Strategy & Social Interaction for Making Creative Community:

Comparative Study on Two Cities of Crafts in South Korea

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Abstract

This study aims to explore the different strategies of the crafts cities on utilizing local cultural assets and socio-economic potentials. Building a culturally creative community has been based on cultural and place-making strategies which include cultural-political factors, i.e. sustainability, authenticity, inclusiveness, network, and economic effect. Icheon became the chair city of the crafts and folk arts division of UNESCO Creative Cities Network (UCCN) in 2018 and has been transforming into a global city that is actively leading cultural exchanges. However, Cheongju was dropped at the preliminary domestic UCCN competition, then the city tries to reconsider a new framework for crafts and city identity. The cultural-political factors contribute to the forming of cultural milieu, place-specific identity, and various cultural expressions, which are the dimensions of the creative communities. Policymakers and stakeholders need to consider the importance of not only the strategic development of cultural assets itself but also social interaction regarding place identity and social empathy in order to achieve sustainable regional development.

Keywords: *Creative Community, Cultural-Political Factors, Crafts City, Cultural Strategy, Social Interaction, South Korea*

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Introduction

The global agenda for Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) represents a huge step forward for a human-centered, inclusive and sustainable development. Several goals and targets pertaining to education, sustainable cities, economic growth, sustainable consumption and production, and inclusive societies have a cultural dimension. Cultural capacity and cultural and creative industries (CCIs) in a region can be key instruments for promoting sustainable development and innovation by preserving the urban, environmental and cultural identity, attracting activities and visitors, and fostering the development of a creative economy and quality of life (UNESCO, 2015). Accordingly, building a culturally creative community is crucial for enhancing the renewal and conviviality of a city and fostering social cohesion and resilience within the city itself. The concept of creative community focuses on neighborhood not as a spatial clustering of cultural economy for non-residential cultural visitors; it encompasses complex social relationships among various types of local entities and stakeholders, such as governments, organizations, residents, and even natural environment. It also substantially emphasizes on civic involvement and non-monetary benefits including social inclusiveness and sense of place and community (Douglass, 2016).

Experiencing the decline in young population and socioeconomic vitality owing to low birth rates and a rapidly aging population, many cities in South Korea, particularly in non-capital regions, have acknowledged the need for place-based strategies to capitalize on the momentum of revitalization for the cohesive community. Accordingly, Korean governments have implemented a wide range of culture-led development strategies. Such policies, however, focused mainly on economic achievements through the local CCI cluster and industrial promotion initiatives and thus was criticized for little considering local cultural potentials (Huh and Lee, 2020). Thus, recent culture-led local development emphasizes the need for driving both local culture, cultural enjoyment, and community cohesion, and economic growth harmoniously.

As the rise of place competition, many cities and regions throughout the world utilize cultural assets and heritage as a tool for local cultural competitiveness and place-branding. Branding is effective to display the identity of a city externally, and also promote urban development and governance function (Richards and Duif, 2019:144). The historical and cultural resources in a city can be considered as a shared value that people in the city have long experienced and accumulated. Such resources are crucial for differentiating the city from other cities and gaining authenticity in terms of place branding. For example, crafts and folk art are known as tradition and livelihood culture and represent a sphere of the creative-cum-cultural economy of a city (Scott, 2010). Crafts and its related activities and industries also promote the social interaction of local residents and serve as a good attraction for culturally vibrant environment. Regarding that crafts and folk art is a category of the UNESCO Creative Cities Network (UCCN), a few cities and regions with craft-related cultural resources attempt to develop their brand by placing as a member of the UCCN.

This study aims to explore the identification and strategic development of local cultural assets in a region. Based on a comparative empirical analysis of two cities of crafts with similar attention to UCCN-related activities in South Korea, this study investigates the different strategies of the cities on utilizing local cultural resources and socio-economic potentials. Specifically, Icheon has been designated as a member city of UCCN in crafts and folk art since 2010, while Cheongju applied in the domestic competition of the same category in 2019 but dropped. In this study, an analytical framework is proposed to analyze several strategic components and their interwoven processes. Through the interwoven process, cultural milieu, place-making and creative expressions, in which cultural and economic practices are mutually constituted, can be produced and reproduced. The empirical findings through the analytical framework suggest beneficial insights into how cities and regions can become culturally vibrant and sustainable.

The data sources used for the analysis are field visit observations, interviews, focus group discussions, and various documents including the performance reports of the city governments. The core qualitative data was collected through interviews with representatives of the city governments and related agencies in 2017 for Icheon and 2018 for Cheongju, and focus group discussions in July 2018. Additional data were collected through our participation in several related workshops.

Theoretical Foundation
Concept of a Creative Community
Definition: Building a community in a vibrant and sustainable way has become a central idea of urban planning and place-making, as cities and regions have recently suffered from undesirable results such as social exclusion and population outflow (Forman and Creighton, 2012).

According to DeNatale and Wassall (2007), the framework of a creative economy comprises three primary and interrelated components, namely, creative cluster, creative workforce, and creative community, among which the creative community would be considered the spatial setting. CCIs and workforces are community assets for the high-quality of life it provides and needed by a balanced community in a steady and lifetime work (DeNatale and Wassall, 2007:41). Based on the sense of community which people perceive, they become further connected to places through accumulated life experiences and through meaningful interactions within those places (Lewicka, 2011). In this sense, the concept of creative community and building such a community is essentially connected with the discussion of place and place attachment. Therefore, place-making is a crucial dimension of a creative community.

The concept of creative community can be defined as the social construction of an idea of creativity and neighborhood, implying processes of recognition or self-recognition through social ties and participation among all the relevant stakeholders (Douglass, 2016; Goldbard, 2006). Douglass (2016) coined the word of creative community by combining creativity as 'processes that lead to insights, solutions and ideas that are novel and appropriate' (Vanolo, 2013:1788) with community as

'complex socio-spatial relationships constituting the local creative field' (Scott, 2010:125).

The continual social interaction with the neighborhood for the creative community can be linked with the discussion of social empathy. Social empathy is the ability to understand people by perceiving or experiencing their life situations and as a result, gain insight into structural inequalities and disparities (Segal, 2007). Such emotional element helps policymakers and stakeholders make decisions that are grounded in the experiences of those who will be impacted by the policy, and promote qualitative growth encompassing all sectors. The role of empathy goes far beyond the scope of interpersonal feelings and is considered as a key attribute for information and knowledge exchange building collaborative working relationships, promoting cultural literacy, and stimulating creativity and innovation (Miller and Wallis, 2011). People interact among others based on social empathy to address structural problems and conflicts of the city and stress these inclusive values as a strong centripetal force in the city. The culture-based social empathy draws the formation of a culturally creative community and the strengthening of locality based on the local culture of the city, vice versa.

For the recovery of place and sense of place, Friedmann (2010:152) advocated reclaiming the areas of a human habitat that have been given to us as urban residents and reconnect our lives with those of others in a manner that is inherently meaningful. It seeks to re-humanize urban spaces by reviving and rejuvenating urban neighborhoods. Friedmann's argument is in line with the perspective of Jacobs (1961), in which the life of a city relies on greater pedestrian activity. Likewise, Peattie's (1998) concept of a 'convivial city' emphasizes that a city is a space of social friction that can produce a sense of community and social cohesion.

A convivial city is oriented toward neighborliness, chance encounters, social gatherings, unscripted spontaneity in the use of common and public spaces, and place-making by urban residents (Douglass, 2008:32; see Table 1 of Douglass, 2008 for additional details). The city with conviviality captures vernacular architecture and identity with neighborhood markers, including old buildings and common meeting areas. It enhances opportunities for activities and meetings for residents in a community, thereby fostering a sense of belonging. In this context, Peattie (1998:248) argued that a city should produce a sense of community that can only emerge from public spaces that encourage repeated encounters among people who come together for 'pure sociability' rather than playing functional roles.

Dimensions: A creative community includes three basic dimensions, namely, cultural milieu, production of space, and artifacts and non-material cultural expressions (Douglass, 2016). Cultural and economic practices are mutually constituted within these dimensions. First, a cultural milieu arises from and is sustained by the daily associational life of neighborhoods and urban districts, in which culture is a way of life of a group of people with a shared sense of place. Second, creative community is related to space-forming for cultural expressions and practices. The social production of space creates distinctive place-specific identities in the form

of identifiable neighborhoods or cultural districts, occasionally around ethnicity, and also around crafts, arts and sub-cultures with lifestyles. Given that many cities and clusters have prospered on the basis of place-specific cultural contexts, culture- and art-based place-making has become central to urban planning and community development. Third, creative community can produce artifacts and non-material cultural expressions, such as festivals, dance, and the arts, which are viewed as proof of a thriving cultural cluster (Douglass, 2016:150).

Such intertwined dimensions of the creative community contribute to projecting place-specific identity of a region internally and externally, and fostering local and community development by allowing various stakeholders to engage in practical projects (Goldbard, 2006).

Creative Place-making and Cultural Politics Approach
Creative place-making: In contrast to place marketing with market-oriented approach, place-making is a concept that emphasizes social interaction and participation. In Western countries, urban regeneration based on place marketing strategies has generated much discussion and criticism; for examples, focusing only on economic growth, inducing excessive competition among places, and neglecting local opinions. Marketing behavior itself is also complex and different in the interests of various stakeholders (Govers and Go, 2009). Therefore, a place needs to be perceived not as a spatial container for marketing, but as a source of image creation and a starting point for participation and utilization to allow local communities to efficiently use their territorial assets (Lee and Nahm, 2016; Markusen and Gadwa, 2010). In this context, the concept of place branding has been developed as a means of shaping an image and identity in a city, but also as a tool for city management and wider effective interaction (Kavaratzis, 2004; Musterd and Kovács, 2013). The concept of place branding is closely related to the concept of place-making strategy. The place-making strategy is important to find place identity, and to understand how 'a sense of place (Relph, 1976)' has been formed and evolved in a region. As such, it is essential for making a creative community as an attempt to enhance the sense of place identity and to return lively public space to people who live or visit the city (Lee and Nahm, 2016).

Place-making has the potential to improve the quality of life amenities through the broad engagement of stakeholders in a neighbourhood or region. Aimed toward boosting economies and regenerating surrounding neighborhoods and regions, creative place-making animates public and private spaces, rejuvenates structures and streetscapes, improves local business viability and public safety, and brings diverse people together to celebrate, inspire, and be inspired (Markusen and Gadwa, 2010:3).

Unlike the general types of place-making that primarily consider the development of urban public spaces from the perspective of land use planning or place-marketing, creative place-making particularly emphasizes the arts-centered initiatives that enhance the quality of life in regional communities in many other important and possibly soft-edged methods (Markusen and Gadwa, 2010).[1] Culture-based

creative place-making provides a substantial understanding of how the arts and culture act as an effort for transforming a community. According to the case of the community-driven development initiatives in Indonesia, community art activities through the Creative Communities project motivated community engagement and participation in local development and provided informal and safe spaces for women and poor people. The Creative Communities project was designed to empower people to participate in the community planning process of the large-scale National Program for Community Empowerment, which covered over 70,000 villages across the country (Amy, 2017: 171).

But, as Thomas, Pate and Ranson (2015:77) noted, creative place-making still raises some questions about who is the community and what is their role in the art-based projects. Some are concerned about the perspectives that creativity as a modifier for place-making narrows the invitation to a certain group of people such as creative class (Florida, 2002) and suggest spaces that are flexible enough to make room for many different communities and encourage connections between them. There is also concern that art-based revitalization may be accused of causing gentrification and displacement. Therefore, creative place-making and its effort is value-oriented, not just profit-focused, and needs to ensure the value and publicity of communities.

In this regard, Lee (2006) indicated that cultural-political factors can be a useful reference to monitor whether the place-making strategy in a city promotes a creative community in a substantially systematic manner. A framework of cultural politics recognizes the mutual constitution of cultural agendas, place-making, and economic development (Farhat, 2018). The cultural politics of place-making, which was first proposed by McCann (2002), frame this political contestation over economic development and place-making as social actors 'attempt to 'naturalize certain sets of social values and to define the social processes that produce their locality (p. 388)'. Farhat (2018:38) stated that the framework of the cultural politics offers fruitful insights into how a contested place-branding process reflects a considerably fundamental struggle to define the nature of a community, where culture, economy, and place are collectively constituted.

According to Lee (2006), cultural-political factors consist of five components, namely, sustainability, authenticity, inclusiveness, network, and economic effect. Sustainability refers to building a long-term vision of strengthening regional competitiveness and perceiving a shared commitment by a variety of stakeholders in the region. Authenticity,[2] in terms of local cultural identity and originality, is the foundation of place attachment by developing a shared sense of place and community and increasing the place attractiveness for visitors. Inclusiveness promotes the active participation of local residents in decision-making and ensuring equitable distribution of benefits and addresses social exclusion. Network refers to the development of sustainable partnerships between the public and private sectors within and across regions. Notably, understanding how participatory governance contributes to cultural and community vitality can provide valid insights into building constructive relationships between the local government and resi-

dents that goes beyond top-down policies. Lastly, economic effect and feasibility refer to making financing for place development and cultural tourism resources and creating the positive ripple effects of place-making on the local economy through quantitative and qualitative ways (Lee, 2006). These cultural-political factors are regarded as strategic components that play a significant role in defining place identity and enabling all stakeholders to organize around a shared cultural value and vision. The interwoven process of these components ultimately (re)produces and harmonizes the three dimensions for making a creative community, i.e. cultural milieu, social production of place, and creative expressions. (see Figure 1).
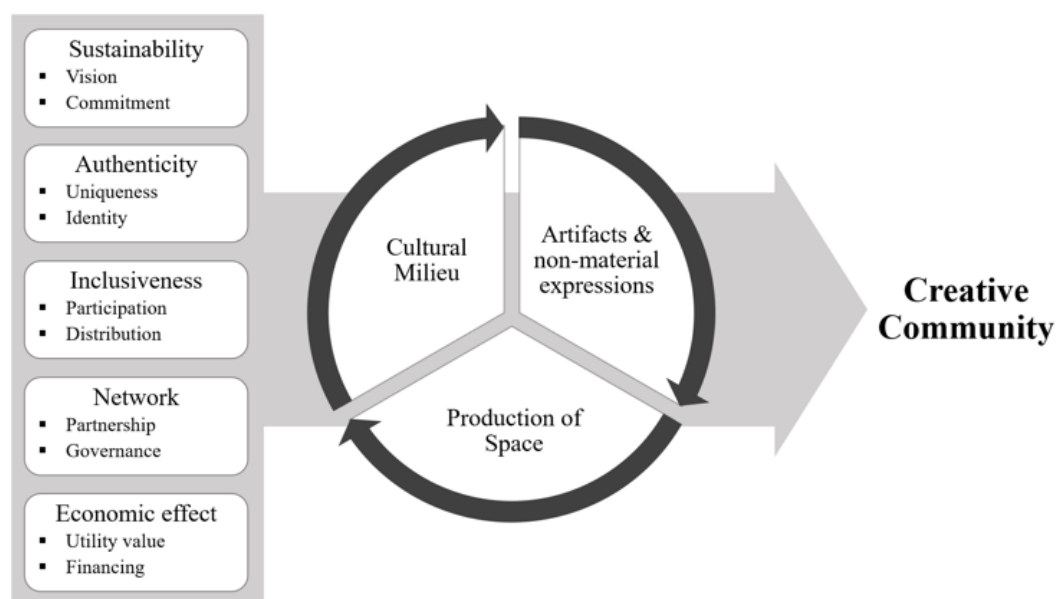

Figure 1. Analytical Framework. Source: Created by the authors.

As described above, the cultural-political factors play a role in developing a distinctive place identity and in enabling communities to organize around shared cultural value and vision. The interwoven process of these factors forms and evolves a culturally creative community. If so, how are these factors reflected and interrelated in the process of making a creative community in reality? It shows in the next chapter through the empirical study on two cities in South Korea which have implemented place branding and cultural strategy with a similar theme.

Brief Description of the Case Study

Many cities in South Korea have utilized cultural assets as one of the strategies for urban regeneration and regional development. Icheon and Cheongju are well-known cities for crafts and related activities. The two cities try to symbolize crafts as a local cultural legacy and local identity and pay attention to UCCN-related activities; however, they show different strategies and results. (see Figures 2 and 3).

Icheon is located in Gyeonggi Province and has been designated as a member city of UCCN in the crafts and folk art category since 2010. The industrial bases of Icheon have been heavily regulated and controlled because this city is located within the nature preservation region in accordance with the Seoul Metropolitan

Area Readjustment Planning Act and Act on the Improvement of Water Quality and Support for Residents of the Han River Basin. Given the restrictions of local economic development, Icheon attempted to promote place-making and industrial path on the basis of local cultural assets related to ceramic crafts. As a reference for the crafts industry in South Korea, Icheon plays a key role in developing a modern ceramic industry and in inheriting traditional knowledge.

Cheongju is located in North Chungcheong Province *(Chungcheongbuk-do)* and has hosted the Cheongju International Craft Biennale (CICB) since 1999, which is the first international craft biennale.[3] Cheongju has dualistic branches for building an identity as the crafts city; one is artistic crafts originated from the historical heritage, another is living crafts driven by the local community. Cheongju has been enthusiastic to become a major city for crafts by becoming a member city of UCCN, but failed to be chosen in the domestic preliminary competition in 2019.

	Icheon	Cheongju
Population	(1) 223,401 (January 2020')	(2) 854,320 (January 2020')
Area	(3) 461.4 ㎢	(4) 940.3 ㎢
Gross Regional Domestic Product per capita*	(5) KRW 56.860 mil. won (2016')	(6) KRW 35.345 mil. won (2016')
Culture and Tourism Budget	(7) KRW 29.162 bil. won (4.76% of total local budget in 2017)	(8) KRW 73.850 bil. won (3.56% of total local budget in 2017)
Major cultural assets	(9) Ceramic crafts (10) "Icheon Rice" local brand	(11) *Jikji*; Metal crafts (12) Complex cultural spaces, reusing the abandoned industrial facilities
Member of UCCN	(13) Since July 20, 2010	(14) None
Sources: Cheongju City Government. www.cheongju.go.kr (accessed February 10, 2020); Icheon City Government. www.icheon.go.kr (accessed February 10, 2020); Korean Statistical Information Service [KOSIS]. https://kosis.kr/index/index.do (accessed February 10, 2020). *Note: US$1=1,207.7 KRW in 2016; US$1=1,070.5 KRW in 2017, as announced by the Ministry of Strategy and Finance.		

Figure 2. Table presenting basic information on the study areas.

Figure 3. Study areas. Source: Created by the authors.

Empirical Findings

Case 1: Icheon

Sustainability: It is important to come up with a vision to trigger future sustainable development paths and set objectives and priorities. A vision provider plays a role in constructing a shared vision and collective strategies for the development of a region among the multiple competing visions of stakeholders. In the process of place-making through the strategic development of local cultural assets, the role of powerful providers showing a clear vision of future directions is essential. In the case of Icheon, the Korea Ceramics Foundation (KOCEF; formerly World Ceramic Exposition Foundation [WOCEF]) and the city government have acted as the vision provider for sustainable place-making. KOCEF is not the city government-affiliated organization, but is operated by the Gyeonggi provincial government.

Despite the city government hosts the Icheon Ceramics Festival since 1987, only a few opportunities have been provided to gather artisans and expert groups to exchange ideas and knowledge. KOCEF, founded in 1999, has substantially contributed to projecting Icheon into the crafts city by organizing Gyeonggi International Ceramic Biennale [GICB] in 2001. The success of GICB was not simply a success of international festivals but a trigger for the city to focus on and add value to local cultural identity (Chung, 2017).

Through the collaboration with a division of the city government in charge of the UCCN program, KOCEF has designed a variety of domestic and international programs that play a role in binding local fragmented cultural resources and infrastructures in a comprehensive manner. Although KOCEF was initially focused on subsidizing ceramicists and operating exhibition halls and GICB, the organization recently placed emphasis on sustaining a basis for local self-reliance by supporting emerging artists, promoting established artists' advancement overseas, and nurturing social responsibility through community art classes (A1, Interview by author. April 5, 2017). Besides the Korea Ceramic Art High School in local society, multiple craft-related academies supported by KOCEF have established and currently maintain a pool of talented local ceramicists. This program contributes to encouraging the talented young generation and ultimately to achieve the local embeddedness of culturally creative communities.

Icheon city government has formulated the cultural strategies in connection with local long-term development schemes; joining as a member city of UCCN was one of the key strategies to symbolize the crafts city of South Korea. To implement the commitment and action plan as a UCCN member city, the city government has continuously exerted effort to establish effective cultural strategies.

Gyeonggi province, meanwhile, also enacted the Municipal Ordinance on Promotion of Gyeonggi-do Ceramic Culture Industry in July 2016 to foster a ceramic craft-related industry. This ordinance functions as the policy base to continuously implement various support projects for the specialized crafts city, including projects related to expansion of the ceramics industry, technology development, marketing assistance, and the establishment of Korea Institute of Ceramic Engineering and Technology (KICET) branch in Icheon (Icheon City Government, 2009:107).

Authenticity: Despite several cities in South Korea share a history of ceramic crafts, such as Gangjin and Gimhae, Icheon has gained concrete authenticity in ceramic crafts linked to materiality, craft practices, creativity, and place. The authenticity is marked by the influx and agglomeration of renowned artisans and organizations, and infrastructure investment, and the prestige associated with being a UCCN member city.

The emergence of the crafts industry in Icheon was the result of an influx of artisans, including Yu Geun-hyeong and Ji Sun-taek, after the closure of the Korea Fine Art Research Institute in 1958. In addition, the Icheon ceramics village located in Sindun district, which was the center of traditional pottery (particularly

Goryeo celadon and white porcelain) in the Joseon era for approximately 500 years, comprises over 300 ceramic studios as of 2013 (Cheu and Lee, 2015; Icheon City Government, 2009).

The organizations and infrastructure investment related to GICB contributes to the growing contemporary ceramics industry in Icheon. Cheu and Lee (2015) indicated that 60 to 70% of studios and workrooms in the capital regions that have been recently opened by graduates from the ceramics area are located in Icheon. Since the late 1990s, the contemporary ceramic crafts have co-evolved with the traditional form that relatively transmitted the methods of the Joseon era. Young ceramicists are inclined to relocate to Icheon to maximize the network of expert communities, besides environmental factors, such as close proximity to Seoul, affordable rental fee, and easy accessibility.

Multiple programs on knowledge sharing and networking for specialists and local ceramic cooperative union, which are supported by KOCEF and the city government, have contributed to inherit traditional ceramic knowledge and embed young artists, thereby enriching the local ceramic craft practices (A1, Interview by author. April 5, 2017).

Inclusiveness. Cultural strategies for convivial interaction city-wide, including community-based art classes and a youth-driven space, boost community participation and strengthen a shared sense of place and place attachment. The city government has sponsored the Icheon Ceramic Cooperative Union to hold the Icheon Ceramics Festival and had supported courses on Craftsman Pottery Handicraft for career-interrupted women (discontinued). However, Chung (2015) argued that while the Icheon city government has strongly supported the professional arts community, festivals, UCCN-related activities, and publicity nationally and internationally, it has had relatively less emphasis on stimulating the creative manifestation of local residents and social interaction between the local and artisans. If the city leadership and crafts-related organizations heavily focus on festivals and physical infrastructure, such artifacts may easily become tourist spots as commonly seen in many commercialized places (Douglass, 2016), and consequently, cultural enjoyment and inclusiveness of the local residents and neighborhoods might be disregarded.

Despite some weaknesses, a few organizations in Icheon play a key role in transforming this city into a culturally creative community. Icheon city government has operated three crafts-dedicated teams within the Department of Culture and Tourism, namely, UCCN-related activities, ceramic crafts, and ceramic culture facilities (Icheon City Government website). Promoting local participation has been more driven by KOCEF. KOCEF plays a central role in fostering citizen's participation in various ways, such as art classes for children, the public, and professionals; and multiple contests and competitions. Besides, many programs and events of KOCEF have implemented through cooperation with neighboring cities in Gyeonggi province.

Recently, given the growing interest in the role of citizens who play the leading role in creating a sustainable creative city, Icheon focuses on the commitment to building on the impact of culture, creativity, cooperation, and innovation to foster sustainable communities as one of the UCCN-related activities. Icheon holds an annual citizen participatory forum for the operation of UCCN and the increase of citizens' awareness (Icheon City Government, 2017:11). By expanding the communication channel for policy suggestions, the government leads citizens with various backgrounds, including craftsmen and entrepreneurs, effectively gather and participate in the local cultural policy development.

Network. Icheon city government is mainly responsible for implementing cultural policies and programs pertaining to UCCN, thereby focusing on expanding domestic and international networks among crafts-related cities. Moreover, the city government functions as a financial and administrative supporter and networking broker between universities and local businesses (Cheu and Lee, 2015).

KOCEF, meanwhile, has expanded its own linkages and promoted networking and events that enable the building of a pottery cluster with neighboring cities within Gyeonggi province. For example, GICB is held at specific venues in three local governments, namely, Icheon, Yeoju, and Gwangju.[4] Icheon has adopted a multi-faceted strategy; on the one hand, pursuing collaborative activities by sharing the experiences and network with KOCEF and neighboring cities, on the other hand, finding a breakthrough from place competitions through the place branding endeavour, driven by local leadership and artisans. Moreover, local stakeholders in relation to ceramic crafts contributed to building effective governance for exchange exhibitions, research, marketing and sales, and labor pool. For instances, a few traditional ceramics-based firms conducted technical cooperation and joint research for the development of pigments and glazes with universities, while modern ceramics-based firms carried out joint design development with KICET Icheon branch (Cheu and Lee, 2015:568). The Icheon Ceramic Cooperative Union signed a cooperation agreement with the Icheon city government for the construction of Ye's park, which is the largest craft village with facilities for production, display, and sales of ceramics arts as well as those for artists' residence (KOCEF, 2018).

Economic Effect: Profitability is an important factor for the inflow and settlement of young ceramicists and entrepreneurs in the region and motivates to continuously develop crafts content. Local cultural assets and industrial base in relation to ceramic crafts have contributed to the revitalization of the local economy. Directly, the first GICB triggered the development of local tourism by attracting nearly six million domestic and foreign visitors and selling ceramic wares amounting to KRW 80 bil. won, thereby accounting for approximately 11% of the domestic ceramics production in South Korea (Icheon City Government, 2009). Since then, Icheon has attempted to organize a multitude of ceramic craft-related content, such as a local brand, the Icheon Rice Culture Festival, and international exhibitions and symposiums.

As one of the mega projects in Icheon, since the designation of a special ceramic industry zone by the central government in 2005, Icheon constructed Ye's park to provide workspace for domestic and foreign craft and fine artists and utilize it as a theme park, where visitors and local residents can enjoy traditional crafts culture. The project was a large-scale venture of KRW 37 bil. won under the support of the national, provincial, and local governments and opened in 2018.

For the sales and marketing of local ceramics and related businesses, Icheon has exerted an effort to expand various channels. For example, I·CERA, which is newly created as a representative brand of local ceramics, is expected to enhance the brand value of the local products and production process. Such endeavors by local stakeholders enable the generation of economic and social value-added and attract new visitors and artists, thereby promoting a virtuous cycle of economic vitality.

Case 2: Cheongju
Sustainability: Given that multiple cultural projects and programs related to crafts are in progress or under consideration, it is too early to determine whether these initiatives play a role in formulating distinctive local identity and brand. Nevertheless, there have emerged interesting cultural assets that contribute to cultural sustainability and urban regeneration. Because Cheongju desired to become a member of UCCN in the category of crafts and folk arts, the city government organized a team specializing in crafts within the Department of Culture and Tourism in 2018 in order to concentrate on its crafts-related competency. The city puts much effort on the development of physical settings in accordance with urban regeneration projects so far (B2, Interview by author. July 25, 2018)

The craft-related cultural assets of Cheongju are captured into historical and industrial heritage. As *Jikji* is a core historical heritage of Cheongju, it has been utilized as a vital resource for various local events, such as the Cheongju Jikji Festival and UNESCO/Jikji Memory of the World Prize[5] (combined Jikji Korea International Festival (Jikji Korea)). Jikji Korea, approved as the international festival by the national government, seeks to function as the venue of contents platform that can identify potentials of media culture and industrialization by highlighting the novelty value of the creative artifact that goes beyond the inherited value of Jikji itself.

Meanwhile, *Dongbu Changgo* (and neighborhoods), which is the abandoned tobacco processing plant and warehouse, has been transformed into a local cultural complex since 2014. As a mega urban regeneration project in the region, it is utilized as a space of livelihood culture through several community-based arts practice, a space of craft creation and business start-up for young artists, and festival venues for CICB, Cheongju Craft Fair (CCF), and other related exhibitions

For such projects, the Cheongju Cultural Industry Promotion Foundation (CCIPF) plays a key role in building hardware and providing various cultural content. CCIPF, a city-affiliated organization, designs the master plan for the urban regen-

eration project and hosts and supports a variety of crafts-related programs and events (Lee, 2017). In particular, CCIPF attempts to integrate its fragmented programs for building local identity through the regeneration project B4-2, Interview by author. July 25, 2018). However, establishing a sustainable identity as the crafts city of Cheongju remains uncertain. Besides the city agenda for being the crafts city, the city government has sought to gain the titles of Culture City (selected by Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism (MCST) on December 2019), reading culture, and East Asian cultural city supported by the central government. Moreover, CCIPF is the city-affiliated organization and thus has been operated with volatile depending on the city's short-term goals rather than to build a long-term vision with autonomy.

Authenticity: Icheon evidently stands out from the ceramic crafts and its related place branding, whereas Cheongju seems to be struggling with concrete authenticity of local crafts, although the latter holds several festivals on Jikji and all types of crafts. A representative of CCIPF stated:

> Jikji is regarded as not merely metalloid type and printing technique, but as an innovative technology in the field of crafts. We continuously find our local identity in this unique legacy related to metal crafts. However, identifying 'a solid link' among Jikji, contemporary metal crafts and locality is not easy because there has few flourished talented professionals and local industrial base linked to metal crafts in our city (B4-2, Interview by author. July 25, 2018).

A few people find the origin of branding the crafts city from the international event, CICB. Since 1999, CICB is the only craft biennale that covers all types of crafts and has expanded the largest crafts art event with an annual participation of 3,000 artists from 60 countries and 400,000 visitors (CICB Organization website). Despite its success, local stakeholders remain questionable with what makes local crafts considerably unique and valuable as expressed by an interviewee:

> Our city government intentionally decided to hold the event as a means of city marketing because no international event specialized in crafts at that time. Actually, the policymakers concentrated in terms of not the authentic value of our shared culture but only the size and publicity of the international event. I don't know what crafts of Cheongju really is. (B4-1, Interview by author. July 25, 2018).

The case of Cheongju shows that authenticity as the crafts city does not stem from the mere presence of historical heritage or festivals, but depends on how people create a shared image and are embedded in the cultural milieu by accumulating cultural assets and its related experiences in the local settings. Following self-reflexive opinion that crafts promotion team within CCIPF exists but much of its effort put into events and outside attention, discussions are underway on how to reorganize and separate CCIPF into the establishment of a permanent agency specializing in crafts and crafts ecosystem, and an overall culture and arts supporting agency (J. Kim, 2019). Recently, the Dongbu Changgo, the city's cultural regeneration project, also plays a role in promoting community participation for crafts-related activities (B4-2, Interview by author. July 25, 2018).

Inclusiveness. The city government and CCIPF have recently spearheaded the development and management of a variety of programs in order to invoke local awareness and pride. Interviewees stressed that Cheongju has few well-known artisans, but the basis of living crafts is relatively solid through many favorable programs that boost the active participation of local craft workers, craft clubs, students, and visitors.

Building a public space becomes resources for the community and facilitates the social fabric of the neighborhood to get the momentum of revitalization for the local residents (Thomas *et al.*, 2015). In the case of Cheongju, the Dongbu Changgo serves as the public space for community-based arts practice and as an incubator of entrepreneurial success. In this place, a total of 1,859 art classes for the general public are held, 241 of which are related to visual arts including crafts. Moreover, CCF, which is held in that place, offers multi-faceted programs including industrial crafts, education, and street market. It can foster young entrepreneurs and encourage civic involvement in the arts. A CCIPF representative mentioned that there has been a steady increase in the participants with friends or family members recently unlike in the past when the audience had to be mobilized. Such space-forming for cultural expressions and practices aimed at an inclusive community contributes to transforming the city of living crafts (B3, Interview by author. April 20, 2018).

Network: Cheongju city government has been responsible for building infrastructures including folk craft village and expanding the domestic and international networks among crafts-related cities and organizations. Since 2018 the city government has organized a team specializing in crafts within the Department of Culture and Tourism to concentrate on its crafts-related competency. CCIPF also carries out cultural exchange projects such as Craft Design and Creation Belt and East Asian Cultural City but seems to be early-stage in making long-term strategic partnerships focusing on crafts compared with KOCEF of the Icheon case.

Stakeholder interaction in governance practice for managing crafts-related projects seems to be insufficient. For example, in the case of folk craft village, the city and the association of Korean traditional craftsmen have had different perspectives on attracting artisans and building long-term vision following the construction of the village. Interviewees said that the association is close to an outside investor who sought to benefit from this project rather than being a key player in the city (B1, Interview by author. July 25, 2018). Thus, it seems to be pushed somewhat fragmented mosaic by project, not the project to strengthen the place identity of crafts city. Despite such a big project, the city's five-year plan for culture and arts does not contain the contents of folk craft village (Korea Enterprise Institute, 2019).

Economic Effect: Cheongju has emphasized building on cultural infrastructures as a source of economic value-added. Local historical and industrial artifacts and cultural events undoubtedly have generated the economic ripple effects through visitors, but more importantly, acted as a source of gaining financial support in many projects from the central government.

To illustrate, CICB, which allocated a total budget of KRW 5.7 bil. won in 2017, was estimated to yield overall economic benefits of KRW 40 bil. won and attract over 350,000 visitors (CICB Organization website). The total budget of Jikji Korea was expanded to KRW 6 bil. won in 2018 as it was repositioned as an international festival approved by the central government. The urban regeneration project near the Dongbu Changgo was invested with a total amount of KRW 31 bil. won by the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport.

Huge financial assistance supported by the governments allows this city to improve the living environment of local residents and access to local cultural resources. While such projects helped to establish a stable economic base to promote culture and arts, it needs to be reconsidered in that whether or not it truly contributed to clarifying local identity as the crafts city.

Discussion and Conclusion

Recently, reconciling the social cohesion with economic and physical outcomes of place-based regeneration has been sought. Culture and the arts have generated interest in regeneration through their symbolic potentials, such as heritage and place identity, thereby assisting in change processes and cultural expression, and in reaching the areas that other regeneration activity does not reach (Evans, 2005:8). Local cultural policies and strategies contribute to the forming of cultural milieu, place-specific identity, and various cultural expressions, which are the dimensions of the creative communities. The creative communities seek the sustainable development of the city based on social interaction promoted by such policies and strategies. For encouraging culturally creative communities, local policymakers, therefore, need to consider the cultural-political factors, i.e. sustainability, authenticity, inclusiveness, network and economic effect in relation to cultural and place-making strategies, and recognize interwoven processes among those factors.

This study explored the identification and strategic development of local cultural assets in two cities of South Korea that pursue a creative community. Specifically, based on a comparative empirical analysis of cities of crafts with similar attention to UCCN-related activities, this study investigated the different strategies of the cities on utilizing local cultural resources and socio-economic potentials.

Although these cities initially focused on festival-oriented and flagship cultural expressions, both cities recently pursue the improvement of the local residents' quality of life and cultural enjoyment through creative place-making with crafts heritage and related cultural strategies. However, their attempts to build a culturally creative community have been different based on their local endowments, strategies, and goals, and thus have formed their own path differently.

To conclude, Icheon became the chair city of the crafts and folk arts division of UCCN in 2018 and has been transforming into a global city that is actively leading cultural exchanges. This case shows the development path expanding from local to global cultural hub on the basis of well-established relationships among local culture and artists, infrastructure, and public supports. However, as Cheongju was

interested in joining of UCCN, but discouraged at the preliminary domestic competition, the city tries to reconsider a new framework for crafts and city identity. In line with the project of Culture City since the end of last year, Cheongju takes the bottom-up approach focused on civic involvement for the enhancement of the cultural community. It is crucial to generate seamless links among heritage, cultural expressions (including CICB), and public supports.

In the two cities, a few issues need to be addressed to build a creative community with crafts and related activities. In the case of Icheon, strategies for boosting social interaction among local stakeholders should be discussed in order to enrich inclusive as well as artistic mood. The city recently encourages civic involvement by establishing public spaces and diversifying programs for local ceramic events to popularize ceramics culture (A1, Interview by author. April 5, 2017), but there has not fully reached consensus on the progress of local festivals among the government, residents and the professional community (Jung, 2019; W.-S. Kim, 2019).

Meanwhile, Cheongju needs to reach a consensus regarding the authenticity and long-term vision of local crafts among local stakeholders. The focus group discussants suggested many aspects for Cheongju to clearly identify itself as a craft city and be selected as a city of UCCN. First of all, Cheongju should place more emphasis on human resource development and network expansion along with the tradition of Jikji, metal craft and international biennale. Moreover, the craft culture of Cheongju needs to include the value of inclusive growth and quality of life for relieving the socio-economic disparity rather than elite culture and a huge festival. The critical issue is that many local residents participate in the living crafts activity, but unfortunately, there are few experts including indigenous artisans in the city. The city has exerted considerable effort to construct cultural facilities and flagship events and festivals, whereas it has paid less attention to the cultivation of expert communities and young crafts artists. As Cheongju is a medium-sized city in Korea, it has a variety of cultural resources such as museums, galleries, and libraries, but has underutilized the abilities of educational institutions to secure a pool of talented crafts workers. It is a contrast that the Kanazawa College of Art in Kanazawa city of Japan plays a central role in both sharing knowledge and tradition and enhancing local cultural milieu (Sasaki, 2011). Despite the increased participation of citizens, if the local society has little interest in the quality of cultural contents and knowledge production, thereby maybe weakening the local capabilities regarding cultural innovation, originality, and sophistication of contents on both the side of cultural production and accessibility (Sacco, Ferilli and Blessi, 2014). As such, building reciprocal partnerships among policymakers, universities and professional and related associations is important to build a culturally creative community. Finally, group discussants concluded that long-term strategic plan and coordination, either through the specialization in any specific craft area (e.g. wood, metal, etc.) or through its global positioning as a platform city for crafts-related exhibitions and commodity trading, should be considered.

The empirical study reveals the importance of not only the uniqueness of cultural assets but also social interaction regarding place identity and social empathy in order to achieve sustainable regional development. Therefore, all stakeholders who seek to build a culturally vibrant community should comprehensively con-

sider the various aspects that not only cultivate a rich pool of creative artists and entrepreneurs but also achieve human-centered, inclusive and sustainable development on a broader level.

In empirically explicating this conceptualization of creative community, we suggest that no stylized fact is determined in that creative community constructs a relational space with diverse people, institutions, and processes. Through a comparative research, this study notes that cities have different experiences and goals even though these cities seek to construct culturally creative communities with similar cultural resources. Meanwhile, our analytical framework may be used to further improve a guideline to design a cultural policy and strategy that contributes to develop a distinctive place identity and enable communities to organize around shared cultural value and vision. But, this framework needs to be elaborated continuously.

Acknowledgements

Endnotes

1   Wyckoff's (2014) four types of place-making indicate that standard place-making is the universal and comprehensive term that refers to the process of creating quality places where people want to live, work, play, and learn in. Strategic place-making has a particular goal involving projects and activities in addition to creating quality places. Tactical place-making creates quality places using a phased approach with short-term and small projects and activities.

2.   The concept of authenticity has been long discussed in tourism study (MacCannell, 1973; Wang, 1999; Yoshida, Bui and Lee, 2016). Studies have agreed that although the authenticity in tourism is asked about in what ways genuine, real, and unique experiences have, it is not easy to conceptualize the meaning of authenticity simply. Objective authenticity is related to an absolute and objective criterion used to measure originals, whereas constructive authenticity refers to the authenticity through contextually- and socially-constructed perspective in terms of beliefs, imagery, etc (Wang, 1999). Existential authenticity, which is distinguished from these conventional object-related approaches, involves personal or intersubjective feelings sampled by tourists (ibid). Regardless of such categorization of authenticity, a toured object and experience with authentic values can draw a legitimate understanding and empathy from local and non-local people, and contribute it to formulate a place-based image that represents the city.

3.   A craft biennale was firstly held in Scotland in 1974. The Cheongju city had held the international craft biennale focusing on crafts since 1999 and they publicized it as the first international craft event. Scotland will launch in 2022 as the new International Craft Biennale (Craft Biennale Scotland website), and thus the title of the "only international craft biennale" of Cheongju is not mentioned.

4.   As the collaboration of a wide range of individuals, groups, and organizations within three cities has been conducted, the cultural event not only became the most renowned international ceramics festival, but also contributed to creating complementary and distinct features on ceramics and its industrial strategy; modern and lifestyle-oriented porcelain of Icheon, industrial porcelain of Yeoju, and traditional porcelain of Gwangju (Jung, 2017).

5. The award is to recognize the inscription of the *Buljo jikji simche yojeol,* the oldest existing book of movable metal print in the world, and to promote efforts contributing to the preservation and accessibility of documentary heritage. It has been awarded since 2004 (UNESCO website).

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B1 (a representative of the Korean Traditional Arts & Craft Association). Interview by author. Unstructured interview. Cheongju City, July 25, 2018.

B2 (a representative of the Cheongju City Government). Interview by author. Unstructured interview. Cheongju City, July 25, 2018.

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B5-1 (professor). Focus group discussion. Seoul, July 17, 2018.

B5-2 (professor). Focus group discussion. Seoul, July 17, 2018.

B5-3 (research fellow of the Korea Culture & Tourism Institute). Focus group discussion. Seoul, July 17, 2018.

B5-4 (a representative of the Korean National Commission for UNESCO). Focus group discussion. Seoul, July 17, 2018.