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Jeonju Hanok Village, Jeonju, Korea (photo by Shin Byung-moon)

Trends of the Theory of Creative Cities and the Korean*

Jeong-duk YI**

Abstract

After the share of manufacturing has declined greatly in developed countries in production and employment, we have experienced the great transformation in human history toward mental industries such as cultural and creative industries. Mental goods, tangible and intangible, become the core of new economy. In this context, the importance of creativity is increasingly emphasized. Many strategies for creative cities were formulated by many scholars and UNESCO in this context.

However, many efforts for creative cities have been failed in South Korea because many experts didn't well understand the subtle and sometimes obvious differences between the mass production cultural industries in Seoul and the artisan cultural industries in local cities. Areas and dynamics of the artisan cultural industries and also local residents as possessors of local traditions and creativities should be more carefully analyzed and considered.

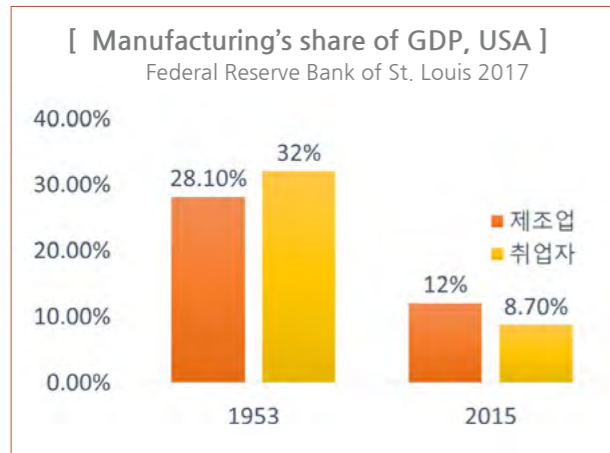
Keywords : mental goods, creativity, creative industries, creative city, mass production cultural industries, artisan cultural industries, local cities.

* This paper is a revised version of my paper presented at the 2017 International Forum on UNESCO Creative Cities Network and published in The Cultural Creative City, Jeonju (Yi et al. 2019).

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1. Introduction

For individuals in developed countries, the problem of material consumption for survival has been solved to some extent owing to their income growth. Over the decades, material production capacity has greatly improved, and automation and robotics have gradually replaced manpower. With a remarkable increase in productivity, the risk of overproduction has also increased in most areas of the manufacturing industry. As a result, the psychological mechanism that incites people to buy new products instead of existing ones is now greatly intensified. There is a growing tendency to sell products through mental satisfaction by packaging them meaningfully and emotionally. For example, clothes, apartments, foods and automobiles are now sold better when they give consumers mental satisfaction through the senses of fashion, brand, design and taste, which are far beyond simple material satisfaction.



Given such rapid rise of the market dictated by mental consumption, its related industries have seen faster growth compared to the traditional manufacturing industry in recent years. In the United States, manufacturing's share of GDP (gross domestic product) has dropped from 28.1 percent in 1953 to just 12 percent in 2015. The employment share of manufacturing has also declined from about 32 percent of workers in 1953 to just 8.7 percent in 2015 (Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis 2017).



National Intangible Heritage Center, Jeonju, Korea
(Website : <http://jeonju.go.kr/>)

On the other hand, the growth rate of those industries related to the mental aspects, such as information, knowledge, culture, content, design, research, consulting, planning, leisure, tourism, arts, and events, is two to three times higher than that of manufacturing. These industrial sectors, often referred to as “cultural industries” or “creative industries,” are different from the manufacturing sector not only in their attributes, but also in how they operate and how commodities are consumed. According to Florida (2010), as the portion of these industries becomes larger and larger, such conventional economic factors as land, natural resources, labor and capital continue to diminish in importance. In other words, creativity has now become the most important element of our economy.

Discourses on the Third Wave, network society, information society, cultural society, knowledge society and creative society, all of which started appearing since the late twentieth century, are intended to account for this great transformation in human history that has emerged after the manufacturing age. They reflect the change at the present time when the importance of material production (manufacturing) decreases and the significance of mental production (information, knowledge, culture, emotion, desire, experience and so on) increases significantly. Instead of the terms such as information, network and knowledge, which were fad words until the early 2000s, creativity is now being used more frequently. Due to their strong structural and passive connotations, the terms like knowledge, information and network cannot delineate properly the very fast and actively changing tendencies of the present society. In contrast, creativity is a term that reveals and captures the activeness of people who respond to the rapidly changing situation with a new idea.

From this perspective, the present paper explores creativity, creative city, and the present status of cultural industries in Korea.



Art play, Palbokart, Jeonju, Korea
(Website : <https://www.palbokart.kr/>)



Result Showcase of Media Arts Creative Lab Interactive Contents ○○○(空欄)(Blank) - Gwangju Media Art News, Gwangju, Korea
(Website : <http://eng.gjmp.kr/>)

2. Four Types of Creativity

In general, mental goods should constantly renew their contents. We tend to have a desire for something new, as we become too familiar and bored with existing things. We create new information, build new knowledge, draw new designs, write new songs and lyrics, make new films and dramas, provide consulting suitable for new situations, hold festivals appropriate to local communities, and conduct new research. Creativity that helps us create these new things can be classified into four types: everyday creativity, cultural and artistic creativity, scientific and technological creativity, and innovative creativity.

First, everyday creativity refers to the kind of creativity that occurs in everyday life. In our daily life, we tend to make food in a way that is different from how we did before, arrange rooms differently, put on clothes differently, think different thoughts after watching flowers, and try this and that with computers. We generally have 15,000 to 70,000 thoughts per day. Ninety-five percent of these are repetitive thoughts—that is, thoughts that we had before; while the remaining 5 percent are new ones.¹ This means that in everyday life, the average person can have thousands of new thoughts per day. We apply to our daily life such new thoughts or new problem-solving ideas. This can be done either “by reiterating a known idea in a

1. Dr. Gersten argues that we think 15,000 thoughts per day. He obtained the figure by having people count their thoughts over a 30 second period and then multiplying it out (<http://www.imagerynet.com/amino/audio/amino.audio.txt.html>). According to an article published by the National Science Foundation, “the average person has about 12,000 to 60,000 thoughts per day. ... 95% were exactly the same repetitive thoughts as the day before” (<https://tlexinstitute.com/how-to-effortlessly-have-more-positive-thoughts/>). There is also another view which goes further to argue that people run 50,000 to 70,000 thoughts per day. In Gersten’s view, 80 percent of our thoughts are negative. If this is true, positive and new thoughts account for about one percent, 120 to 700 in number per day. Since the number of thoughts can differ greatly depending on how to define a thought unit, the aforementioned numbers should not be taken as representing the scientific and correct ones, but as showing how our mind works in everyday life.

new way, moving a field forward along its current trajectory, moving a field forward in a new direction, or leading to an integration of diverse trends in a field” (Sternberg, Grigorenko and Singer 2004). This type of creativity which occurs in everyday life is everyday creativity. Every human being has such an ability. However, there are especially those who are more creative. In general, they are highly independent, flexible, open, well immersed in work, and have a strong desire for social recognition (Jeong and Park 2006).

Second, cultural and artistic creativity manifests itself more systematically in works, performances or activities, including music, arts, literature, design, theatre, film, book and webtoon, and gives an aesthetic satisfaction to people. Creativity in these fields is expressed via certain individuals’ intuition, inspiration, insight, sharp sensitivity, novelty, aesthetic pleasure, sympathy, diversity, and bohemian lifestyle. Kim Young-Jung (2005) terms it a “divergent creativity” as an illogical imaginative thinking. Artists are emotionally sensitive and feel acutely. Artistic creativities are often found among those who have artist parents or received education and training in the arts since their early childhood. The importance of arts has increased as the arts now collaborate with different industries, and there is a growing tendency among the middle- and upper-class families to provide arts education to their children.

Scientific and technological creativity refers to building additional knowledge or technologies upon existing ones or to creating new ones by denying previous ones. This type of creativity first requires understanding and becoming critical of the existing knowledge and technologies and, on this basis, adding or producing completely new ones. In other words, scientific and technological creativity works by analyzing and understanding the reality dispassionately. Kim (2005) calls it a “convergent creativity” to characterize such a rational and logical thought based on

Jeonju Bibimbap, Jeonju, Korea
(Website : <http://unesco.jeonju.go.kr/>)





Woodcraft, Jinju, Korea
(photo courtesy of Jinju Craftsmen Association)

semiotic, analytic, inductive, comprehensive and alternative thinking. Scientific and technological creativity can be obtained only when sustained learning, endeavor and research are combined together. It requires one to make continuous efforts at learning, research and verification, while having a strong intellectual curiosity and interest concerning science and technologies from childhood. Those who show this kind of creativity usually acquire professional knowledge through university education and work to improve such knowledge for a lengthy period of time (Kocabas 1993).



Woodcraft, Jinju, Korea
(Website : <http://craft.jinju.go.kr/>)

Innovative creativity usually appears in the areas of organization and management. While artistic creativity is about aesthetics and intuition, and scientific creativity is about knowledge and technology, innovative creativity concerns organization and management, with a strong focus on efficiency and better practice. It refers to organizing people, establishing relations among them, and managing them in a different way than before. It is characterized by its emphasis on the social aspects, or how to build or organize a relationship among people and how to manage it with which strategy and policy. This creativity works

between and among people, aiming to influence human relations, groups, corporations, organizations, meetings and administration. For example, the development of a local government as a creative city greatly depends on how it is run with which strategy and organization. In successful creative cities, their governments actively seek talent, capital and companies, and provide diverse policies and assistance for settling successfully in the cities. Accordingly, significant changes occur in their policy, organization and management. Creative people, organizations or businesses thereby enhance their practical creativities through various innovations.



In every city, creativity exists on its own. Nevertheless, there are different levels of quality in it. Ideas that are different or new are not always useful. Rather, what are new often fail to spread to society, because they are mostly of little usefulness or their practicality is limited for individual use. Only a few of them are eventually evaluated to be useful and thus socially adopted. In order for creativity to have any usefulness, it must make use of information, knowledge and culture that people have accumulated. Cases of creativity which improve, add, combine, merge and repackage what existed previously are usually adopted far better than those that are created all at once.

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Jinju Woodcraft Training Center, Jinju, Korea
(Website : <http://www.jinju.go.kr/mokgong>)
Woodcraft, Jinju, Korea
(photo courtesy of Jinju Craftsmen Association)



3. Cultural Industries and Creative Industries



In 1998, the British government stressed, under the slogan of “Creative Britain,” a new strategy for national development through culture and software in response to the decline of manufacturing. It coined the term “creative industries” to recognize that culture and arts are based on creativity (Smith 1998). As the British Department for Culture, Media and Sport thereafter analyzed advertising, architecture, art, crafts, design, fashion, film, music, performing arts, publishing, leisure, software, toys, TV and radio, and video games in terms of creative industries (DCMS 2001), the practice of calling cultural industries “creative industries” began to spread widely.

Howkins (2001), who is responsible for the first full-fledged use of the term “creative economy,” extended creative industries to include the research and software industries beyond cultural industries. Florida (2002) went further to include creative occupational groups such as professionals, managers, researchers and culture-related workers and called them the “creative class.”

Overall, in defining creative industries, Europe and the United States tend to follow Howkins and Florida, respectively. Given that UNESCO’s headquarters is located in Paris, France, it is not strange that it adopted Howkins’ notion of creative cities when the Creative Cities project for the purpose of urban regeneration was launched, in response to the declining manufacturing in Europe. Under this notion, the cities in which industries related to arts and culture are relatively active or agglomerated are UNESCO creative cities.

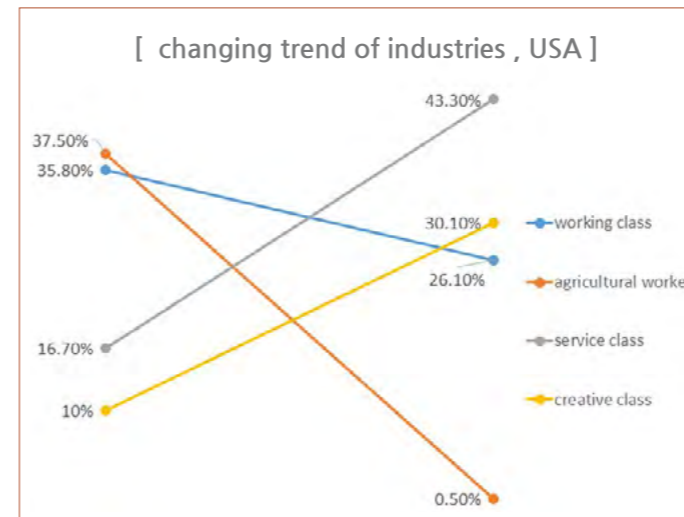
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 'Cinema-people-theque', Corner Theater, Busan, Korea
 (Website : <http://www.unescobusan.org/>)

Cultural and creative industries - a lever for development
 (Website : <https://www.unido.org/news/>)



4. Creative Cities Based on Creative Industries

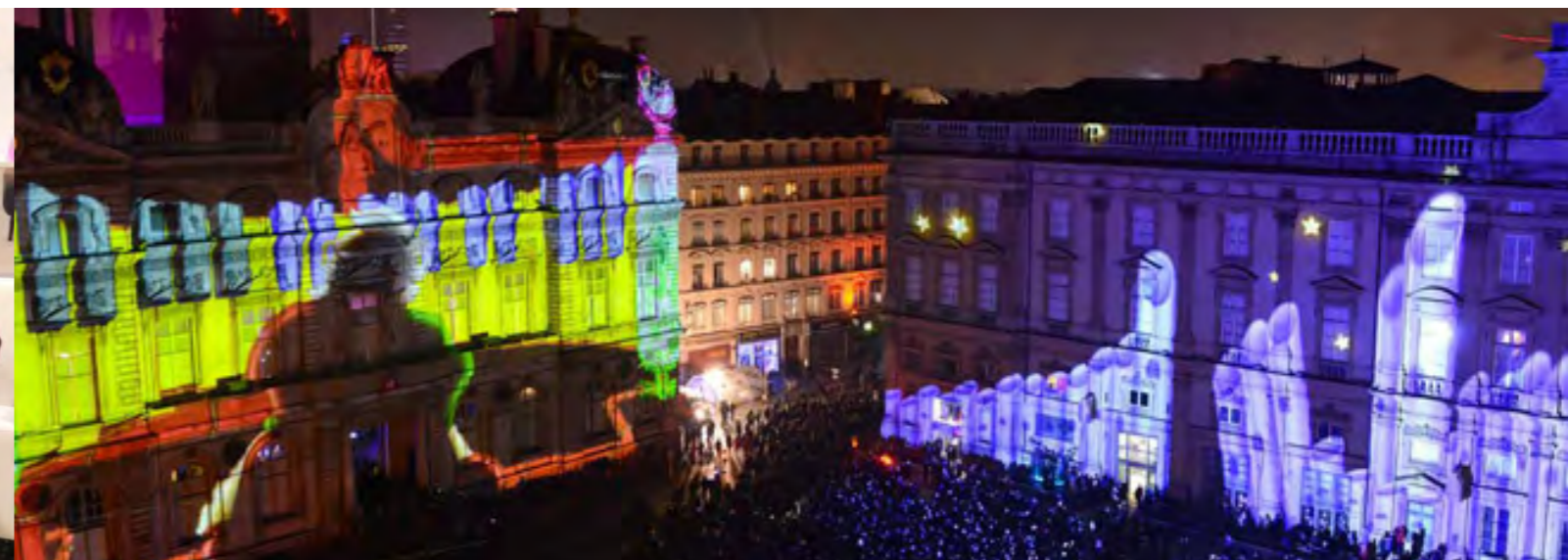
According to Florida (2005), creative ideas are now the fundamental basis of economic values. The more they are used, the higher value they create. Depending on where the creative class who has creative capacities choose to live, the degree of creative concentration of the cities concerned differs. Florida (2002) traces the changing trend of industries in the United States between 1900 and 1999, and it is found that the portion of the working class and of agricultural workers in the total



workforce decreased from 35.8 percent to 26.1 percent and from 37.5 percent to 0.5 percent, respectively. On the contrary, the percentage of the service class (low-end service workers such as salesmen and waiters) and of the creative class (working in sectors including education, research, law, medicine, cultural industry and architecture) rose from 16.7 percent to 43.3 percent and from 10 percent to

30.1 percent, respectively. Moreover, the share of the super-creative wcore of this class increased from 2.4 percent to 11.9 percent. Florida thus argues that the key to economic growth now is the creative class. They receive higher wages than other occupations, which are about twice as much as the working class and account for more than half of the total wages of all workers in the 2000s.

UNESCO City of Media Arts(Highlights of the year), Lyon, France
 (Website : <https://www.lyon.fr/culture/festival/>)





Korea Silk Research Institute, Jinju, Korea
(Website : <http://www.ksri.re.kr/>)

Florida (2002) argues that the super-creative core of the creative class includes scientists, engineers, architects, designers, artists, musicians, entertainers, businessmen, financial experts, law specialists and computer experts, who contribute to adding economic value through their creativity—that is, by creating new ideas, technologies, and contents. Taking advantage of creativity as the main element of their jobs, they have emerged as the core

of American economy and reached roughly 30 percent of the workforce. In his *Cities and the Creative Class* (2005), Florida goes on to argue that creativity has become the most highly prized commodity in our economy. As creativity comes from human beings, every human being is the critical resource for the new era as a fundamental source of creativity. The creative class, though smaller in number than the service class in the United States, is far more influential and is leading the American society.

According to Florida, the members of the creative class who create new ideas are like adventurers rather than model students, as they take a constructive attitude when faced with uncertain problems and have flexibility of positively overcoming certain tensions and doubts arising from unfamiliar situations. They are the sources of making profits who are engaged in creating and diffusing innovations. The creative class leads fundamental changes everywhere in work, leisure, community and daily life. These changes form a new flow of creativity which combines the technological and economic creativity and the cultural and artistic creativity.

Jinju silk, Jinju, Korea
(photo by Yoo Geun-jong)



Textile art, Jinju, Korea
(photo courtesy of Jinju Craftsmen Association)

In *The Creative Economy* (2001), Howkins defines the creative economy as “an economy where a person’s ideas, not land or capital, are the most important input and output.” For him, creative industries are composed of culture and arts (fine arts, books, crafts, film, music, performing arts, video games, etc.), design (architecture, design, fashion, toys and games, etc.), media (advertising, newspaper and magazine, TV and radio, etc.) and innovation (research, software, dotcom firms, etc.). Unlike Florida, he does not include businessmen (entrepreneurs), financial experts, law specialists, educators, consultants and so on. His notion of the creative industries is confined to the cultural and the digital industries, the scale of which is thus limited compared to Florida’s concept which includes all occupations in areas of research, counselling, medicine, law, consulting and education. In Howkins’ view, the creative industries refer to those industries in cultural and artistic areas which make use of individuals’ or groups’ creativities based on the long-accumulated tradition and cultural legacy.

With that being said, both authors similarly argue that creative cities are those cities where creative industries and the creative class are concentrated (Florida 2002, 2005). Representative of them are Silicon Valley, San Francisco, Austin, Seattle, Chapel Hill, Toronto and Dublin, where IT and software industries prosper. Once the members of the creative class are concentrated, the economy of the city grows through innovations they make. They are engaged in developing new thoughts for solving problems. In order to make them come, creative cities should be in possession of talent, tolerance, and technology. Consequently, a city that fails to attract talented and creative people cannot be a creative city. Since these people have a bohemian, but immersed lifestyle to express their creativity, only those cities with a cultural atmosphere enabling it can attract the creative class. Therefore, Florida considers diversity, tolerance, and leisure as important elements of creative cities.

5. Humanistic Creative Cities

There is yet another view that is different from the mainstream perspective which sees creative cities as being tied to the creative industries. It is argued that the aforementioned notion of creative cities is difficult to be realized for most local cities that lack talent, capital, and technology. In Korea, for example, Daejeon seems to be the only local city that can meet the requirements for Florida's concept of creative cities. This is because most of the cultural industries, as well as talent, capital, and technology are concentrated in Seoul, which is the capital city of Korea. Cultural diversity and tolerance are also relatively higher in Seoul, compared to other cities. In this context, a new round of discussion on creative cities was triggered by Jane Jacobs who presents the so-called humanistic approach to urban space. She criticizes existing city planning efforts, as they tend to make many urban spaces into dead spaces, or spaces which people avoid, by fragmentizing spaces and specializing them into one single function. Jacobs is the first to advance the new way of thinking that human beings are most important in revitalizing an urban space and that it should enable human activities and creativity to display themselves actively.

First using the concept of creative cities, Jacobs (1961, 1985) criticized that the conventional approach to urban planning, as it sees a city as being composed of buildings, fails to understand adequately people's interactions in space and, consequently, makes city spaces into dead zones. She instead advocated a humanistic theory of urban planning, prioritizing people over structures, and argued that our life can become rich and the community can be revitalized when we make our city a living space in which people walk, meet, greet, talk, play together, take a rest, and shop. From this perspective, Jacobs defines creative cities as cities which are equipped with an economic system based on a flexible and innovative self-regulation capacity. In particular, she argued that medium-sized cities with active cultural and community activities, such as Bologna and Florence, have such characteristics (Jacobs 1985).

This kind of approach can also be found in Jan Gehl's *Life Between Buildings* (Gehl 1987). Focusing on how people have activities in outdoor spaces, he tries to create urban spaces which can facilitate people's contacts and activities. His



Palbokart, Jeonju, Korea
(Website : <https://www.palbokart.kr/>)



UNESCO City of Design, Bilbao, Spain
(Website : <https://pixabay.com/>)

question is how to reconstruct streets to increase people's contacts and enrich their social activities. The goal is to rebuild urban spaces so that their residents can live a richer life, focusing on outdoor spaces, people, and their activities. This perspective lends itself to a practical approach aiming at regenerating communities, with their residents at the center, on the basis of the environment and resources of the local area concerned.

In this regard, there are many works presenting such a resident-centered approach for the regeneration of cities. Nick Wates' *The Community Planning Handbook* (2000), for example, concretely shows methods which communities can choose, combine and practically apply, according to their given conditions. Yamazaki Ryo's *Community Design* (2012) and *Designing a Small Village* (2014) also offer such an approach. Like Jacobs, these authors maintain that redeveloping a space based only on buildings and roads will lead to creating dead spaces within the cities. Instead, they show how to "design a village," centered on its residents and their lives—that is, ways in which the residents of a local community can participate and take the lead in solving problems and improving their own space. In this new approach, experts in urban planning can play a role not as designers or decision-makers, but as facilitators who guide the residents and promote their thoughts and activities. It is residents themselves who are responsible for solving local problems and revitalizing their communities.

In sum, it can be argued that relying solely on external experts to plan a space from their own perspective will only create dead spaces within the cities. Such way of city planning will unavoidably result in fragmentizing rather than activating the residents' life, because it fails to take into consideration their actual lifestyles and activities, as well as the advantages, disadvantages, and resources of their community. Seen from this point of view, any effort to remodel a city centering on creative industries or to revitalize it by attracting tourists with arts and culture can lead to fragmentize urban spaces and turn them into dead ones. Therefore, in regenerating a local community, it is highly important to focus on revitalizing the life of residents by making the most of the local characteristics from the viewpoint of the residents and promoting their participation.

6. Cultural and Artistic Creative Cities

The first effort to follow Jacobs' view that people are important in urban planning was led by Charles Landry (2000) in Great Britain. If the British creative industry was largely centered on the cultural industry, the creative city for Landry meant to regenerate cities by relying on local arts and culture. The point of his argument is to turn a local community into a creative space by discovering and utilizing its cultural and historical resources with its residents at the center. This can be done either by 1) having experts make decisions; or 2) with the active participation of the residents in searching for local resources and development strategy. In Korea, the method of regenerating the city is relying on experts, while the participation of residents is severely limited. As a result, the city regeneration is overwhelmingly carried out in the direction of revitalizing local economies by increasing as many visitors as possible, rather than considering the lives of residents seriously.

Advocating and developing a theory of city revitalization based on arts and culture, Landry argues in his *The Creative City* (2000) that a creative approach is needed in all areas of life, in order to respond to the changes and solve the problems faced by the cities. In his view, a city today can overcome serious problems, when creativity penetrates every organization within the city. It is arts and culture that play the most vital role in revitalizing the potentials of a city. Conventional organizational systems suffocate creative ideas with a hierarchy. Focusing only on infrastructures and buildings, the existing urban engineering also failed to activate the creative role of software and content. For Landry, what enables us to overcome these problems is creativity, and it is arts and culture that are central to revitalizing it. He thus defines the creative city as a city which is regenerated by attracting people with such cultural capital.

According to Landry, there exist various types of creative city of arts and culture. There are cities which serve as a hub through culture. Such examples include Beirut, Edinburgh, and Salzburg, where festivals play an important role in urban identity. He regards arts as playing a crucial role in well-being, social relations and identity as well as contributing to creating values, employment and income. In his *The*

Traditional Korean knots (maedeup) art, Jinju, Korea
(photo courtesy of Jinju Craftsmen Association)



UNESCO City of Crafts and Folk Art, Jinju, Korea
(photo courtesy of Jinju City Hall)

Art of City Making (2006), Landry criticizes that existing urban planning misses the aspects of emotion, environmental psychology, culture, arts and diversity, and maintains that a city can revive only when its creativity is vitalized by bringing back its sensory landscape. While Jacobs advocates a creative city which makes an attractive space by revitalizing the lives of residents, Landry argues for a theory of creative city which aims at promoting creativity with the attractiveness of arts and culture and, thereby, revitalizing a city by attracting visitors. There is no denying that Landry's approach owes much to Jacobs'. Nonetheless, while Jacobs focuses on the lives of residents, Landry is much more concerned with the utilization of arts and culture.

In his *The Cities that Create* (2004) and *Design the Creative City* (2010), Sasaki Masayuki, a creative city expert who first introduced and popularized Landry's approach in Japan, defines the creative city as a city which is capable of creating a local power to draw creativity from its residents and to build and constantly develop its own framework. He is mainly concerned with the urban regeneration based on the local creativity through which local residents actively utilize their culture and resources to revitalize the city.

The reason why the creative city strategies of Landry and Sasaki are more widely accepted than those of Florida and Jacobs is that former authors' approaches are easier to apply to any cities and quicker to produce an effect. They are the most used approaches in East Asia and Korea as well. Central to their theories is increasing visitors by discovering and revitalizing the cultural and artistic resources of the local communities, in collaboration with the residents.

7. Creative Cultural Industries in South Korea: The Mass Reproduction Cultural Industries in Seoul and the Artisan Cultural Industries in Local Cities

As mentioned above, the approach to the creative city which is adopted most widely in Korea is to attract as many visitors as possible by discovering and developing the cultural, historical, folk and artistic resources. Cultural goods strongly reflect the cultural characteristics of the country or local area concerned. This can be explained by the fact that the specific culture, arts, tradition, ethos, history and atmosphere of the country or the region have a profound effect on cultural consumption. A cultural commodity or design which arouses passionate responses in one place may not do so in another place or, worse, could even draw negative ones.

Therefore, in order to establish a successful strategy for the creative city in Korea, it is essential to better understand the characteristics which the country and its cities have. In this regard, it is important to note the fact that the nature of cultural industries is very different between Seoul and the local cities in Korea. In planning strategies for urban regeneration or for the creative city on the basis of cultural and artistic resources, the way in which cultural industries work economically in local cities greatly differs from the working mechanism of mass reproduction cultural industries in Seoul.² There is no denying that the issues of cultural industries in Korea have been considered largely from the standpoint of Seoul. Even the government's white paper on cultural industries deals only with those industrial sectors in Seoul—including film, music, games, characters, cartoons, content, broadcasting, advertising, publishing, performances and design. However, it excludes festivals, events, exhibitions, hands-on experiences, historical and cultural tourism that are important to local cities. The government's cultural policies have thus been criticized as not adequately reflecting the reality of the local cultural industries.

In order to tackle the problem of cultural industries from the standpoint of local cities, it is necessary to divide them into the mass reproduction cultural industries and the artisan cultural industries.

The mass reproduction cultural industries are based on the production, distribution and consumption using mass media. They include newspaper and broadcasting, book publishing, recorded music, video, animation, games, advertising and internet, which are mainly produced in Seoul and distributed nationwide. The

Jeonju fan, Jeonju, Korea
(Website : <http://www.jeonjucraft.or.kr/>)

2. Since the term "cultural industries" is accepted more widely than "creative industries" in Korea, it will be used here.



Gimje Horizon Festival, Gimje, Korea
(Website : <https://www.gimje.go.kr/festival/>)

artisan cultural industries include:

1) performances, concerts, shows, circuses and dances, which are directly performed; **2)** museums, exhibition halls, galleries, fairs, landscape and gardens, zoo and botanical gardens, natural sceneries, historic sites, traditional house villages and tourist sites, which are directly exhibited and showed; **3)** professional sports games, horse racing, cycle racing, casinos, and horseback riding, which have the characteristics of amusement; **4)** foods, handicrafts and souvenirs, which have the characteristics of traditional local industries; **5)** individual design, photography, fashion and beauty, which belong to modern local cultural industries; **6)** artworks, antiques and art crafts, which are artistic works; **7)** festivals, tourism, event business and wedding business, which have comprehensive characteristics; and **8)** education and lectures.

Compared to the mass reproduction cultural industries, the artisan cultural industries is difficult to make large-scale profits. Rather, they are mostly associated with local traditions or sites, and thus provide cultural commodities differentiated by local characteristics. For example, a festival combined with certain local characteristics can be recognized as authentic when it is held in the area concerned. For example, it will be more appealing to have the Horizon Festival³ in Gimje City which has a vast paddy field to the horizon; but it will be less appealing if it is held in Seoul with tall buildings, or in the mountainous Gangwon-do province. Therefore, the artisan cultural industries have the advantage of making the most of the strengths of the locality concerned. Their main targets are local residents and visitors from outside, whereas the mass reproduction cultural industries produce and distribute at the

3. Gimje Horizon Festival, held in fall every year since 1999, takes place at Byeokgolje Reservoir built in 1,700 years ago, which is the heart of the Honam rice bowl. The festival aims to show the importance of Korea's farming culture, which is a foundation of the nation, with the theme of sky and land meeting at the horizon. Many dynamic and active programs are available for festival-goers to participate before the golden horizon.



national level and for the whole world. In sum, while the mass reproduction cultural industries have the characteristics of national identity, the artisan cultural industries retain local characteristics.

The reason why we differentiate between the two types of cultural industries is that they differ in nature and in the implications which they have for the creative city strategy. In addition, the cultural industrial sectors which should be developed intensively in local cities are different from those which metropolitan cities are concentrated on. The mass reproduction cultural industries are not only a sector in which competition is very intense due to mass reproduction, distribution and sale targeting the national and world markets, but also a system in which a few take most of the profits. In Korea, the degree of concentration of these industries in Seoul is extremely high.⁴ They also are thoroughly dominated by the logic of capital, as any material that is profitable can be industrialized to send or distribute directly to the whole country or the world.

The mass reproduction cultural industries in local cities are still facing many difficulties because they lag far behind Seoul in scale, manpower, planning capability, production capacity, marketing, market information, distribution technology and linkage capability. For example, there are many cities such as Bucheon, Busan, Jeonju and Chuncheon that have tried to promote the film industry.

Jeonju Hanbyuk Cultural Center, Jeonju, Korea
(Website : <http://www.jt.or.kr/>)



4. Approximately 99% of publishing, 90% of newspapers, 90% of broadcasting, 100% of film production, 90% of games and 100% of recorded music are concentrated in Seoul.

Busan, especially, has made efforts to develop the post-production film industry, but most of these efforts have failed. This is because local cities are no match for Seoul when it comes down to the level of available capital, talents and technologies. Ever since the 1990s, Jeonju city has made strong effort to foster some industries including mobile game, film and contents, but has not succeeded until now. Overall, the mass reproduction cultural industries in local cities have shared similar fate in Korea. In other words, the local cities that suffer from the lack of capital, talents, technologies, and facilities, are almost inaccessible to mass reproduction cultural industries.

In contrast, the artisan cultural industries target the residents and visitors in local cities. Since they retain much of the characteristics of a locality and make use of its strengths, the chance of their success and contribution to the local economy is relatively high. Their locally-characterized images are closely associated with the areas concerned, and thus make it easy to differentiate themselves in competition with other areas. Depending on their types, the artisan cultural industries put an emphasis on profit seeking (cultural tourism, etc.), the preservation and experience of culture (museum, etc.) or local revitalization and promotion (festivals, events, etc.). Therefore, apart from the profits, the central and local governments support them actively, inducing visitors to contribute to local revitalization through consumption in other fields.

The artisan cultural industries survive relatively well in local cities and sometimes gain huge popularity. The Jeonju Hanok Village is a good example as it successfully attracts visitors by making use of its cultural capital, mainly hanok (traditional

Jeonju Hanok Village, Jeonju, Korea
(Website : <http://hanok.jeonju.go.kr/>)





Jeju Olle trail, Jeju, Korea
(Website : <https://www.jejuolle.org/>)

Korean house). Since more than 10 million tourists are visiting Jeonju every year, it can be considered a huge success. It can even be said to be the best success story, along with the Jeju Olle trail circulating Jeju Island, among the tourist attractions which have been developed since the 2000s in Korea. With the continuous investment and efforts of Jeonju city and various artists and citizens, not only historical cultural buildings including hanok have been recreated as attractive sceneries, but also diverse cultural events, hands-on experience programs and exhibitions, which combined tangible and intangible traditional culture heritage, have been continued. As a result, the Jeonju Hanok Village continues to attract visitors, contributing to increasing sales (0.5 billion dollars per year) and creating the employment opportunities for over 3,000 people. Focusing on the Hanok Village, Jeonju has tried to revitalize diverse artisan cultural industries including festivals, performances, exhibitions, crafts (traditional Korean paper, fan, etc.), foods and hands-on experience of traditional culture.

In most local cultural industries, however, the wages of employees are low, the input of professional personnel into commodity production systems (in performance, publishing, design, production system, advertising and marketing) is far from sufficient, and effective marketing is also not being made. Furthermore, local markets themselves are so poor that the development, exhibition and sales of quality cultural goods are difficult without demands from outside. Jeonju is again a good example. Although the size of its performance market is estimated to be more than 50 million dollars a year,⁵ there are no private concert halls or performance agencies that make an enough profit. Accordingly, performances are held mainly

5. As there is no such statistical data, this figure is roughly estimated based on the number of performances and audiences of major venues in Jeonju. About three percent of the total population are estimated to be regular audiences at concerts and performances in Jeonju



Traditional Korean paper craft, Jeonju, Korea
(Website : <http://www.jeonjucraft.or.kr/>)

at concert halls operated by the city or province, and performance agencies gain profits by hosting performances from Seoul rather than directly producing them. There are no actors or singers who earn money properly, because it is rare for them to make a success by producing new works by themselves. In general, performances are produced with various funds or grants provided by the city or province and in limited amounts only. Most plays, performances and music are in fact performed with public subsidies and museums and exhibition halls are largely run publicly. Some of them, including performance groups or agencies, are managed privately, but barely sustain themselves with little profit. Even though such industrial sectors as design, fashion, publishing, broadcasting, games, and content survive on an individual basis in local cities, there are not so many cases in which they grow by making profits.

However, as the Hanok Village and cultural tourism achieve a big success in Jeonju, there has been a sharp rise in the number of sectors which manage to survive individually in the artisan cultural industries, as well as that of the associated businesses and individual cultural mediators.⁶ The number of spaces for performance and exhibition has also jumped, and the number of places for selling souvenirs, crafts, artistic commodities, and memorial photos and providing experience programs continues to increase. These show that the cases of surviving by producing and merchandising diverse cultural goods continue to grow. Thanks to the Jeonju Hanok Village and many related festivals and cultural attractions which attract a lot of tourists, various types of small-scale businesses derived from them can continue their activities by earning profits from tourists.

6. Although no exact statistics exist, businesses increase by over 2,000 and employees by more than 5,000 in and near the Hanok Village. Excluding retail stores and lodging facilities, the number of employees in artisan cultural industries, such as cultural facilities, performances, tour, tourism products (photos, experiences, etc.) as well as restaurants and cafes, increased by over 3,000.

8. Conclusion

Creativity works in our daily lives, since we have various reflections or a flood of thoughts every day. As a matter of fact, most of our daily thoughts consist of the imitations of existing ones. Nevertheless, interest in creativity has been all the more growing because there is an increasing tendency to search for something new or different from or improved upon previous ones. This is one consequence of the considerable degree of material satisfaction by the development of the manufacturing industry in developed countries. In industrial areas, too, there is a tendency to focus on the role of the mental factors (information, knowledge, culture, sensitivity, desire, experience, etc.) rather than manufacturing itself and to industrialize them. Accordingly, a number of cities around the world now try to take creative areas beyond manufacturing as their key strategy for development. Especially in developed countries in which the problems of urban economy and unemployment arise as a result of the transfer of manufacturing abroad where wage is lower, a trend appears all over the world to regenerate cities and develop creative industries more actively.

One of these efforts is to reconstitute a city as a whole from the perspective of the creative city and, thereby, to host and develop creative industries by vitalizing creative activities and expanding creative manpower. Another is to regenerate declining urban spaces by activating arts and culture to attract visitors. There are also many endeavors to reconstruct spaces not so much from an economic viewpoint, but through revitalizing human relations and activities. In any case, in order to give an impetus to such changes, we need new ideas and creative thoughts. A city can be called a “creative city” when it can provide a fertile soil for creative ideas, create better spaces by systemizing and applying such ideas to city improvement and planning, and expand artistic and cultural or creative activities suitable to the city concerned for the development of cultural and creative industries.

However, in order to develop a city into a creative city, it is necessary to understand its characteristics well and find a direction suitable to its nature, culture, and talents. There have indeed been many cases of unsuccessful cities in Korea that adopted a development strategy without taking into consideration the disparity between Seoul and local cities. This is the inevitable result of the fact that local cities are far short of capital, technology and talent to effectively follow the strategy of the megacity full of abundant resources. In Korea, mass reproduction cultural industries are heavily concentrated in Seoul, the capital city. In contrast, local cities, though lacking capital and technology, have certain manpower, talents and tradition for the artisan cultural industries suitable to its own characteristics. Although being more laborious and low-waged, the artisan cultural industries are much more likely to succeed and can create a successful business on a long-term basis by utilizing and monopolizing the image of the local characteristics. Local cities can also raise their chance of success by clearly recognizing the characteristics and limitations of urban spaces and reflecting them in the strategy for vitalization of creative spaces.

For this purpose, the active participation of local residents, as well as administrators and experts, is important. Local residents are the very subjects who are well aware of the characteristics of their own spaces and can sustain the urban regeneration for a long time. In contrast, relying solely on investors and experts from outside are hard to succeed and are likely to fail. The chance of succeeding while reducing errors will increase when residents, in collaboration with administrators, investors and experts, combine the local characteristics with certain competitive strategies.

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