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Jinju Namgang Yudeung Festival (photo courtesy of Jinju city hall)

# Promotion of Cultural Creative Industry Based on the Regeneration of Folk Arts: For Jinju, a City Full of Excitement, Enthusiasm and Liveliness

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Abstract

My focus in this paper was a discussion centered on folk arts, and especially a discussion about Jinju's unique identity, whose direction has already been set. As a result, I have found a transmission pattern in Jinju's folk art and Gyobang art. In general, it was confirmed that there was the pattern of transmission starting with records and ending with festivalization, and that there were remarkable aspects in each stage. I have also mentioned that the transition to the creative city of Jinju can be predicted by combining the possibility of the existence and influx of creative talents captured in the Jinju Mask Dance and Drama Festival and the possibility of the increase in the economic ripple effects found in the Jinju Namgang Yudeung Festival. I hope that my argument can contribute to the discussions and practices relating to creative city more broadly.

Keywords : Jinju, folk arts, Gyobang art, pattern of transmission, Jinju Mask Dance and Drama Festival, Jinju Namgang Yudeung Festival, creative city

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## 1. Direction of the Discussion

The main idea of this paper is “promotion of cultural creative industry based on the regeneration of folk arts.” However, this topic is not familiar to me.

The expression “regeneration of folk arts” is unfamiliar, and the phrase “promotion of cultural creative industry” is even perplexing. I wonder if the latter sentence puts utmost importance on the economic effects such as the creation of new jobs and the increase in exports of goods, while considering arts and culture, which are the main source of creativity, less relevant or just as instruments. Jeong Min-chaе says the following about such a phenomenon:

*There have often been cases in which the quality of local culture has deteriorated, such as benchmarking only external factors of notable success cases while ignoring the characteristics of the region concerned, and focusing only on tourism and festivals to produce immediate results. In particular, the fragmentary policies emphasizing only the outcomes by local government heads can reduce the members of local communities to a simple means of attracting tourists, businessmen and investors. This in turn can hinder long-term urban development by reducing the members’ affection for their community and causing them to leave it (Jeong 2015, 36).*

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① Jinju Samcheonpo Nongak (photo courtesy of The Jinju Samcheonpo Nongak Preservation Society)

② Sung Gye-ok - Jinju Geommu (photo by Yoo Geun-jong)

As someone who is concerned about culture being used for industrial promotion or economic revitalization, I do not have any creative knowledge on this topic and would not be able to make any suggestions either. Concerning industrial promotion, therefore, I will stop at simply reiterating the reflective position mentioned above. I cannot discuss the topic as it is not my area of expertise, but I would at least like to emphasize that we need to keep in mind such a reflective approach or view. Rather than discussing industrial or economic sectors, neither of which I know much about, I would like to narrow down the topic of discussion.

The narrowed discussion will be on Jinju’s folk arts, and center on how it can revitalize the city of Jinju. In particular, what I want to pay attention to is the actual state of Jinju’s folk arts and its creative aspects that can be observed in the transmission process. I would also like to emphasize how valuable Jinju’s folk arts was and how creative it has been in this transmission process. These may have not received enough attention within Jinju and its surroundings. Therefore, this paper will elucidate the values and creativity of Jinju’s folk arts seen from the eyes of an outsider. Rather than introducing previous theories related to creative cities and suggesting a new creative city theory of my own, I will point out the issues that have been or can be easily missed based on my area of study. I hope that such suggestion or criticism will help Jinju people’s efforts toward successfully building a creative city.





Jinju Samcheonpo Nongak (photo courtesy of The Jinju Samcheonpo Nongak Preservation Society)  
| BOTTOM Jeong Haeng-geum - Jinju Hallyangmu (photo courtesy of Jinju Social Media Center)

## 2. Transmission Pattern of Jinju's Folk Arts

The following is an article under the “Ordinance on the Promotion of Jinju UNESCO Creative City of Crafts and Folk Art”:

*The term “creative city of crafts and folk art” means a city revitalized by linking cultural activities based on creativity and innovative industrial activities, and a city in the field of crafts and folk art selected by UNESCO through a rigorous screening to realize cultural diversity and promote cultural industries.<sup>1</sup>*

With the cited article in mind, Jinju regards crafts and folk arts as its own identity, and it has been promoting crafts and folk arts in order to develop into a creative city. Such move by Jinju to focus on folk arts to transform itself into a creative city seems to be well-founded. This is because various types of folk arts still survive and are transmitted in Jinju—enough to earn the name the “city of folk art.”

Jinju is the region where *Jinju Samcheonpo Nongak* (Farmers' Performance of Samcheonpo, Jinju)<sup>2</sup> and

1. “Ordinance on the Promotion of Jinju UNESCO Creative City of Crafts and Folk Art,” Article 2 (Definitions) (Ordinance No. 1314, September 3, 2017).

2. This is a typical form of Yeongnam-style nongak that has been transmitted mainly in the western Gyeongsangnam-do area. It was the first form of nongak to be designated as National Intangible Cultural Heritage No. 11 in June of 1966. Nongak from other regions were designated as cultural heritage afterwards and were added under the National Intangible Cultural Heritage No. 11.

11. Currently, Jinju Samcheonpo Nongak is National Intangible Cultural Heritage No. 11-1. It is a combination of Jinju Nongak—which is characterized by a free form of entertainment-oriented performance that has inherited Sotdaejaengi Troupe's nongak—and Samcheonpo Nongak—which is marked by jinpuri (line formations). See Baek (2016, 5).

*Jinju Geommu* (Sword Dance of Jinju),<sup>3</sup> both of which are designated as Korean National Intangible Cultural Heritage, are passed down. Other transmitted folk arts in Jinju that are provincially designated as Intangible Cultural Heritage by Gyeongsangnam-do province include *Jinju Hallyangmu* (Dance of Prodigal Nobleman),<sup>4</sup> *Jinju Pogurangmu* (Ball-throwing Dance),<sup>5</sup> *Jinju Gyobang Gutgeorichum* (*Gutgeori* Dance of Jinju *Gyobang*),<sup>6</sup> and *Jinju Ogwangdae* (Mask Dance Drama).<sup>7</sup> In addition to these nationally or provincially designated Intangible Cultural Heritage items, Jinju also has a great degree of resources and knowledge in traditional arts, along with Jindo, Yangju and Jeonju. Jinju has continued to discover and preserve the government-led *Gyobang* (an institution that was in charge of training the singing and dancing for *gisaeng*) art as well as folk art led by the common people (Baek 2016, 4-5). In this regard, promoting folk art as the city's identity indeed seems appropriate for Jinju.

Jinju Pogurangmu (photo by Yoo Geun-jong)



3. Geommu (sword dance) was originally part of the court dance, which was passed down to provincial government offices and then spread throughout the country. Jinju Geommu prides itself for preserving the original form of the court dance and its choreography, the rhythmic pattern, and sword movement. It was designated as an National Intangible Cultural Heritage in 1967. See Baek (2016, 5).

4. It is a dance drama where a prodigal nobleman and a monk try to seduce a woman. As it was recorded in Jeong Hyeon-seok's *Gyobang gayo*, it seems to have been widely popular at the end of the Joseon dynasty. It is said to have been prevalent in *gisaeng* (female professional entertainers) houses after 1910. It was designated as Gyeongsangnam-do Intangible Cultural Heritage No. 3 in 1979. See Baek (2016, 5).

5. It is a music and dance representation of a game where a ball—also called *yongal* (dragon egg) or *gong*—which is tasseled like a shuttlecock, is thrown into a hole (*pungnyuan* 風流眼) in the upper part of the *Pogumun* (抛毬門) gate. It was originally performed at the royal court, but spread to *Gyobang* where costumes, equipment and procedure were changed. In the case of Jinju *Pogurangmu*, folk elements were added to turn the dance into a Jinju-specific dance. It was restored based on Jeong Hyeon-seok's *Gyobang gayo*, which details the contents of *Pogurangmu*, and Yi Yun-rye's accounts. It was designated as Gyeongsangnam-do Intangible Cultural Heritage No. 12 in 1991. See Baek (2016, 5) and Kang (2017).

6. This is a dance performed with the rhythmic pattern of *gutgeori*, transmitted in Jinju *Gyobang*. It has been transmitted by Kim Su-ak who had learned from Han Seong-jun, Choe Wan-ja, Kim Ok-min, and Kim Nok-ju. It was designated as Gyeongsangnam-do Intangible Cultural Heritage No. 21 in 1997. See Baek (2016, 5).

7. This is a mask dance drama transmitted in the Jinju area. It was discontinued after the 1930s but was restored in 1998 based on oral records, masks and surviving performers' accounts. It was designated as Gyeongsangnam-do Intangible Cultural Heritage No. 27 in 2003.





One can, of course, question whether Gyobang art such as *Jinju Geommu*, *Jinju Hallyangmu*, *Jinju Pogurangmu*, *Jinju Gyobang Gutgeorichum* can be considered true form of folk art. With that being said, it should be noted:

*After the abolition of the Gyobangcheong office, gisaeng who had been attached to local government offices had been scattered throughout the country and formed the Gwonbeon (an institution set up for the training of gisaeng and other entertainers) or gisaeng union. The Gyobang art that is being transmitted in Jinju today has been developed from the dances of these gisaeng. In the process, Gyobang art not only inherited previous court dances of the Gyobangcheong, but also incorporated folk dances where the dances were based on folk music like shamanistic music (Kang 2017).*

In this sense, Gyobang art of Jinju and folk arts can be said to have influenced each other.

Given that folk art and Gyobang art exist in various forms, it is reasonable to think that Jinju has indeed established the foundation for a creative city (Baek 2016, 5). However, the various forms of folk art and Gyobang art that have been designated as Intangible Cultural Heritage are restricted by the rule that any transmission must be done in its original form (*wonhyeong* 原形). Although the recent revision of laws relating to intangible cultural heritage are now shifting toward allowing for the transmission based on the archetype (*jeonhyeong* 典形), the principle of transmission has always been on preserving the original form. With this in mind, one may question the significance of Jinju's traditional arts—that is, the “harmonious existence of Gyobang art and



↑ TOP Kim Su-ak - Jinju Gyobang art (photo courtesy of Nam Sunhee)  
↓ BOTTOM *Jinju Gyobang Gutgeorichum* (photo by Yoo Geun-jong)



*Jinju Uiam Byeolje* (photo by Yoo Geun-jong)

folk art,” which signifies the traditional arts in Jinju, may not adhere to principle of transmission in its original form. Certainly, the evaluation based on such principle and rules is worth paying attention to. However, we must remember that they could also act as a restriction and limit our discussion on creative city. This is because the biggest obstacle when it comes to creative work is restrictions and regulations.

Then is it a complete mistake to set the identity of Jinju as the creative city of folk arts? I do not think so. My judgment is based on various aspects that have been shown while transmitting traditional arts in Jinju. Concerning a creative city, there are interesting examples of folk arts transmission in the Jinju area that are worth paying attention to. The people of Jinju have displayed remarkable creativity in the process of transmitting traditional arts. As a region that has enjoyed diverse traditional arts encompassing folk art and Gyobang art, new attempts and achievements in the process of transmission are also noteworthy. We will look at *Uiam Byeolje* and *Jinju Ogwangdae* as such examples.

First, let us take a look at the transmission process of *Uiam Byeolje*. *Uiam Byeolje* combines a ritualistic role as women perform ancestral rites for Nongae who was a famous *gisaeng* of Jinju, and a festive role where music, song and dance are performed with the rites. *Uiam Byeolje* is truly unique in that it is a woman-centered ritual.<sup>8</sup> It was started in 1868 by then Magistrate Jeong Hyeon-seok, but

8. In this regard, it is worth noting that “It is unusual that during the Joseon dynasty when Confucianism was prevalent, music, song and dance were performed at the ancestral rite and the rite was dedicated for a woman who was a *gisaeng*. *Uiam Byeolje* is the only ritual of the Joseon era that performs music, song and dance, except for *Jongmyo Jerye* (Royal Ancestral Ritual in the *Jongmyo Shrine*) and *Munmyo Jerye* (Ritual in the *Munmyo Confucian Shrine*). *Uiam Byeolje* is a ritual ceremony unique to Jinju that is not found in other regions, with the *Jinjuseong* fortress and *Nongae* as a background, and has been transmitted centering around the *gisaeng* of Jinju Gyobang” (CICS 2015, 428).





Jinju Nongae Festival (photo courtesy of Jinju City Hall)

was discontinued after the Japanese colonial rule. After liberation of Korea, it was informally kept alive by an organization called Uigi Changnyeolhoe, and was restored in 1992 thanks to the efforts by Choe Sun-i and Seong Gye-ok. It has since developed into Jinju Nongae Festival which continues today.<sup>9</sup> This was possible due to the concerted efforts by the various related local organizations and individuals, who have been behind the restoration, transmission, and development of the original ritual into a festival.

However, one thing that played the key role in this process of transmission, restoration and development is *Gyobang gayo* 教坊歌謠, a book compiled by Jeong Hyeon-seok (1817-1899) in 1872. This is a kind of “Gyobang culture report” that describes the performances which *gisaeng* of Gyobang in local areas practiced and performed in the mid to late nineteenth century (Seong 2002, 13). Had it not been for the records on songs and dances of *Uiam Byeolje* in this book, the restoration and transmission would have been extremely difficult. Thanks to this record, it has been possible to restore *Uiam Byeolje* despite its discontinuation in the transmission process.

Here we need to pay attention to the records in *Gyobang gayo* that have made these changes possible, because they remind us of the importance of records which form the basis of creative reproduction. A unique ritual led by women where music, song and dance are performed has been successfully transmitted thanks to *Gyobang gayo*

9. For the transmission process of *Uiam Byeolje* and Jinju Nongae Festival, see CICS (2015, 426-449); Kang (2017); and Won (2017).



↑ TOP Jinju Ogwangdae (photo by Yoo Geun-jong)  
↓ BOTTOM Jinju Ogwangdae (photo by Yoo Geun-jong)

In fact, the book is the key to the transmission of Jinju Gyobang art (Kang 2017).<sup>10</sup> It was also based on the records in *Gyobang gayo* that *Jinju Pogurangmu* and *Jinju Hallyangmu* have been able to ensure their substantial transmission.

The pattern of transmission that develops from a record into a festival also merits our attention. In the case of *Uiam Byeolje*, it shows the transmission pattern of “reconstruction based on records and memories → restoration → expansion and festivalization,” along with transmission through oral traditions and practices. This pattern that starts from records and leads to festivalization is interesting. It shows that records are the true foundation of creative reproduction. This is why we are focusing on records at a time when Jinju is aiming to become a creative city of folk art (Baek 2016, 9)<sup>11</sup>.

For understanding the importance of records in the process of transmission, *Jinju Ogwangdae* provides another good example. It was restored in 1998, and this restoration was possible because of the existence of old masks and the memories and accounts of related performers. In particular, the existence of oral records, which detail choreographic lines and performances, played a decisive role in the restoration of *Jinju Ogwangdae*. The first oral record was published by Jeong In-seop in 1929 and this was followed by Song Seok-ha in 1934, Choe Sang-su in 1957, and Yi Myeong-gil

10. Kang Dong-uk has said: “Compiled by Magistrate Jeong Hyeon-seok, *Gyobang gayo* played a decisive role in helping Jinju Gyobang art to establish itself as part of Jinju culture. This is because Jinju Gyobang art has been passed down until today through the *Gyobang gayo*.”

11. Regarding this, Baek Jae-min argues that “The importance of records can be explained fully with the *Gyobang gayo* alone. Everyone knows how much work this one book has achieved. It will now act as a sufficient supporting material in Jinju’s efforts to become a UNESCO creative city. Therefore, we need an archive to keep and pass on this record.”







Masks of *Jinju Ogwangdae*  
(photo courtesy of Hwang Byeong-kwon)

in 1961. Collecting related masks also took place at this time. This shows that *Jinju Ogwangdae* had been an object of great interest from very early on. The recording work carried out by Jeong In-seop in 1929 was the first in the history of Korea's mask dance drama. It was the first case where a mask dance drama, a form of folk arts that had only been transmitted orally and through practices, was recorded. This record made it possible to restore *Jinju Ogwangdae* in its original form. As such, *Jinju Ogwangdae* shows the importance of written records in the transmission of traditional or folk arts.

There is another remarkable aspect in the transmission process of *Jinju Ogwangdae*. It is the process of restoration. *Jinju Ogwangdae* has gone through a unique restoration process that distinguishes it from other traditional mask dance dramas in Korea. Although many restoration attempts were made since the dance was discontinued in 1937, none of them were successful. It was only fully restored in 1998, and this restoration process deserves our attention. As part of cultural movement in Jinju, an extensive restoration process was carried out to restore *Jinju Ogwangdae*. It is particularly noteworthy that the cultural movement achieved restoration through the people of Jinju, rather than being led by a specific organization or person. This is how and why *Jinju Ogwangdae* is different from *Uiam Byeolje*—by the process of its restoration and transmission.

*Jinju Ogwangdae* follows similarly the transmission pattern that develops from a record into a festival. In other words, *Jinju Ogwangdae* was transmitted following the “reconstruction based on records and memories along with oral traditions and practices → restoration within festivalization.” This is to say that the restoration process of *Jinju Ogwangdae* took place during the Jinju Mask Dance and Drama Festival. This is different from the development of *Uiam Byeolje* into Jinju Nongae Festival. It does not deviate much from the general pattern of Jinju traditional arts, which has been restored from records to become a festival. The transmission



Jinju Mask Dance and Drama Festival  
(Website : <http://www.진주탈춤한마당.com/>)

of *Jinju Ogwangdae* has gone through restoration and designation of intangible cultural heritage and furthermore, seeks to expand into a festival called the Jinju Mask Dance and Drama Festival. As *Uiam Byeolje* has developed into and been transmitted through Jinju Nongae Festival, *Jinju Ogwangdae* also plans to expand as a festival. The pattern of “records to festivalization” can be seen here too. To sum up, what really differentiates *Jinju Ogwangdae* from *Uiam Byeolje* is that while the latter developed into Jinju Nongae Festival only after being completely restored, the former developed into a festival while simultaneously being restored.

As explained so far, the transmission of Jinju traditional arts can be summarized as the process of “reconstruction through records and memories → restoration → expansion and festivalization.” This is indeed a typical “transmission pattern,” similarly found in many cases in other areas of Korea. However, this pattern cannot be found in the framework of transmission in original form. It can be found when examining the environment and context of traditional arts from a broader perspective. This tells us that the traditional arts of Jinju have been searching for “newness” rather than maintaining its original form.

Finally, it is important to remember the pioneers of written records in the transmission pattern. Efforts made by Magistrate Jeong Hyeon-seok who built a strong foundation for Jinju's traditional arts, and Jeong In-seop who was expert researcher in this field have great implications for us today. We can even say that Jeong Hyeon-seok in particular was a local official who foresaw 150 years into the future. In the restoration process, efforts by a small number of people and organizations that have inherited traditional arts also deserve our attention. In the case of *Jinju Ogwangdae*, the restoration process is noteworthy in yet another way: it shows an open restoration process in which various stakeholders take part together.



### 3. Clue to a Creative City Found at Jinju Festivals

We have confirmed that the transmission pattern of Jinju's folk art and Gyobang art leads to the search for festivalization. This type of festivalization is a characteristic of Jinju. It is highly possible that festivalization stemmed from Korea's cultural policies and flows after the liberation. The reason it can be called Jinju's characteristic, however, is because of the Gaecheon Art Festival.<sup>12</sup> The Gaecheon Art Festival, which began in 1949 under the name of Yeongnam Art Festival, is Korea's first modern local festival. There is no local festival older than the Gaecheon Art Festival in Korea. The Baekjae Cultural Festival that boasts a long tradition only began in 1955, and the Silla Cultural Festival also started in 1962. As such, Jinju's pursuit for novelty and practicability stood out.

Since the liberation, the Gaecheon Art Festival has served as an important stepping stone for traditional arts in Jinju. It also played a role as an incubator for other



12. For the Gaecheon Art Festival, I referred to: Ryu (2006); FACO (2011); and CICS (2015).



↑ Jinju Namgang Yudeung Festival (Website : <https://www.jinju.go.kr>)  
← Jinju Namgang Yudeung Festival (photo courtesy of Jinju City Hall)



festivals. For example, a floating lantern contest was first held at the 6th Gaecheon Art Festival in 1955 (CICS 2015, 503). But it later was separated from the Gaecheon Art Festival in 2000, and became Jinju Namgang Yudeung Festival. The latter is now considered to have become a global festival (Kim H. 2016).

It is estimated that so far, about 2.8 million people visited Jinju during the annual Namgang Yudeung Festival, and its economic effect has reached 160 billion won (Yun 2016).<sup>13</sup> If this is true, we may have found a clue to the development of successful culture industry for which any creative city should aim. In other words, “an economic model where policy actors and local people coexist” can be found in the Jinju Namgang Yudeung Festival. If the framework established with the government's support and interest is substantially filled with the contents centered on folk art, “innovative industrial activities” will not just be an ideal dream.

The question is what are “cultural activities based on creativity” that will be linked to innovative industrial activities? In other words, the question of what are the contents of creative folk art activities which will be substantial is raised. I find the clue to creative folk art activities in the transmission process of traditional arts that Jinju has shown so far. As mentioned above, the good references for cultural activities based on creativity are as follows: Jeong Hyeon-seok as an original creative talent who founded a strong basis for the transmission of Jinju traditional arts; the role of pioneering experts such as Jeong In-seop; the dedicated efforts by a

13. This figure is as of 2014.





small number of persons or groups who transmit traditional arts; the pattern of restoration and transmission conducted with the people of Jinju; and the aspect of festivalization that does not adhere to a specific environment or form. These aspects of creative activities can be the foundation for strengthening Jinju as a creative city of folk arts. In particular, I believe that various aspects of Jinju Mask Dance and Drama Festival will act as a good guideline to where the city is headed as a creative city of folk arts.

The key I found at the Jinju Mask Dance and Drama Festival is related to creative talents. As is well known, creative talents play a key role in the implementation of a creative city. It is noteworthy that such creative talents can be captured at the festival. In this sense, Jinju Mask Dance and Drama Festival is the seedbed of Jinju folk arts. As we have seen earlier, *Jinju Ogwangdae* and more recently *Sotdaejaengi Nori* (Itinerant Troupe Performance) were both restored through this festival. As such, the Jinju Mask Dance and Drama Festival is where various forms of folk arts exist simultaneously. It started spontaneously and voluntarily without much support from the government and continues on today. At this festival, from traditional mask dances to new creative mask dances, from monodramas to folk games played by hundreds of people, all take place harmoniously. There are hardly any restrictions on genres. Traditional arts from China and Japan as well as domestic ones participate. Mask dance or any performances related to mask dance have performed at this festival with almost no restrictions.

In this sense, the Jinju Mask Dance and Drama Festival is a wide-ranging framework that enables creative cultural activities. It was also at this festival that a creative academic conference called *hagyegut*, a shamanistic ritual in which academics and arts come together, was launched. This conference has been a venue where academic theories of scholars and artistic practices of performers are combined. It holds academic presentations, discussions and talks with the performers (Heo 2008, 5).

Because of these characteristics, creative talents in folk arts gather from all over the country when the Jinju Mask Dance and Drama Festival is held. The festival is the place where successors of intangible cultural heritage preservation societies, researchers of folk or traditional performances, artists who create new creative performances and students who study traditional arts all come together. Without any restrictions or exclusivism, the festival attracted folk art-related persons to share the results of traditional and creative performances, examine the performances from other countries, and seek new aspects of Jinju's performances. The Folk Drama Research Society, a group that studies theories and practices of folk arts, was also formed during the Jinju Mask Dance and Drama Festival.

← LEFT Jinju Mask Dance and Drama Festival(Website : <http://www.진주탈춤한마당.com/>)  
→ RIGHT A mask of *Jinju Ogwangdae* (photo courtesy of Hwang Byeong-kwon)



However, it is only temporary that such creative talents related to folk art gather at the festival. In other words, this wonderful gathering occurs only for a short period of time, as it is limited to the duration of the festival. If Jinju aims to become a creative city of folk arts, it is therefore necessary to make the creative talents stay continuously for a longer period of time. This is because they are the core manpower who will transmit innovative and creative folk arts. The city needs to encourage the influx of creative talents from other regions as well.

The route to becoming a creative city can be roughly summarized into three stages: 1) discovering the unique identity of the region, 2) inducing the influx of creative talents from other regions to revitalize the city, and 3) build an economic model where policymakers and local people can coexist (Jeong 2015, 37). In other words, if Jinju provides the policies and infrastructures to ensure continuous activities of creative talents discovered in the Jinju Mask Dance and Drama Festival, based on the orientation toward the city's identity as folk arts, the city could solve clues of economic effects or economic revitalization found in the Jinju Namgang Yudeung Festival. Of course, a number of problems and obstacles arise in the actual implementation of such process. This is especially true when considering the Jinju Mask Dance and Drama Festival that has less vitality than before as well as the controversial progress of the Jinju Namgang Yudeung Festival. However, it can be said that when Jinju can develop the sprouts of the elements of creative city that have already existed or were appearing, the city would become a genuine creative city of folk arts—where creative talents can get together and promote their activities without any restrictions.

Jinju Ogwangdae (photo by Yoo Geun-jong)

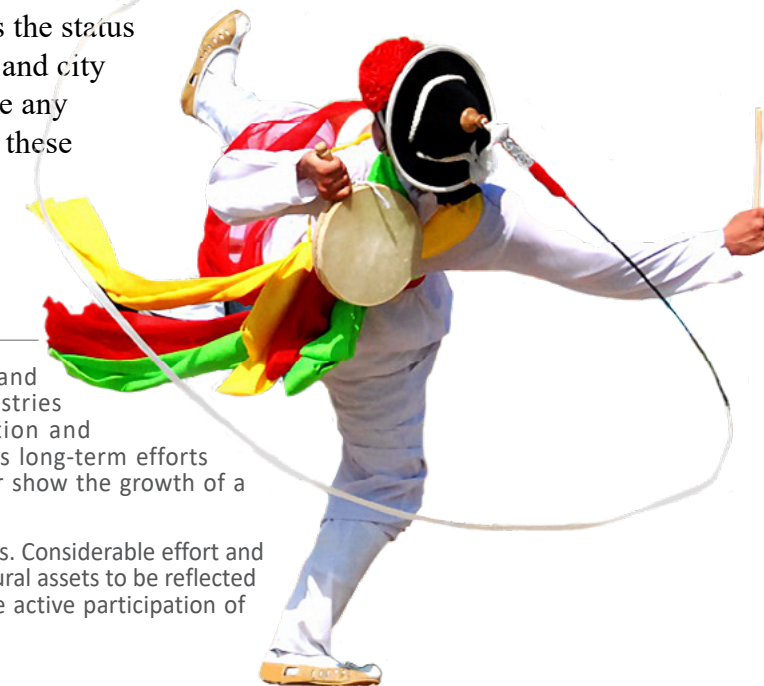


Jinju Namgang Yudeung Festival (Website : <https://www.jinju.go.kr/>)  
| BOTTOM Jinju Samcheonpo Nongak (photo courtesy of The Jinju Samcheonpo Nongak Preservation Society)

#### 4. Towards a City of Crafts and Folk Arts, Full of Excitement, Enthusiasm, and Liveliness

There are various issues that Jinju has to address in order to become a creative city with a focus on folk arts. The issues can be roughly summarized as follows: appropriate understanding of a creative city; establishing an agenda suitable for Jinju's situation based on the aim and purpose of designation by the UNESCO Creative Cities Network; and thinking about and solving problems together at the community level (Ko 2016, 11). Discussions should also be made on issues such as “the degree of economic revitalization and sustainability in related fields” that require long-term preparation<sup>14</sup> or “measures, mechanisms and initiatives to strengthen creativity in the field concerned as well as the status of related institutions and individuals at the regional and city level.”<sup>15</sup> With that being said, I do not intend to make any specific countermeasures or suggestions to deal with these issues, because experts in the cultural industry or creative city are expected to respond and advise appropriately and in great details.

14. This requires data on the size of industry, financial and administrative measures and policies to develop industries concerned, and data on present and future production and consumption of cultural goods. It is an item that needs long-term efforts because it should find a connection with the industry or show the growth of a meaningful related industry. See Kim Tae-young (2014, 71).
15. This item should show that it is shared with urban residents. Considerable effort and time are required to form a consensus in order for key cultural assets to be reflected in buildings and monuments in the city and to attract the active participation of citizens. See Kim Tae-young (2014, 71).





My focus in this paper was a discussion centered on folk arts, and especially a discussion about Jinju's unique identity, whose direction has already been set. As a result, I have found a transmission pattern in Jinju's folk arts and Gyobang art. In general, it was confirmed that there was the pattern of transmission starting with records and ending with festivalization, and that there were remarkable aspects in each stage. I have also mentioned that the transition to the creative city of Jinju can be predicted by combining the possibility of the existence and influx of creative talents captured in the Jinju Mask Dance and Drama Festival and the possibility of the increase in the economic ripple effects found in the Jinju Namgang Yudeung Festival. I hope that my argument can contribute to the discussions and practices relating to creative city more broadly.

At this point, I still have some concerns and there are particularly two questions that I would like to address in concluding this paper. The first question concerns exclusivity or closedness. The Article 6 of the Ordinance on the Promotion of Jinju UNESCO Creative City of Crafts and Folk Art stipulates: "The members of the Jinju UNESCO Creative City of Crafts and Folk Art Promotion Committee shall be professors, researchers and experts from organizations in the field of crafts and folk arts in our region." Here, I was concerned about the restrictive term "our region." I wondered if such exclusivity might be at the basis of the city's plan to build a creative city. Fortunately, this part was amended before the Ordinance was enacted. Nevertheless, it is clear that any possibility of exclusivity and closedness should be overcome. This is especially so when considering the influx of creative talents from other regions.

My second question and concern is in regard to the identity of Jinju as we move forward. With the enactment of the Ordinance, Jinju clarified its identity as a UNESCO creative city of crafts and folk arts. However, there have been few cases of creative cities that actively promote folk arts as its identity at home and abroad. There are currently seven fields of the UNESCO Creative Cities Network and one is "Crafts and Folk Art." In this field, discussions and practices related to creative city are generally taking place centering on crafts. It is rare to focus on folk arts like the case of Jinju. As seen in this paper, Jinju is the city where folk arts as performances and festivals are remarkable. While regarding folk arts as core cultural assets and considering festivals as additional cultural assets, it is possible to link the two together. However, I think there will also be difficulties in this endeavor, as such precedents are not common. All in all, however, I am hopeful that Jinju can pioneer a new path. As such, the future of Jinju, as a creative city, gives us both great expectations and concerns. This is why I pay attention to Jinju.

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