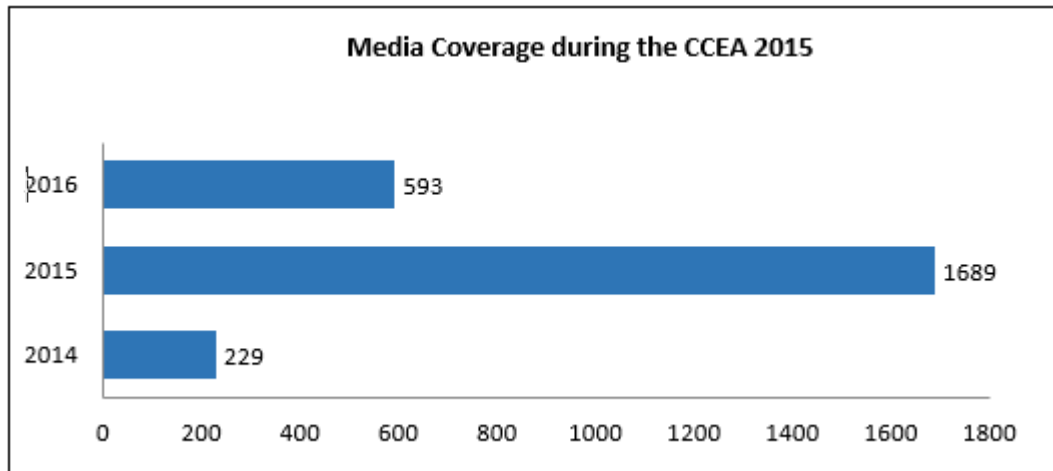
7.4.3. The Impact of City’s Image

Cultural projects can play a crucial role in celebrating local cultures and positively changing a city’s image (Matarasso, 1997). As the CCEA programmes aimed to promote the city, the event significantly contributed in branding the Cheongju as a cultural city (Seunghoon Lee, Mayor of Cheongju, 2016). Mayor Seunghoon Lee emphasised that the success of the CCEA sublimated a history and culture of a thousand years into modern value. It helped to frame the city as one operating in coexistence between traditional and modern cultures, while operating in a harmonious way. Furthermore, the status of the city has been firmly solidified as a cultural city, generating an adaptable cultural environment with a secured budget for cultural businesses (Taeyeong Son, member of the National Assembly). Some residents positively responded to the image change away from the typical industrial city into a lively cultural city through the introduction of unprecedented cultural vibrancy.

The city received considerable media coverage. During the CCEA, there was an immediate increase in media attention focused on Cheongju. As shown in Figure 7-2, the percentage of media coverage on culture and Cheongju massively escalated during the CCEA. Cheongju was mentioned seven times more in the media than in 2014, while the media paid more attention to Cheongju’s cultural issues after the completion of the CCEA than in 2014

(229 coverage in 2014, 1,689 in 2015, and 593 in 2016). Also, the coverage continued well after the completion of the event in 2016.

[Figure 7-2: Media coverage during the CCEA]



Source: NAVER (A representative internet content service operator in South Korea [Counted by author])

7.4.4. The Increased Value of Culture Through the CCEA

The year-long cultural event also brought various benefits in terms of culture. The event created an environment in which the public benefit from a wealth of diverse cultures. Through the various cultural programs and exchange activities of the CCEA, there has been an expansion in associations with other local governments and numerous cultural organisations (Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, 2015, hereafter MCST). Cheongju's effort in promoting culture led to a 47% increase in art and cultural grants from central government. This funding has been invested in stimulating art and culture; developing cultural programmes and making Cheongju a key town in its region (Ahn, 2016).

Another positive impact of CCEA is that by highlighting the hidden cultural themes such as Jikji, the history of King Sejong, and Myeongsim Bogam⁵, the CCEA has helped to increase residents' cultural awareness and created an appreciation of the region's diverse

⁵ Myeongsim Bogam: It is an ancient Chinese book containing a collection of aphorisms and quotations from the Chinese classics and other works.

history. Additionally, the cultural effects have spread out to Cheongju's other existing industries such as agriculture, biotechnology, and even the beauty industry. Altogether, it has helped form a positive impression that Cheongju has abundant and diverse commercial themes for the future along with the enhancement of cultural elements (Byun, 2015).

The most important benefit from the CCEA is that Cheongju could constantly establish solid cultural networks with cultural cities including China and Japan. Practically, the Cheongju Culture Industry Foundation has planned to take several cultural projects to other CCEA-hosted cities (e.g. 2014: Gwangju, Quanzhou, Yokohama / 2015: Qingdao, Niigata / 2016: Jeju Special Self-Governing Province, Ningbo, Narasi) over subsequent years (Yoo, 2016). The 2015 CCEA became a keystone in establishing a global cultural environment (Lee, Mayor of Cheongju, 2016). The CCEA also brought investment for a further cultural city project from 2016 with \$3.4 million funding from the central and regional governments (CCEA website, 2015d).

7.4.5. Limitations of the CCEA

During the roll-out and hosting of the CCEA, the typically imposed top-down approach still practised within South Korea was criticised. Lee, Head of Cultural Contents Research Centre at the University of Chungcheong, stressed the importance of creating the right structures during the forum for Chungbuk cultural industry in 2016. He said the event industry of North Chungcheong Province had created chronic problems in that local cultural businesses frequently faced difficulties in participating in such large-sized cultural events, as the structure of the event industry is one of relying heavily on the bidding of public organisations rather than the bidding of companies or consumers. In line with this, the cultural enterprises at a local level had few opportunities to be staged during the CCEA because of an excessive restriction of qualification from public organisations.

As mentioned above, there were attractive cultural events during the CCEA such as the chopstick festival, the international craft biennale, the organic industry expo, etc. However, the rate of local business participation was only 8.6%, while businesses brought in from elsewhere occupied 91.3% (Lee, 2016c). As a result, it could be evaluated that local business received just around \$1.5 million, with around \$16 million spilling out of the city while the CCEA was hosted in Cheongju (Ibid.). Thus, increasing contract with big companies or businesses from other regions due to the strict restriction of public organisations influenced to trigger the fund outflowing, creating insufficient influence on the local economy, and facilitating the tardy development of local events (Ibid.).

7.5. Summary

This chapter has examined the delivery process of the 2015 CCEA. As has been highlighted throughout this chapter, there was evidence of immediate event outputs. Hosting a CCEA title offered a great opportunity compared with previous one-off events, as the city could develop its own priorities and preferences without highly restrictive top-down guidelines. In Cheongju, this opportunity offered ambitious aspirations to existing culture-led urban regeneration processes, boosting cultural exchange programmes and helping in city promotion. It is also argued that the local and regional cultural planning that were developed through the event is set to continue growing over subsequent years. However, there have been several complex challenges throughout this period. First, as the second CCEA host city, little opportunity was given to learn from previous experience, and Cheongju tended to consider the CCEA title as a chance to reposition itself and promote the city. Second, the CCEA Office is normally terminated after the event is finished, making it difficult for the solid operational management system, continuous joint working between three nations, and sustainable forms of stakeholder partnerships to continue in the future.

CHAPTER 8: THE IMPACT OF THE CCEA ON RESIDENTS IN THE SELECTED AREAS OF DEPRIVATION

8.1. Introduction

So far, the case study chapters in this thesis have outlined the context of Cheongju city, while Chapter 7 has examined how the CCEA has been formed, managed and structured. This chapter contains an examination of the impacts of the CCEA on residents in selected areas of deprivation in Jungang-dong, Naedeok-dong and Suamgol in Cheongju. As outlined in the methodology chapter, the findings presented in this chapter are based on changes in residents' perception of culture, community development and the living and working environment by conducting a questionnaire survey, individual interviews with residents and focus group discussions in three areas of deprivation in Cheongju. This chapter begins with an examination of the general perception of cultural projects and the levels of resident participation, before moving on to an analysis of individual engagement with the CCEA. To allow for comparison of different accounts, this chapter is divided into three periods – before, during, and after the CCEA.

8.2. Participation in Cultural Events

During both the interviews and through the questionnaire process, respondents were first asked whether they had taken part in any cultural programme over the previous three years (2011 – 2014), and they were asked if they had participated in any CCEA events during 2015. The definition of cultural programmes was intentionally left open to interpretation by the residents, depending on their own opinion of what such a definition could entail (for example, concerts, street performances, museum or gallery visits, or educational classes, etc.). As shown in Figure 8-2, there is a difference in the proportions of cultural participation between the selected neighbourhoods. In terms of cultural participation over the three years prior to the CCEA, 65% of surveyed residents from Jungang-dong has engaged with some form of non-CCEA cultural activities, but this percentage drops to 44% in Naedeok-dong and 28%

in Suamgol. During the CCEA, the participation rate in Naedeok-dong increases to 67%, but there is a significant drop in the CCEA participation from 65% to 38% in Jungang-dong, and only 14% of Suamgol residents say they have participated in the CCEA. It can be argued that the different CCEA participation rates can be explained by the differing numbers of cultural venues and projects in each area. As indicated in Chapter 6, Naedeok-dong has venues such as the Cheongju Culture Industry Promotion Foundation (CCIPF) and the former Tobacco Factory, more cultural opportunities have been arising from national cultural projects (e.g. the International Craft Biennale and the Chopstick Festival), and community-based cultural programmes. As one resident from Naedeok-dong said:

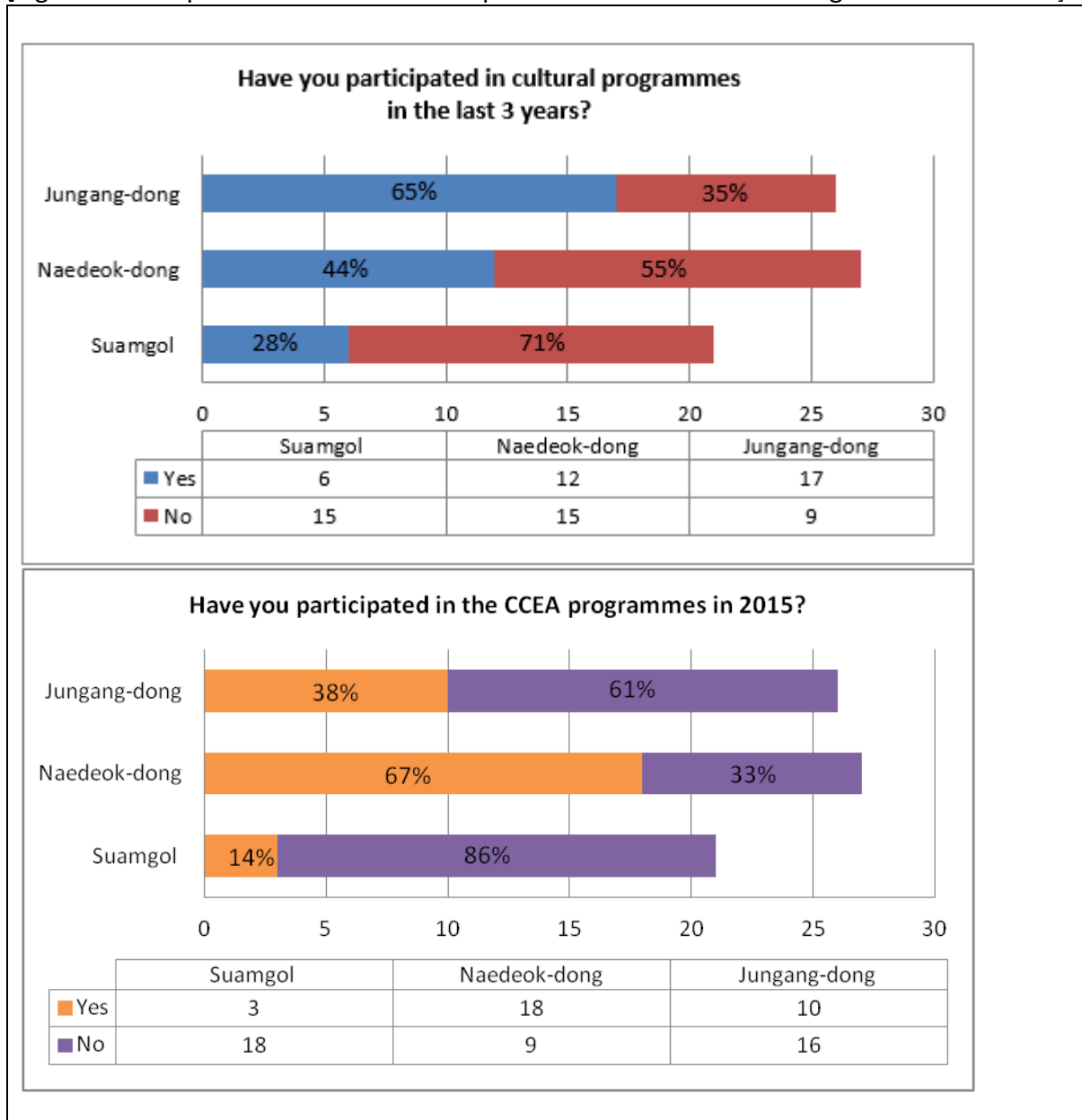
“It is believed that there were plenty of cultural spaces and opportunities in Naedeok-dong during the CCEA. The large cultural institutions within the community frequently offer varied family-centred programmes. Also, the large number of big cultural venues will probably allow for the dissemination of more cultural benefits and awareness to local people and visitors (N-2)”

[Figure 8-1: Cultural Facilities and the Main Venues of CCEA in Naedeok-dong]



Source: Park (2015), Chungcheong Media.

[Figure 8-2: Proportion of Cultural Participation in General Cultural Programmes and CCEA]



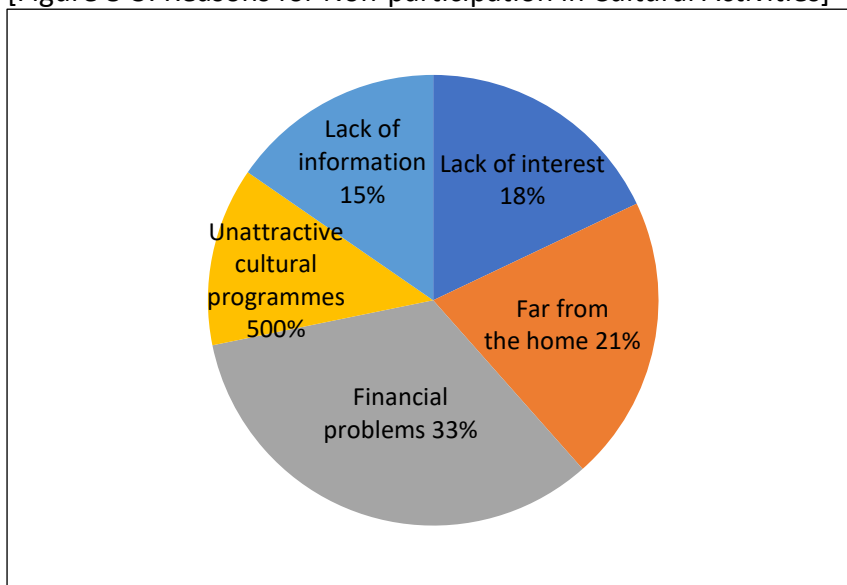
8.2.1. The Barriers for Non-participation Prior to the CCEA

Interviewees who did not participate in any cultural programmes over the previous three years were asked why, and to discuss the reasons for their non-engagement. Overall 33% of the questionnaire respondents say that ‘financial problems’ are the biggest barrier to participating in cultural events. Other reasons include the belief that ‘venues are too far from their homes (21%)’, ‘they have no interest in cultural participation (18%)’, ‘they have very

little information of cultural programmes (15%)', and 'cultural programmes are unattractive to residents (13%)' (See Figure 8-3). Similar comments on cultural barriers emerged during the interviews and focus groups. One respondent said:

“The reasons of financial difficulty and a lack of interest are both linked. It means that I have been struggling with a lack of finance, which makes me indifferent to participating in cultural activities. Coming from a typical working-class background, there is not enough time, money and or a leisurely mind, although a number of programmes were spread out in Naedeok-dong (N-4)”

[Figure 8-3: Reasons for Non-participation in Cultural Activities]



Source: author

The cost of engaging in cultural life is also highlighted by Suamgol and Jungang-dong residents:

“Arts and cultural activities are a luxury and quite a burden to ordinary residents living in our village. Attractive cultural programmes usually come with an unaffordable price (S-3). High price is always an obstacle. I surely agree that high quality and outstanding performance are worthy of a high price, but most qualified cultural programmes seem to be aimed at the higher-income groups and elites (J-1)”

Another respondent said:

“Although I attended several cultural programmes, additional expenses such as convenience, parking, and eating at restaurant prices are normally required. Those create a certain financial pressure when I consider attending cultural events (J-6)”

In discussing the indifference that can often be related to cultural participation, one respondent (N-5) insisted that the “average population of Naedeok-dong is aged between 50 and 70, and they are not familiar with getting involved in cultural activities as there has not been enough time to spend on their own leisure activity over the last 30 years. Instead, they have to focus on hard work and looking after their family. To them, cultural participation is not their business, and it is merely considered a waste of time and money”. Another respondent (N-1) said “I rarely hear about the cultural programmes in time, and I do not have enough cultural knowledge as well. These factors make me prefer to do other things in my spare time”. In Suamgol, the indifference factor is connected with residents’ old age. S-8 stated that “as they get older, the elderly tends to stop engaging because of a number of reasons such as health, transport accessibility, finance and no one to go with”. He concisely says that these reasons generate ‘inevitable indifference’ in Suamgol. Moreover, a lack of information and unattractive cultural offerings can help explain the growing indifference in cultural activities:

“I seldom noticed the information about what cultural events were ongoing. It is quite contradictory that tourists and visitors have leaflets introducing cultural activities within our community, but local residents are not given the information. Such circumstances generally mean I keep cultural activities in our village and in Cheongju city at an arms’ length (S-5).”

8.3. Residents' General Perception of Cultural Provision

To evaluate the significance of the CCEA, the general perception of cultural provision in the city was discussed with the interviewees and focus group participants. The positive attributes within the three neighbourhoods can be presented as follows:

- | | |
|--------------|--|
| Jungang-dong | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Local festivals are helpful at creating frequent engagement with neighbours and families• Cultural resources play a leading role in designating urban regeneration target areas |
| Naedeok-dong | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Large cultural institutions offer various cultural opportunities, from national events to family-centred programmes. They can enrich residents' daily routines• Cultural and arts programmes have been used for environmental development |
| Suamgol | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Cultural works made this village colourful, and implanted a positive cultural perception in developing Suamgol• Mural paintings have been described by many as an unforgettable experience• Cultural elements have the potential to bring significant popularity to the area |

By reviewing the above answers, cultural perception is established by the degree of cultural experience and cultural projects. In Jungang-dong, the success of a car-free zone project, which was one culture-led urban regeneration initiative held between 2005 and 2009, contributed to a positive cultural perception in the area (See Section 6.6.1.). Naedeok-dong respondents were influenced by a number of cultural opportunities at the CCIPF, and culture-based regenerative projects that helped revive the former Tobacco Factory (See Section 6.6.3.). Also, public arts-led regeneration schemes (e.g. mural painting) in 2007 had a significant influence on creating a positive cultural perception in Suamgol (See Section 6.6.1.).

Respondents of the three neighbourhoods highlighted their positive cultural experiences with the projects and discussed their growing perception of culture-related activities:

[Jungang-dong] “After completion of the car-free zone for urban regeneration, diverse cultural programmes started to come up on the newly paved road. For example, youth performances (dance, singing, playing), sports experiences, regular community festivals (Kimchi-making for the winter, busking performance), and historical exhibitions in the outdoor square (Japanese Military Sexual Slavery exhibition) were held over the three years. New and tidy environments, and the community-based programmes, created a positive cultural impression in my mind (J-2).”

“The plentiful cultural opportunities had a potential to revitalise Jungang-dong’s market street again. Such cultural efforts seemed to be more of a driver in stimulating residents’ engagement than before (J-4).”

[Naedeok-dong] “I took part in a craft making session during the International Craft Biennale in 2013, and family activities in 2014 at the CCIPF. Such cultural offerings played an enjoyable role in developing my life to make it more fun and vibrant (N-3).”

“I reckon that the cultural events taking place around Naedeok-dong has the capability to enhance local businesses. Naedeok-dong is one of the most deprived areas in Cheongju, and I feel that local business is now more at risk than ever before. During the event periods, however, cultural provisions (e.g. advertisements or street performances) helped to brightly boost the local environment, and also provided a glimpse at the economic benefits of local business (N-6)”

[Suamgol] “Participating in mural painting work with artists and residents were an unforgettable experience. Surely, cultural activity gave pride for the Suamgol community, and I have seen a significant change (S-2 and S-4).”

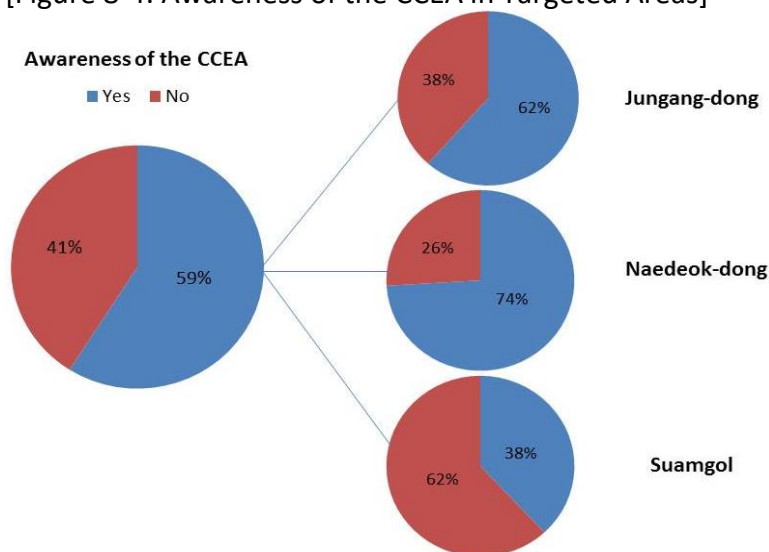
“Apart from the mural paintings, I enjoyed visiting the diverse exhibitions around Cheongju and other cities. When I first encountered such cultural life at, it felt a waste of money, and I did not know enough to enjoy some of the art events, and was not comfortable at many of the arts events. However, trying to be engaged with the cultural environment has now helped me to recover my physical as well as mental health (S-1).”

Despite these positive perceptions, there are also a range of negative issues that surfaced during the research period, particularly amongst those who did not participate in the cultural events. It can be argued that the hosting of the events emphasised their own negative cultural perception, for example, by enforcing a belief that culture and arts programmes can often interrupt local business, is waste of money and time, can provoke a feeling of isolation for disabled people, is only for the sake of an ‘elite’, is expensive, and can create significant gentrification. These pessimistic perceptions were often influenced by a respondents’ background, interests and attitudes. In this regard, the above cultural barriers tended to cause non-participants to stereotype or make generalisations about establishing their own cultural perception (Refer to Section 8.2.1.).

8.4. The Degree and Resources of the CCEA Awareness

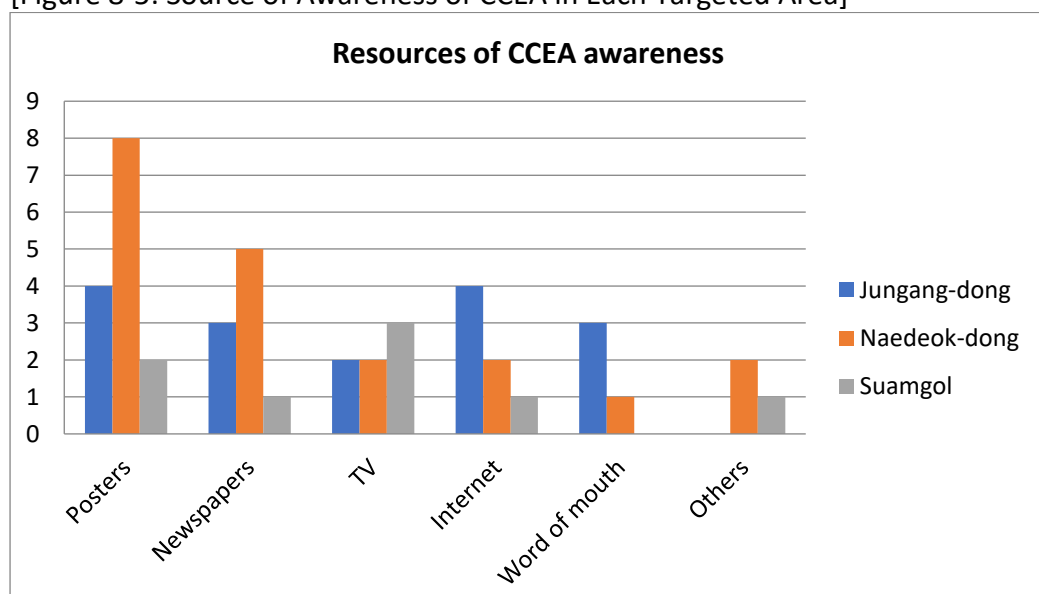
As Figure 8-4 shows, there was generally a reasonable level of awareness of the CCEA, as 59% of respondents are aware of the event. Awareness is higher in Naedeok-dong with 74% awareness, 62% in Jungang-dong, and just 38% of respondents in Suamgol recognising the CCEA.

[Figure 8-4: Awareness of the CCEA in Targeted Areas]



Awareness mainly comes from the distribution of posters or flyers (32 %), newspaper coverage (20%), TV coverage (16%), Internet (16%), word of mouth (9%) and others (7%). Amongst ‘answers to others’, an interviewee from Jungang-dong (J-7) said “I was invited to the CCEA opening ceremony as an audience member. Before attending the ceremony, I did not recognise what the CCEA actually is and why it is being hosted in Cheongju. Yet, the ceremony made me excited to participate in a wide range of cultural programmes for a year. After attending the ceremony, I introduced the CCEA to my families and friends”.

[Figure 8-5: Source of Awareness of CCEA in Each Targeted Area]

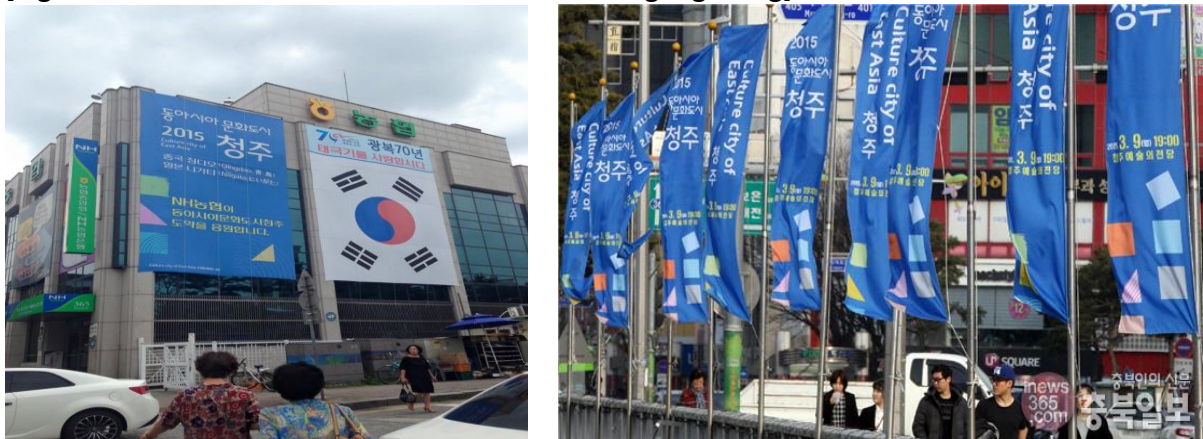


A total of 30 out of the 74 surveyed respondents were unaware of the CCEA. Respondents said “they could not meet any advertisement of event”, and “even though a poster or flyer was displayed, it was not informative and attractive, so I did not pay attention to the CCEA” (J-6, J-9, N-1, N-5, S-5, and S-8). Also, the lack of clarity in CCEA adverts was criticised. A selection from some respondents are listed below:

“I was aware of the CCEA event from the big poster stuck to the buildings (see Figure 8-6, left). However, it was not appealing to draw in people’s attention, so it is understandable why local residents do not recognise what the CCEA means and even where the events are taking place (J-10)”

“I saw the flyer on the street, but it was not discernible what this advert means. There was no specific information about the event, for example where I could get event information, or where the detailed brochure was displayed. Therefore, I just thought that a kind of event promotion was being promoted” (J-2 and N-1).

[Figure 8-6: Promotion Poster for the CCEA in Jungang-dong]



Source: author (left), Kim (2015). Chungbuk newspaper

8.4.1. What Conscious Motivation Attracted You to be Involved in the CCEA?

As indicated in Figure 8-2 and 8-4, although 59% people were aware of the CCEA, 41% of respondents said they had participated in the CCEA. In terms of actual participation, various motivations and reasons were given during the interview and focus groups:

“I have never participated in any cultural programmes held in Naedeok-dong over the last 20 years, but there were impressive and affordable cultural projects during the CCEA. The expensive admission fee was the biggest obstacle in past events, but the reasonable price attracted me and my family to participate in a number of events during the six months in 2015. Also, an eye-catching promotion (e.g. outdoor events in the district) and the posting of a social networking service created exposure for more than a year in Naedeok-dong and made me feeling that I wanted to be involved in the CCEA” (N-4).

“There were various volunteering opportunities available to local residents. I occasionally visit and view a cultural performance as having a passive audience.

However, the CCEA provided direct involvement through volunteering in promoting the International Craft Biennale 2015. This opportunity encouraged me to be involved in upcoming cultural events around Naedeok-dong as well as Cheongju” (N-6).

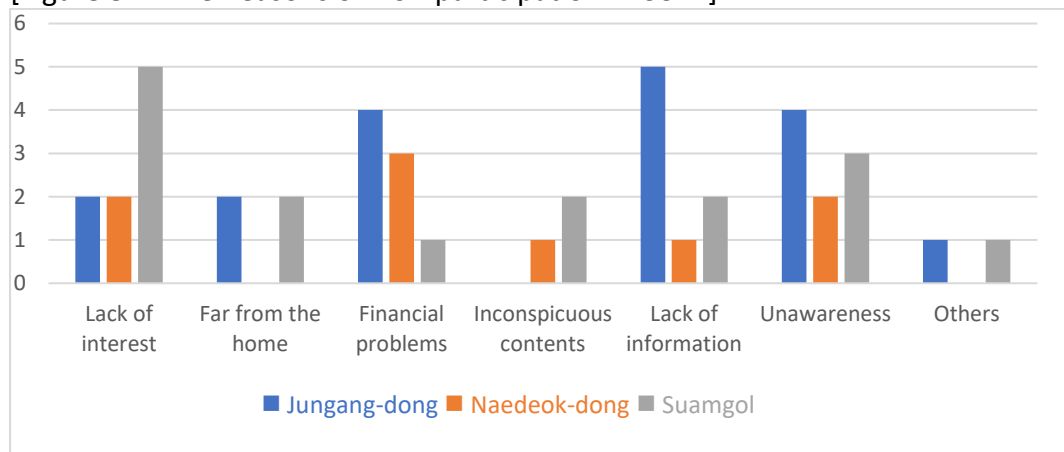
“The big cultural event in Cheongju being held for a year is a marvellous opportunity, so I voluntarily participated in a number of small or large size events, for example the Cheongju Citizen Society Competition, the King Sejong and Chojeong Water Festival, the Cheongju Fortress Festival, and small cultural events with my grand-daughter. It helped elevate my life by becoming more active and offered leverage to gain more cultural knowledge and friends. Naedeok-dong was an area of cultural opportunity” (N-2).

The CCEA participants of Jungang-dong and Suamgol who joined in the programmes around Cheongju were also impressed by the offerings. J-5 and S-3 said they admired having a number of high-quality performances during the event period. “A year-long cultural event like the CCEA is not a usual event, and has never been hosted in Cheongju. The high-quality performances such as famous ballet performances and exhibitions were bountiful and held my attention during the CCEA”. One respondent from Jungang-dong (J-2) emphasised the initial motivation on becoming involved with the CCEA programme was the recruitment opportunity for volunteers: “As I retired a few months ago, volunteering was a superior opportunity to triumph over low energy”. J-3 previously a non-participant of cultural activities, said “I attended the International Craft Biennale 2015 and the World Day for Cultural Diversity for Dialogue and Development. Valuable cultural opportunities that I cannot easily access and experience in daily life were abundant. Such a concentrated programme lasting for a year was enough to captivate the interest of non-cultural participants”. In the same vein, the usual event-goers feel that “surely the CCEA was like our playground, and many festivals created a very entertaining impression during the event period” (J-5 and S-2).

8.4.2. Reasons for non-engagement with the CCEA

As can be seen in Figure 8-2, the CCEA participation rate shows low attendance in comparison to prior cultural participation rates. To examine the biggest cultural barrier in terms of CCEA engagement, a number of questions focused on why, with answers including a lack of interest, being too far from home, financial problems, an unattractive programme, a lack of information, and a lack of awareness. These results from the questionnaire allowed for a more in-depth discussion to take place during the interview and focus group process. As shown in Figure 8-7, 21% of those surveyed said a lack of interest and a lack of awareness were significant reasons for non-involvement. Other reasons include financial problems (18%), lack of information (18%), being too far from the home (9%), inconspicuous contents (7%), and other (5%).

[Figure 8-7: The Reasons of Non-participation in CCEA]



	Suamgol	Naedeok-dong	Jungang-dong	Total
Lack of interest	2	2	5	9
Far from the home	2	-	2	4
Financial problems	4	3	1	8
Inconspicuous contents	-	1	2	3
Lack of information	5	1	2	8
Unawareness	4	2	3	9
Others	1	-	1	2
	18	9	16	43

Jungang-dong has the highest cultural participation rate before the CCEA took place; however, only 38% of respondents attended the CCEA events. In order to explain this result, three non-participants (J-1, J-4 and J-6) spoke during the focus group:

“Unawareness of the CCEA was affected by an unrecognisable promotion and a lack of advertisement. Most CCEA-related programmes seemed to have been promoted for only civil servants or the elite, ordinary residents were not well acquainted with it. Also, there is a small brochure that contains monthly events, however, it looked like an unattractive programme (e.g. Culture Partnership Business, Cultural Forum with three nations) to me as they seemed to be targeting a specific group or people, not indigenous residents. This unawareness, an unattractive programme, and a lack of money led to indifference and a lack of CCEA engagement”

In the case of Suamgol, only 14% (3 out of 21) of questionnaire respondents attended the CCEA. S-6 insisted that no resident-based programmes or any promotions were existed, therefore low rate of awareness and interests are a foreseeable result in Suamgol. As the majority of population is elderly, the long distance between main cultural venues and homes can be one impediment in attending cultural activities. S-2, who participated in the CCEA, said:

“It is true that the event was merely considered as a mediocre occasion amongst those who are not interested in cultural activities. Although the CCEA was impressive to regular cultural participants, it seemed to fail in attracting non-participants because the event was not disseminated in more diverse areas.”

Naedeok-dong saw an increased participation rate from 44% prior to the CCEA to 67% in 2015 CCEA. However, 33% non-participants had very different views towards the CCEA event. The focus group participants stressed the difficulty of finance, in that “spending extra money to enjoy a cultural activity is reckoned to be a significant pressure. Therefore, I just prefer watching or listening to a cultural programme on the TV or radio than being directly involved, because this activity requires little or no cost”. Another related opinion arose that

“as living conditions have been increasingly strenuous, it is impossible to become involved; and demanding expenses blocks access to visit cultural activities”. As a result, an individual’s financial status has an impact on dropping the participation rate, despite the relatively high rate of CCEA participation in Naedeok-dong. “Being unemployed, in debt, and broke are severe problems in our community as well as across the city, and the circumstances affect to not only determine cultural participation but also cultural perception” (N-1).

8.5. Before the CCEA: The Impacts of Culture-led Projects on Social Regeneration

Before discussing the potential impacts of the CCEA, respondents were asked the question “do you think that cultural projects are a crucial driver to regenerate and develop a community and living environment?” This was designed to assess the residents’ opinions on how culture-led projects can influence social regeneration. As respondents were living in culture-led regeneration subjected areas, the residents have an authentic point of view and a sense of realism in the direct and indirect impacts of the previous regenerative projects. These results are informative and can help to identify the role of cultural projects in declining communities. After discussing the general views of residents, the conversation moved on to a narrower analysis in investigating the specific case of the CCEA. In this section, the questionnaire surveys are discussed to identify the broad view of residents, with specific opinions offered from the focus groups and interviews.

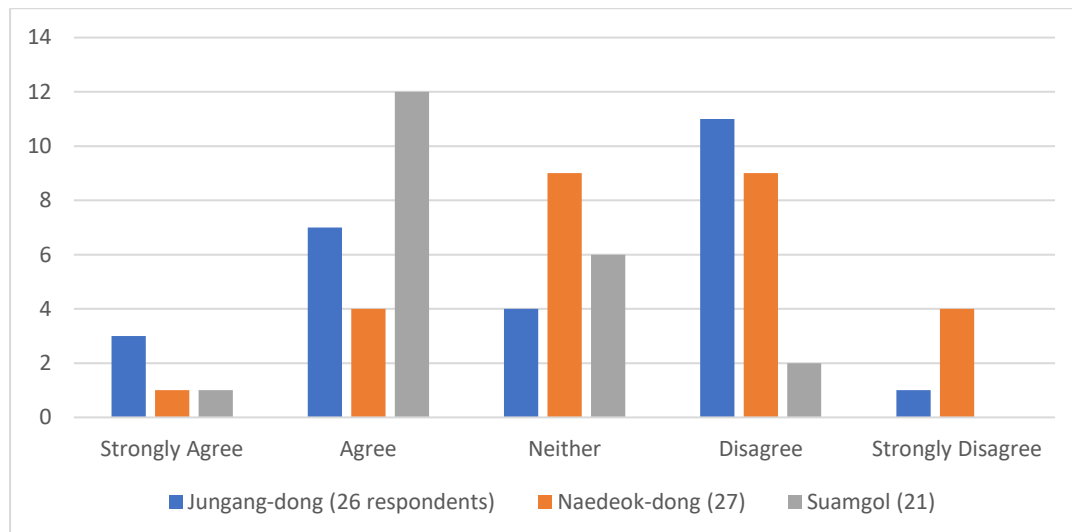
8.5.1. Have Cultural Projects Contributed to Community Development and Regeneration?

First, a question was asked as to whether previous culture-led projects contributed to community development and regeneration. As can be seen in Figure 8-8, different results appeared in different neighbourhoods.

- Jungang-dong

For almost 15 years, Jungang-dong has held a number of different culture-led projects (such as the creation of a car-free zone) for urban regeneration to transform the community image. Official newspapers published and highlighted the success of Jungang-dong – “the declined Jungang-dong area has become the active cultural place (Lee, 2016d, in Chosun Biz)”, “Jungang-dong has become the hot spot of successful culture-led urban regeneration (Lee, 2013)”, “a number of local governments visited Jungang-dong to learn how to successfully mediate between public and communities (Shin, 2015)”. Thus, it can be argued that Jungang-dong has become an example of a successful culture-led regeneration area.

[Figure 8-8: Question 1]



“By closing commercial shops and moving out the core public facilities since the 1990s, the market street of Jungang-dong was in the shadow. The merchant shops were reduced from more than 100 to around 40 between the late 1990s and the 2000s. However, after starting the car-free zone project and introducing a number of local festivals within the zone, the market street has been obviously metamorphosed with substantial cultural projects (J-5)”

“The floating population has seemed to increase again, and the commercial district is slightly more revived than before. I have a belief that Jungang-dong shows gradual development through the active cultural programmes on the street and in unused buildings (J-4)”

The mixture of culture and urban regeneration projects has transformed the arts and culture provision across Jungang-dong as well as Cheongju. Community-based cultural programmes have added value to the culture and locality in Jungang-dong since 2006 (Lee, 2016e). J-2 emphasised that “as an ordinary person, I have entirely enjoyed the small local cultural programmes such as the Kimchi-making festival and craft activities at the flea market. Having the regular and community-based cultural activities made our community flourish and become more vibrant”. The culture and arts programmes played an incubator role in attracting Jungang-dong residents’ participation in the process of urban regeneration (Lee, 2016e). J-5 said that “the spontaneous contribution of arts and cultural programmes in Jungang-dong could bring our community back from the brink”.

However, the questionnaires also show that 46% of respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed. In the main, they had sceptical views of the cultural contribution to community development. In their view, there were no striking differences within the community environment and none of changes were generated by culture-led projects.

“Newspaper articles and civil servants tend to focus on the visible environment changes and announce the positive issues. Although cultural programmes provided benefits to Market Street and some residents, culture-led projects did not impact upon a minority of Jungang-dong residents for many years. I cannot see any positive legacy resulting from culture-led projects, either in Jungang-dong or the Cheongju city more generally (J-6)”.

“If culture and arts had intended to develop the community, the organisers or directors should have investigated what people and the community really need prior to undertaking culture-led regeneration initiatives or other culture related projects. There is always media discussion about the growth of the local economy and the achievement of local government or a civil servant in relation to cultural development of Jungang-dong as well as Cheongju, but the culture-led projects did not try to tackle any socio-economic problems of the community such as unemployment or the repair of housing (J-3)”

[Figure 8-9: Flea Market and Street Performance in Jungang-dong After Culture-led Regeneration Projects]



[Source: Jeong (2015). Seoul News Agency, and Ahn (2016). Chungbuk Newspaper]

- Naedeok-dong

Despite Naedeok-dong being ranked as the most run-down area in Cheongju, it possesses an abundance of cultural elements, and the inaugural economic-led urban regeneration project at a national level has been in operation since 2014. Therefore, a wide range of cultural opportunities have been offered to residents (Hwang, 2015a). In terms of an optimistic perspective, 19% of questionnaire participants agreed that plentiful cultural opportunities played an important role in developing Naedeok-dong. N-3 emphasised that:

“...our plentiful cultural offers led to the designation of an economic-led urban regeneration initiative as well as the CCEA hosting. It means that our community already benefits from culture and arts resources including cultural assets and facilities”

N-4 said:

“Personally, I am not a usual event-goer but, I was quite proud when Naedeok-dong was chosen as the target area for the inaugural economic-led urban regeneration initiative. It seems that cultural vibrancy played a crucial role in the decision-making process.”

Another respondent said:

“Although Naedeok-dong suffers from the deprivation, having the available cultural facilities and various cultural benefits are the fortune to enhance the local

environment. I believe that culture has a significant unveiling potential to make and regenerate our community” (N-2).

Conversely, there were also negative reactions that emerge in the questionnaire results. Almost 50% of survey participants say they cannot identify a positive cultural influence on community development. Some interviewees back up these figures. N-7 was a volunteer of the 2013 International Craft Biennale and is a usual event-goer, and expressed the merits of cultural involvement, but said its benefits often failed to reach the community.

“I voluntarily participated in promoting the 2013 International Craft Biennale. The volunteering offered a special opportunity to not only network with people, but also to learn cultural knowledge. However, I am not sure whether the Biennale brought positive impacts to our community. The Biennale itself has a crucial possibility to attract people, received plenty of media attention, and attracted internal investment, however, I have not noticed that aid in generating thriving cultural projects for community development”.

A number of criticisms are also focused on the current economic-led urban regeneration project. Many newspaper articles negatively report on the regeneration scheme of Naedeok-dong, highlighting the rampant privatisation of the area, a failure to attract adequate investment, and the exclusion of resident needs (Isak, 2015, and Yeonhap news, 2016). One respondent said such regeneration attempts stimulate more radical community demolition: “the economic-led urban regeneration scheme has the intention of demolishing historical building to establish a cultural quarter. The Tobacco Factory is the cultural and symbolic asset of Naedeok-dong, but just tearing it down instead of preserving it not the point of urban regeneration and threatens to break up the community. Unreasonable cultural injection would spoil local features and the environment (N-1)”.

- Suamgol

Suamgol has experienced a dynamic cultural influx over the last 10 years, and multi-faced opinions are revealed from the views of local residents. Due to the positive transformation of the village, Suamgol respondents (62%) are more likely than Junang-dong and Naedeok-dong to positively agree that culture-led projects contributed to community development. One respondent said:

“It is true that many residents have a positive attitude to the changes that occur through cultural and artistic works (mainly mural paintings) because this village has become vigorous and energetic by the various cultural attempts. Above all, the public art projects aiming at regenerating the culturally and economically excluded village has brought an amazing transformation, for example, a hideous street has been transformed into a gallery. As a result, Suamgol has been crowded with tourists, including drama fans from China, Japan and Thailand, and cultural visitors. (S-2)”

The cultural popularity has also led to the opening of new shops and community-owned businesses (S-2). The local shop ‘Masil’ was opened by local residents in 2011 to generate local economic benefits and to create a local food business at a filming location. This not only creates a binding force within Suamgol but also brings tourists and members of the community together (Hongju, 2015). S-4 said that “cultural transformation was a key way to sustain our community and has become the motivation to advance our community strategy for further development”.

[Figure 8-10: Public Art Works and Film Posters on the Wall in Suamgol]



[Source: All or nothing blog (2016), and Yeonhapnews (2016)]

8.5.2. Has the Area Become a Better Place to Live and Work When Having Culture-led Projects?

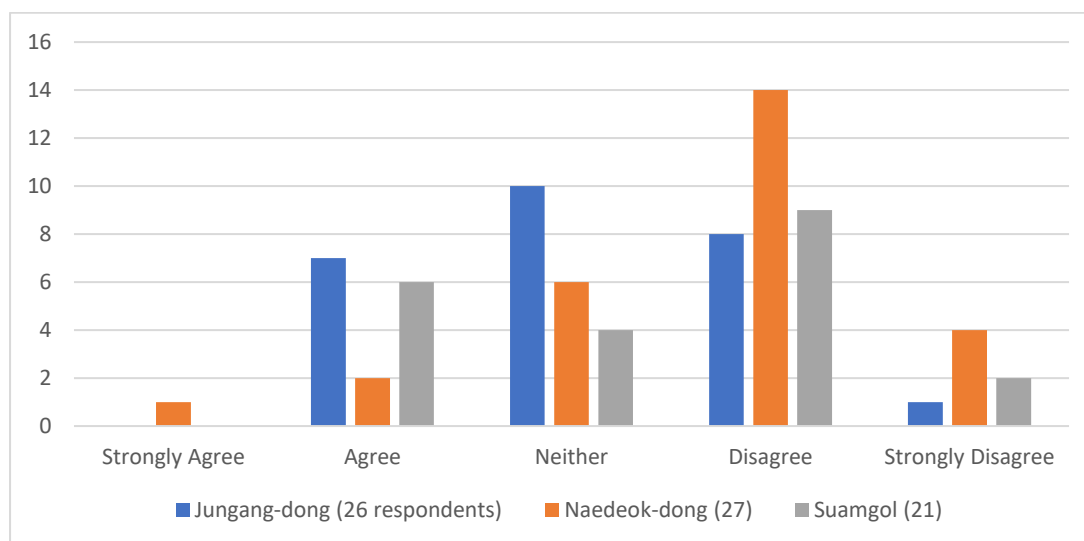
- Jungang-dong

In terms of the working environment of Jungang-dong, a floating population was created which was increasingly made up of outsiders and citizens, and the commercial district has been gradually revived after attempts of a cultural approach to regeneration (Han, Seo and Han, 2014). Many people and experts have acknowledged that culture-based regenerative schemes have helped the local economy, attract internal investment and increase community engagement (Ibid.). However, as can be seen from the high percentage of disagreement about the impacts of culture-led projects on the living and working environment in Jungang-dong (See Figure 8-11), the merchants of Market Street have different views compared to the professionals and newspaper journalists:

“I acknowledge that there have been plentiful cultural activities around the Market Street, and the area has become more energetic than before. However, it is not what it looks like from my point of view as a merchant. Although Jungang-dong benefited from the car-free zone project by introducing abundant cultural programmes, the project actually blocked the car access and led to a decrease of consumers for me. Another key fact to remember is that loud noises generated from the cultural square seriously interrupt my business. There is sometimes furious hostility to cultural programmes. On the basis of my experience, cultural projects do not contribute to make the area a better place to live and work, or create local sustainability” (J-4).

“After creating a youth square in 2008 as part of one regeneration initiative, a few young people visited, even though there were no performances until early 2015. Moreover, the square is sometimes filled with rubbish. Such a situation is detrimental for a living and working environment. Thus, the primary intention of culture-led urban regeneration initiative was meaningful, but the actual management has weaknesses and its contribution to the community is left at zero” (J-6).

[Figure 8-11: Question 2]



- Naedeok-dong

In case of Naedeok-dong, the living and working conditions seem to be mainly influenced by the economic-led urban regeneration project delivered since 2014. The national scheme attracted a range of both positive and negative opinions. Three of seven focus group participants said there has been a positive transformation sparked by the influx of cultural elements at the former Tobacco Factory.

“The site and the façade of the former Tobacco Factory has had a terrific image over the last ten years (since 2004). The surrounding local restaurants and shops closed down at the same time. However, the factory started to be morphed into galleries, art studio spaces, performance venues, and workshop spaces since 2014” (N-2 and N-3).

“As artists, galleries and cultural programmes are now taking the initiative and moving in, the factory seems to have new life again. The quality of the art and cultural programmes at the Tobacco Factory, as well as the CCIPF, will vary widely. Along with its change, the surrounding environment has become brighter, and rates of vandalism and crime is obviously reduced” (N-6).

Along with the development of Tobacco Factory, the adjacent street – particularly in Andeokbul – is also being developed. A number of artistic sculptures, mural paintings and flower planting works have been introduced. It can be argued that such cultural actions can help prevent crime and fly tipping on the street and the surrounding area, and have allowed for an outward expression of cultural impacts. Also, the street at night has been made more amiable (Kim, 2013b).

“Naedoek-dong has been always considered a deprived community in all ages, but such artworks create meaning for the community and the residents beyond to beautify. I felt a lot of happiness when the mural painting works were in progress. Such a positive feeling can be evidence of living environment changes (N-2)”

However, in terms of working environment, a few merchants working around the Tobacco Factory raised concerns regarding the economic-led urban regeneration scheme.

“It seems that the currently designated area for economic-led regeneration using cultural elements has been privatised and commercialised. I am a strong opponent against culture-led urban regeneration because the initiative provokes a large private company’s franchise launch, and then the circumstances that lead to the collapse of local businesses. From this point of view, the cultural project is not an effective method to revamp a declined area” (N-1).

“We know that any attempts to change or transform the urban landscapes and buildings are complicated and complex processes. However, none of the developers or stakeholders have specific awareness and background information about the targeted spaces. And they have never explained how to integrate the regenerative project with local businesses, and how residents can use the places effectively. In this sense, the economic-led regeneration initiative looks like focusing on creating profits for developers and stakeholders from managing the Tobacco Building and cultural facilities, rather than improving the living or working environment of local residents” (N-5)

- Suamgol

In terms of the living circumstances of Suamgol, respondents drew attention to the proliferation of gentrification. The Cheongju government and private developers are aggressively trying to develop Suamgol because of its cultural popularity (Kim, 2017a). Suamgol has been thrown open by real estate agencies and developers, creating significant gentrification (Ibid.). The proliferation of chain stores has damaged Suamgol's authenticity and has threatened existing local shops (Kim, 2017a; Isak, 2016).

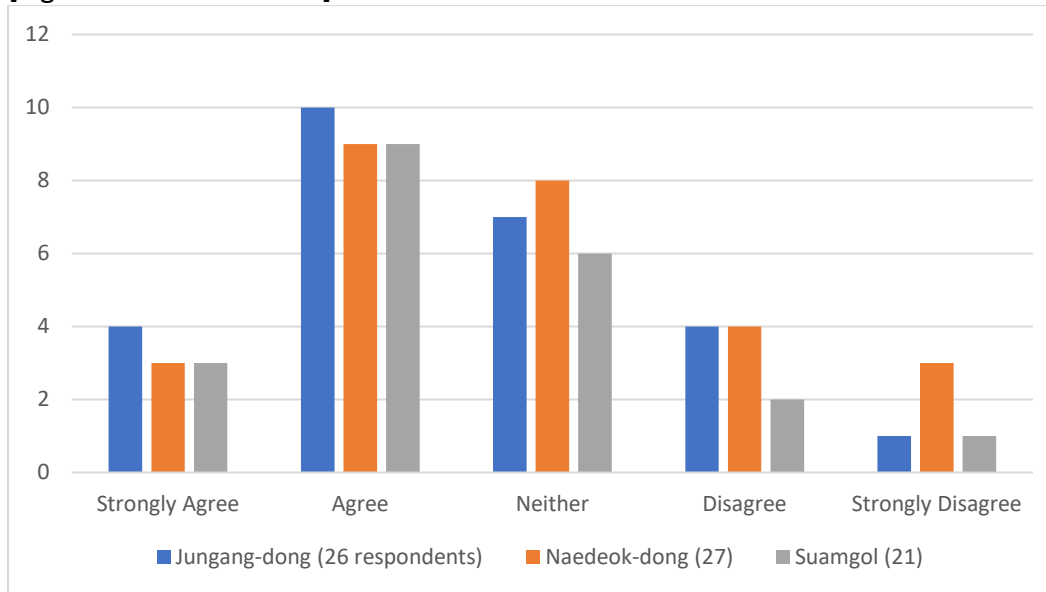
“Attracting new investment is a good phenomenon to the community, and it means economic benefits are created in and around our village. However, the thoughtless construction for building a café, a franchised-restaurant and a shopping-mall can spoil the characteristics of Suamgol and impact residents' life. Disappearance of our tradition and local features makes me sorrowful. Becoming a gentrified area might affect our living environment, and then Suamgol as well as villagers would experience deprivation again” (S-2).

Furthermore, focus group respondents raised their concerns in relation to a lack of privacy that could hamper the community's living environment. One respondent strongly expressed his discomfort that privacy is at risk of being invaded from those who visit to view Suamgol's artworks: “It seems that I am treated like an exhibit while I stay at home, as the artistic works dominate Suamgol. Some people knock at the door asking to see the interior of my house, and even took a photograph of my laundry. I love the cultural assets of Suamgol, but privacy related issues should be solved to make a more comfortable and sustainable community”.

8.5.3. Do Culture-led Projects have long-term Impacts on Community Sustainability and Attracting Further Investment?

This question was asked to explore how residents consider the capabilities of cultural projects in the future. As can be seen in Figure 8-12, the majority of respondents in the three neighbourhoods replied positively to this question.

[Figure 8-12: Question 3]



- Jungang-dong

Through urban regeneration initiative, Jungang-dong could draw upon a wide range of cultural investment opportunities from the government and external cultural organisations (Hwang, 2015b). Such investment has become the momentum to develop Jungang-dong with a creative cultural spirit. J-5 acknowledged that “the positive cultural effects appeared around the market street brought a more optimistic perspective about the future and a break with past economic recessions. I believe that if culture-led projects could be continuously managed in Jungang-dong, it can be the most successful and durable method in stimulating a job opportunity, new investment, and local economic growth”. Also, Jungang-dong’s regenerative attempts have implanted the image of a cultural quarter within Cheongju, and brought a number of visitors (Son, 2016). J-5 mentioned again that “our culture-led regeneration scheme is impressive in the eyes of others and other cities, and even the regeneration strategy has been benchmarked in Ulsan, Gwangyang, and Dangjin. Such constant reputation and further cultural development would surely draw additional cultural investment into our community”.

Respondent J-1 provided a suggestion about how the integration with cultural works and local businesses may enhance the ability of the cultural role in Jungang-dong in the future. He answered:

“There is an understanding in Jungang-dong that investing in arts and culture makes the community a better place for all residents. However, local businesses tend to be marginalised in the process of the regeneration schemes and cultural program planning, although we had the intention to co-operate with cultural organisations or the local government. It is believed that culture can generate more positive long-term synergy in developing communities and creating employment, if the appropriate integration would be implemented (J-1)”.

- Naedeok-dong

In Naedeok-dong, a wide range of cultural programmes have already attracted new investment. Representatively, economic-led urban regeneration schemes, cultural facility expansion, the creation of a cultural street, and remodelling of the CCIPF were set up as cultural investment projects since 2014 (Jo, 2015). These “constant and abundant cultural efforts would attract broad investments including construction of the National Modern Gallery, developing cultural education, creation of performing arts practice spaces and enhancing small street environment” (N-6). One respondent living around Andeokbul Street underlined the increasing cultural attempts that could encourage more people to participate in cultural activities and enhance longer-term sustainability. N-2 also emphasised that “Naedeok-dong as well as Cheongju city see culture and arts as parts of a long-term growth strategy, so a flourishing culture-led scene would spur Naedeok-dong and Cheongju on as a destination for tourism as well as business investment”.

However, as shown in Figure 8-12, there is a relatively strong negative view of the long-term impacts, with 56% of respondents (including survey participants) saying neither, disagree or strongly disagree. The reasons respondents cited for their sceptical views are largely framed by the economic-led regeneration initiative.

“There is initially a strong degree of scepticism about the potential value of economic-led urban regeneration schemes in Naedeok-dong. Although cultural investment has been actively poured into this regeneration scheme, I am still concerned about money being wasted and an unstable sustainability in the future. There are many cases that the designated area has experienced severe gentrification and community segmentation. Based on my observation and experience, I cannot agree that culture-led projects have long-term benefits in the community (N-3)”

- Suamgol

As a representative mural village in Cheongju, many respondents directly observed the cultural impacts within Suamgol. In the questionnaire survey, 48% of respondents felt that the culture-led projects have long-term impacts on community sustainability and improvement. Despite the threat of gentrification, respondents demonstrated a positive mindset that “the quality and quantity of mural painting and art-works have been steadily developing and upgrading. If the works would be appropriately preserved, culture and arts could nurture new growth in boosting the community environment and local economy” (S-7). Also, S-2 affirmatively mentioned that “the cultural works of Suamgol cemented the link between residents and community. It pursued more mutual relationships within Suamgol society for many years. In this regard, I believe in the possibilities of culture to develop residents and Suamgol in sustainable way.”

Within Suamgol, the iconic mural paintings have been constantly used as cultural motifs amongst cultural tourists and visitors. Distinctive integration between the shanty towns and the public art works is still cited as a reason for tourists in planning their trips (S-7). However, as Suamgol is prominent as a famous film location, enormous cultural investment is being poured into Korean drama and film related projects (e.g. creation of drama street, and drama theme park) (Lee, 2014). In this sense, many Suamgol residents are concerned that “although our community attracts more tourists and visitors, investment

without inherited local culture could destroy Suamgol’s cultural value as well as the community itself in the future” (S-2).

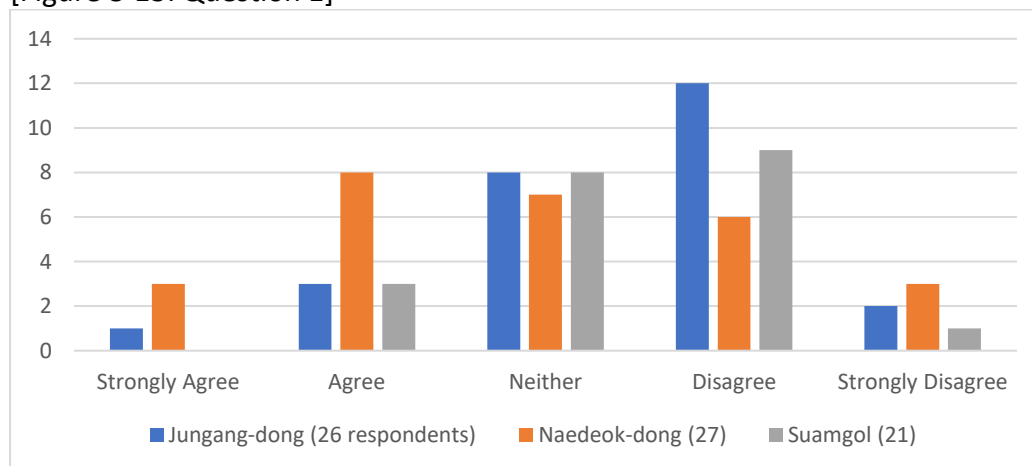
8.6. During the CCEA: The Impacts of the CCEA on Social Regeneration

To contrast the social regeneration impacts that occurred by culture-led projects, this section focuses on the analysis of the CCEA. The analysis is useful to examine the changes that occurred as a result of the CCEA, and emerges from the setting of questions related to directly to social regeneration (focusing on areas such as community development, the living or working environment, and sustainability).

8.6.1. Does the CCEA Contribute to Community Development?

As can be seen in Figure 8-13, the influence of the CCEA to the three neighbourhoods is reported at a low rate, in that only 26% of questionnaire respondents said the CCEA contributed to community development (agree and strongly agree).

[Figure 8-13: Question 1]



- Jungang-dong

Jungang-dong had the highest disagreement that emerged from the questionnaires, with 50% disagreeing that there are any influences on community development by the CCEA. There are more sceptical reactions to the delivery of CCEA events amongst the focus group participants. They specifically point out the lack of promotion and the lack of impact made on community development. There are three negative arguments from the focus group participants:

“The intent of the CCEA was meaningful in adapting diverse cultural contents in Cheongju, but it seemed that many Jungang-dong residents did not have an awareness of what the CCEA is. At the same time, it stimulates thinking about ‘whose culture’ in the process of the mega-event. There was little in the CCEA for ordinary people. It seems to indicate that the mega-event was not catering for the average people of Jungang-dong.”

“Although the reputation of Cheongju has been widely and internationally disseminated by hosting the CCEA, there has been no difference and no enhancement at community level “

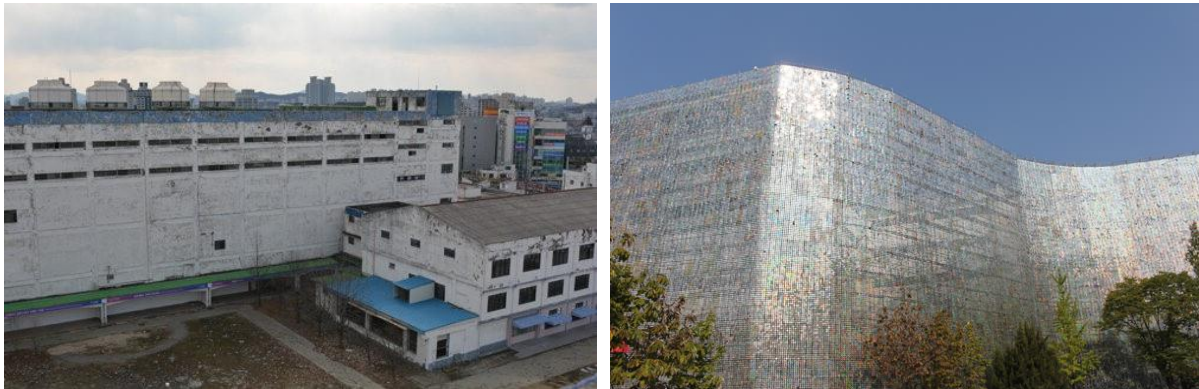
“Some existing Jungang-dong cultural programmes were actually promoted as one of the CCEA programmes, but there was a lack of promotion. Such reasons also meant people were unable to find out the possible CCEA impacts within community development.”

Amongst the respondents who had optimistic opinions about the CCEA, there is a regrettable reaction to the delivery of CCEA in terms of building on the existing Jungang-dong community. The respondents argued that “the appropriate combination between existing Jungang-dong’s culture and the value of the CCEA could have been a more powerful motivation to ordinary people living in Jungang-dong (J-1)”, and “if active motivation was delivered during the 2015 CCEA, community development would be more boosted (J-6)”.

- Naedeok-dong

The level of the positive response in Naedeok-dong is higher than in both Jungang-dong and Suamgol. During the CCEA, a number of community benefits were delivered by involving members of the community. As an example, there was one event that called ‘the Largest Display of Compact Discs’ during the 2015 International Craft Biennale. The purpose was to fill the dilapidated tobacco factory with donated old CDs, consisting of 489,440 from the community, schools, 11 different nations and 19 other cities (See Figure 8-14)

[Figure 8-14: The Largest Display of Compact Discs in Naedeok-dong]



[Source: Yoon, 2015, Chungbuk newspaper]

In order to create the façade, many residents volunteered and provided efforts to take full ownership of the project, from collecting to displaying the CDs (Lee, Head of the organising committee). N-3 said that “reinvigorating the area, which has been neglected for about 10 years, brought community benefits in terms of the power of a united community and making the area an attractive cultural destination”. Also, during the 2015 CCEA, there were diverse community and citizen group competition programmes in the field of singing, dance, and performance. A respondent who participated in the citizen group competition expressed positive attitude that “this opportunity gave us collective memory, experiences and a united mind. Building community solidarity is an essential step towards further community improvement”. The focus group participants spoke of a favourable cultural contribution of the CCEA to the image of Naedeok-dong that “as Naedeok-dong has the greatest extent of high levels of deprivation in Cheongju, the area tends to be unattractively identified to citizens,

as well as visitors. However, the 2015 CCEA was a way to accelerate Naedeok-dong's image as a cultural vibrant area through easy accessibility and a wide range of cultural programmes during the event period".

On the other hand, some of respondents pointed out that the CCEA was not effectively adopted in Naedeok-dong. Amongst ordinary residents, it is argued that it became a meretricious large-scale event that took place for city promotion, encouraging cultural consumption, making public achievement, and generating benefits to specified people or organisations. Two focus group participants with negative opinions said:

"I think, if the event wanted to provide leverage for community development, it had to create community value. However, the CCEA did not consider any characteristics of the local community. In order to create value along with the mega-event, sharing information across communities, and using local stories, could be useful ways for our community to feel familiar with the cultural event"

"The CCEA failed to draw the genuine local residents who are not interested in cultural programmes. The size of CCEA was big, but it seemed to be a pop-up event to me. Just showing off the mega-event failed to promote actual engagement within the Naedeok-dong community. In order to enhance the community, the key features and a clear sense of place should be clearly identified ahead of hosting the event"

- Suamgol

In Suamgol, a noticeable gap is presented in the aspect of CCEA benefits. According to the low CCEA participation rate (14%), a majority of survey participants were sceptical in regard to the contribution of the CCEA to community development.

One respondent (S-1), who participated in the CCEA programmes outside of Suamgol, stressed the potential benefits of CCEA:

“I attended the World Day for Cultural Diversity for Dialogue and Development event in May. At the seven-day event, variable programmes were managed by professionals, amateurs, citizens and cultural organisations. Those activities were actually attractive, and I thought at that time that if some programmes such as moving cinema, art and craft activity days, and professional concerts were taking place in Suamgol, it would have appropriately harmonised with our existing community’s resources. Then the CCEA could have slightly contributed to Suamgol development”.

Another respondent from the focus groups (S-4) described engaging in the regular Suamgol event ‘the Autumn Sketch of Suamgol’:

“In November 2015, there was one-day event. I am not sure it belonged to the CCEA, but there were several programmes including a magic show, Korean traditional percussion music, and performances which made Suamgol feel vigorous and energetic. Although it was a day event, a number of residents could get easily involved and someone told me that she felt alive. The event was helpful to revitalise the community environment, and such excitement just does not end up in a day, the feeling maintains for a long time”

In a negative light, S-6 said “we already had varied cultural programmes including glass crafts, baking, napkin arts, watercolour painting, engraving arts, etc. In this sense, nothing changed during the CCEA, and the same cultural opportunities were offered to visitors and residents. I cannot see any community development in hosting the CCEA”.

[Figure 8-15: The Autumn Sketch of Suamgol]



[Source: Cheongju official blog, 2015]

8.6.2. Has the area become a better place to live and work in having the CCEA?

- Jungang-dong

During the focus group discussion, the response to this question was distinctively divided between CCEA participants and non-participants. When it comes to the working environment aspect, CCEA participants believed there would be a positive future enacted through the CCEA:

“Although the CCEA has not been closely absorbed into Jungang-dong, hosting the CCEA in Cheongju has a great potential power to the growth of Jungang-dong. In 2015, Cheongju received a lot of media attention due to the CCEA, and it helped to promote Jungang-dong’s culture-led urban regeneration project and focused media attention. Such a spotlight could be an opportunity to attract interest of investors and organisations, then it would positively contribute to the growth of local economy and community enhancement. (J-2 and J-7)”.

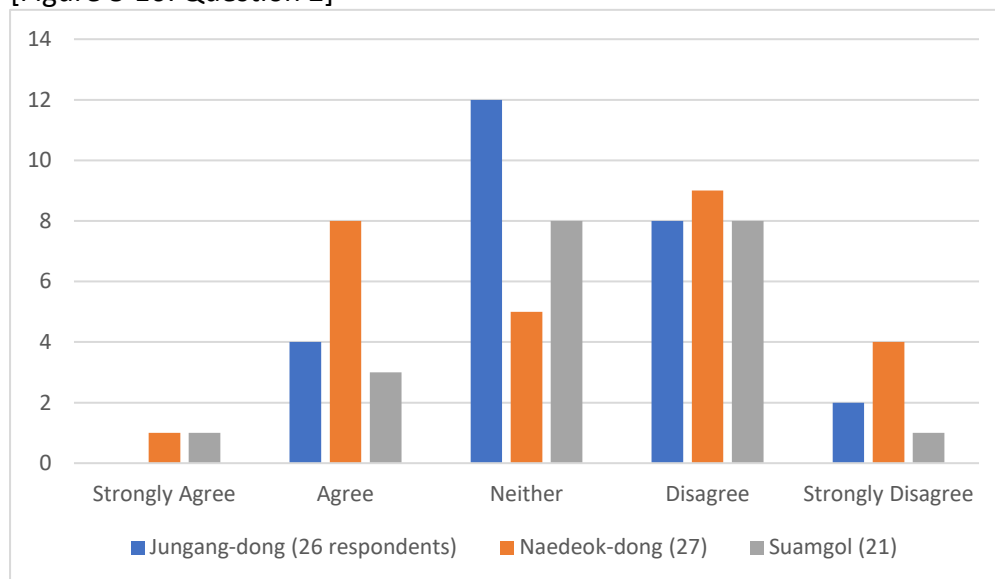
“Moreover, an increase in cultural investment and an influx of tourists would be helpful to enhance Jungang-dong’s working environment, particularly around the market street” (J-4)

Conversely, non-CCEA participants were more dubious on the relationship between hosting the CCEA and its ability to create a better working and living environment. They usually stress an irrelevant effect between the events and an enhancement in the working and living environment:

“Although the big-event takes place at a certain period, the benefits flow to the political elites and organisers. I have not noticed any practical benefits to ordinary residents or the small local shops. I know the CCEA was the largest cultural event ever before in Cheongju, but CCEA itself was not the way to change working or living environment over the short term” (J-6 and J-9).

In terms of the living environment, one interviewee argued that the vibrant environment around the market street has been continuously developed by improving the cultural programmes and urban regeneration policy. It is difficult to say whether the CCEA created a large impact in ameliorating housing conditions, reducing crime rates or contributing to healthiness (J-9).

[Figure 8-16: Question 2]



- Naedeok-dong

As could be seen in Figure 8-16, respondents from the Naedeok-dong neighbourhood replied positively to the question when compared to the other two neighbourhoods. The potential growth of the local business economy was underlined by the owner of local shop. N-6 said that “the income benefits of big festivals rippled throughout a local economy. Actually, our usual customer is an individual unit, but sales to the family unit was explicitly increased during the CCEA. In particular, the off-site cultural programmes of big festivals created revenue for my business”. Another local shop owner (N-8) said that “the growth of the nightlife economy accelerated the revenue, particularly during the summer period. There were various night-programmes, including night art screenings and performances around the CCIPF. Due to the increase in visitors, I actually extended the opening time of my shop from 8 am-8 pm to 8 am-11 pm”.

When discussing difference in the living environment, focus group respondents emphasised a wide variety of parade and street performances that worked to create vibrant living environment. One respondent said “in the past, many cultural activities were arranged inside the venue. However, as street performances and activities, which required active engagement of public, were taken outside, Naedeok-dong’s atmosphere looked more dramatic and enjoyable. Such an environment made me more comfortable and safe when walking at night”. The area surrounding the Tobacco Factory, and other small streets in Naedeok-dong, originally had a poor night-time impression with dim lighting and deterioration of infrastructures, arguably heling to aggravate crime (e.g. youth drug taking, fly dumping, and theft). However, it seemed that the cultural atmosphere generated through the cultural events became a deterrent for crime and violence during the CCEA (N-1). In this sense, the CCEA was a vehicle to deter crime and fear and encourage a sense of community (N-7).

[Figure 8-17: Street Performance in Naedeok-dong]



[Source: Cheongju Urban Regeneration Supporters, and Imgram (RealCheongju)]

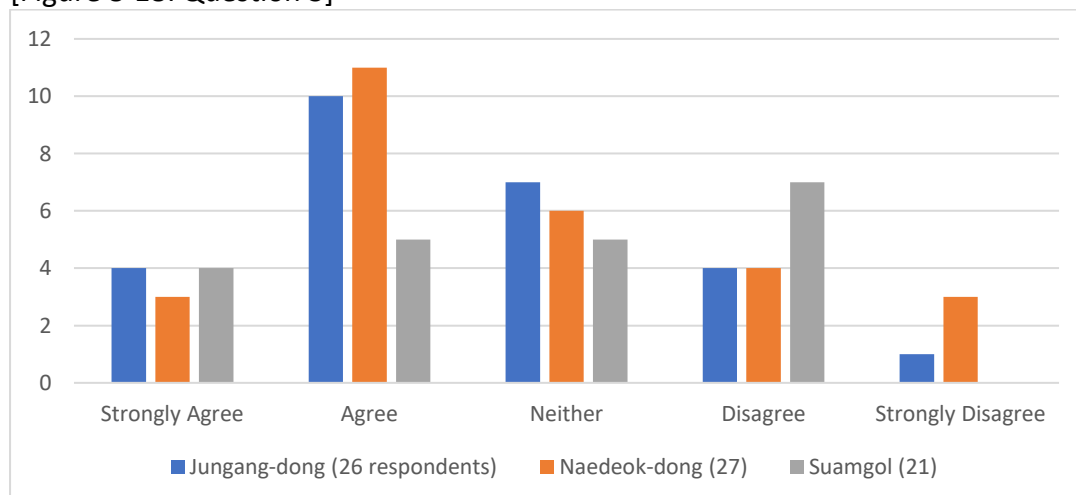
- Suamgol

One respondent, who has managed a local shop for more than 40 years in Suamgol, said the “large size event certainly contributes to the growth of local economy. However, to improve the living environment it is also important to repair the deterioration of the built environment and widen the street for parking spaces”. Although the CCEA was hosted in Cheongju, and plentiful cultural projects have been in progress in Suamgol, residents do not feel at ease from the threat of crime and unsafe living circumstance, as there remains torn sidewalks and vacant lots. It is believed that improving physical issues should be a priority ahead of the investment into enormous cultural programmes in Suamgol (S-2). S-7 also said “it looks like the large-scale event, radical cultural influx and ill-considered cultural investment have provoked more negative reaction in Sugmaol”. “Some residents are often fearful of constant cultural investments because it can threaten our living circumstances, although the cultural elements possess positive potentiality in developing urban area” (S-3).

8.6.3. Has A Long-term Cultural Event Had Positive Impacts on Community Sustainability and Attracting Further Investment?

Although there is low satisfaction toward the CCEA in the questionnaire survey, half of respondents say they do acknowledge the potential of a long-term cultural event that could bring stable sustainability and further investment to the three neighbourhoods.

[Figure 8-18: Question 3]



- Jungang-dong

As the area has striven to be a cultural community for many years, more than 50% of Jungang-dong respondents say that a long-term cultural event has the capacity to revitalise the community. One interviewee (J-8) emphasised with the statement that “the cultural resources of Jungang-dong are remarkable, and these have already been harnessed and organised for the enjoyment of residents. If a long-term cultural event (which should be regular) could be a continuous backdrop in Jungang-dong, it would be a great opportunity and aspiration for improving the local area and quality of resident life”. Another respondent said “enhancing the physical aspects of Jungang-dong through the lasting cultural programmes, which should not just be a one-off event, helps to connect each street, space and people” (J-5). He also said that Jungang-dong’s residents are fairly open minded in accepting the new cultural environment, but there are still those with a hostile reaction towards the cultural programmes, in that they create noise and litter problems. To tackle this, there should be regular cultural education alongside the development of cultural programmes to attract people standing in negative side (J-5).

Furthermore, J-1 and J-4 laid stress on the long-term ability to maximise employment opportunities: “As the owner of a local shop, most events have been one-off or short-term (up to a week), so I have been unable to offer a full-time job to anyone. However, if a long-term event can be adequately settled in Jungang-dong, I can offer job places to Jungang-dong residents”. J-5 linked the increase in volunteer opportunities to enhancing Jungang-dong’s sustainability: “I know those who live around Naedeok-dong and Sajik-dong had volunteering opportunities in many CCEA programmes. Such long-term events constantly found a willing volunteer amongst residents. And it seemed that residents who participated in the volunteering programmes set up a new cultural mindset and made an effort to develop their community through creating small-sized cultural programmes with their own artistic ideas”.

- Naedeok-dong

In the questionnaire, over half of those surveyed believed that a long-term cultural event could generate long-term positive impacts on Naedeok-dong. N-2 alluded to the ripple-effects of further long-term cultural events, saying it could help “increase job opportunities and people’s attachment to a place. A personal cultural experience would be augmented and broadened, and such opportunities could make an enjoyable and relaxing life”. While the focus group participants discussed the impacts of long-term events, they frequently argued that “long-term events are imperative, but community-based events should be regularly organised, rather than just single year-long mega events”. They also argued that the local government has to initiate and support local resident-led community events that has the potential capacity to be transformed into larger events.

“Organisations such as the International Craft Biennale or the CCEA should remain or disseminate a productive cultural content to adjacent communities after the event completion. Such programmes could be a cornerstone in forming sustainable community-based events” (N-7)

Some 22% of respondents said that the culture itself might not make any difference in Naedoek-dong. One interviewee (N-8) and two focus group participants (N-1 and N-5) argued that tackling community deprivation is directly connected with economy development. They considered culture as not being a panacea to enrich deprived areas. Instead, priority should be given to provide employment, attracting internal investment, and utilising local human resources.

- Suamgol

The lowest level of agreement with this question is in Suamol. Many respondents were not aware of the CCEA, yet had obvious opinions in relation to the impacts of long-term cultural event on Suamgol. There was a sense across focus group participants that further

long-term cultural events should aim for social equality and an appropriate distribution of cultural benefits (S-1 and S-7). “I strongly agree that long-term cultural event can be used to reach more residents and local business over a long-time period, but in terms of the CCEA, it was not properly distributed to Suamgol. It seemed the cultural benefits concentrated in some particular areas” (S-1). S-4 stressed that as the majority of population in Suamgol is elderly, “the long-term event could attract more elderly residents because they frequently miss a one-off or short-term cultural event. Therefore, making long-term programmes last for more than a month would encourage elderly residents’ engagement”. One respondent said many elderly residents spent most of their time at home and are reluctant to participate in cultural activities (S-6). A long-term programme could help attract their attention(S-2), and community sustainability might turn on the happiness of residents and resident cohesion (S-1). As cultural elements have been working well in Suamgol, with spontaneous residents’ participation unimaginable before 2008, long-term and regular events or programmes could bring more positive influence on Suamgol and Suamgol’s elderly residents (S-1).

8.7. After the CCEA: The Second Phase of Field-Research Analysis

A second phase of the field-work was conducted 10 months after the event completion in October 2016, to follow up on earlier interviews and to assess reflections on the CCEA. During this period, interviews were undertaken with local residents who participated in the first phase of field-research. Key questions that were asked related to a more intensive examination of participant thoughts, such as ‘have your cultural perceptions changed since the CCEA?’, and ‘have there been any changes in community development, or the living or working environment?’ Due to the contact interruption and respondents’ personal circumstances, this second phase of the field-research involved interviews with 11 out of 19 focus group respondents.

8.7.1. What Happened in the Three Neighbourhoods after the CCEA?

Following the end of CCEA, there were several events that continued, were developed further and were newly created. In this section, I provide an account of what took place in terms of cultural events, and the extent to which it was influenced or linked to the CCEA.

8.7.1.1. Jungang-dong

In Jungang-dong, various types of cultural events frequently appeared in 2016. These are:

- The Flea market every Saturday from 27th March to 26th November, 2016
- The 5th Food festival on 3rd March
- The 2016 Busking festival every Friday from March to November
- The 23rd Chungbuk Arts festival in October
- The Youth street festival in December
- The 2nd Photography Contest of Jungang-dong in September
- A number of cultural classes at the Community Centre

Despite of low correlation with the CCEA, the long-term mega event stimulated excitement and enthusiasm for existing events within Jungang-dong (J-2). After the CCEA moved to Daegu (a city in the North Gyeongsang province), Cheongju Urban Regeneration Centre tried to create participative and co-operative cultural opportunities by placing resident involvement as a high priority. J-2 said again that such effort acted as a dynamic force to increase self-confidence within the community, and created a positive acceptance of culture-led regeneration initiative than existed before.

8.7.1.2. Naedeok-dong

As a major cultural destination site during the CCEA, Naedeok-dong held a range of new cultural programmes, and existing programmes were developed further than they had

been before 2016 – around 30 main cultural events were managed, and the numbers of additional sub-programmes along with main events were significantly increased (See below). Remarkably, as Cheongju was designated as ‘the Special Zone for Culture’ (SZC) from 2016 to 2020 (Cheongju ilbo, 2016), diversified cultural programmes took place in Naedeok-dong long after the end of the CCEA, to promote the SZC and distribute more cultural opportunities for residents. One respondent (N-3) stressed that the CCEA was regarded as an opportunity for the cultural expansion of Naedeok-dong, and it also contributed to the launch of the ‘Regional Development Project for Urban Revitalisation’ (hereafter, RDPUR) in 2016 (Lee, 2015). Subsequent to the CCEA, respondent N-3 said there have been easily accessible programmes within the public square of CCIPF; it seemed that distribution of equal cultural opportunities to the public was a principle priority in 2016. The formation of cultural programmes was made up with popular culture such as cinema, performance, and exhibition which were impressive enough to encourage ordinary people to become involved in cultural experiences (N-1).

- The weekend craft market (April ~ September)
- The showing off our community (May)
- The art sharing festival (7 ~ 25 / May) (show a movie, art sharing programme for children, exhibition)
- The Reborn project (May) (piano concert and performance with artist and residents)
- The culture diary making project for young people (June ~ July) (workshops for creative development and creating culture diary for citizens)
- The Brand Identity Slogan competition (July)
- The cultural festivals for children (June ~ August) (sand art, sand puppet show, colouring experience)
- The youth culture planning group (August) (workshops for creative working and cultural planning, cultural contents discussion, seminars about the role of curator, performance director, festival planner and movie director)
- The Story convergence pitching contest (October) (dealing with about the history, tradition, culture of Cheongju)
- The Art on Screen (September ~ October) (Cirque du Soleil, Ballet Giselle, Matthew Bourne’s Swan lake, and The Nutcracker)
- The weekly events of cultural city (October) (performance, exhibition, forum and cultural network)
- The art education programme for children and youth of Cheongju (October)
- The Dongbu storage class (October) (listening to music programme, calligraphy, photobook making, and carpentry classes)

- The 2016 Chopsticks festival (November)

As an example, Dongbu Storage (a storage facility owned by the Tobacco factory, which was partially refurbished in 2015) provided space for performance rehearsal, gallery, local festival, cinema, and cultural form during the CCEA and, after the mega-event, was home to community-led events, orchestra rehearsals, arts festivals with local artists and culture classes (Han, 2016. See Figure 8-19).

[Figure 8-19: The Dongbu Storage of Former Tobacco Factory]



Source: CCIPF

8.7.1.3. Suamgol

Despite the low profile of newly launched programmes, a creative planning programme for cultural development – for instance ‘the Adventurous Cultural Trail’ – was planned in 2016 (Shin, 2016). The CCIPF announced ‘the development for Suamgol healing road contents’ that includes Suamgol mobile contents, cartoons, media façades in the village, and the creation of a Suamgol character using coal briquette until mid of 2017 (Ibid.). The 3rd Suamgol Autumn Sketch Festival was successfully hosted again between 24th October and 6th November.

In 2016, the popularity of Suamgol was still evident, with the location being home to a creative mural painting village and a film making location. The local council has plans to establish a drama theme park for maintaining Suamgol’s popularity. However, there is still controversial debate on further cultural investment, with an argument that the creation of

theme park is irrelevant to local development, with criticism that the planning focuses solely on the influx of Chinese tourists fond of Korea drama and culture (Cheon, 2016b).

[Figure 8-20: The 3rd Suamgol Autumn Sketch Festival]



[Source: Jungbumaeil newspaper]

8.7.2. The Legacy of the CCEA: Changing Cultural Perception through Involving in or Experiencing Cultural Environment after the CCEA

As this thesis centres on social regeneration through the hosting of mega-cultural events, the second field research process focused on the main social aspects. In terms of changing cultural perceptions after the CCEA, Jungang-dong interviewees emphasised that culture and arts can be an effectual driver for vitalising the life of senior residents, and supporting mental health in 2016 (J-1 and J-3). One respondent (J-1) commented that he was a passive audience member during previous events, however the active cultural participation allowed him to have vibrant feelings of the cultural atmosphere and produced mental refreshment. J-2 and J-4 also acknowledged the power of culture, including its capacity to unify people and build social connections. J-2 underlined a potential to unify the different generations: “it is inevitable that all generations have cultural diversity and differences. However, the cutting ceremony of the 1st Cheongju Pine-street Art Fair broke my perception that diverse generations from youngsters to the elderly could gather at one place with the same purpose. By attending this activity, I could feel that culture has an indefinite ability to harmonise all generation.”

As mentioned above, following the end of the 2015 CCEA, more high-quality community-based programmes emerged, with a reasonable price point and offering a wide range of activities for children, adults and the elderly, demonstrating an attempt to create a sustainable endeavour to maintain the title as a cultural city in Naedeok-dong. Subsequently, the cultural events delivered since 2016 and the culture-driven economic regeneration projects pursued have helped develop this perception further. Between January and October 2016, more than 30 cultural opportunities were offered, fitting in a range of various age groups. One respondent (N-2) said “after the CCEA, there were a number of family-centred programmes at the CCIPF. Such cultural offers encouraged more family bonding - belonging, connection and interaction between families - by playing all together, and it was a constructive opportunity to fasten solidarity between families”. N-1 also felt that high quality cultural programmes held within the open spaces in 2016 brought solidarity between neighbourhoods: “There were a number of events that offered a comfortable and relaxing environment to ordinary residents. Such a leisurely atmosphere was helpful in meeting new neighbours”. However, there are also negative cultural perceptions of the events, despite the diverse range of and large number of cultural programmes. N-3 insisted that culture itself became more a discriminator after the large-scale event had gone: “I reckon that positive cultural perception could be achieved if people resided at around the main cultural venue or main cultural project area, because I could not find any cultural benefits in 2016. For me, cultural projects sometimes tend to discriminate between participants and non-participants”. Finally, the economic-led regeneration project at the Tobacco Factory in Naedeok-dong was accelerated in earnest after the hosting of CCEA. N-2, who had a positive cultural perception but was opposed to aggressive cultural investment, insisted that:

“Application of culture could be a positive influence in promoting constructive interactions with people, maximising local participation, and transferring local image. Whereas, cultural resources tend to possess a dangerous factor that can be easily commercialised and privatised. Commercialisation by the culture and arts has advantages when it leads to improved infrastructure, increases associated business opportunities and creates job opportunities. However, the objections and outcry were prevalent amongst local residents because of a significant focusing on commercialisation and privatisation of the Tobacco Factory using cultural resources. In the same vein, sometimes cultural or artistic works accompany inevitable

privatisation and the commercialisation of culture and gentrification across Cheongju and South Korea. In this regard, cultural elements tend to be considered as an invisible weapon in the disadvantaged or poverty-stricken areas.”

[Figure 8-21: Perception Changes Regarding Cultural Project]

	General perception of cultural participation	Perception changes during and after the CCEA
Jungang-dong	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Driver for encouraging engagement • Playing an attractive role in designating an urban regeneration target area • Cultural participation is waste of money and time • Hindrance for local business 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Capable of unifying people and promoting the community • Aid in reducing depression • Still a trigger for disrupting local business
Naedeok-dong	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enriches residents’ daily routines • Driver for developing local environment • Helper for changing deprived local image 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Helpful for family solidarity and cultural education • Catalyst for more active cultural businesses • Increased family or friend reunion opportunities • Enjoyable for all generations and communities • Provoked sense of discrimination between cultural participants and non-participants • Still invisible weapon that can bring privatisation and commercialisation
Suamgol	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Helpful in creating colourful environment and providing positive mind • Provide an unforgettable experience • Cultural elements can easily get popularity but can produce significant gentrification • Aid for reducing mental stress 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Still creator for bright local environment • Still aid for reducing mental stresses • Driver for attracting artistic popularity and visitors, but privacy invasion is inevitable • Enjoyable but not for the elderly

In case of Suamgol, despite a relatively low awareness of the CCEA, Suamgol respondents still acknowledge the ability of culture to make the Suamgol community brighter than before: “Considerable deterioration on house and facilities has been ongoing without a break. The atmosphere of the community was unavoidably in the shade, but the steady cultural infusion helped Suamgol to escape from such negative images” (S-2). S-3 added that

“in 2016, cultural programmes were not ceaseless in Suamgol. A few artists introduced new lifeblood into Suamgol, and such a brighter environment created by the cultural efforts generates a sense of pride, good neighbourliness, and a respecting of our community”. However, S-3 voiced concern that culture is often considered as a trespasser of privacy in 2016: “The loss of privacy leads to mental distress, so some residents moved out due to stress of invasion of privacy”. Further, Suamgol still suffered from a loss of authenticity by gentrification, with the phenomenon appearing to accelerate since the end of the CCEA: “As Cheongju is gaining cultural popularity, Suamgol is also highlighted along with Cheongju’s reputation. In this sense, an influx of wealthier people and franchise businesses has gradually appeared around the community in 2016. In case of Suamgol, further big cultural events might lead to Suamgol getting swept up in redevelopment initiatives or gentrification phenomenon. It is not a good feeling to give the village 50 years of my life. For me, sometimes cultural elements have been regarded as a dread and anxiety” (S-2).

8.7.3. The Impacts on Social Regeneration Aspects after the CCEA: Community Development and Living or Working Environment in Three Neighbourhoods

Since the end of the CCEA, four social regeneration aspects have been emerged. First, the CCEA remained vibrant and youthful environments. Second, it implanted cultural importance. Third, it helped decrease the number of unoccupied spaces. Fourth, the CCEA left zero to community. I will examine each of these issues in turn.

First, in the light of creating a vibrant and youthful environment, Jungang-dong respondents stressed the importance of extending cultural vibrancy throughout 2016.

“I thought, a culturally vibrant community means integrating with our local economy, local environment and community engagement. In this regard, Jungang-dong has offered diverse cultural opportunities, including cultural exhibitions and street performances, many which did not exist before in 2016. (J-2)”

“There have been some vacant shops and spaces around the Jungang-dong market before, but it seems that young artists and young people were gradually using those spaces in this year. Having young people stay within the traditional market area brought vibrancy (J-3)”

Respondents living in Naedeok-dong were generally influenced by the outward appearance of the area. In step with the increasing number of programmes in the wake of the CCEA, “the streets of CCIPF were seen as an impressive array of arts and cultural events in 2016. It made the area enjoyable and dazzling, although I was not an active cultural participant (N-1)”. N-2 also adds that a number of street performances were held when a big event took place, and such lively affairs were enough to create vibrant atmosphere that extended well into 2016.

[Figure 8-22: The Street View of Surrounding Cultural Events in 2016]



Second, respondents of the three neighbourhoods complimented the CCEA and said it remained as a significant cultural event within the communities of Cheongju. J-4 said:

“After the CCEA there have obviously been a wide variety of actions such as community or municipally-run programmes and the use of facility for cultural provision. Beyond Jungang-dong, cultural injection for developing local environment is widespread across Cheongju. Hosting the mega cultural event offered a proud opportunity to be part of a cultural city, and it absolutely brought the awareness that cultural elements have an inextricable connection with urban planning.”

Also, Naedeok-dong respondent (N-2) insisted that “During the CCEA, the craft artworks were especially illuminated, and the 2nd Cheongju Craft Fair achieved a far greater success than during the previous fair in 2014. Following the mega-event CCEA, the craft elements, that tended to be recognised as a moderate cultural feature before, became an archetypal characteristic. In this sense, crafts-related programmes became actively adopted as a main agenda item in 2016 as well.”

Third, participants of the three communities voiced approval at the fact that many local-based cultural events were held at a previously unused or vacant space in 2016. Such phenomenon contributed to reduce the rate of empty spaces, which were frequently used previously for crime and drug intake. One Suamgol respondent said:

“After a significant cultural inrush and the CCEA completion, it seemed that cultural strategies are designed alongside urban improvement planning. Particularly the transformation of derelict spaces in Suamgol is not only an appreciable project, but also a fruitful trial, because it did not just put its priority in displaying cultural elements in the community. The practical integration with arts and empty space would contribute to a further decreasing of poor housing or buildings, and be a de facto culture-led urban regeneration” (S-2)

Another example was generated in Naedeok-dong. Respondent N-4 said that the cultural projects at the former Tobacco Factory became more energized than in 2015. Particularly, the crafts fair, cultural education class, rehearsal rooms and performance areas transformed those empty spaces into creative and unique spaces. Moreover, it has also been a viable solution that the spaces were equally and effectively used for artists, organisations, and local residents as a whole. Another respondent said:

“There are no visible results in lessening the vacant spaces through the injection of culture and arts programmes at community level of Naedeok-dong. However, a remarkable transfiguration at the Tobacco Factory can be seen as a constructive cornerstone in the light of the beneficial usage of derelict buildings by means of cultural programmes” (N-1)

Almost 20 artists (who are called as a ‘community artist’) including sculptors, performers, culture planners, conductor and traditional dress experts, moved into the vacant houses in Andeokbul in Naedeok-dong and begun transforming vacant premises into creative spaces since early 2016 (Lee, 2017). One respondent said “by showcasing the cultural works of local artists, they help the regeneration of Naedeok-dong at the same time. And I would like to see more artists and creator working at the disused premises of Naedeok-dong (N-2)”.

[Figure 8-23: Transformed from Vacant Place to Creative Squat in Andeokbul of Naedeok-dong]



[Source: Choengju Official Blog]

Fourth, there were contrary opinions that there had been no visible changes to the area in 2016. Particularly, the respondents who had a low awareness of the CCEA in 2015 still argued there had been little change, let alone any major transformation to the area. They insisted that although a number of cultural resources have been created and brought into these areas, the living or working circumstances have not been changed through the creation of cultural strategies (J-1, J-3 and S-5). J-3 discussed the lack of progress of culture-led urban regeneration and said:

“The CCEA was the mega event and connoted uncountable cultural values, but it did not lead to the further development of an urban regeneration strategy. I have heard Jungang-dong was embarked upon culture-led regeneration a few years ago, but no particular change has been made after the CCEA has gone. The same cultural programmes (e.g. flea market, street performing) are just ongoing as usual. It could

not be considered as a ripple-effect of mega-event CCEA in subsequent years in my point of view (J-3).”

Respondent J-1 said that although the ongoing events helped to revive the street in 2016, the cultural projects were not practically functioning for local businesses as before. In general, respondents with negative opinions emphasised once again that distinctive change by the cultural event would only emerge if linked with other, more practical strategies (such as through economic improvement). Otherwise, declining communities would remain at a standstill. If cultural events end up without these links and without being embedded fully into the community, the events themselves would remain as past cultural events, and not fully become culture-led urban regeneration (N-3). Finally, resident opinions in terms of community development and change of living or working environment are concisely summarised in the Figure 8-24 below.

8.8. Key Findings from the Research

- *Have culture-led approaches created social regeneration opportunities in Cheongju and, if so, what opportunities and for whom?*

In order to identify the social regeneration impacts by the CCEA, this thesis centred on changes in residents’ cultural perception, community developments and living or working environments (Impacts 08, 2010). Through the CCEA, Cheongju city has thrived as a cultural city and its image has evolved from a typical industrial city into an adaptable cultural environment with a secured budget for cultural projects that have been positively implanted through the means of the CCEA. However, in terms of creating social regeneration, the research has found that the CCEA has created limited social regeneration opportunities. There was some awareness and engagement with the CCEA amongst the respondents to this research, but this is mainly passive. Particularly, those in Naedeok-dong, (with a range of major cultural venues) tend to be more engaged than in Jungang-dong and Suamgol.

It is true that during the CCEA, there have been improvements in social cohesion through the voluntary works, community solidarity, cultural education for youth, skill development and acceptance of different cultures. However, these social impacts are highly concentrated within Naedeok-dong. The other two areas experienced less tangible and less visible social impacts by the CCEA. Particularly, the differences in the cultural perception in each of the three locations appear to depend on the degree of cultural programmes in the areas, the previous experiences of cultural projects, the specific location characteristics, and the existing working or living circumstances. However, cultural perceptions are not easily changed through the hosting on a mega-event, as is evidenced through the research conducted during and after the CCEA. In terms of community development by the CCEA, in general, survey participants normally considered that lasting and regular cultural events were associated with positive impacts on the communities and could help in creating a stable community. Yet, the participants felt and saw little community development during the CCEA.

During and after the CCEA, there is no doubt that the multifarious cultural and artistic bodies were slipped into three neighbourhoods, and such efforts contributed to a cultural vibrancy within the communities that has seldom been experienced before. In this regard, respondents felt that the CCEA retained its legacies across Cheongju's development. However, the positive degree of community development by the CCEA was again revealed mainly in Naedeok-dong. Respondents living in Naedeok-dong alluded more to affirmative community changes as the community benefitted from the plethora of CCEA programmes in 2015 and 2016. Due to the high density of CCEA programmes around the large cultural venues, the CCEA itself was viewed as being the latest catalyst in a line of explicitly culture-led regeneration in a particular area (e.g. Naedeok-dong).

In the light of changes to the living and working environment, the three research areas have seen elements of cultural transition over the last few years. Following the end of the CCEA it is true that artists and creators began to use the derelict spaces and often transformed vacant spaces of the community into artistic squats in the three neighbourhoods. In this sense, residents responded positively to such changes, saying the changes offered a more safe and comfortable set of living circumstances. However, the merchants interviewed in this research

emphasised that the quantity and diversity of cultural project are not imperative to local businesses or in reinforcing the working environment. Further, many respondents experienced financial difficulties, and cultural events were not viewed as being an influential tool in boosting their living circumstances. Clearly, any living or working environment can be developed if their economic circumstances improve. Thus, the cultural benefits in the declining research areas are limited because the social regeneration aspects have been weak throughout the CCEA process. Also, there are limited attempts to reach out, to connect and to facilitate social regeneration during the event as a whole.

- *What are the possible problems and tensions in using cultural events to support social regeneration in Cheongju?*

The overriding findings from the thesis is that the social regeneration dimension is underdeveloped in the Cheongju CCEA. This can be traced to a range of factors. First, the CCEA has been dominated by a narrow view of economic development and city promotion priorities. Undoubtedly, the 2015 CCEA was nominated as a result of political efforts and through the contribution of many stakeholders on behalf of the city. However, as the urban development policy of Cheongju city has been considerably focused on the thriving economy and centred on physical development, the citizens' cultural preference and community needs have been hugely excluded throughout the CCEA process (Kim, 2015). This is not to say, of course, that economic development should not be a major element of urban improvement, and the economic sphere is essential in creating better lives. However, in case of the CCEA, the significant weight placed on economic development and city promotion has led the rise of CCEA unawareness and the cultural indifference of residents.

Many residents were unaware about the meanings of the CCEA, and could not answer questions as to why the events were being held in Cheongju, nor how they could effectively participate in the programmes as CCEA objectives (guidelines, plans, fund processes and information) were established by the top organisations without resident input. In this regard, it is believed that ordinary residents could not realise the important social regeneration aspects within their communities. Such a top-down approach also impacted local businesses.

During the CCEA, the number of contracts with big companies or businesses from other regions increased due to the strict restriction on public organisations in taking on such projects. Such phenomenon created chronic problems with local businesses facing difficulties in participating in such large-sized cultural events, as the structure of the event industry heavily relied on the bidding of public organisations rather than the bidding of local companies. Although, local merchants had a desire to be involved during the CCEA, the top-down approach provoked fund outflow and created a tardy development in the local working environment.

Finally, the CCEA was designed to create a cultural community between South Korea, China and Japan. Due to the historical affairs, disputes and consideration of special context between these nations, cultural homogeneity and heterogeneity were named as being the precise purpose of CCEA to respect for cultural diversity (Jeong, 2014). In this sense, it was believed that the nations could achieve positive effects through cultural exchange programmes in the aspects of politics, economy, social, culture, arts and science (Kim, 2014 presented in the Pre-Asia Forum). However, the 2015 CCEA in Cheongju tended to use the exchange strategy as a political instrument, rather than being focused on a coherent interaction between each nation's citizens. Such circumstances could be called 'cultural democracy' rather than 'cultural exchange'. During the 2015 CCEA, the national event instinctively made an effort to inspire the city's status and enhance the city's image, rather than focusing primarily on citizens' engagement. Therefore, the cultural exchange programmes of CCEA were confined to exhibitions, visiting performances of orchestras or contemporary dances and ballets, and traditional culture experiences, which are normally considered as acting as a bridge between countries. In this sense, the CCEA did not make art and culture accessible to a wider audience, and also tended to be dull for creative participation for citizens. Arguably, by offering only cultural opportunity and encouraging self-esteem is can make people to become more passive, which is seen as also a characteristic of the top-down approach inherent within South Korea. Many respondents expressed regret that the national mega-event failed to encourage interactive relationships between city and citizens and fortifying local culture and arts networks.

- *How does the CCEA in Cheongju reinforce or challenge wider literature on the role of cultural events in social regeneration?*

Major culture-led regeneration projects tend to focus on flagship city centre events with fairly limited outreach to deprived communities. Also, such flagship events are considered acting as an anchor to commercial development and left some areas with embarrassing and very expensive white elephants that new uses should be found (Jones and Evans, 2008). In the case of the CCEA that partly reflected the limited conception of social regeneration in the city and especially limited conceptions of the potential of community arts and culture (and the weak infrastructure) in Jungang-dong and Suamgol. In the light of social regeneration by cultural events, previous research has emphasised that the fact that cultural projects could bring new jobs to a city (direct, indirect and induced) (Evans, 2005; Jones and Evans, 2008 and Tallon, 2010), however, the CCEA failed to create job opportunities as new jobs were often temporal, and short-term covered only a small number of vacancies. Also, CCEA-related jobs were already taken by and allocated to a civil servant or someone directly involved in the events. Therefore, there was no attempt to achieve an equal distribution of job opportunities and no attempt at reducing continuing unemployment.

Jones and Evans (2008) and Tallon (2010) also stress that cultural projects have the ability to generate extra spending in the local economy (e.g. the leisure, arts and entertainment economy, and the development of the night-time economy). Such results were surely discovered in this research, however, the benefits have been found to be concentrated around the main cultural venue areas (Naedeok-dong). According to the lack of distribution of cultural benefits to marginal communities during the CCEA, it has been unsuccessful in enhancing the living and working circumstances of the research neighbourhoods. Finally, major events became a particular valuable form in terms of city image effects and local promotion (Richards and Wilson, 2004; Jones and Evans, 2008).

In Cheongju, focusing on image change and a cultural influx provoked a distortion of locality and the increase in tourists has become a trigger for stimulating gentrification and

destruction of aspects of the existing community. Such an approach tends to ignore the community's actual needs and has limited economic or social benefit for residents.

8.9. Summary

This study took its starting point the debates on cultural events and its contribution to improvement of social aspects (Landry, Greene, Matarasso and Bianchini, 1996; Matarasso, 1997; Evans and Shaw, 2004; Garcia, Melville and Cox, 2010; Impacts 08, 2010; and Ennis and Douglass, 2011). And it principally centres on the social impacts of a year-long cultural event and, as one of the major culture-led urban regeneration strategies, the CCEA has been employed as a case study to prove its repercussion for social regeneration development in the declining areas of Cheongju, South Korea. As a matter of fact, in South Korea, there has been limited academic and policy research on the correlation of cultural events and social regeneration. In addition, studies of culture-led regeneration generally are weak due to short history. Even the general social impacts of CCEA have been mostly gathered from newspapers (See Section 7.3.2.) (largely due to a lack of official information). Although there are a number of researches, documents, and policy evaluations about the culture-led regeneration and its impact on social regeneration, they have been very descriptive and making large assumptions. In this regard, this research moved forward debates with local residents about the role of cultural event in the context of social regeneration on the basis of entire human-centred qualitative approach. Therefore, the opinions gathered from the field-research might become useful resources in recognising what social impacts have emerged during and after the CCEA. Furthermore, realistic answers come from the residents who were immediately involved with cultural programmes as well as the consequences of regeneration projects, might be helpful in developing culture-led regeneration and social regeneration strategies. In the following chapter, I will sum up the research in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

[Figure 8-24: Summary of resident opinions about the CCEA in terms of community development and changes of living or working environment]

JUNGANG-DONG			
	Before the CCEA	During the CCEA	After the CCEA
Positive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Car-free zone projects and hosting cultural events in the zone vibrantly transformed the market street • Floating population increased • Community based programmes flourished community environment • A solid cultural project (e.g. flea market and busking) bloom resident participation • The rate of un-occupied has been decreasing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A lot of media attention with hosting mega-event in Cheongju is a great opportunity in promoting Jungang-dong's potential and cultural capability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • After the CCEA, more extended and developed programmes are introduced than the period of CCEA, and vibrant and youthful environment have been formed than 2015 • Urban regeneration agency and cultural organisations have made more efforts than before for community development • There are plenty of cultural works at unused spaces
Negative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Merely cultural approach could not tackle socio-economic problems of community (e.g. unemployment and repair of housing) • No striking differences are made by culture and arts • Car-free zone for cultural event stimulated to decrease of consumer • No advantages to ordinary people 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inappropriate delivery of the CCEA made no difference to community development • CCEA stimulates thinking about 'whose culture' in the process of mega-event • Although it is large-size event, the benefits flow in the political elites and organisers rather than community • Difficult to say that mega-event can improve housing condition, reduce crime rate and healthiness 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quantity and variety of cultural project are not important to local business and residents • Economic improvement should be formed with cultural resources for community development and improving living and working environment
NAEDEOK-DONG			
Positive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plentiful cultural offers attract more cultural investment for community development (e.g. CCEA and economic-led urban regeneration) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are volunteering opportunities and programmes for promoting community cohesion during the CCEA 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Still various events are ongoing along with vibrant cultural atmosphere

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unused factory is transfigured by cultural influx and surrounding environment has become brighter 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This is the way that resident can take full ownership of cultural programmes • Lots of community-based programmes provide collective memory between residents • It helps to change the image of Naedeok-dong • The income benefits of big festivals rippled throughout a local economy • Create revenue by the growth of nightlife • A number of parade and street performance give more safe and comfortable feeling • Cultural environment deters for crime and violence during the CCEA 	<p>CCEA became a momentum in drawing more cultural investment in Naedeok-dong's streets</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • After the CCEA, local artists started to settle down at unoccupied place of Naedeok-dong, and provides a productive cultural opportunity for residents
Negative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural leverage does not reach to community level • Culture and arts are a catalyst of privatisation and commercialisation of local area • Unreasonable cultural injection spoil local features and hamper community development • Cultural action has intention to achieve the profit for private companies and interrupt the growth of local working environment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It focuses heavily on city promotion, encourages cultural consumption, generates benefits to specific people or organisations, and centres on making public achievement • Mega-event stimulates discrimination feeling between participants and non-participants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extended cultural investment is still threatening the existence of local businesses
SUAMGOL			

<p>Positive</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural projects changed the image of community from shanty town to culturally vibrant community • Cultural popularity also helped to escape the image of deprivation • Cultural transformation was a key way to sustain the community (e.g. opening the local shop by local residents) • Culture-led project increases visitors' spending • Energetic environment gives more enjoyment to elderly 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People cannot recognise community development during the CCEA due to low awareness about the CCEA 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More artists are attracted into the vacant place for creating their work since 2016 • Such trials would be helpful reducing crime and drug rate of young people
<p>Negative</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gentrification has been radically raised • Artistic works sometimes threatens the existing local culture • Along with cultural development, new investment (e.g. building a café, franchised-restaurant) are also increased but it destructs community living and working environment • Residents' privacy is at risk by tourists 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It has tendency that thoughtless cultural works are invested along with the mega-event (e.g. statues of actors) • Although the mega-event is hosted in Cheongju, residents cannot be at ease from crime threats and unsafe living circumstance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gentrification is still the biggest concern in this community after the CCEA

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSIONS

9.1. Introduction

The intention of this research is to scrutinise the social regeneration dimensions of a cultural event and, through that, to reflect on the changing context for regeneration and culture-led regeneration in South Korea. The research has focused on the year-long CCEA programme in Cheongju, South Korea in 2015. The main objectives of the PhD were:

- To examine how social regeneration has been considered in the planning of the CCEA event.
- To use a range of sources to consider the impact of the CCEA on social regeneration in Cheongju.
- To analyse the practical views of local communities about the social regeneration impacts by cultural events through discussing with authentic local residents in a qualitative way.
- To link the case study to wider debates and understandings on the relationships between culture-led urban regeneration initiatives in South Korea

The research set out to answer the following questions:

- Have culture-led approaches created social regeneration opportunities in Cheongju and, if so, what opportunities and for whom?
- What are the possible problems and tensions in using cultural events to support social regeneration in Cheongju?
- How does the CCEA in Cheongju reinforce or challenge wider literature on the role of cultural events in social regeneration?

9.2. Wider Implications and Key Messages

- *Lessons from the wider literature on cultural events and its impacts on social regeneration*

Although the 2015 CCEA in Cheongju had a desire to regenerate local areas through a cultural approach and a cultural exchange, it tended instead to view the initiative as a promotional tool for the city itself rather than as a priority for regeneration. Moreover, the CCEA was much more about regional development than urban regeneration as a catalyst for restructuring the regional economy and image change. As the CCEA itself stated at an early stage, a key challenge to culture-led regeneration and its impact on social regeneration aspects is the risk to take culture out of context and instrumentalise it for merely economic detached from geographical, temporal and local identity sensibilities (Garcia, 2013). Understanding the synergies as well as conflicts between economic, social and cultural sectors is necessary to maximise cultural events' potential and sustainability (Ibid.) in the aspect of social regeneration by a cultural approach.

In order to boost social regeneration, arts and cultural events within regeneration projects should be “particularly keen on expressing the sustainable nature of their engagement with participants, seeing issues around sustainability as being primarily about the sustainability of the community with which they were engaged, rather than about the sustainability of themselves as an organisation” (Impacts 08, 2009 p. 27). As a nationally-created event, the CCEA was created by the Cultural Ministers of South Korea, China and Japan. It therefore reflects the typical state-led and top-down cultural policies. In this regard, there is little space to incorporate bottom-up strategies from residents or from local cultural organisations. Such circumstances actually made residents become passive participants of any policies and they can become unaware of the events. Furthermore, to promote the city internationally, almost all CCEA programmes were concentrated in the CCIPF which is mainly managed by the local government. Particular residents already living around the main venue areas were the ones to benefit culturally and socially, rather than other, possibly more disadvantaged areas (Impacts 08, 2010). In order to develop a future CCEA project, it should

be organised through bottom-up cultural strategies, made by ordinary residents, local businesses and local social enterprises, to distribute equal cultural benefits in the aspect of social regeneration in the central area as well as marginal communities.

In this regard, the case of ECOC Liverpool governance may be a helpful example. In the process of ECOC, the arts and cultural sectors played an alternative leadership role alongside the regeneration agencies, such as Liverpool Vision and Liverpool Arts Regeneration Consortium for supplementing Liverpool City Council which had not properly integrated culture into the policies (O'Brien, 2011; Selwood, 2009). Particularly LARC was "an illustrative case of creative response to a perceived failure within the governance settlement for culture" in Liverpool (O'Brien, 2011, p.55), and it filled the gaps generated by the City Council's inertia regarding cultural policy-making (Ibid.). In the same vein, Jepson and Clarke (2016) insist that in the beginning, public authorities are crucial, but during the event, private and community stakeholders should take over network leadership. Misener and Mason (2006) also stress that the local government bodies have to take a step back as their role changes from regulator to facilitator during the event. This process could strengthen the community and create solid networks between organisers and residents. A following CCEA should aim to build more joint partnerships to support the gap of central and local government in cultural policy. Relying heavily on a state-led and top-down approach in the process of CCEA cannot reach out, connect to residents, nor facilitate social regeneration.

- *Implications for the management of future CCEA and improving social-led regeneration by a cultural approach*

A key finding for future practice is that social regeneration needs to be an explicit aim in cultural events, clearly identifying who is to be involved, why and how, with a programme of outreach and engagement. During the CCEA, a main challenge was to engage with individuals who are hard to reach and involve. In order to solve this challenge, gradual preparation through a residents-led process should take place prior to hosting the event or undertaking a culture-led urban regeneration project. Respondents in this research do not

want to experience merely one-off cultural events and symbolic cultural venues built as one aspect of culture-led regeneration projects by radical and extreme processes. These cultural events may not change non-participants' sceptical cultural perceptions. In this sense, an accumulation of cultural experiences, constant cultural education in communities, and an appropriate distribution of cultural opportunity over the years would gradually modify non-participants attitude and their perception.

It is believed that organisers and stakeholders often neglect the needs of community and residents in the shadow of generating their own benefits and achievement in the process of creating the CCEA. Theoretical and practical cultural elements within urban development have multiplier impacts within an economy and impact social spheres such as jobs, income / expenditure, inward investment, distributive effects, community cohesion, increasing social capital, and reducing the crime rate and the fear of crime (Evans, 2005). However, many respondents of this research stress that they could not recognise and notice direct economic and social benefits through the CCEA and previous culture-led regeneration projects. They tend instead to consider economic and social impacts as being simply theory. Such answers indicate that future CCEA management and culture-led regeneration initiatives should find a common ground to bridge the cultural programmes, local economy (as being not only for the city economy) and social improvement.

Finally, in general, respondents acknowledged the importance of experts who come from the government and practical fields to intervene in future community strategies. However, local residents often point out that while the knowledge and skills of experts are useful, they do not indicate how local residents use the cultural strategies and reflect to local business for development community sustainability with cultural elements. Organisers and policy makers should direct the effective ways as to how local residents can benefit from the events and regenerative projects, not just to mention 'culture-led regeneration would be the trigger of a community economy, and cultural programmes would change the quality of life of residents in a positive way'. For residents, the theory and abstract foresight of cultural impact on social regeneration is not important; it is the visible outcomes and practical engagement that are residents' demand to organisers.

- *Joined-up thinking between different agencies*

In the theory of culture-led urban regeneration, well-organised and well-structured partnerships are emphasised as being decisive factors leading to success and further sustainability (Garcia, 2004; Sharp, Pollock and Paddison, 2005; Timur and Getz. 2008). They stress that a cultural approach project should establish a partnership with public, private and residents to sustain long-term benefits in communities. By reviewing the CCEA, the committee structure between public, private and the community remained controversial in terms of the establishment of effective partnerships. When the committee was organised to support the event, it was managed by representatives from local authorities, universities, the health and education sectors, and a broadcast company along with several other state and non-state actors. There was no space for residents or community level stakeholders (e.g. charitable sectors or ordinary people) in the entire CCEA 2015 process.

Jones and Evans (2008) stress that “the rhetoric of joined-up thinking between different agencies is laudable and ensuring that socially deprived areas are targeted for improvements in education, health and public safety entirely sensible (p. 20)”. It has meant that non-state actors in both the private and charitable sectors (e.g. community based social enterprise, local artist organisations, etc.) should be structured in advance, and then integrate a variety of expertise and productive resources. In this sense, the CCEA tended to be mainly operated by central government departments containing central-driven priorities which could not tackle intractable social problems in inner cities. The intervention of non-state agents, voluntary community participation and the active involvement of ordinary people would be an effective idea in securing social regeneration beyond the CCEA development. Particularly, co-operation with the intermediate organisation ‘*Urban Regeneration Supporting Centre*’ could be a key driver to unite the range of diverse ideas, to share common features and to coordinate the culture-led regeneration programmes and cultural events at the mass level in South Korea. During the 2015 CCEA, there was no direct linkage with the Cheongju urban regeneration supporting centre, but as this centre was established aiming to

regenerate declining areas, a close relationship could have had a great synergy in developing the CCEA management as well as social regeneration aspects in further.

9.3. Contribution of the Research

- Central Contribution of the Thesis Around Resident Voice

In terms of the relationship between social regeneration factors and cultural events, the research about these two spheres is rarely studied in qualitative approaches, at a South Korean or an international level. As this study entirely relies on qualitative methods, it has allowed for a deeper understanding through an analysis of social factors inherent to complex societies. During the field-research, it emerged that the CCEA and the term 'culture-led urban regeneration' are both unfamiliar topics in general with respondents, but the interviews and focus group approaches offered people to create their own responses, to voice their own views and vividly drew a detailed feelings and attitudes towards cultural engagement and social regeneration aspects. When the quantitative approach is used for social research by cultural events, these realistic and authentic opinions are easy to be excluded. However, in this social regeneration research, local residents were given top priority to attempt to widen an understanding as to how people realistically consider a cultural approach for regenerating an area and its impacts on communities and individual environments.

Practically, local residents who participated in this research had ideas to contribute on how communities could be developed such as what community needs, the adequate direction for urban regeneration at community level, and the way of dealing with diverse local issues. It has demonstrated once again that the involvement of local people in the process of urban regeneration can improve the quality of policy making and assure the more efficient reflection of local programmes work alongside public officials, politicians and representatives of the private company and third sectors. Through the discussion with local residents, this research discovered that listening to ordinary people's opinions can be a crucial process for developing

community capacity-building in the aspect of urban regeneration because as people voice an opinion, they can feel the ownership of community to take charge of their futures.

- Contribution to the Field of Culture-led Urban Regeneration

This thesis set out to achieve an understanding on the social regeneration impacts of the Cheongju CCEA event and to explore the influences on individuals and communities in areas of deprivation. In doing so, this thesis has made a contribution to the knowledge and practice regarding the social regeneration impacts of cultural events at South Korea level. The study also broadly includes South Korea's current urban regeneration policy, including the strategy of culture-led regeneration which has been rarely researched due to its short history and changing approaches to urban policy from urban redevelopment to urban regeneration.

An important contribution made by this thesis is to open up wider questions about changing approaches to urban policy from urban redevelopment to urban regeneration in South Korea, which in itself is an under-researched and poorly understood topic. In order to understand South Korea's current urban regeneration management and system of culture-led urban regeneration, almost all materials used in this project have been translated from Korean to English, such as the Special Act for Urban Regeneration (established since 2013) to practical cultural initiatives. Furthermore, to solidly underpin the lack of literature on culture-led urban regeneration sphere, empirical evidence generated from the answers and opinions of twenty-one experts, who the author met during the field-research, is explored to show how current culture-led regeneration initiatives have been formulated. Those practical and realistic answers provide for a much sturdier comprehension about the meaning of culture-led regeneration and the classification of the current phenomenon in more detailed way. These examinations and findings are the primary research in English and are helpful to extend the academic literature on the South Korea's regeneration progress.

Finally, this research contributes to the theoretical development of a year-long cultural event and culture-led urban regeneration as it produces a deeper understanding of how the CCEA contributes to the social regeneration of declining areas by persuading the participation of local residents in the way of interviews, questionnaires, and focus groups. The findings of this thesis particularly not only advance theory within the culture-led urban regeneration, and social regeneration, but also provides actual opinions that can be referenced in the future management of cultural events and improving the social regeneration field through a cultural approach. The perceived positive and negative cultural perceptions, the cultural impacts on community development and living / working environments could also give more practical direction to existing or future strategies prior to the implementation of a cultural event and regenerative project. Participants' actual answers could be a profound advice for maximising positive social regeneration impacts using culture-led regeneration initiative (cultural events). In this sense, this research has implications for cultural event organisers and regeneration related policy makers, stakeholders and practitioners in understanding what the real needs and concerns are within declining areas in South Korea.

9.4. Overall Limitations of the Research

A number of limitations and restrictions have been existed during the field-research and completing this thesis. Firstly, as mentioned before, the researcher's position caused some difficulties in accessing to people who are involved with culture-led urban regeneration initiative and the CCEA. As an outsider and position of student, arranging the interview with people at city level was tough and difficult, that was why I eagerly participated in several urban regeneration related seminars and conferences to meet them for 6 months during the first field-research. Although, I could meet some influential people at the academic seminar and conferences, time limitations for asking specific question was another difficulty.

Secondly, the CCEA is ongoing event, and has a short history as it started since 2014. Therefore, examining an evaluation and its impacts on economic, social and cultural spheres

were obviously hard work. There were no proper official documents dealing with the critical outcome of CCEA. Actually, an official report was published from the Cheongju City Council, but it does not include any impacts on communities and people. In order to find the consequence of CCEA, loads of newspapers, blogs and personal articles were reviewed for underpinning the research. In addition, contacting with an appropriate officer was one of challenges. In practice, author's initial intention was to listen to the practical story about the CCEA from officers to firmly help for readers' understanding, as this event was newly introduced. However, despite I tried my best to find and meet related staff by using various approaches, it failed to have an interview them. Therefore, most of CCEA related materials have been eventually generated by analysing the numerous secondary materials.

Thirdly, in terms of analysing the qualitative data, generalising the results was complicated because respondents gave widely varied responses that were subjective. In this regard, ambiguities, which are inevitable in human language (Atieno, 2009), have been identified. Particularly non-cultural/CCEA participants mentioned broad and uncertain answers for instance, I have no idea, I am not interested in, there is no time, cultural participation is good, and so forth. Such answers were significantly equivocal to handle during the analysing period. Also, due to the restricted researcher's accessibility and positionality (e.g. the limitation of time, staff and budget), fewer people were studied to generalise the cultural impacts on communities. Therefore, such small sample sizes with a micro view could cause accusations of unreliability and lacking generalisability.

Finally, most of materials arising from South Korea's case including literatures and analysis chapters have been translated from Korean to English in this research. Moving between languages was another significant challenge. Particularly, the language from local residents were natural spoken Korean, therefore, delivering this form of language into academic words was complicated process. Sometimes, the meaning of opinions had been differently translated and understood, for example, a language does not have an exact match for a certain object and words that exists in another language.

9.5. Suggestions for Further Research

This research established a framework for examining the impacts of urban cultural events, to explore how social regeneration is or is not integrated. There is scope to extend the research focus, including looking at examples of good practice. The research also raises questions about the scope to extend the link between arts and culture and social regeneration. In practice, there are many ways in which this research could be advanced through future studies. In terms of culture-led urban regeneration and social regeneration of South Korea qualitative approach research is still lacking. To fill relevant data gaps, additional research could be carried out with methodologies including interviews with key stakeholders, event participants, local people, case study research and content analysis of media (Impacts 08, 2010) to develop the CCEA and culture-led regenerative scheme. In terms of the aspect of social regeneration, due to the limitation of research accessibility, this thesis handled only the social regeneration elements – changing cultural perspective of residents, community development, and changes of living / working environment – however, a wide range of social index such as education achievement, health issues, safety (crime reduction) and life satisfaction could also be qualitatively studied during future research. Currently there have been small-sized social regeneration index for evaluating culture-led regeneration impacts in South Korea.

In terms of the CCEA impact research within the light of urban regeneration, a number of studies are required as related research is rare. For the sustainable impacts, a longitudinal impact analysis of CCEA programming and multiple influences of cultural event upon regeneration dimensions (e.g. economic, environmental, social, cultural and political) could be provided. Also, according to the research framework created by the Impact 08 research in 2010, there is a useful and helpful guide to follow, for example, the CCEA-related research could be specifically categorised – cultural participation (access, outreach, diversity), image and identity (media coverage, perceptions), social capital (inclusion, well-being, quality of life), physical environment (infrastructures, sustainability), management (aims, objectives, policy, strategy), cultural vibrancy (creativity, production, consumption), and economic growth

(employment, tourism, investment). Above specified researches could be the indicators for following CCEA programmes within East Asia nations.

This thesis chose the target areas which are facing decline and have experienced urban regeneration initiatives to achieve actual opinions about the CCEA and ongoing culture-led regeneration initiatives. To expand the social regeneration research by cultural events in future, more diverse areas such as a remote area and city centre area which has not been designated as an urban regeneration target area, could bring other compelling results towards cultural events and regeneration initiative. This research has had two field-research periods - the actual event period and 10 months after the event completion. In practice, a regeneration project itself requires a long time to create sustainable and reliable outcomes. Therefore, adopting a longitudinal research approach could efficiently determine any patterns, perceptions and specific social changes by a cultural approach in the long term. Finally, the questions such as 'what kinds of cultural programmes and regenerative projects local residents actually want to have?', 'Do you have any idea about how a cultural event or culture related regeneration project could be the direct economic driver in improving your living or working environment?', and 'what is the local or community culture that ordinary residents feel familiar?' could be asked ahead of planning cultural projects.

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EXPERTS INTERVIEWED IN CHAPTER 4

Ahn, J. S. (2015). Professor at university

Hong, M. Y. (2015). Head of urban architecture company

Hwang, H. Y. (2015a). Professor at university

Hwang, S. W. (2015b). Professor at university

Jung, C. M. (2015). Professor at university

Kim, J. Y. (2015a). Researcher

Kim, Y. J. (2015h). Researcher for culture and tourism

Koo, J. H. (2015). Professor at university

Kwon, Y. R. (2015). Head of culture consulting company

Lee, K. H. (2015a). Head of community support centre

Ryu, J. S. (2015). Professor at university

Appendix 1

Research Project Information

1. Research project: ‘Urban regeneration’ to ‘Social regeneration’: Culture and social regeneration of through the Cultural City of East Asia event initiative in Cheongju South Korea

You are being invited to take part in the research project. Before you decide to participate, understanding the research purpose and what your participation will contribute to the research is imperative. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with other if you wish to participate. Do not hesitate to ask me if there is anything that is unclear or if you would like to receive more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to participate. Thank you for reading this.

2. Purpose of the project

I am a self-funded PhD student at the Town and Regional Planning at The University of Sheffield. The purpose of my research is to examine whether and how the Culture City of East Asia culture events have contributed to social regeneration in the declining areas of Cheongju. This project is a study which started in September 2014 and ends in September 2017.

3. Why have I been chosen?

The research will examine perceptions of the Culture City of East Asia programme. I want to interview people who have been involved in developing the programme to ask about how decisions were made about events and activities. I also want to interview residents and organisations in the city to see whether and how they have engaged with the initiative and whether they have seen any benefits from the Culture City of East Asia programme. The research will include researchers and community groups.

4. Do I have to take part?

Your participation is entirely voluntary; therefore it depends on your decision whether or not to participate in this project. If you accept to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form as well, but you can still withdraw at any time without it affecting any benefits that you are entitled to in any way. If you make a decision to discontinue participation, you do not need to give a reason, and no further contact will be made.

5. What will happen to me if I take part?

If you decide to take part, you will participate in an audio recorded face-to-face interview (or focus group). This will take the type of unstructured interview. Also the interview can last approximately from 30 minute to an hour.

6. Will my taking part in this project be kept confidential?

Of course yes. All of data provided will be used for interview purposes ONLY and will be strictly kept confidential. The researcher will not share any personal information of participants or utilise information which can reveal participant’s identities in any reports, summaries, publications or PhD thesis. You can be assured that if you take part in the project you will remain anonymous.

7. What are the possible benefits of taking part?

Whilst there are no direct benefits for those who participate in the project, it is hoped that this research will contribute to examine how cultural event contributes to social regeneration of the area for improving quality of life of local residents. It is also intended that the understanding of research would be a positive way to promote cultural policy formation and better decision making process for the future of culture and urban regeneration in non-capital cities.

8. What will happen to the outcomes of the research project?

The results collected from the qualitative data will contribute to my PhD thesis. A PDF file will be available for any participants who want to have a copy.

9. Who has ethically reviewed the project?

This project has been ethically approved via Town and Regional Planning Department's Ethics Committee in line with the University of Sheffield's research ethics procedures.

For further information, please contact:

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Research project supervisors:

Primary supervisor

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APPENDIX 2

Urban regeneration to Social regeneration: Culture and social regeneration through the Culture City of East Asia event initiative in Cheongju South Korea

A Survey Questionnaire

Your participation of this questionnaire is greatly appreciated.

On completion, please keep this questionnaire until I visit again.

Your opinions will remain anonymous.

If you have any questions about this questionnaire or the research please contact:

Researcher: Milyung Son

Mobile: (+82) 10 6632 6599

Email: mson4@sheffield.ac.uk / mimison8609@gmail.com

Do not hesitate to ask me if there is anything that is unclear or if you would like to receive more information. Thank you

NOTE: Please have a look the research participation information letter which is provided along with this survey questionnaire



Questionnaire

- ❖ Research subject: Urban regeneration to Social regeneration: Culture and social regeneration through the Culture City of East Asia event initiative in Cheongju South Korea
- ❖ Researcher: Milyung Son

1. What is your gender?

- Male Female

2. What is your occupation?

- Employee Civil servant Homemaker Own business Others

3. What is your marital status?

- Married Single

4. How long have you been living in Jungang-dong (Naedeok-dong / Suamgol)?

- 20 ~ 30 (years) 30 ~40 40 ~ 50 Over 50

5. What is your age?

- 30s 40s 50s 60s Over 70s

6. Have you ever participated in cultural events or programmes over the last (3) years?

- Yes No

7. Have you been aware of the Culture City of East Asia event which took place in Cheongju 2015?

- Yes No

8. Have you participated in the Culture city of East Asia event in 2015?

- Yes (If yes, please go to 11) No (If no, please go to 10)

9. Why did you not participate in the cultural events over the last three years??

(Please answer, if you did tick 'No' for question 6)

- Uninteresting Long distance Financial problems Lack of information
 Inconspicuous contents Any other reasons (please specify) _____

10. Why did you not participate in the CCEA?

- Uninteresting Long distance Financial problems Lack of information
 Inconspicuous contents Any other reasons (please specify) _____

11. Where have you heard about the Culture City of East Asia event?

- Posters Newspapers TV Internet Word of mouth Others

12. How much do you agree with the following statements: Do you think that cultural project is an influential driver to regeneration and develop a declining community?

[Cultural participation in general]	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Q1) Cultural projects contribute to community development and regeneration					
Q2) The area has become a better place to live and work when having cultural projects					
Q3) Cultural projects have a long-term positive impact (e.g. job opportunity, attracting new investment) on community sustainability and improvement					
Q4) Having culture-led projects give a more positive impression of area, and attract further investment in community					

[CCEA participation]	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Q1) The CCEA contributes to community development and regeneration					
Q2) The area has become a better place to live and work when having the CCEA					
Q3) A year-long cultural event have a long-term positive impact (e.g. job opportunity, attracting new investment) on community sustainability and improvement					
Q4) Having a year-long give a more positive impression of area, and attract further investment in community					

13. Do you think cultural activity and urban regeneration⁶ have a close relationship?

Yes No

14. Do you think cultural activity is the best effective strategy for boosting urban regeneration?

Yes No

Thank you for your participation 😊



The University Of Sheffield.

Reference

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⁶ Urban Regeneration: Urban regeneration focused mainly on economic and environmental improvements with social and cultural elements in a declining or degraded inner-city area. For example, the Car-free zone project in Junang-dong, the regenerative planning for the Tobacco Factory using cultural elements in Naedeok-dong, and mural painting work in Suamgol could be seen as one of urban regeneration strategies.

APPENDIX 3

Participant Information Sheet for Focus Group

- ❖ Research subject: Urban regeneration to Social regeneration: Culture and social regeneration through the Culture City of East Asia event initiative in Cheongju South Korea
- ❖ Researcher: Milyung Son

Dear Participant,

Thank you for once again your acceptance of taking part in focus group discussion for this research. I am greatly appreciated your precise time and opinions. As you know, this research focuses on the CCEA impacts on social regeneration aspects of communities using qualitative approach. Therefore, your opinions could build this research more solid and authentic. This focus group will last approximately 50 minutes to an hour.

As a participant in the focus group, you will be asked the questions which you have already done in the questionnaire survey in order to achieve more realistic and additional opinions. Therefore, you can freely express your comments regarding your feeling, perception, experience and observation comments.

This study is conducted to meet requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy under the supervision of Dr Aidan While and Professor Gordon Dabinett of the Department of Urban Studies and Planning at the University of Sheffield in the United Kingdom.

Your participation is apparently voluntary and your anonymity could be protected. The focus group will be taped for analysis and translation purposes only. I would be grateful if you would agree to take part in this research by signing the attached consent form. Signing this form will be considered as consent to accept using the information for research purposes.



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Sheffield.

Appendix 4

Participant Consent Form

Title of Research Project	‘Urban regeneration’ to ‘Social regeneration’: Culture and social regeneration of through the Cultural City of East Asia event initiative in Cheongju South Korea
Name of Researcher	Milyung Son

		Please tick the box	
		Yes	No
1	I confirm that I have carefully read the information sheet and understand the purpose of this research, and I have had the opportunities to ask questions with regards to the research	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving reasons. Also, I am free to decline, if I do not wish to answer any particular questions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	I consent to the interview / focus group being audio recorded	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4	I understand that the audio record will be strictly transferred to the Researchers hard drive and not to be stored on any other devices	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5	I agree to be contacted about possible participation in future research projects	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6	I agree to take part in this research	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7	Please tick the box if you agree with the statement		
	• I agree for any quotes to be used		<input type="checkbox"/>
	• I agree to the use of anonymised quotes		<input type="checkbox"/>
	• I agree to the use of background information being used in the research, but not to quotation		<input type="checkbox"/>
	• I disagree for any quotes to be used		<input type="checkbox"/>

<u>Name of participant</u>	Signature	Date Day Month Year (/ /)
<u>Name of researcher</u>	Signature	Date Day Month Year (/ /)

