

Strategies for Urban Cultural Policy:
The Case of the Hub City of Asian Culture Gwangju, South Korea

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy
in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By

YeunKyung Choo, M.A.

Graduate Program in Arts Policy and Administration

The Ohio State University

2015

Dissertation Committee:

Margaret J. Wyszomirski, Advisor

Edward J. Malecki

Wayne P. Lawson

Copyright by
YeunKyung Choo
2015

Abstract

In the field of urban cultural policy, hardly any non-Western studies have researched the initial stage of policy design and the role of culture, despite its significance in today's evolving policy design processes. The purpose of this dissertation study is to explore the role of culture under the influence of policy paradigm shift and to gain a comprehensive understanding of contemporary urban cultural policy design.

Based on a complementary set of preexisting models and studies that challenge the limitations of the Multiple Streams Model, this study investigates multiple aspects of the Hub City of Asian Culture (HCAC) project in South Korea. Conducting an in-depth case study by incorporating document analysis, personal interviews, and several timelines, the study provides a thick description on the new urban cultural development model of HCAC.

The findings indicate that there is a significant paradigm shift in contemporary urban cultural policy design, and culture has been operationalized as an innovative and autonomous tool to manage the complexity of policy design, situations, and networks. The HCAC policy design adopted multiple culture-driven tools from precedent international cases and strategically integrated them to the policy design and initial implementation processes for the sustainable management of the project. Finally, the

study makes recommendations for future researchers to advance the policy analysis model for exploring undiscovered cases around the world. The study also recommends cultural policy makers to recognize the need to minimize the government's intervention in policy making, and learn how to collaborate with and nurture the vitality of policy communities.

Dedication

To my parents, DonShik Choo and SungSook Byun,
my husband, Hyunwook Park
my daughter, Leah Park
and most of all, my Lord

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my committee members: Dr. Margaret Wyszomirski, Dr. Edward Malecki, and Dr. Wayne Lawson, who have always inspired me, guided me, encouraged me, and supported me from the beginning of this intellectual journey at the Ohio State University. Their intellectual and emotional mentorship helped me through the toughest moment of my academic life, and showed me the perfect example of mentorship that I promise to hold, follow, and pass on to my future students. I would also like to thank Dr. Min-young Yoo who has watched me from childhood and introduced me into the world of research and scholarship, and Dr. Candace Stout for her support and insightful feedbacks on this dissertation.

In addition, I would like to thank my parents, my siblings, my husband, and my daughter. Without my parents' limitless love and support, I would not have had the courage to start this incredible journey of my life. To my sister and brother: you have both been my life-long best friends, and I appreciate your endless support and encouragement. My heart goes out to my dear husband, Hyunwook, who has been a strong motivator and believer on this journey, and I know he will always be with me as a spiritual partner. My thanks and love also go to my little Leah, my soon-to-be-born

daughter: for the last ten months, you have nurtured my soul and supported me with an endless joy that helped me not to give up throughout the final stage of my dissertation.

I am also deeply grateful to the many individuals in and outside of the school. Friends, colleagues, professors, and church families: as a whole, you filled my life in Columbus with caring hearts and warm hands. Without each and every one of you, my life would have been so empty and lonely.

Lastly, the biggest thanks go to the Lord, who is always perfect and leads my life in His great will.

Vita

February 1996	Sookmyung Girl's High
2002	B.A. Visual Arts – Imaging & Digital Arts. University of Maryland Baltimore County
2005	M.A. Administrative Management in the Arts & Culture. Dangook University
2008 to 2010	Barnett Fellow, Department of Art Education, The Ohio State University
2010 to 2012	Graduate Teaching Associate, Department of Art Education, The Ohio State University
2014 to present	Barnett Fellow, Department of Arts Administration, Education and Policy, The Ohio State University

Fields of Study

Major Field: Arts Policy and Administration

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Dedication	iv
Acknowledgments	v
Vita	vii
List of Tables	xii
List of Figures	xiii

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background	1
1.2 Purpose and Rationale of the Study	3
1.3 Research Design and Conceptual Framework	5
1.3.1 Case Selection	6
1.3.2 Overview of the Conceptual Framework	9
1.3.3 Primary and Sub-Research Questions	11
1.4 Methodology	14
1.5 Significance of the Study	14
1.6 Structure of the Study	15

CHAPTER 2

CASE NARRATIVE	16
2.1 From the <i>City of Light and Democracy</i> , and to the <i>City of Culture</i>	17
2.2 Culture-driven Strategies in South Korea between the late 1990s and the early 2000s ..	19
2.2.1 International Trends	20
2.2.2 National Circumstances of South Korea	22
2.3 The Hub City of Asian Culture	26
2.3.1 Evolution of the HCAC project	26
2.3.2 Overview of the HCAC Comprehensive Plan	28

CHAPTER 3

DEFINITIONS: WHAT IS “CULTURE” IN URBAN CULTURAL POLICY?	40
3.1 Conceptual Definition of Culture	41
3.2 Practical Definition of Culture	43
3.2.1 Cultural Principles for Urban Cultural Development	43
3.2.2 Culture in Urban Cultural Developmental Strategy.....	46
A. Economic Perspective	48
B. Social Perspective	52
C. Physical Perspective	52
D. Environmental Perspective	53
3.3 Operational Definition in the HCAC	54
3.3.1 Lille: Networking of Cultural Initiatives	54
3.3.2 Bilbao: Cultural Flagship <i>Guggenheim Effect</i>	57
3.3.3 Sheffield: Cultural Industries Quarter.....	59
3.3.4 San Antonio: Riverfront Regeneration	62
3.3.5 Singapore: Aspiration to Become a Global Cultural Hub	63

CHAPTER 4

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

POLICY ANALYSIS: MULTIPLE STREAMS AND ALTERNATIVE LENSES	67
4.1 Introduction	67
4.2 The Multiple Streams Model and Alternative Lenses Analysis.....	69
4.2.1 The Multiple Streams Model	70
4.2.2 Benefits of the Alternative Lenses Analysis.....	74
4.3. Decentralizing Power	76
4.4 Implementation Choices: Tool Choice and Policy Transfer	80
4.5 Formalizing Governance	88

CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY	92
5.1 Research Methodology.....	92
5.2 Research Methods and Data Collection	93
5.2.1 Document Analysis	93
5.2.2 Field Interview	94
5.2.3 Timeline	95
5.3 Limitation of the Study	96

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS OF THREE SPIRAL CASES	98
[CASE I] Analysis of the Launching of the Cities of Culture Initiative (2003)	
6.1 Problem Stream	99
6.1.1 Conditions	99
6.1.2 Indicators	100
6.1.3 Focusing Event	101
6.1.4 Problem Definition	102
6.2 Policy Stream	103
6.2.1 Policy Communities and Specialists	103
6.2.2 Policy Entrepreneurs	105
6.2.3 Policy Alternatives	106
6.3 Political Stream	111
6.3.1 Electoral Politics and National Mood	112
6.3.2 Presidential Involvement and Policy Window	113
 [CASE II] The Special Act on the Hub City of Asian Culture (2006)	
6.4 Problem Stream	116
6.4.1 Indicators	117
6.4.2 Focusing Event	119
6.4.3 Issue Framing	120
6.5 Policy Stream	121
6.5.1 Policy Communities and Specialists	121
6.5.2 Policy Entrepreneurs	123
6.5.3 Policy Alternatives	124
6.6 Political Stream	125
6.6.1 Spiraling Policy Windows of Opportunity	126
6.6.2 Electoral Politics and Presidential Involvement	126
6.6.3 The Deliberation Process of the Bill	128
 [CASE III] The Comprehensive Plan for the Hub City of Asian Culture (2007)	
6.7 Problem Stream	133
6.7.1 Indicators	134
6.7.2 Focusing Event	137
6.7.3 Issue Framing	139
6.8 Policy Stream	140
6.8.1 Policy Communities and Specialists	140
6.8.2 Policy Entrepreneurs	140
6.8.3 Policy Alternatives	141
6.9 Political Stream	144
6.9.1 Spiraling Policy Windows of Opportunity	144
6.9.2 Electoral Politics and Presidential Involvement	144
6.9.3 Deliberation Process of the Comprehensive Plan	145

CHAPTER 7

INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCE ON THE DESIGN PROCESS OF THE HCAC PLAN ...	148
7.1 Governance and Strong Partnership Building.....	151
7.2 The Four Missions of the HCAC and International Benchmarks	152
7.2.1 Benchmark 1: The Flagship Project and the Tourism Industry in Bilbao	153
7.2.2 Benchmark 2: Culture Zone, Infrastructure, and Culture Industries in Sheffield	154
7.2.3 Benchmark 3: Consolidation of Natural and Cultural Resources in San Antonio.....	156
7.2.4 Benchmark 4: Aspiration to Become a Global Cultural Hub in Singapore.....	156
7.3 Missing Evidences and Alternative Explanation	157

CHAPTER 8

A COMPREHENSIVE UNDERSTANDING OF CONTEMPORARY URBAN CULTURAL POLICY DESIGN	159
8.1 A Paradigm Shift and a Tool for Sustainable Management.....	159
8.1.1 Formalizing Governance as a Management Tool	161
8.2 Culture in the Urban Cultural Policy Design	162
8.2.1 Perception of Culture	162
8.2.2 Operationalization of Culture in the Policy Context.....	162
8.3 Policy Process and International Influences.....	164
8.4 Analyzing Model: Limitation and Its Challenge.....	166
8.4.1 The Limitation of Multiple Streams Model	166
8.4.2 Model Adjustment to Long-term Policy Process and Intermediate Stage	168
8.5 Recommendations	170
8.5.1 Recommendations to Future Researchers	170
8.5.2 Recommendation to Policy Makers	172

REFERENCES	174
------------------	-----

APPENDIX A: Set of Guiding Questions for the Semi-structured Interviews	190
---	-----

List of Tables

Table 1. 1 Overview of Literature, Cases, and Research Questions	13
Table 2. 1 Policy Objectives, Missions, and Projected Effects of the HCAC project	30
Table 2. 2 HCAC Comprehensive Budget Plan.....	33
Table 2. 3 Seven Cultural Zones and Their Functions.....	35
Table 3. 1 Principles of Culture	45
Table 4. 1 Policy Transfer Framework	85
Table 6. 1 KCTI's conducted research on the issue of decentralization and culture/creative city	108

List of Figures

Figure 2. 1 Location of Gwangju	17
Figure 2. 2 Timeline of the Chronology of the HCAC project and Significant Events....	21
Figure 2. 3 Map of ASEAN	29
Figure 2. 4 HCAC Project Organization Body	31
Figure 2. 5 Seven Culture-based Zones	34
Figure 2. 6 Construction Site of Asian Culture Complex	36
Figure 2. 7 Five Main Facilities of the ACC	37
Figure 3. 1 Downtown of Lille	55
Figure 3. 2 Guggenheim Bilbao Museum.....	58
Figure 3. 3 Sheffield's Cultural Industries Quarter	60
Figure 3. 4 San Antonio River Walk	62
Figure 3. 5 Esplanade performing arts venue	64
Figure 4. 1 Conceptual Framework of the Study	68
Figure 4. 2 The model used in this study	71
Figure 4. 3 The model used in this study	75
Figure 6. 1 Five Cities of Culture (left) and Seven Cultural Tourism areas (right).....	109
Figure 6. 2 Timeline of the Legislation of the Special Act and Significant Events	115
Figure 6. 3 Timeline of the Developments of the Comprehensive Plan and Significant Events ...	132
Figure 8. 1 Initial Relationship of the Three Cases	168
Figure 8. 2 Revised Relationship of the Three Cases	169

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

In recent decades, culture has gained increasing recognition as a significant factor in urban development. It has become a key element for urban regeneration (Evans & Shaw, 2004; Miles, 2005), economic development (Florida, 2002; Scott 2004), and social inclusion (Belfiore, 2002; Matarasso, 1997). In addition, the fast transfer of these phenomena has been amplified by the argument of the competitive advantage of cities, in which a highly innovative local work force increases the city or nation's competitiveness in the global challenge (Porter, 1989) by a creative milieu of where the quality of diverse 'life styles' attracts the highly innovative workforce (i.e., 'creative class') to a city (Landry, 2000; Hall, 1998; Florida, 2002).

The benefits of culture to a city have thus elevated urban cultural policy on national and city governance agendas. In terms of geographic and temporal differences, common characteristics of policy scripts have been shared worldwide. A main component of policy scripts is investment in cultural facilities and assets, such as building flagship buildings, establishing a culture cluster, hosting an international event, promoting a creative industry, and fostering cultural tourism. More recently, the social impact of

culture-led regeneration has widened the rationale for cultural investments that emphasize the role of culture in building social capital, educating human resources, constructing social cohesion, cultivating active citizenship, and diversifying ways of cultural exchange.

The notion of culture-driven strategies was widely accepted and operationalized in Western Europe and North America (e.g., San Antonio, Bilbao, Glasgow, Barcelona, the European Capital of Culture, to name a few) in the 1980s and 1990s. It then diffused to several Asian cities such as Hong Kong, Singapore, Shanghai, Taipei, and Seoul in the late 1990s and early 2000s. The Asian financial crisis of the late 1990s expedited the fast transfer of culture-driven strategies as an alternative economic development plan (Kong, 2009).

Given the fast spread of culture-driven strategies worldwide, it was not surprising that South Korea announced its culture-based urban regeneration projects in the early 2000s. The national government consecutively launched (1) the *Cities of Culture* initiative and (2) *the Hub City of Asian Culture* (HCAC) project in the same year, 2003. These initiatives sought to maximize the use of each selected city's unique cultural resources in its urban redevelopment plan.

Four distinctive cities were designated as the *Cities of Culture* outside of the capital area: *Gyeongju* (city of History), *Jeonju* (city of Tradition), *Busan* (city of Visual Media), and *Gwangju* (city of Asian Culture). Following its designation, each city accordingly began to undertake a development plan; but only Gwangju became a national

policy priority leveraged by the *Special Act on a Hub City of Asian Culture* (HCAC) of 2006 (Lee, 2007; MCST, 2008), and this long term national project extends out to 2023.

At a first glance, it was fairly clear to assume that the Cities of Culture initiative and the HCAC project adopted the precedent trends in urban cultural regeneration strategies (i.e., the similar naming and the likeness of urban environment problems between the designated cities of the *European City of Culture* and the Korean Cities of Culture). Upon taking a closer look, it becomes apparent that the Korea's recent urban cultural regeneration projects were more than simply copying widely accepted models that had emphasized the regeneration of city's urban function based on culture.

Although the Korean interpretation of culture-led urban regeneration policy responded to the same challenge of overcoming problems of urban decay in the post-industrial era (e.g., revitalization of decayed city center, boosting up the declined city economy, and redeveloping the old industrialized city landscape), the Cities of Culture and the HCAC development plans also stressed the promotion of a new, balanced, national development model with arts and culture as the first priority.

1.2 Purpose and Rationale of the Study

Culture has been an instrument of public policy used to reconcile the goals of economic growth and the promotion of social justice (McGuigan, 2005; Miles and Paddison, 2005). Furthermore, since the late 1990s, with the expansion of a global, service-oriented economy, culture has been the core of urban development strategy. It has been a 'valuable producer of marketable city space,' and has become an important

economic asset of the city (Garcia, 2004, p. 314). Also, the convergence between cultural policy and urban development policy has led to the rise of urban cultural policy, which accelerated with the phenomenon of cultural urban regeneration (Grodach, 2012).

A sheaf of studies in the public policy, culture policy, political science, geography, or urban studies arenas has researched the issue of culture-led urban regeneration and development. Those studies have identified several aspects of urban cultural policy processes and impacts with city-specific examples. These studies have also revealed some limitations. Each study has provided vivid description of a single case, but these studies have provided little collective knowledge on the convoluted processes of urban cultural policy design and implementation. For example, several studies have focused on the effectiveness of culture-led developmental strategies in a specific location, but have overlooked the dynamic influence of inter/national policy environment behind the search and choice of those strategies. Studies taking advantage of a public management have focused on the policy impact and its efficiency, while not giving proper attention to the earlier design process.

In addition, most studies provided only a snapshot analysis of policy output, while the longer-term effects of policy intervention and implementation were less studied. It was commonly shown that each city government started searching for an effective ‘cultural’ solution responding to the challenge of its post-industrial urban problems. Many studies have emphasized the importance of building a partnership among many components of civil societies for sustainable policy implementation, but do not provide a clear rationale on this tactic and the linkage with culture.

Existing studies do not fully unlock a holistic understanding of the Cities of Culture and the HCAC project. Limitations were clearly uncovered while carrying out preliminary research. The nature of the Korean sociopolitical context, historical background of the city of Gwangju, and the city's cultural uniqueness makes the case complex. Moreover, the long-term implementation period and recurrent policy intervention presents strong leadership and effective partnership.

Therefore, the purpose of this study is to explore the comprehensive understanding in the urban cultural policy design and the role of culture within a complementary set of preexisting theories and studies.

1.3 Research Design and Conceptual Framework

This study uses case study methodology for exploring multiple aspects of the HCAC project and its policy design and implementation. Three consecutive culture-led urban regeneration policies in South Korea are analyzed based on the conceptual framework synthesized from five policy analysis models and studies: 1) multiple streams, 2) alternative lenses, 3) decentralization, 4) policy transfer and tool choice, and 5) new governance.

1.3.1 Case Selection

This study performs a theoretical analysis of the role of culture as an innovative tool in the contemporary urban cultural policy design through an in-depth case study of three consecutive culture-led urban development policies in South Korea. First, it is important to justify the selection of location, South Korea in East Asia. South Korea is one of the few Asian countries that have enjoyed significant economic growth in recent decades. From the late 1990s, with the growth of IT in Korea, the Korean government placed serious emphasis on the development of creative or culture industry as a growth engine for the next generation of the post-industrial era. ‘Knowledge-based economy’ has become a key factor of this new economic system, and there has been an increasing operationalization of culture as a factor in many policy arenas including cultural policy, industrial policy, urban planning policy, gender policy, and international policy, among others.

Besides the dynamic picture of operationalizing culture, the proposed study’s research cases suggest a thick description of how a recently democratized and industrialized government system has collaborated with a variety of external actors (e.g., non-governmental organizations, non-profit organizations, civic groups, private enterprises, unions, political parties, and academic institutions) in the processes of designing or implementing policy.

Based on the analysis of each research case, this study explores a link between culture and urban policy making process of the recent culture-led urban regeneration in South Korea. The choices of the cases are the *Cities of Culture* initiative launched in

2003, the *Special Act on the Hub City of Asian Culture* (HCAC) enacted in 2006, and the *Comprehensive Plan of HCAC* finalized in 2007

Cities of Culture Initiative

The Roh MooHyun administration (2003-2008) ambitiously carried forward several cultural policy priorities under the slogan of “Creative Korea”. President Roh’s cultural policy set up a consolidated plan of promoting the Contents Industry¹ to increase the competitiveness of Korean culture in the global market. In addition, Korea faced a serious imbalance between the capital and provincial areas due to intensive development of the capital and its metropolitan area (MCT, 2003). In response to these underlying conditions, the national government announced a policy of decentralizing urban development outside the area of Seoul and designated four cities as Cities of Culture: Gyeongju for the *City of History*, Jeonju for the *City of Tradition*, Gwangju for the *City of Asian Culture*, and Busan for the *City of Visual Media*.

The Special Act on the Hub City of Asian Culture

Not all Cities of Culture were supported by the special act enactment. After designation, each of the four cities developed its city plan and sought to be endorsed by the national government. For instance, Jeonju, Gyeongju, and Busan developed and proposed the comprehensive plans to the National Assembly of South Korea. However,

¹ Under the umbrella of creative economy, in the Korean context, the Contents Industry encompasses companies and market transactions (sales, import, and export) based on creative digital contents. This industry includes all and any of cartoons, music, animation, broadcasting, and characters (KOCCA).

these proposals were pending in the National Assembly for a long time, and only the Gwangju bill was passed, giving it the priority position.²

The Special Act aims “to foster national and international culture and to promote balanced national development and quality of life by developing a Hub City of Asian Culture in Gwangju Metropolitan City, which will ensure national competitiveness through mutual exchange, research, creation and utilization of Asian culture and resources based on cultural diversity and creativity” (MCST, 2006, p. 1). Also, the Presidential Decree of 2008 reinforced that the purpose of the Act is “to regulate matters entrusted by the Special Act on the Development of a Hub City of Asian Culture and those necessary for its enforcement”.

Comprehensive Plan for the Hub City of Asian Culture

The comprehensive plan for the Hub City of Asian Culture is based on the long-term engagement of governing partnership in coordinated directions. This plan was finally signed and accepted by President Roh in 2007, and if needed, can be modified every five years. The length of time expected to implement the comprehensive plan is twenty years (2004 to 2023), and the total budget estimated for the project is about 4.8 billion US dollars. A core component of this comprehensive plan is building a governance coalition between multiple actors: national, provincial, and local governments; public money and private capital; bureaucrats and civil societies; and so on. During the twenty years, all involved parties are responsible for the ‘successful’ management and implementation of the biggest culture-led urban regeneration project in

² Each pending proposal was finally compiled and legislated as a part of ‘Regional Culture Promotion Act’ enacting in January, 2014 (KMGL), but never passed the National Assembly as a single proposal.

Korea. In addition, the comprehensive plan includes four large missions: 1) construction of city infrastructure and Asian Culture Complex (i.e., a 1.7 billion dollar project to build five main facilities), 2) establishment of seven zones of culture, 3) promotion of the culture industries (e.g., music, crafts & design, media arts, edutainment, and game) and local tourism, 4) and reinforcement of the city's international cultural exchange functions (MCST, 2007).

1.3.2 Overview of the Conceptual Framework

Above three policy events represent that three policy windows of opportunity were open between 2003 and 2007. In the process of designing and legislating, the emergence of multiple ideas and concepts had made it difficult for one simple theory or framework to explore each phenomenon in depth. Therefore, the conceptual framework of the study consists of five theories.

Two theories became a backbone of the conceptual framework: 1) Alternative Lenses Analysis by G.T. Allison (1969; 1999) and the Multiple Streams Model by J.W. Kingdon (1984; 2010).³ In terms of devising an analytical framework, and having a research case with theories to investigate, the puzzle was still not complete. Therefore, three alternative themes of literature assisted to gain a more complete understanding of the entire policy design process: 1) decentralization; 2) policy transfer/policy tool choice; and 3) new governance.

Multiple Streams (MS) model provided the holistic view of the policy process and explains why the policy window opens at a certain point in time. However, it did not

³ In the current research, I will cite the second edition of Allison (1999)'s and Kingdon's (2010) book.

explain about the policy tool and its formulation. It also did not take into account international influences on the policy process. Therefore, the study required looking for policy transfer literature and tool choice theory. Policy transfer could explain the whole notion of culture regeneration strategy being adopted from someplace else. However, it did not explain why only Gwangju was designated as a national project, and other Cities of Culture were not. The designation of four Cities of Culture and the HCAC project could be read not only in the frame of urban regeneration strategy, but also in the frame of decentralization. Based on this rationale, the decentralization literature was searched and integrated into the conceptual framework.

Whereas Kingdon analyzed a single window of opportunity, this research was faced with three consecutive policy windows, and a policy vision put them through the whole process. Allison's (1999) Alternative Lenses Analysis, and the idea of utilizing multiple lenses as a complementary set was convincing. Although Allison's research context was different, it was possible to fit his line of thought in the complex case of the HCAC project: one lens cannot sufficiently answer all of the research questions, but as a complementary set, it can link multiple lenses to bring fragmented pieces into focus.

Yet there was another curiosity: the challenge of the HCAC project. The Comprehensive Plan of HCAC requires building a governance partnership. The cultural planning of HCAC itself formalizes the governance that requires the long-term engagement of partnership in coordinated directions and stages. The literature review on the theme of new governance was the last piece of alternative lenses.

1.3.3 Primary and Sub-Research Questions

Within a complementary set of preexisting models and studies, this study sought to reveal a comprehensive understanding of urban policy design and the role of culture. Based on my primary research question, the sub-research questions were formulated into four groups.

The first research question of this study centers on the policy design process itself: How is a policy issue defined and why does it become part of a policy agenda? Why did this process require a succession of policy windows of opportunity, and how did these windows differ and relate to one another? Why did the culture-led urban regeneration figure so prominently in the South Korean government's decision-agenda in the 2000s? How did the national policy agenda come to include four Cities of Culture, and why was only Gwangju singled out as the chief recipient of the cultural urban regeneration policy?

The second research question is about international influences in the process of policy design and tool selection. Given the complex nature of policy formulation and the massive challenges of implementation, how did policy actors develop the tools to effectively manage and implement policy? Why was culture operationalized as a tool? What were the international elements that affected the options, strategies, and tool selection as a part of the design process of policy making? How did Korean policy makers shop around for urban cultural policy and reinterpret it as part of its own design process? How were the options, strategies, and tool selections adapted into the Korean context?

The third research question is about contemporary policy design and its tool innovation. Other than the traditional public administration preoccupied with the internal operations of public agencies, to what extent did the government and policy actors develop the sophisticated tools to sustain the momentum of the policy itself? Were there changes in paradigm to explain the diverse employment of policy tools? What kinds of roles did policy actors and communities play? How was culture utilized in the Korean context? Can a form of new governance be a policy tool to implement a contemporary government policy?

In the next page, table 1.1 explains the overview of the relationships among research focus, theories, cases, and research questions.

Table 1. 1 Overview of Literature, Cases, and Research Questions

Research Focus	Models	Research Case	Research Questions
Policy Design Process	Multiple Streams Model	Three Policy Windows	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▫ How is a policy issue defined and why does it become part of a policy agenda? ▫ Why did this process require a succession of policy windows of opportunity, and how did these windows differ and relate to one another?
Decentralizing power and regional balance	Decentralization (Alternative Lens I)	The launch of the Cities of Culture Initiative (2003)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▫ Why did the culture-led urban regeneration figure so prominently in the S. Korean government's decision-agenda in the 2000s? ▫ How did the national policy agenda come to include four Cities of Culture, and why was only Gwangju singled out as the chief recipient of the cultural urban regeneration policy?
International influences	Policy Transfer / Tool Choice (Alternative Lens II)	The Special Act on a Hub City of Asian Culture (2006)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▫ How did policy actors develop the tools to effectively manage and implement policy? ▫ Why/how was culture operationalized as a tool? ▫ What were the international elements that affected the options, strategies, and tool selection as a part of the design process of policy making? ▫ How did Korean policy makers shop around for urban cultural policy and reinterpret it in own design process? ▫ How were the options, strategies, and tool selections adapted into the Korean context?
Coordination of Partnership	New Governance (Alternative Lens III)	The Comprehensive Plan for the Hub City of Asian Culture (2007)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▫ To what extent did the government and policy actors develop the sophisticated tools to sustain the momentum of the policy itself? ▫ Were there changes in paradigm to explain the diverse employment of policy tools? ▫ What kinds of roles did policy actors and communities play? ▫ Can a form of new governance be a policy tool to implement a government policy?

1.4 Methodology

An in-depth single case study seemed to be appropriate for exploring multiple aspects of the HCAC project. For enhancing its validity, the study was designed based on the triangulation method in its data sources, research methods, and theories:

- a. Data source: governmental records, media coverages, peer reviewed journal articles, and interviews at both the local and national level
- b. Research method: document analysis, informal and semi-structured interviews, and construction of visual timelines
- c. Theories: multiple streams model, alternative lenses analysis, decentralization studies, policy transfer and tool choice studies, and new governance theory

1.5 Significance of the Study

The significance of the study not only lies in the practical implication for future policy making but also in the extension of theoretical literature;

- a. *Theoretical Contribution: Extension of the existing policy process framework*
Most of the literature applying Kingdon's multiple streams policy framework focused on a single policy cycle. However, this study modifies the framework and challenges for its applicability to a spiral policy cycle that has evolved with a series of policy actions and interventions.

- b. *Empirical Contribution: Investigation into a complex policy emulation process based on a scarce Asian case*

In urban cultural policy research, there has been a growing tendency that the most popular models of successful strategies have been directly replicated to another city. Few studies have taken into account the impact of different historical and sociopolitical dynamics on the policy emulation process. Moreover, the empirical finding of Asian case, which can promote a more balanced view on the current research and literature, is limited. Thus, the empirical investigation of the policy emulation process of the HCAC project can add up a fruitful dimension to the current empirical literatures of relevant studies such as urban study, policy design and cultural policy studies.

c. *Practical Implication for future policy making: Scientific knowledge on the role of culture within the initial policy design stage*

Since scholars and policymakers have paid more attention to the policy impact study of culture-led urban regeneration strategies, insufficient number of research has been available to fully understand the role of culture in the policy design process. Therefore, the potential impact of the study finding can foster improved planning and decision-making in future policy making.

1.6 Structure of the Study

The overall structure of the study takes the form of eight chapters, including this introductory chapter. Chapter Two represents an in-depth case narrative to help contextualize the three research cases that from the complex web of Korean sociopolitical and historical environments. The Third chapter establishes the definition of culture used in the Hub City of Asian Culture framework. While a variety of definitions of culture are possible, this chapter identifies the specific aspects of culture that were utilized in the research cases. Chapter Four begins by laying out the theoretical dimensions of the study, and looks at how contemporary urban cultural policy design formulated within the complex policy environments. The Fifth chapter is concerned with the methodology used for this study. Chapter Six and Seven analyzes the collected data undertaken from comparative document sources and interviews. The final chapter concentrates on the analytical commentary of the findings and discusses their implications for future research.

CHAPTER 2

CASE NARRATIVE

The city of Gwangju, known as the “birthplace of human right and democracy” in South Korea, has recently earned another reputation as a “City of Culture”. It is largely because the city has been developing as the *Hub City of Asian Culture* (HCAC) for a decade, and recently it was again selected as the *2014 East Asian City of Culture*, and designated as the newest member of the *UNESCO Creative Cities Network* in December, 2014. This dissertation research investigated the intensive data relating to the birth of the HCAC project, and constructed an in-depth case narrative interweaving the sociopolitical, historical, and cultural events in the early 2000s. By putting the significant international and domestic events together and making internal linkages, the aim of this chapter is to build an increasing understanding of the HCAC project in the real world, and to promote a better picture for understanding the conceptual framework of Chapter 4.

This case narrative 1) begins with the characteristics of the City of Gwangju, and 2) traces the city’s history back to the late 1990s when the Korean government sensitively reacted to the international trend of culture-driven development strategies. Then, with 3) a brief history of the ‘Cities of Culture’ initiative in the early 2000s, 4) detailed information on the HCAC project will be provided.

2.1 From the *City of Light and Democracy*, and to the *City of Culture*

Gwangju, meaning the ‘city of light’, is the sixth⁴ largest city in South Korea and located in the southwestern part of the peninsula. With a population of over 1.4 million, the city is believed to have been founded around 57 B.C. After a long history of decline and growth, the city now has five autonomous districts, and the current city size is 501.2km² (Gwangju Metropolitan City). Historically, Gwangju was renowned for its artistic and cultural sensibilities: the city has been a home to several Korean intangible⁵ heritages. It is also the place where the Southern School of Chinese Painting, *Namjonghwa*, as well as a traditional Korean performing art, *Pansori*, originated.

Figure 2. 1 Location of Gwangju, from Google Map



⁴ The total population of South Korea is 50.95 million in 2013. The seven largest cities by population are 1) Seoul (10.2 million), 2) Busan (3.5 million), 3) Incheon (2.8 million), 4) Daegu (2.5 million), 5) Daejeon (1.5 million), 6) Gwangju (1.4 million), and 7) Ulsan (1.1 million) (Statistics Korea).

⁵ So far, 15 intangible Korean heritages are chosen and registered as Intangible Cultural Heritage of UNESCO. Some of the heritages were originated from Jeonlla province, and Gwangju is the capital of Jeonlla province (Korean National Commission for UNESCO).

In 1980, Gwangju met a watershed in the city history, the *May 18th uprising*. Citizens of Gwangju rose up against military dictatorship of the national government and called for democracy. For the ten days of uprising, citizens including high school students, college students, and scholars protested against military troops and eventually took up arms to defend themselves. However, the army fired at the crowd and martial troops led by tanks suppressed the angered crowd, resulting in casualties. After that tragic event, Gwangju has consistently taken an important role in the history of Korea's democracy and human rights movement. In addition, the city has gained international reputation for being the home of democracy and human rights.

Most recently, Gwangju became a place for the grand cultural project, initiated by the Korean national government. The project, the Hub City of Asian Culture (HCAC), is the single largest of its kind in scale, and is designed to create regional economic parity of the nation. Besides, the project aims to challenge the cultural dominance of the capital region, and to raise Korea's competitiveness in the international culture market, especially targeting the Asian market. More detailed information on the project and planning will be addressed a later in this chapter.

In 2013, the city was designated as the *East Asian Cities of Culture* (EACC) of 2014. The EACC project was agreed at the meeting of Culture Ministers of Korea, Japan, and China in 2012. They agreed to expand cultural cooperation and promote cultural exchanges among three countries, and decided to designate East Asia Cities of Culture every year starting in 2014. Each designated city of three countries, including Gwangju, collaboratively planned and executed diverse cultural events during 2014. After the initial

year, three countries will designate only one city every year. The purpose of the project is to practice the principle of ‘the spirit of East Asia, cultural exchange and fusion, the relative cultural understanding’ among three countries (Gwangju Metropolitan City).

Recently, Gwangju also became the newest member of the *UNESCO Creative City Network*’s media arts sector. Launched by UNESCO in 2004, the Creative Cities Network is designed to promote the economic, social and cultural development of cities through providing a world platform that presents each member city’s cultural assets and access to various expertise and information as well as experience. Gwangju was recognized for the various media art-related festivals and exhibitions taking place annually in the city and with the recent announcement in December 2014, the city designated as one of Creative Cities (UNESCO).

2.2 Culture-driven Strategies in South Korea between the late 1990s and the early 2000s

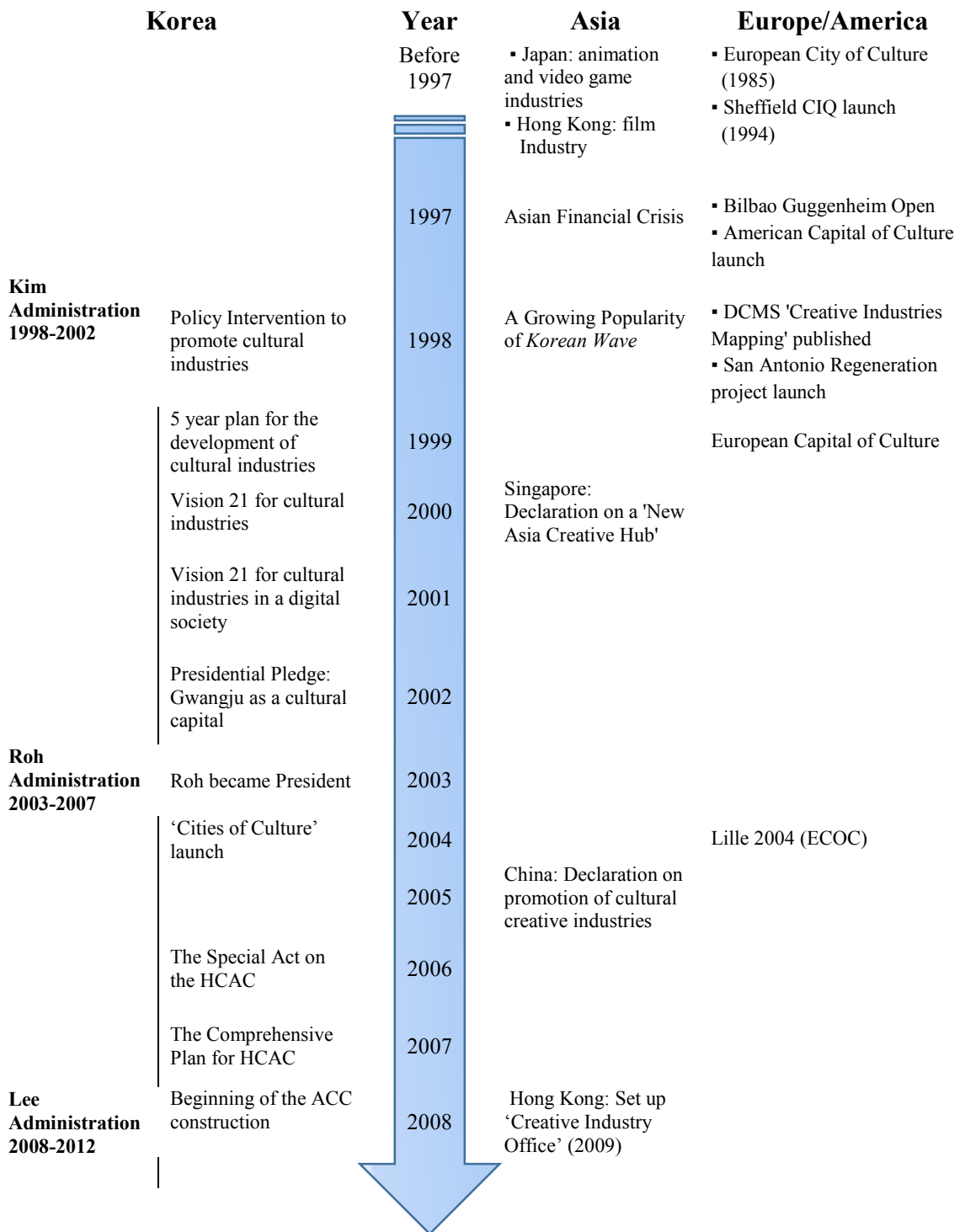
Prior to starting the narrative on the focal events of the HCAC, this section will address the national and international moods in the cultural policy strategies in the late 1990s to the early 2000s. It begins with a timeline (see Figure 2.1) that visually plots the chronology of significant events, pertinent factors, and decisions that possibly influenced on the HCAC project. Aligning with the case narrative and preliminary investigation, the timeline includes both international and domestic elements of the time. By visually familiarizing the important moments of this case narrative, this timeline provides an incorporated view on the birth of the Hub City of Asian Culture in Gwangju.

2.2.1 International Trends

The notion of culture-driven strategies was first widely accepted in Western Europe and North America (e.g., San Antonio, Bilbao, Glasgow, Barcelona, the European Capital of Culture to name but a few) in the 1980s and 1990s, and then diffused to several Asian cities. Especially in 1998, when the UK first published its *Creative Industries Mapping Document*, echoes of the creative industries discourse quickly arrived in East Asia. The creative industries that are flourishing in several Western cities have also emerged as a significant presence in Singapore, Hong Kong, Seoul, Taipei, and several Chinese cities. The success of precedent examples suggested that the creative industries were the leading edge of the next long wave of economic development (Garnham, 2005).

East Asia's cultural export market has flourished. For example, Japanese animation, *Manga*, and game industries (e.g., Sony's PlayStation, and Nintendo's X-Box) were the first runners. Nintendo, Sega and Sony played a leading role in the game industry. From the mid-1990s, the *Korean Wave* hit the global market. The Korean Wave refers to the phenomenon of Korean entertainment and popular culture rolling over the world with pop music, TV dramas, and movies. Also known as *Hallyu*, which means 'Flow of Korea', the term was first introduced by the Chinese press in the late 1990s to describe the growing popularity of Korean pop culture in China (KOREA.net).

Figure 2. 2 Timeline of the Chronology of the HCAC project and Significant Events⁶



⁶ Abbreviations used on the timeline are as follows: Creative Industry Quarter (CIQ), Department of Culture, Media and Sports (DCMS), Hub City of Asian Culture (HCAC), and Asian Culture Complex (ACC).

Singapore adopted a creative industries strategy in the early 2000s and declared its intention to develop Singapore into a New Asia Creative Hub. Another Asian city, Hong Kong, has long been a leader in creative cultural production in Asian film and television industries (Donald and Gammack, 2007, reviewed in Flew, 2011). This trend also triggered China to accept the concept of ‘cultural creative industries’ in 2005.⁷ Therefore, the following year’s draft of Eleventh Five-year Plan for the cities of Beijing, Shanghai, Chongqing, Nanjing, Shenzhen, Qingdao and Tianjin included these culture-driven strategies (Keane, 2007).

2.2.2 National Circumstances of South Korea

Decentralization and Regional Balanced Development (the Early 1990s - the 2000s)

Korea’s economic and industrial strategies have been pursued through intensive development of the capital, Seoul, and on the eastern region of the peninsula. For example, Korea’s first highway was constructed on the eastern region to connect Seoul and Busan (the largest seaport in South Korea) in 1970, and the government also strategically built new industrial cities close to the highway on the eastern part.

South Korea’s developmental imbalance started to change in the 1990s, and the policy intervention on decentralization was strongly re-emphasized when the Roh administration took office in 2003. The national government had planned to construct a

⁷ The Chinese government declared creative industries would play a key role in China’s future development strategy at the International Conference on Creative Industries and Innovation held in Beijing in 2005 (Wu, 2006; Reviewed in Keane).

regional growth center, Innovation Cities, in almost all regions other than around Seoul to stimulate balanced regional development.

The new government created mega projects including the construction of *Sejong City* and *Innovation Cities* as well as the *Hub City of Asian Culture* (HCAC). Ten Innovation Cities were planned, all of which involved the relocation of public institutions from the capital region. A total of 147 public agencies were planned to move out of Seoul and move into either Sejong City, innovative cities or other regions. Among those, 121 agencies needed new buildings and the rest would rent (Innocity). The Cities of Culture initiatives and HCAC project could be seen as one way to realize balanced regional development through culture.

Culture as a New Growth Power and Asia as a Partner of Korea (from the Late 1990s)

For the past three decades, South Korea has been one of the few Asian countries enjoying significant economic growth. Since the late 1990s, various reliable indexes developed by the *International Monetary Fund*, the *World Bank*, the *Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development*, confirmed that South Korea was not a developing country anymore, but entered to the state of developed country. From the late 1990s, with the incorporation of Korean technology industry, the Korean government placed a serious emphasis on the development of creative or culture industry as the next generation's growth engine in the post-industrial era. The *Knowledge-based economy* has become a key factor of this new economic system, and the exploitation of culture has

emerged in the process of policy making such as cultural policy, industrial policy, urban planning policy, gender policy, and international policy.

Throughout the two consecutive administrations of Kim (1998-2003) and Roh (2003-2008), policy plans for the cultural or creative industry were heavily emphasized {e.g., the *Five-year plan for the development of cultural industries* (1999), *Vision 21 for cultural industries* (2000) and *Vision 21 for cultural industries in a digital society* (2001)} (Ministry of Culture and Tourism [MCT], 1999; 2000; 2001). Cultural industries gained substantial attention.

From the beginning of the Roh government, the Korean national government emphasized the importance of Asian partnership. For example, When Kim Myoung-gon became the new culture minister in 2006; he stated that he was willing to promote strong cultural exchanges with Asia in order to boost the country's cultural image. He hoped to strengthen ties with Asian countries that have been embracing Korean cultural products (Yonhap News Agency, 2006). This direction was also included in the Comprehensive plan of the HCAC project, which will be addressed in the following section.

Culture-led Urban Regeneration Project: *Cities of Culture*

The concept of ‘creative city’ describes a new method of strategic urban spaces, planning to make them function economically and socially within a global framework (e.g., Hawkes, 2001; Landry, 2008; Tay 2005). The Korean Cities of Culture reinterpreted the ‘creative cities’ to which cultural policy theorists and urban geographers

have paid attention to create the cultural globalization that is fully integrated into the local cultural resources.

Historically, the Cities of Culture initiative in South Korea derived from the *European City of Culture* program in 1985. The name was changed to the *European Capital of Culture* in 1999. A North American approach, *American Capital of Culture* initiative was established in 1997 by American Capital of Culture Organization, a non-governmental organization, and the American Capital of Culture has awarded the title to one or more North or South American cities annually (American Capital of Culture).

The Korean government launched a similar program as part of its urban regeneration policy. In 2004, the *Committee for Planning the Cities of Culture* was founded by presidential order. Korea's major cities, such as Gwangju, Busan, Gyeongju, and Jeonju, have been strategically designated *Cities of Culture*. The main reason for delivering this initiative was known to promote the creative industries in response to global market demands (Lee, 2007). For the tourism industry, the cities of Gyeongju and Jeonju were chosen due to their historical tradition and cultural heritage. The city of Busan was badged as the *city of visual media* respectively. Gwangju became the *city of Asian culture*, which later turned out to be a national policy priority, the Hub City of Asian Culture project.

2.3 The Hub City of Asian Culture

After its designation, each City of Culture designed its city development plan and sought to be endorsed by the national government. For instance, Jeonju, Gyeongju, and Busan developed and proposed their comprehensive plans to the National Assembly. However, these proposals have been pending in the National Assembly for a long time, and only the Gwangju project was accepted, giving it the priority position.

In this chapter, a brief chronology of the birth of the project, a development progress after its designation, and details of the Comprehensive Plan of the HCAC will be explained.

2.3.1 Evolution of the HCAC project

The Birth of the Project (2002 - 2003)

The HCAC project was first announced in 2002 as a presidential pledge to create a futuristic urban city model with culture. The initial catchphrase was ‘the Cultural Capital, Gwangju,’ but due to the nuance of ‘capital,’ the campaign changed its name and direction. Gwangju was selected as the target venue of the project for promoting the national and city economy and achieving balanced national development at the same time.

Two rationales stranded out for its designation. First of all, the city of Gwangju became the first Korean city to have held an international arts festival, the Gwangju Biennale, since 1995. This was Asia’s first contemporary art biennale, and now it is waiting for the 10th round under the helm of international curators. Along with the

Biennale, several major sites of the May 18th Uprising became memorials and popular tourist spots for people wishing to commemorate the spirit of Gwangju (Yea, 2002).

In 2003, President Roh, who promised the birth of the Hub City of Asian Culture Gwangju, became President, and the presidential pledge was propelled into action.

The Designing and Planning Stage (2004 - 2007)

In 2004, the presidential committee and the subcommittee for the HCAC were launched to implement the project at the national level. They began to work on the design process of relevant policies and the *Preliminary Plan* for the project. At the same time, they announced an international design competition for the *Asian Cultural Complex* (ACC), the multi-functional arts complex constructed in the heart of Gwangju, and selected the winner Kyu Sung Woo in 2005 (Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism [MCST], 2008).

In 2006, a draft of the *Comprehensive Plan for the HCAC* was presented, and the *Special Act on the Hub City of Asian Culture* was legislated. In the following year, the Comprehensive Plan was finally approved by the President and his Committee in 2007 (MCST, 2008).

Implementation Phase I (2008 - Presence)

The first step of the implementation was started with the construction of the Asian Culture Complex (ACC). The complex houses various cultural institutions and a power plant for producing and presenting Asian arts and culture, and it is the heart of the HCAC project (detailed information will be introduced later). The construction was started in April 2008, but it was soon discontinued due to a dispute with citizens regarding the

preservation on the memorial buildings of the May 18th uprising on the ACC construction site⁸. After long discussions and partial design modifications, construction was resumed in 2009, and in 2013, the ACC was seventy nine percent completed. The Complex is expected to open in the middle of 2015.

Along with the construction of the arts complex, the HCAC project has been carried forward by the 20-year Comprehensive Plan.

2.3.2 Overview of the HCAC Comprehensive Plan

The HCAC project was planned as a 20-year project, which makes it the single largest urban cultural project since the foundation of Korea in 1948. The project is run jointly by national and local governments with the future investment of private capital, and comprises four stages which started in 2004 and will end in 2023.

The Comprehensive Plan addresses that Gwangju will become a cultural hub city in Asia, and build a strong partnership with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN),⁹ where a diverse range of communities and inter-cultural values coexists and prospers. In addition, culture can serve as a driving force in regional growth through building a value-added economy and thriving on creative imagination. Thus it may be affiliated with innovation (Executive Agency for Culture Cities, 2005).

⁸ The Asian Culture Complex is planned to be constructed on and around the site of the former Office of Jeollanamdo Province which is a historically important area of May 18th Uprising which gave Gwangju the reputation of democracy, human rights and peace.

⁹ The Association of Southeast Asian Nations, or ASEAN, was established on 8 August 1967 in Bangkok, Thailand, with the signing of the ASEAN Declaration by the Founding Fathers of ASEAN, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. Brunei Darussalam then joined in 1984, Vietnam in 1995, Lao PDR and Myanmar in 1997, and Cambodia in 1999, comprising what is today the ten Member States of ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations).

Figure 2. 3 Map of ASEAN, captured from European Commission



Vision and Structures

Under the vision of "Asia's Cultural Window to the World," four policy objectives for the city of Gwangju have been set up; policy missions have been assigned to each objective. By implementing the HCAC project, the Korean national government and local government expected to have multi-levels of projected effects (see Table 2.1).

To achieve the project's final vision of Gwangju as a place known for Asian cultural exchange, four main priorities were drafted: 1) constructing the Asian Culture Complex; 2) securing the environment of a cultural city; 3) promoting cultural industries; and 4) strengthening Gwangju's reputation and capabilities. Under these principles, the HCAC project is expected to transform the layout and style of the city and aid in its search for economic, social, and cultural development (MCT, 2007).

Table 2. 1 Policy Objectives, Missions, and Projected Effects of the HCAC project, arranged from Office for Hub City of Asian Culture

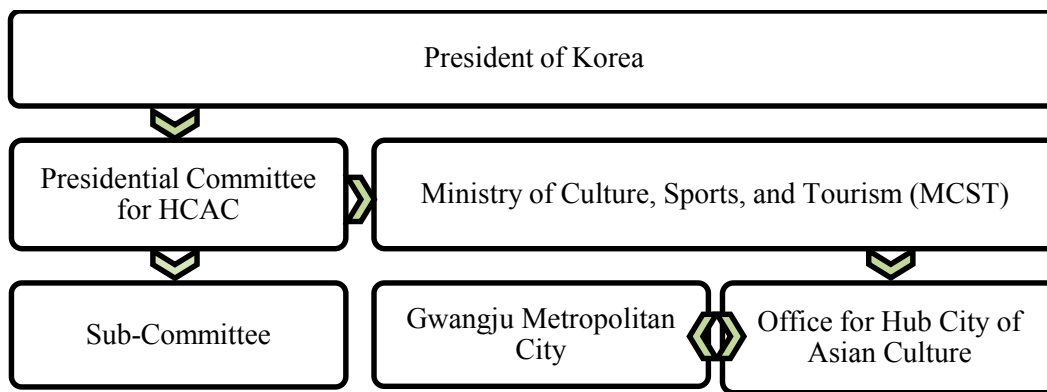
Policy Objectives	Policy Missions	Projected Effects
The Hub City of Asian Culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Establish and operate Asian Culture Complex as production center for cultural contents ▪ Develop a culture-based urban environment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▫ Establish Seven Zones of Culture ▫ Construct infrastructure ▪ Promote the arts and culture/tourism industries <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▫ Support the arts ▫ Promote five major cultural content industries (music, crafts & design, media arts, edutainment¹⁰, and game) ▫ Foster local tourism ▪ Reinforce the city's cultural exchange functions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▫ Develop human resources ▫ Encourage civil-initiate development ▫ Vitalize diversified cultural exchanges 	Individual Level <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▫ Enhance the quality of life by making culture as natural part of life. ▫ Cultivate individuals' cultural potential through creativity-geared education.
A City of Asian Arts and Peace		Community Level <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▫ Attract top-notch human resources from all over Asia. ▫ Expand social capital through civil participation in cultural activities and exchanges, and thus activate the local economy.
A City of Asian Cultural Exchange		National Level <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▫ Create a model for balanced national development via culture. ▫ Pursue an open identity in a culturally pluralistic society. ▫ Enhance Korea's cultural status in the Asian community.
A Futuristic City of Culture-based Economy		Asian Level <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▫ Promote the diversity of Asian cultures. ▫ Utilize each individual nation's cultural resources to establish sustainable development. ▫ Build mutual trust and peace through intra-Asian cultural exchanges. Global Level <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▫ Deepen the world's understanding of Asian cultures. ▫ Discover the future potential of Asian cultures and help Asian cultures prosper through Asia and the world.

¹⁰ Edutainment is defined as “entertainment (as by games, films, or shows) that is designed to be educational (Merriam Webster Online)

Organization of Body

The main organizing parties of the project implementation are 1) *the Presidential Committee*, 2) *the Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism*, and 3) *Gwangju Metropolitan City*. For successful implementation of the whole project, it needs an involvement of private parties and civil society (see Fig. 2.4).

Figure 2. 4 HCAC Project Organization Body



The chief supervisor of the complete HCAC plan is the president of South Korea. Under the president, there is a *Presidential Committee* appointed by the President, which deliberates and advises on execution plans for the Project. The Sub-Committee consists of three small divisions which advise more micro-level of project execution such as 1) culture planning, and construction of ACC, 2) culture city and public participation, and 3) cultural industry and human resources in culture.

Another main body of policy implementation is the *Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism* (MCST). Inside of the Ministry, one division is in charge of the

implementation of the project. That is the *Office for HCAC*, and it formulates and implements the Comprehensive Plan and supports the Presidential Committee. This office is responsible for the national level of the implementation such as creating and operating the national arts complex, Asian Culture Complex, and facilitating international collaboration and exchange to manage the ACC (Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism).

In addition, this division works closely with the *Gwangju Metropolitan City* which focuses more on the local level of management based on the year-by-year action plan. The *Culture & Tourism Policy Bureau* of the Gwangju metropolitan government is in charge of establishing a cultural infrastructure including a cultural complex and galleries, promoting the culture industry, and establishing plans to encourage cultural exchange (Gwangju Metropolitan City).

In 2011, the MCST found a government-funded institution, *Institute of Asian Cultural Development* (IACD) as a branch of the Ministry. Established by the Special Act, this institution has been in charge of planning and producing the Asian Culture Complex's opening festivals and contents (Institute of Asian Cultural Development, 2014). After ACC launches, the IACD will manage and operate this national culture complex.

Budget Plan

Total investment in the HCAC project is estimated to reach \$4.8 billion consisting of the national government investment (\$2.5b), the local government investment (\$0.8b), and private investment (\$1.5b). Whereas the national and local governments' investments are secured by the formal legislation, the private investment is up to the fundraising activities of the HCAC.

Table 2. 2 HCAC Comprehensive Budget Plan from Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism (2010)

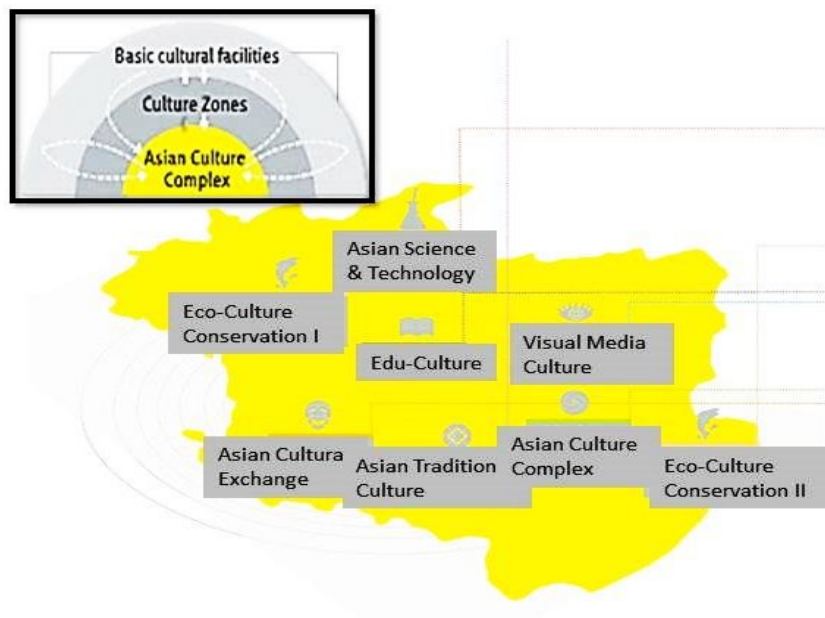
(Millions)	Total	National government	Local government	Private Investment
	\$4,810	\$2,516	\$717	\$1,576
Asian Culture Complex Construction & Management	\$1,755	\$1,282	\$0	\$473
Urban Cultural Regeneration	\$1,907	\$490	\$437	\$980
Promote Arts & Culture, Tourism Industries	\$702	\$375	\$225	\$102
Fostering City's Cultural Exchange Function	\$444	\$368	\$55	\$20

The execution of the national and local governments is deliberated and decided by each assembly, but the private investment part is reviewed by the Private Investment Inducement Board that is established later. To facilitate the private investment, the Mayor of Gwangju Metropolitan City is charged to prepare a basic plan to promote the inducement of private investment in accordance with an annual implementation plan (MCST, 2008; Office for Hub City of Asian Culture, 2009).

Establishment of Seven Culture Zones

The city of Gwangju plans to develop seven culture zones in the entire city area, with each zone functionally linked to one another for the flow continuity of the city's culture.

Figure 2. 5 Seven Culture-based Zones, captured from Office for Hub City of Asian Culture (2008)



Centering on the *Asian Arts Complex*, seven cultural zones are located in and outside of the city. These zones have been designed to reflect the region and city's character and history such as the *Gwangju Biennale*, science and technology valley, and the bank of *Yeongsan River*, as well as that of Asian culture more generally (see Table 2.3).

Table 2. 3 Seven Cultural Zones and Their Functions, adopted from Office for Hub City of Asian Culture (2008)

Asian Culture Complex (ACC) Zone	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▫ Represents a compact view of the features of Hub City of Asian Culture Gwangju. ▫ Function as the epicenter for the continuous circulation, accumulation, and reproduction of the City's cultural energies. : Atelier Street, Downtown Campus, Asian Culinary Culture Street
Asian Cultural Exchange Zone	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▫ Provides a forum for diverse Asian cultures to converge for exchange, production, sales and distribution. ▫ Planned to be remodeled as a residential district for Asian artists and NGOs. : Center for resident artist and human rights workers, atelier street (indigenous art), Asian Music Town, Asian Cultural Centers Street
Asian Science & Technology Zone	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▫ Conducts scientific research on the values of Asian cultures and develops their practical uses. : Asian Knowledge Institute, Institute for Asian Holistic Medicine
Asia Traditional Cultures Zone	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▫ Inherits the values and principles of Asian mentality, behavior, and traditional arts. ▫ Brings to the present Asian traditional culture for entertainment, value-creation, and economic benefit. : Asian Traditional Theme Park, Legends Park, Performing Hall for Asian Traditional Culture, and Asian Traditional Culture Academy
Eco-Culture Conservation Zone I & II	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▫ Pursues sustainable growth by conserving an ecologically sound environment, communicating with nature through experience tours. : Environmental-friendly art model zones including the Eco-Culture Zone, Yeongsan River Wetland Eco-park, and Research Center for Asian Nature and Culture
Edu-Culture Zone	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▫ Makes edu-culture a part of everyday life by designating a specialized education district where the values and philosophies of edu-culture are realized. : Education, research and cultural establishment including an edu-park and edu-culture pilot school
Visual Media Culture Zone	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▫ Presents a cultural environment with interactive media created by adding cutting-edge media technology onto the existing cultural belt such as the Gwangju Biennale hall. ▫ Provide citizens with the next-generation, interactive artistic experience. : the Jungoe Interactive Media Park, Asian Color Institute

Construction of the National Culture Complex: The Asian Culture Complex (ACC)

The Asian Culture Complex zone is the key zone among the seven zones that must be successfully implemented in order to achieve the overall aim of the project. The essence of the HCAC project and this key zone is centered around the construction of the ACC.

Figure 2. 6 Construction Site of Asian Culture Complex, captured from Office for Hub City of Asian Culture

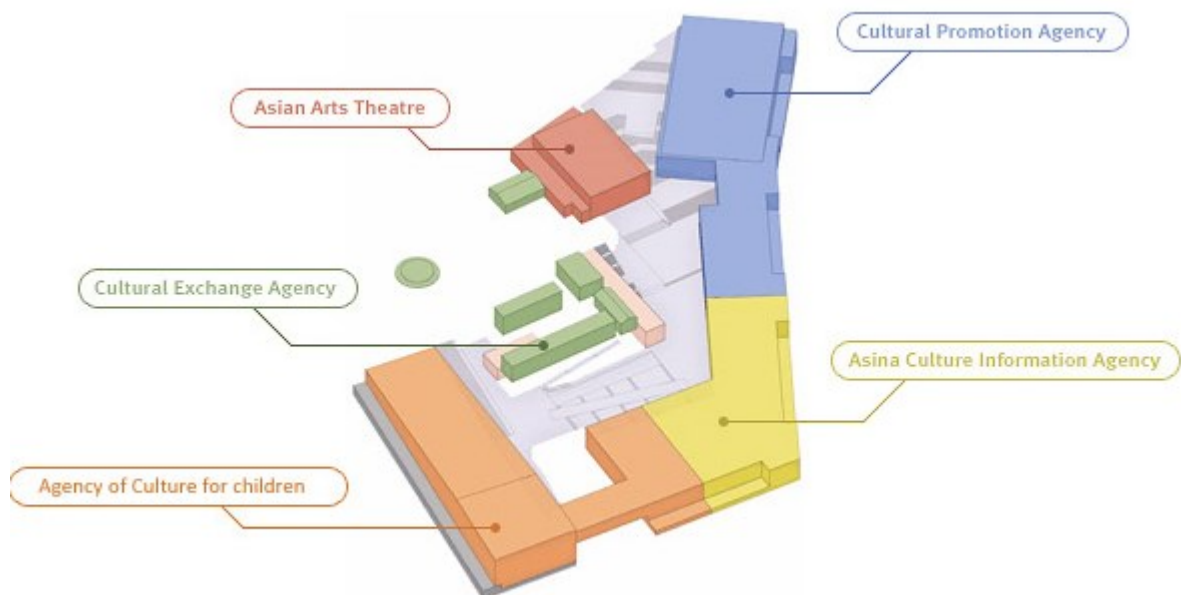


The construction and operating cost of the ACC is likely to be around \$ 1.8 billion, and it has been constructed on and around the historical site of the former Office of South Jeolla Province which is an important area in Gwangju, memorializing the spirit of the May 18th Uprising, which represents the symbol of democracy, human rights, and peace. Therefore, the ACC was designed based upon three concepts: a landmark of the HCAC; a symbolic edifice reflecting the spirit of Gwangju; and a venue for the general

public to interact with the arts and cultural scene of the city (Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2007; Office for Hub City of Asian Culture).

Successful construction and operation of the ACC is significant because this complex will be home to a variety of institutions, (i.e., the Cultural Exchange Agency, Asian Culture Information Agency, Culture Promotion Agency, the Asian Arts Theater, and Edu-Culture Agency for Children, etc.). The initial date to open the complex was in the first half of 2012. However, due to several disputes among the national government, local government, and civil society, the time of completion has been delayed, and the current target is toward the second half of 2015 (Office for Hub City of Asian Culture).

Figure 2. 7 Five Main Facilities of the ACC, as captured from Office of Hub City of Asian Culture



The Cultural Exchange Agency will be comprised of the May 18 Memorial Hall, Asian Cultural Exchange Center, and Business Strategy Center, all of which will be thematically linked by their work to the values of democracy, human rights, and peace, supervising cultural exchanges among Asian culture, and the process of producing profit-generating cultural content and business activities in the ACC.

The Asian Culture Information Agency will consist of three facilities: 1) the Asian Culture Research Institute, 2) the Asian Cultural Resource Center, and 3) the Asian Culture Academy. To promote insight into and experience of Asian culture, these facilities will provide resource materials related to Asian culture, and will conduct research via a library facility, into Asian culture. In addition, the academy will educate the general public as well as experts on Asian culture.

The Culture Promotion Agency will include the Cultural Contents Development Center, Cultural Contents Production Center, and Multi-Functional Exhibition Hall. All of them will collectively support the production of Asian culture-related contents with technologies. For example, the Content Development center will support to plan and create the content, and then, the Production Center will advise production of arts and cultural contents. Those outputs will be exhibited at the Exhibition Hall or at the Asian Arts Theater.

The Asian Arts Theater, including two performing halls, has been designed to embrace a variety of performing art mediums. The Grand Performance Hall is a 2000-seat theater which hosts a large-scale of performance or stage two or three performances, simultaneously. The Theater will also include a “factory shop” where the production,

distribution, and sales of Asian performing arts will be facilitated. The Multi-Functional Auditorium is a 500-seat multi-functional theater accommodating various genres of performing arts such as theater, music, and dance.

Finally, the Edu-Culture Agency for Children is set to concentrate on children's education in arts and culture through exhibitions and hands-on activities. This place will house a museum, playhouse, library, and a creative studio for the creative leaders of the future, while experiencing and learning the fundamental principles of knowledge through aesthetic experiences (MCST, 2010; Office of Hub City of Asian Culture).

CHAPTER 3

DEFINITIONS: WHAT IS “CULTURE” IN URBAN CULTURAL POLICY?

Before reviewing a conceptual framework of the study, it is important to understand the meaning of culture in the urban cultural policy field. Over the recent decades, a numerous and diverse array of definitions of ‘culture’ have been adopted in urban cultural policy field, and multiple aspects of culture have been fully operationalized in the policy making process. However, these definitions showed some degree of differences, but there was little consensus on what exactly is meant by culture. By the same token, the HCAC project employed multiple strategies of culture-led urban development policies, but there was a lack of studies that precisely explained the meaning of culture.

This chapter reviews the various definitions of culture and attempts to understand the meaning of culture operationalized in the Korean context. The chapter first introduces a few conceptual definitions of culture that is widely accepted in the urban cultural policy, and then explores its practical definition in the policy making process. Finally, the last section of the chapter reviews the five benchmarks of the HCAC policy design and seeks to develop the operational meaning of culture within the framework of the HCAC.

3.1 Conceptual Definition of Culture

When attempting to arrive at a definition of culture, one may begin with a basic range of artistic objects and products, such as fine art, classical and popular music, film, design, and architectural works. Some policy scripts may also include computer games, sports, or tourism within the universe of cultural objects. For the past decades, arts-centric cultural policies have been seen as a catalyst for economic renewal at the local and the national levels. In many policy scripts, “Arts” has become a synonym for “culture.”

Among the many definitions of culture¹¹, this paper pays particular attention to Williams’ formulation. Williams saw culture as a social process: it is “a whole way of life, and the arts are part of a social organization which economic change clearly radically affects” (1961, pp. 41-71). In his observations of the arts and culture in the United Kingdom, he notes that policies for the arts had become ‘cultural policies’, and were treated as economic and political tools of the nation (1984, pp. 3-4).

Building off of Williams’ definition, other scholars have projected enriching views of culture. They agree that culture is a ‘process and way of life’, and, more importantly, that it is positioned within the complexities of the human environment or human ecology. Thus, others have defined culture as 1) capital; 2) a process and way of

¹¹ McGuigan (1996, p. 1, reviewed in Gray, 2010) sees *culture* to be concerned with ‘the production and circulation of symbolic meanings.’ In political science, ‘culture’ tends to be defined in specific fashions rather than in the general terms used in cultural studies. In the field of economics, especially cultural economics, there are sharply divergent views among scholars, but it is agreed that culture can be analyzed using the tools of economic analysis. Sociological studies of ‘culture’ often define it as a set of meanings, symbols, and structures (Alexander 2006), consisting of particular arenas of action associated with goods and/or activities that are limited to ‘the arts, cultural industries and media sectors’ (Bennett 2007, p.32).

life, interacting with an environment; 3) a central binding element providing the values underlying sustainable (or unsustainable) actions; 4) creative expression providing insights on environmental/sustainability concerns; and 5) an emergent phenomenon, with an emphasis on complexity, interdependence, networks, and emergence (Comunian, 2011; Duxbury and Jeannotte, 2011).

In his book, *The Fourth Pillar of Sustainability: Culture's essential role in public planning*, Hawkes (2001) provides a more descriptive definition of culture, enumerating two aspects of it:

- 1) the social production and transmission of identities, meanings, knowledge, beliefs, values, aspirations, memories, purposes, attitudes, and understanding;
- 2) the 'way of life' of a particular set of humans: customs, faiths, and convention; codes of manners, dress, cuisine, language, arts, science, technology, religion and rituals; norms and regulations of behavior, traditions and institutions (p. 3).

These definitions provide fertile soil for urban cultural development. However, the intention of this paper is not to support any one definition over another, but rather to claim that there is no widely acceptable definition of culture, since conceptual definitions tend to be vague and impractical. As we know, the meaning of culture becomes more apparent when it is situated in a particular space and time. In other words, when culture is read within the frame of urban cultural development and explained in a historical, political, and 'cultural' setting, its definitional boundaries becomes more precise.

Therefore, the next section will seek to explore what ‘culture’ has been entrenched in the urban cultural development strategies, and how this has been accomplished.

3.2 Practical Definition of Culture

As briefly reviewed, the definition of culture is a broad and multifaceted one. However, it is clear that when policymakers look to culture, they have an aspiration in mind or are facing a problem that needs to be overcome. If a city is confronting a stiff economic decline or the loss of active citizenship, or desires to be more competitive, and so on, the city leadership will lay out a mission to be achieved, examine the resources that can be mobilized, and design a suitable policy. Although there will be minor differences, the scenario would be approximately the same for most cities.

In urban cultural development, it can be assumed that city leaders pursue cultural tools and resources as a development strategy. If so, the important question is ‘how?’ This section starts with the question of ‘how’ (i.e., by what processes) does the city leadership choose ‘culture’ as a development strategy.

3.2.1 Cultural Principles for Urban Cultural Development

When policymakers design policy, they first outline a mission and basic principles that will serve as a roadmap and guide for ‘correct’ policy planning. Because cultural policy aims to “enrich the lives of all citizens in many different ways and to protect and enhance the rights of citizens to freedom of expression and access to information and resources” (Hawkes, 2001, p. iii), cultural policy planning begins with the designation a

set of principles and incorporating those into the design process (see Table 3.1, Hawkes, 2001). The common principles that cities adopt can be grouped into the following set of categories (see Table 3.1). When these principles meet with local policy actions (e.g., policy instruments or tools), they are translated into the language of urban cultural policy. The next chapter will introduce the multiple faces of culture embedded in urban cultural development strategies.

Table 3. 1 Principles of Culture (adopted from Hawkes, 2001)

Types	Principles
Sustainable Development	The desire that future generations inherit a world at least as bountiful as the one we inhabit.
Wellbeing	The single attitude most strongly associated with life satisfaction.
Diversity	An essential aspect of living together; the recognition that difference is a fundamental aspect of the human condition. This is an asset to vital society, not a threat. Cultural diversity is essential to social sustainability.
Globalization and Distinctiveness	1) Culture is not a closed system: on the one hand, we embrace influences from myriad sources; on the other, and our responses to those influences can be mediated through our own particular, and unique, experiences; 2) An awareness of globalization has contributed to the rash of 'distinctiveness' projects around the world.
Engagement, Active Citizenship, and Civil Society	In a vital society, the meaning we make of our lives is something we do together, not an activity to be left to others, no matter how skilled, or representative, they may claim to be.
Creativity and Innovation	Innovation, creativity, lateral-thinking, insights, intuition, and imagination are ways of describing the process of inventing new patterns of our lives.
Community Building, Cohesion, Capacity and Social Capital	Based on the premise that humans are social beings and that we are happiest and most productive when we operate interdependently. Community cohesion is utterly dependent upon the capacity of the individuals within a community to understand, respect, and trust one another. These qualities are built through cultural interaction.
Livability and Quality of Life	Focuses on the constituents of the environment (natural, constructed, and social) that combine to create a place people like and feel attached to.
Identity and Character	The residents of a city or regions identify themselves as being of that place (the big picture) but each has many other identities that gradually focus down until we come to the unique individual.
Progress and Development	Balance and repair are gaining credibility as ways of describing the general direction of our world. Such shifts in view are cultural, and generating community debate around these changes of perception is a cultural act.

3.2.2 Culture in Urban Cultural Developmental Strategy

At the level of urban planning, culture often plays multiple roles. As a development tool, some European cities have utilized culture (e.g., museums, galleries, and festivals) to attract visitors. Culture has also been used to redirect the image of old, industrial cities such as Sheffield and Bilbao, and serve as a marketing tool. In the competitive global market, culture provides the city with a distinct, brand image. By increasing the quality of life, it also has the potential to bring members of the creative class into the city, thereby boosting economic competitiveness. Also, by promoting individual entrepreneurship, the cultural sector may contribute to the development of small and medium enterprises within communities, and enhance social capital (Bianchini, 1993; Zukin, 1995, reviewed in Keating & Frantz, 2004).

As illustrated above, ‘culture’-led urban development policy offers many attractive outcomes for policymakers, and various models have been utilized around the world. Before analyzing examples from real cities, which will be introduced in section 3.3, the following section examines the definition of cultural resources and widely accepted models that have been chosen.

Urban Cultural Resources

In *The Creative City*, Landry (2008) posits that urban cultural resources include “the historical, industrial, and artistic heritage representing assets, including architecture, urban landscape, or landmarks,” and involve “local and indigenous traditions of public life, festivals, rituals or stories, as well as hobbies and enthusiasms” (pp. xx-xxxi).

Language, food, leisure activities, clothing, and intellectual traditions are treated as resources because they express the special characteristic of locality. Cultural resources also encompass the range and quality of skills in the performing and visual arts and the creative industries as well. As a whole, cultural resources reflect the locality and the place-ness of the city, and enhance the creative potential of the city.

‘Hard’ infrastructure includes buildings and institutions such as museums, performing arts center, research institutes, educational institutions, and as well as support services such as transportation, public health, and amenities. ‘Soft’ infrastructure is often equated with social networks, connections, and human interactions that support the flow of ideas between individuals and institutions (Landry, 2008). Neither hard nor soft infrastructures exist independently, but are constantly interacting with others.

Four Categories of Culture-led Urban Development Models and Perspectives

For decades, the economic advantage of cultural development strategy has maintained a prominent place in urban cultural policy design. However, the last few years have shown new approaches that focus on aspects of cultural policy distinct from economic development. Triple bottom line (3BL), quality of life, social capital, ecologically sustainable development (ESD), livability, civic engagement, and active citizenship are concepts that are gaining currency as ways of augmenting an exclusively economic perspective on the world. In this section, those discourses are discussed under the four categories of economic, social, physical, and environmental perspectives.

A. Economic Perspective

Until the early 1980s, culture has been a major tool in the pursuit of political ideology through cultural democracy or national identity building (or, at the extreme, a form of propaganda in international affairs) (Pick et al., 1988). However, with the decline of the manufacturing industry, many policymakers have employed the idea that the arts and culture could contribute to urban life and the economic development of towns and cities in a number of ways. The rationale and definitions of the cultural resources/tools that were adopted in the development of urban cultural economy strategies largely fell into three types: 1) creative industries; 2) creative class and cluster; and 3) creative city.

Cultural/Creative Industries and Tourism

Evans (2002) once defined cultural industries to include print and broadcast media, recorded music, design, and art markets. When ‘art’ converged with digital technology, together these were rechristened as the creative industries. One of the foremost examples of this is the United Kingdom’s *1998 Creative Industries Mapping Document*. In this document, the *Department of Culture, Media and Sport* (DCMS) expanded the traditional focus of ‘cultural’ industries to creative industries, and put forth the working definition of the creative industries as “those activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property” (1998, p.3). It listed the following industries as creative: advertising, architecture, art and antiques markets, crafts, design, designer fashion, film and video, interactive leisure software,

music, performing arts, publishing, software and computer services, television, and radio. The list and definition both provoked considerable debates, and several scholars added more industrial sectors or sought to reduce the list.

Cultural tourism utilizes arts and cultural venues, heritage sites and monuments, and events and festivals as major visitor attractions. This strategy has been an important component of urban revitalization developments around the world, and awareness has been created through the hosting of mega-events or sporting competitions. Even a single cultural facility or institution can provide a stimulus to urban economic growth: the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, Spain, is often cited as a paradigmatic example of a cultural investment that has led to the revitalization of a depressed urban area.

Creative Class/Cluster

Cultural industries can benefit from clustering of the networks and associations of hard/soft infrastructures that may be available in a local setting. Prominent examples of this “creative cluster” include fashion in Milan, theater in New York, and filmmaking in Hollywood.¹² The idea of creative clusters is heavily influenced by the work of Florida, who created the concept of “creative class” in his book *The Rise of the Creative Class* (2002), as well as by Porter’s cluster theory (2000).

Florida argues that the rising of new social class, the “creative class”, is an innovative source of urban dynamism. In his empirical research, he identifies the three Ts (*technology, talent, and tolerance*) as the economic sparks empowering creativity, and, using a set of indices, provides city rankings based on the strength of their creative

¹² The “district” dimension vs. the “cluster” one finds natural analogs when one turns to the analysis of local processes of cultural dynamics. We can therefore speak, in turn, of “cultural districts” vs. “cultural clusters”, and it is far from a matter of sheer terminology (Sacco & Blessi, 2008).

inhabitants. In his perspective, creative power increases the city's competitiveness within the contemporary economy and society, and, for this reason, the private sector always seeks to locate their businesses in places where clusters of creative people live (Florida, 2002, pp. 5-6). Florida labels this aggregation of creative people the "creative class," and their clustering is mainly due to similarities in the work they do for a living.¹³

However, as Porter points out, economic connectedness is not the only factor that has an influence on clustering. Through the effects of proximity to other firms, participation in a cluster contributes to competitive advantages in terms of productivity and the capacity for innovation. Social networks also can be important in promoting cooperation, flexibility, joint ventures, and information-sharing (Porter, 2000).

Thus, in urban cultural development, businesses in the creative industries may follow standard clustering patterns in their search for economies of scale and scope, looking for the sorts of networking and agglomeration benefits that underlie clustering processes in any industrial sector.

¹³ As Florida explains, "a class is a cluster of people who have common interests and tend to think, feel and behave similarly, but these similarities are fundamentally determined by economic function-by the kind of work they do for a living. All other distinctions follow from that" (2002, p. 8).

Creative City¹⁴

The concept of a “creative city” describes a collection of urban complexes where diverse cultural activities are integrated with components of the city’s economic and social functioning. As Porter’s creative cluster puts an emphasis on the importance of social networking beside the proximity benefit of clustering (2000), creative cities tend to be built upon a strong social and cultural infrastructure. As a result, they can enjoy a relatively high rate of creative employment, and be accretive to inward investment because of their reputational arts and cultural facilities (Throsby, 2010). Creative cities increase possibilities for socially-embedded problems to be solved innovatively through the use of local social and cultural resources (Landry, 2000).

Unlike others, this culture-led strategy focuses on achieving renewal from the bottom up. A creative city strategy pays attention to cultural infrastructure, local cultural participation and involvement, the development of a flourishing and dynamic creative arts sector, community-oriented heritage conservation, and support for wider creative industries that are fully integrated into the local economy. It enables social actors to be more than passive consumers of official art handed down to them, and the benefits are multiple: enhanced social cohesion, improved local image, reduced offending behaviors, greater interest in the local environment, developed self-confidence; public-private sector partnerships; explored identities and visions of the future; enhanced organizational capacity; and supported independence (Landry, 2000).

¹⁴ Although this study positions the creative city discourse under the economic perspective, it can be seen as a socio-economic model of urban cultural development strategy.

B. Social Perspective

Culture has been utilized as a tool that sets the stage for the socially-driven development of human potential (Matarasso, 1997). Bordieu states that accumulation of cultural capital has become an engine for achieving relevant further missions, such as the creation and/or regeneration of the social fabric, the generation of opportunities for social networking, and the management of accumulation processes for other key intangible assets such as social capital (Bordieu, 1983), with the additional benefits of social order and cohesion (Everingham, 2003).

C. Physical Perspective

Culture has an important role to play also in the rehabilitation of landfill or brown-field areas located in urban centers. These destinations tend to pose serious problems in terms of environmental and social sustainability, social inclusion vs. exclusion, and social consensus. Culture is often seen as a sophisticated policy tool that may provide a cool-down stage for collective awareness and debate, integrating them in more constructive ways once they have been rephrased within the ‘cultural’ frame. This kind of achievement has been particularly interesting in European cases, where renovations to the existing city core are seen as a better option than the construction of new satellite settlements that may barely manage to maintain an identity of their own or establish vital interaction with the city core (Sacco & Blessi, 2008).

In addition, the development of new and improved facilities for cultural activity (ranging from arts and media centers, theaters, museums and galleries, to spaces for public gatherings, festivals, public art works, urban design, as well as the promotion of cultural industry zones and workspaces) can transform a city's image and appeal to the world, such as Guggenheim in Bilbao. Massive cultural and museum quarter developments in Berlin, Vienna, Beijing, and Singapore are other well-known instances.

D. Environmental Perspective

The sustainable environmental development of cities requires mature citizenship that resists urban sprawl and car-dependent transportation systems, in order to save energy, reduce global warming, and protect the countryside and wildlife. Hence, sustainable environmental development supports sustainable cultural development, aiming to protect the cultural heritage, promote the reuse of existing buildings for cultural production, improve public spaces, strengthen cultural interaction, and improve the everyday life of families. Working for the protection of the environment also means working for the enhancement of culture (e.g., exchanging the motor car for walking, cycling, and public transport). It is obvious that the enhancement of urban culture is at the same time a step towards urban environmental sustainability (Nystrom & Fudge, 1999).

3.3 Operational Definition in the HCAC

This last section reviews the five city examples that the Korean government benchmarked during the policy design of the HCAC: the City of Lille, Bilbao, Sheffield, San Antonio, and Singapore. In 2007, the Korean government presented the final version of the Comprehensive Plan of the HCAC, and this document briefly introduced the name of those five cities. However, the document did not further explain the reasons of why and how the HCAC project benchmarked those cities. Therefore, by reviewing the five city examples, this section attempts to demonstrate what kind of profound cultural strategies those city models had, and how culture was operationalized within their development strategies. Furthermore, this section seeks to find evidences that show how these models have influences on the HCAC.

3.3.1 Lille: Networking of Cultural Initiatives

One of the model cities that the HCAC plan benchmarked in its policy design process was the city of Lille, France. The successful hosting of the European Capital of Culture (ECOC) in 2004 renewed the image of Lille as an attractive city to the rest of Europe. The Lille model reminds one not only of the importance of image promotion in the tourism sector, but also the pivotal importance of creating a dense local network of cultural initiatives with the involvement of local residents.

The city of Lille is located at the center of the Paris-London-Brussels triangle, and sits just a few kilometers from the Belgian border. After its economy contracted in the 1970s-1980s and many of its factories closed down, administrators began to search for a new framework for local regeneration that would embrace the economic and social

difficulties of the city. The city struggled due to its 150-year legacy of heavy industrialization and severe lack of vitality and attractiveness. The region needed a creative spark to ignite the city's image and economy (Paris & Baert, 2011).

Figure 3. 1 Downtown of Lille (captured from Wikipedia)



The success of ECOC 2004 leveraged the regeneration of the city of Lille. That year, 2,500 local events and exhibitions involving more than 17,000 artists were organized. Throughout 2004, the initiative brought a total of 9 million participants into programs on the street, in museums or galleries, as well as at local schools. 17,800

‘ambassadors’ took on active roles in implementing the ECOC programs voluntarily. Lille 2004 also attracted 13 million euros in private donations, making it the largest cultural sponsorship ever realized in France. With the renovation of public facilities and the restoration of historic monuments, and as a result of all of the cultural events, the number of visitors to the city more than doubled from the previous year (Paris & Baert, 2011; Sacco & Blessi, 2008). Lille remains a benchmark for a number of other European cities that want to develop their image as a dynamic cultural city.

The Lille 2004 “ambassadors” programs, an entirely volunteer-driven initiative, demonstrated that anyone could participate in the manifold activities and spirits. The number of enrolled volunteers was around 17,800, which included expatriates from all over the world. Several hundred directly contributed to at least one event at least once a month, whereas about two hundred have become full-time volunteers (Paris & Baert, 2011; Sacco & Blessi, 2008).

Despite all of the numeric indexes of success, Lille is well-known for having crafted a dense network and numerous private-public partnerships through the ECOC year. The city of Genoa also was designated as ECOC for the year 2004. However, in terms of programming, the two cities had notable differences. While Genoa focused on temporary, blockbuster exhibitions, Lille had subdivided the policy target based on a radial and concentrated pattern of policy design (Sacco & Blessi, 2008). In terms of programming, the emphasis had been on a large number of disseminated events targeted at particular audiences, whose objective was to involve as many cultural producers as possible.

Another essential part of the strategy had been the opening and launching of twelve new cores for cultural activities through the re-conversion of former industrial buildings. Also, to inspire a web of creative-friendly environments for artists and residents, the core included residential facilities aimed at the development of more intense social relationships and cultural cooperation (Paris & Baert, 2011).

The purpose of this creative involvement was clear. The emphasis was creating a dense local network of cultural initiatives and the involvement of local and regional residents. Besides the benefit of stimulating cultural tourism, those strategies primarily targeted local residents in order to promote social cohesion and enhance pride and self-confidence in citizenship. Every visitor and volunteer directly or indirectly involved in the cultural programs could be a part of Lille 2004 along with the invited artists.

3.3.2 Bilbao: Cultural Flagship *Guggenheim Effect*

Having developed around the mining and shipbuilding industries, the city of Bilbao was once economically powerful. In the 1980s, however, several factors, including a rise in terrorism and imbalances in the labor market, pushed the city into a devastating industrial crisis (Vicario & Monje, 2003). Bilbao, like other old industrial cities, has turned to cultural regeneration as part of a broader economic development strategy aimed at replacing the city's defunct industries with a booming service sector. In addition, the city intended to reconstruct the negative image associated with its deindustrialized city landscape by promoting a vibrant 'cultural' image of the city.

The city began its regeneration plan with a flagship project for a new urban landscape. The city government built the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao designed by Frank Gehry with the intent of altering the city's image to create an association with art, culture and advanced service (Gomez, 1998). In addition to the construction of the museum, the city transformed its physical environment with aggressive place-marketing campaigns.

Figure 3. 2 Guggenheim Bilbao Museum (captured from Wikipedia)



The city of Bilbao was enthusiastic about this future iconic building, and the museum increased awareness of the importance of urban leisure economies when it opened the door in 1997 (Keating & Frantz; 2004). The construction of the Guggenheim

Museum has undoubtedly turned Bilbao into a world-class advanced services metropolis. By spreading the city's regeneration image to a global spectator, the so-called 'Guggenheim effect' seems to have been successful at attracting visitors and developing a cultural tourism industry (Gomez, 1998; Vicario & Monje, 2003). Therefore, local authorities have increasingly had to rely on economic revitalization strategies based on arts, culture, and entertainment.

In sum, the Guggenheim's global reputation has brought many regional and global visitors to the city, and promoted a boom in the service-based economy through the reconstruction of Bilbao's image as a 'post-industrial' city.

3.3.3 Sheffield: Cultural Industries Quarter

Just like other model cities, the development of the *Cultural Industries Quarter* (CIQ) in the city of Sheffield was a response to the decline of the local steel industry. After a rapid economic decline and dramatic job losses in the early 1980s, the city council developed a strategy that promoted cultural and media industries as new growth engines for the future. Based on Sheffield's distinct musical heritage,¹⁵ the city council utilized the city's musical infrastructure and musicians as cultural resources and established local music industry facilities in 1994 (Brown, O'Connor, and Cohen, 2000).

The distinct approach of Sheffield's urban cultural policy was that it attempted to establish the CIQ more or less from scratch by providing the buildings, facilities, and a

¹⁵ By the late 1970s, Sheffield had a distinct local music scene based around a group of avant-garde, post-punk electronic bands, including The Human League, Cabaret Voltaire, ABC, and Heaven 17. These bands had major record deals and national and international chart success (Brown et al., 2000).

venue in order to attract cultural producers into the area. Over the next ten years, the city council was involved in renovating a group of empty buildings; these were close to the city center, and included music rehearsal spaces, recording studios, and a live venue. With the aim of increasing access to those resources, the council sought to promote a scheme whereby musicians with money would invest in record deals. All of these investments were funded through a mix of public and private capital, but the amount of actual investment by the city council has been minimal (Brown et al., 2000; Dabinett, 2004).

Figure 3. 3 Sheffield's Cultural Industries Quarter (captured from Geolocation)



Landry (2000) suggests that the creative industries in Sheffield have led to an astonishing physical renewal along with the creation of an industrial sector in an unlikely location. Several reports show that the CIQ has successfully promoted the city's music industry. A consultancy report by EDAW and Urban Cultures of 1997 noted that "The CIQ has created 1300-1400 jobs in an estimated 150 businesses, generating a total turnover of £25 million..." (pp. 3-11). Four years later, a *Creative Industries Business Study of South Yorkshire* (2001; reviewed in Dabinett, 2004) showed that over 17,000 people were employed or self-employed in 3,000 enterprises, creating a turnover that exceeded £900 million.

The CIQ itself contains over 300 organizations that employ some 3,000 people and accommodates a cluster of diverse cultural production industries—film, TV, video, radio, science and technology, new media design, music, arts, crafts, traditional metalworking industries, as well as supporting services including public relations and event management, media training and education (Red Tape Studios; Sheffield Hallam University's Northern Media School). The Quarter also contains performance venues (Republic and Leadmill nightclubs; Showroom Cinema) and 'cultural' attractions (Millennium Galleries; Site Gallery), and hosts a variety of events (Lovebytes new media festival; International Documentary Film Festival) (Brown et al., 2000; Dabinett, 2004).

The CIQ is portrayed as a regeneration success story due to the scale and significance of this new creative business cluster in the core of an old devitalized city.

3.3.4 San Antonio: Riverfront Regeneration

The *River Walk* in San Antonio is one of the most renowned culture-led urban riverfront regeneration projects in the world. This major tourist attraction is maintained by the *Downtown Operations Department*, which is owned by the City of San Antonio. With European style cafes, shops, bars, waterfalls, lily ponds, and stone stairways, the 3.51 mile River Walk is a serious economic engine for the city, annually drawing in more than 7 million visitors who spend roughly \$800 million (City of San Antonio).

Figure 3. 4 San Antonio River Walk (capture from the official website of River Walk)



In the early 1920s, the city government first initiated plans to convert the San Antonio River into a storm sewer system by diverting water through a concrete tunnel in order to prevent frequent flooding. However, when citizens and civil society organizations stepped in to try to save the river, the history of the River Walk had begun (San Antonio River Authority).

Over the following decades, the river and its bank were improved and extended. In fact, the real community effort to revitalize the Walk began in 1998. Twenty civic and community leaders appointed the *San Antonio River Oversight Committee*, which was given the responsibility of managing the *San Antonio River Improvements Project* (SARIP).

SARIP is a \$358.3 million on-going project consisting of multiple partnerships—the City of San Antonio, Bexar County, San Antonio River Authority (SARA), the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (USACE), and the San Antonio River Foundation—in flood control, amenities, ecosystem restoration, and recreational improvements along 13 miles of the San Antonio River. SARIP is comprised of four distinctive reaches: The Museum Reach; the Downtown Reach; the Eagleland; and the Mission Reach (City of San Antonio; San Antonio River Authority).

These reaches incorporate environmental and cultural resources within its district, such as the San Antonio Museum of Art, Pearl (a restored former brewery and stables), the riparian corridors, and VFW Post 76 (the oldest VFW post in Texas).

3.3.5 Singapore: Aspiration to Become a Global Cultural Hub

Unlike other European cities, the city-state Singapore has had a relatively short period of history. The country attained full administrative independence only in 1965. Hence, Singapore did not really need to ‘re’-generate itself from the post-industrial affect, but rather promote a ‘new’ cultural image and identity, and foster its competitiveness.

In the early years after independence from the United Kingdom and Malaysia, cultural policy in Singapore became part of “the state’s attempt to secure political legitimacy, build ideological consensus, and forge a sense of national identity” (Kong & Yeoh, 2003, p. 15) while erasing old memories.¹⁶

Figure 3. 5 Esplanade performing arts venue (captured from Wikimedia Commons)



In 1990, the government census reported that 78% of residents were of Chinese while the rest were of Malay and Indian descent (Singapore Department of Statistics). Their cultural policy needed to promote a cohesive national image for Singapore. Thus, the government designed national spaces that were intended to reflect state aspirations

¹⁶ One example of this is the refurbishment of “cultural destruction” of Singapore’s Chinatown district.

and continually evoke a sense of belonging, such as the Esplanade performing arts venue, which resembles a durian, the king of fruits in Southeast Asia.¹⁷

Between the late 1980s and the 1990s, Singapore's cultural policy aim was to fashion the city-state into a "global city of the arts" of the twenty-first century. The 1989 ACCA Report made a series of key recommendations that were slated to alter the cultural landscape of Singapore. These included the establishment of a new agency for the arts, heritage, and tourism, the creation of a museum precinct, and the construction of a new world-class performing arts center, the Esplanade (ACAA, 1989).

In 2000, Singapore's desire to become a global cultural hub, benchmarked against the cultural capitals of the world, was reaffirmed. The government paper, *Renaissance City Report: Culture and the Arts in Renaissance Singapore* (Ministry of Information and the Arts, 2000), describes the city's short-term goal as "to develop the local arts scene to match regional hubs like Melbourne, Hong Kong [and Glasgow], with the eventual goal of achieving a status comparable to cultural capitals like London and New York" (p. 27). Having already developed the hardware, the city next set its sights on the software aspects.

Two years later, in 2002, however, Singapore's urban cultural policy turned to the economic value of creative industries as it faced a tougher economic year. A government-appointed taskforce identified sectors for future economic growth and opportunities for

¹⁷ The Esplanade – Theatres on the Bay is Singapore's largest and grandest performing arts venue. It opened in October 2002 with a multimillion dollar fanfare. Built at a significant cost, The Esplanade comprises a series of top-rated performance halls and arts spaces, built on a six-hectare reclaimed site along the popular Marina Bay waterfront (Kong, 2000, p. 420). It also houses extensive food and beverage outlets, a specialist arts public library, and a shopping mall, making it not just an arts space, but a mega-commercialized civic space (Berson, 2003, p.11).

Singapore as a creative economy. *The Creative Industries Report* recognized that “the arts and culture sector is the artistic core” of what is known as the “creative cluster” (CWIG, 2002, p.10). In the case of Singapore, three broad groups of people, those who work in 1) the arts and culture, 2) design and 3) the media industries, were identified as the creative cluster.

The previous three sections have sought to help answer the question of how culture has been utilized in the process of urban cultural development policy around the world. Although these chapters do not provide one explicit answer to this question, they have shaded the outlines of a working definition of culture. Culture has been positioned as a language, a process, and a magical injection to spur a city’s revival. In the frame of urban cultural policy, culture cannot be defined in a simple sentence. Based on the interpretation and perception of the city’s historical, political, social, or economic currency, culture has expanded its domain from high arts to pop art and the technology and service arenas, and now it has embraced the full spectrum of human creativity. It has become an amorphous catalyst that twenty-first century urban development cannot exclude. The in-depth investigation on the influence of five cities on the HCAC plan will be addressed in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 4
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE
POLICY ANALYSIS: MULTIPLE STREAMS AND ALTERNATIVE LENSES

4.1 Introduction

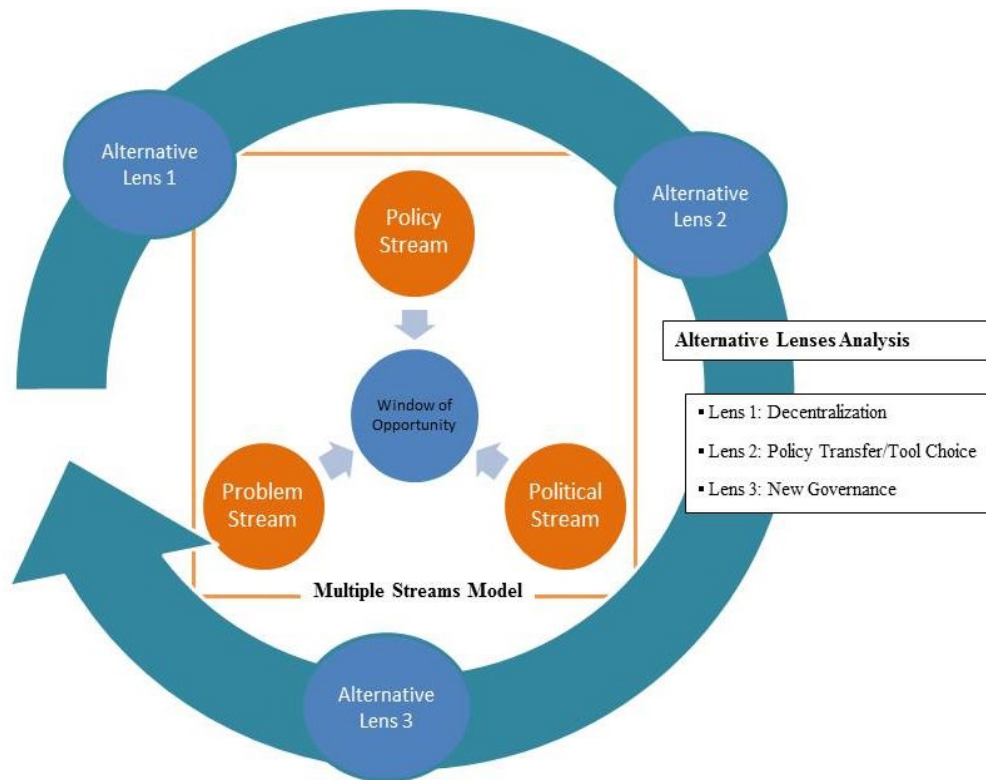
Multiple fields of study play an important role in building this conceptual review of relevant literatures. The backbone of the conceptual framework is based on two policy analysis models: the *Alternative Lenses Analysis* (ALA) by G.T. Allison (1969; 1999) and the *Multiple Streams* (MS) *Model* by J.W. Kingdon (1984; 2010).¹⁸

My research perspective assumes that the contemporary policy design environment is complex, murky, and highly sensitive to the surrounding environment of the time, and it lines up with the premise of Kingdon's Multiple Streams (MS) model. Other traditional policy design models do not fully explain the launch of the HCAC project. For instance, the creation of the HCAC project did not seem to follow the rational tradition of policy design theory. The research in the rational tradition has insisted that decision-making behavior is a result of the highly rational choice of

¹⁸ In the current study, I follow the updated, second edition of Allison (1999)'s and Kingdon (2010)'s book.

individuals. The policy actors collect information, design several alternatives, and then choose the best optimized scenario (Eisenhardt & Zbaracki, 1992). However, the HCAC project was first announced as a presidential pledge. It was quite a political move not based solely on a rational decision-making process.

Figure 4. 1 Conceptual Framework of the Study



Meanwhile, the root of political perspective explains decision-making behavior based on the process of legislation: decision makers share different objectives, but come together through coalitions for the most powerful victory (Eisenhardt and Zbaracki, 1992). However, this model also does not fully unlock the Gwangju case. Under the

supervision of the Special Act, the HCAC project set out different scopes of objectives. During the legislation process of the Special Act, the decision makers of the Korean government had multiple coalitions. However, the final goal of these coalitions was not only political victory. The goals also aimed to secure the HCAC project and expedite the implementation of the HCAC. Social, economic, historical, and other factors made significant influences over the legislation process.

However, although the Kingdon's MS model seemed to explain the questions of this dissertation study, it also revealed a limited applicability to deeply explore each research case. Therefore, this limitation led to another search of literature. This study found Allison's (1999) Alternative Lenses Analysis (ALA) as a complementary set of the MS model. The essence of the ALA is that one research lens cannot sufficiently investigate all aspects of a policy, but by adopting alternative lenses, this complementary set makes researchers to have a better picture of research cases. Hence, this study integrated the MS and ALA model, and sought to find a more complete understanding of the HCAC. The three alternative lenses adapted to the conceptual framework were: 1) decentralization studies, 2) policy transfer and tool choice theories, and 3) new governance study.

4.2 The Multiple Streams Model and Alternative Lenses Analysis

The Multiple Streams (MS) model views the overall policy making processes as being complex and unstable. However, Kingdon sought to find structures and patterns in organized processes. He explained government agenda setting and alternative generations

by conceptualizing the image of three separate streams (problem, policy, political) which may connect to open a policy window of opportunity. To put it simply, 1) the three streams independently flow along and develop, 2) these streams are joined and coupled, then 3) the policy window is open, and 4) the particular subject on the government agenda moves to the decision agenda. In addition, policy entrepreneurs help to link the separate streams to open policy windows.

4.2.1 The Multiple Streams Model

We know more about how issues are disposed of than we know about how they came to be issues on the governmental agenda in the first place, how the alternatives from which decision makers chose were generated, and why some potential issues and some likely alternatives never came to be the focus of serious attention (Kingdon, 2010, p. 1).

Policy design is not a crystal clear process. The government's decision-making on the policy agenda is set up at any given time; the particular subjects on the government agenda¹⁹ become a decision agenda. It sounds simple, but the secret of the decision-making process in policy design are seldom fully unlocked.

J. Kingdon's (1984) MS model originated with the shared premise of the Cohen-March-Olsen's (1972) garbage can model. The garbage can model conceives of the federal government as an 'organized anarchy,' and Cohen et al. believed strategic decision-making was not made under the rational and comprehensive objectivity of actors, but rather, in highly ambiguous settings. They viewed the complex unstable circumstances of the real policy environment as 'organized anarchies.'

¹⁹ Kingdon (2010) urges readers to distinguish the difference between the government agenda and the decision agenda. Former represent the list of subjects that are getting prominent, and latter is the list of subjects within in the governmental agenda that are considered for an effective decision (p. 4).

Whereas the garbage can model focused on ‘anarchy,’ Kingdon’s MS model sought to find structures and patterns in more ‘organized’ processes. He revised Cohen and colleagues’ garbage can model to understand government agenda setting and alternative generation, and explained it by conceptualizing the image of three separate streams (problem, policy, political) which may connect to open a policy window of opportunity. To put it simply, 1) the three streams independently flow along and develop, 2) these streams are joined and coupled, 3) then, the policy window is open; and 4) the particular subject on the government agenda moves to the decision agenda. In addition, policy entrepreneurs help to link the separate streams to open policy windows and promote policy chance.

Figure 4. 2 The model used in this study, as adapted from Kingdon’s (2010) Multiple Streams Model



Howlett (1998) had concisely summarized Kingdon's concept in as follows:

The characteristics of issues (the problem stream) combine with the characteristics of political institutions and circumstances (the politics stream) and the development of policy solutions (the policy stream), leading to the opening and closing of opportunities for agenda entrance. Such opportunities can be seized upon or not, as the case may be, by policy entrepreneurs who are able to recognize and act upon them (p. 497).

According to Kingdon (2010), a problem stream is where conditions (i.e., bad weather, unavoidable and untreatable illnesses, pestilence, poverty, fanaticism) become defined as "problems." Problems are not just raised, but recognized and defined. Government officials or policy makers search for problems by utilizing various mechanisms such as indicators, focusing events, and feedback. When policy makers compare current conditions with those mechanisms and believe that they have to do something about them, those conditions become a 'problem' and get on the policy table. However, not every government agenda can become a decision agenda to be implemented. The problem stream must join and be coupled with the two other streams.

A policy stream is more likely a selection process in which "proposals are generated, debated, redrafted, and accepted for serious consideration" (2010, p. 143). Many ideas and policy proposals float around in a 'policy primeval soup' in which specialists (i.e., policy entrepreneurs) advertise their ideas in multiple ways. They introduce bills, make speeches, give testimonies, write papers, and have conversations. Under these promotional activities, proposals are modified and combined with other proposals, and go back to floating around again. When a proposal meets and fits into certain criteria, including technical feasibility, fit with dominant values and the current

national mood, budgetary constraints, and political support or opposition, that proposal can be implemented. Since the selection process narrows the set of plausible proposals, a short list is available, and thus, a few proposals get more attention to get on the decision agenda.

The third stream is the political stream which, again, flows independently of the problem and policy stream. It is composed of such factors as public mood, pressure group campaigns, election results, partisan or ideological distributions in Congress, and changes of administration or personnel. Kingdon (2010) describes potential agenda items as being more likely to have a higher agenda status: 1) accordant with the current national mood, 2) satisfying interest group support or lack of opposition, and 3) fitting the orientations of legislative coalitions or the current administration. Therefore, politicians and other policy actors are akin to a sensible scale to measure an earthquake. When the national mood is changed or swung, or political²⁰ power is overturned, those all come together to develop the political stream. For instance, this is the case when government officials decide whether to promote or inhibit of high agenda status. The officials first measure the degrees of consensus among organized political forces, and then judge whether to enter a bargaining process rather than persuasion.

As Kingdon (2010) states, the policy window is ‘an opportunity for advocates of proposals to push their pet solutions, or to push attention to their special problems’ (p. 165). The separate streams of problems, policies, and politics join together at certain

²⁰ I will employ Kingdon’s narrow definition on the term ‘political’ in this research. Focusing solely on electoral, partisan, or pressure group factors other than too broad philosophical concept (2010, p.145), this narrow notion of political sense will guide this research to keenly react to the group of activities or people that this research is interested in, elected officers, politicians, and bureaucrats.

critical times, and Kingdon explains that the policy window is open. When this window is open, solutions become attached to problems, and both of them are joined with favorable political forces. Kingdon defines this process as ‘joining’ and ‘coupling’ of streams. Policy entrepreneurs are responsible for persuading critical people to pay attention, as well as for coupling solutions with problems and for coupling both problems and solutions with politics. Governmental agendas are mostly set in the problems or political streams, but the chance for items rising on a decision agenda is enhanced if all three streams are coupled together.

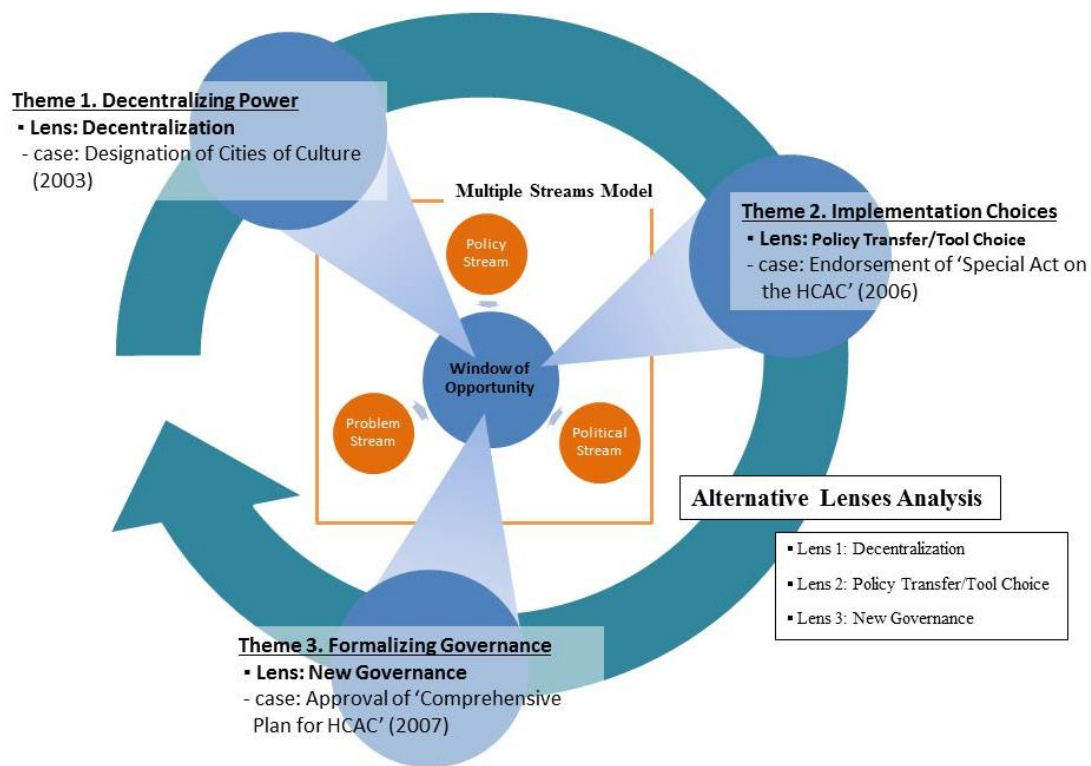
Kingdon’s MS model provides a possible explanation for a policy decision process of a single policy case, but it cannot fully investigate the distinct characteristics but interrelations of a sequence of related policy decisions and events. Thus, this conceptual frame requires another perspective to explain the succession of policy inventions: Allison’s (1999) ALA and three complimentary theories.

4.2.2 Benefits of the Alternative Lenses Analysis

Understanding the complex nature of policy design in South Korea depends on more information and more probing analysis of available data and consequences around the governments’ choices and subsequent actions. The more critically chosen concepts can serve as a lens for looking at evidences of the fragmented and cloud puzzle of modern policy making (Allison, 1999). Allison’s book, *Essence of Decision, Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, and his conceptual model building inspired the framework development in this study. When he analyzed the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, he

employed three different concepts²¹, applied those conceptual models to the same event, and analyzed that event: the U.S. blockade of Cuba during the crisis. These alternative explanations illustrated different scenes through each lens, and added fruitful dimensions to research and understanding.

Figure 4. 3 The model used in this study, as adapted from the Alternative Lenses Analysis



²¹ Allison (1969) presents three conceptual focuses of decision-making. He used each focus as a lens in explaining the difference between the decision-making processes by identifying type of actors, content of problem, and context of decision-making process. Each model defines the basic unit of analysis of policies as national choice, organizational output, and political outcome. The application of these three different lenses shows how the decision-making process can be understood differently for the same political event (Bendor & Hammond, 1992; Holsti, 1972; Wagner, 1974).

Although Allison's analysis was about crisis management, this study follows his line of thought: one research lens cannot sufficiently investigate all aspects of a policy, but by adopting alternative lenses, this complementary set makes researchers to have a better picture of research cases. Considering that the logic and questions asked by each conceptual lens represent different intellectual inquiries embedded in those enterprises, this framework seeks to solve the puzzle of the research, which consists of large quantities of data, is situated in a complicated time, and involves complex relationships. Each window of opportunity, in fact, opened in response to a certain political need. The review of the three alternative lenses (decentralizing power, implementation choices, and formalizing governance) below seeks to find those interventions.

4.3. Decentralizing Power

The first thematic lens concentrates on the problem of decentralizing power. The decentralization studies focuses on the first research case, the Cities of Culture initiative; the designation of four Cities of Culture in 2003. Decentralization is defined in the section below, followed by a discussion of decentralization in East Asia, and decentralization in the field of cultural policy.

The designation of four Cities of Culture and the HCAC project can be read not only in the frame of urban regeneration strategy, but also in the frame of the decentralization approach. One of the policy goals of the HCAC project is decentralization and regional balance of South Korea. The second research case showed that, out of four regional cities of culture, only Gwangju became a national policy

priority. I questioned what had happened to the policy-making process in those municipalities and how it influenced the Cities of Culture initiative. To understand its dynamics and discussion between the national and regional policy communities, a literature review on decentralization and regional balance was required.

Concepts of Decentralization

‘Decentralization’ from the national government to a subnational government system has been a popular care of the intergovernmental system. Rodden and et al. (2003) pointed out that ‘especially in developing countries, increased demands for greater democracy and disaffection with the services provided by the central government have prompted politicians to decentralize political authority and fiscal resources to subnational governments (reviews in Kim, 2013, p. 109). In *Fiscal Decentralization in Developing Countries* (1998), Bird and Vaillancourt note that, based on the degree of autonomy at the local level, ‘decentralization’ can be categorized into three levels. From the lesser to the greater, these levels include 1) deconcentration, 2) delegation, and 3) devolution. Whereas deconcentration is like a simple diffusion of responsibilities to local branches within the authority of the central government, delegation is associated with partial execution of certain functions on its behalf. Devolution refers to the stage in which local governments do not only implement, but also enjoy decision-making authority (p. 3).

The notion that the South Korean government tried to carry forward since 1990 was the devolution stage, but it was not fully accomplished. At the beginning, South Korea’s introduction to the local governance system was transferring the authority of

policy making to the subnational governments, a case of devolution. However, it is difficult to discuss whether Korea entered the devolution stage. Paradoxically, while the national government had delegated responsibility to regional and local governments, it also expanded more national subsidies for specific programs (Kim, 2013). Therefore, this study will use the term “decentralization” without making a distinction between delegation and devolution.

Culture also seemed to be a target of decentralization in South Korea. Not only the Korean’s political economy system, as mentioned in the background of the study, but the cultural economy system and its infrastructure were high centralized in the capital area. Seoul also served as a culture capital of South Korea, and the Roh government wanted to decentralize its function to other provincial and local governments. That was four Cities of Culture.

Decentralization in East Asia

Asian countries like Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan are not an exception for this rescaling. These countries have relocated highly centralized decision-making power and fiscal resources to local governments on the basis of active government intervention. Historically, developmental countries in East Asia have been highly centralized, and sometimes, dictatorship that had lasted for decades. Under this political grid, a country’s active development of national economic growth may be interpreted as regulatory action that produced a significant impact on local interest (Park, 2008). Regardless of whether the national government’s spatially selected policies represent the interest of localities or not, the benefits of industrial and regional policies are not widely distributed.

As a result, these unequally implemented policies and benefits were followed by uneven regional development, which prompts a highly competitive race among regions or localities in East Asian countries to compete with one another for resources, investments, and decision-making priorities from the national government. This uneven development may cause tension and conflict between more and less advantaged regions and localities. As Park (2008) argued, “differentiated territorial interests can be exploited by politicians and political parties, and one outcome could be the rise of territorial politics (for example, the politics of regionalism in S. Korea, pork barrel politics in Japan, etc.)” (p. 46). Given that this type of development has intensified tensions between the national/local and local/local, place-based decentralization strategy in East Asia not only aims to promote regionally balanced growth, but also to soothe the national-local conflict (park, 2008).

Decentralization in Cultural Policy

In cultural policy, decentralization also has been a popular policy objective in many countries. Kawashima (2004) interpreted this concept in the frame of cultural policy and discussed three targets of decentralized areas: cultural, fiscal, and political. Although each category designates a different policy process, a common goal here is that it is to ‘combat’ inequality in either cultural opportunities among people, uneven distribution of public expenditure on cultural activities or organizations, or imbalance of decision-making power for making and implementing cultural policy (p.5). A similar ‘combat’ exists in the field of Korean cultural policy. However, since that is not the focus of this literature review, it will not be further explored.

The above review of the decentralization concept seems to shed light on why the Korean government designated the four cities outside of the capital area as Cities of Culture at that time. However, this concept does not sufficiently explain the second question: how the tool box of the HCAC project, which was filled with multiple implementation strategies, was developed. The policy makers of South Korea looked around the world and chose multiple tools and strategies to accomplish their multiple goals. The next section will explore the concept of policy tools choice and policy transfer process.

4.4 Implementation Choices: Tool Choice and Policy Transfer

The second theme, implementation choices, is especially beneficial for exploring the second policy case; the *Special Act on the Hub City of Asian Culture*. Under the provisions of the Special Act, the involved parties have to construct a variety pack of culture-based urban regeneration plans (e.g., promotion of civil culture, local culture and arts, invigoration of cultural education, development of human capital, fostering the cultural industry and its relevant infrastructure and support systems, and designation of investment promotion) (MCST, 2006). Also, the HCAC project encompasses multiple targets,²² hence demanding a range of implementation tools. The following sections will review the concepts of tool choice approach and policy transfer, and the model for analyzing the transfer process.

²² The Roh administration's political goal for the HCAC project is to salve the old wounds of the May 18 Uprising. The economic goal is to reconfigure local culture and arts as economic motors within the international market. The social goal of the project aims to overcome regional separatism and economic unevenness between the capital area, Seoul, and other regions (Lee, 2007).

The Tool Choice Approach in Policy Design

The ‘tool choice’ approach in policy design seeks to explain that policy implementation began with the observation that, to a great extent, the resolution of policy problems are made by a policy mix or blend of different basic techniques of government, known as policy tools, policy instruments, or governing instruments (Bressers & Klok, 1988; Schneider & Ingram, 1990, pp. 513-514; Elmore, 1987). The underlying premise of this approach is that the process of giving substance to a government decision always involves choosing among several tools available that could each make a contribution to advancing policy, regardless of whether the implementation study focuses on the top-down or bottom-up process (Hood, 1986; Linder and Peters, 1991).

According to Howlett (2011), “policy-making is much more overtly social or political [rather than technical] process in which actors compete with each other in order to attain their goals or collectively ‘puzzle’ through towards the solution to an issue” (p. 19). His argument provides an explanation that policymakers do not always choose a policy tool based on the efficient cost and benefit calculation. Due to a need for achieving a multiple range of policy goals, policy makers tend to continuously seek for the best available tools worldwide.

In response to the increased complexity of society and rapid changes in the international environment, many governments have turned away from the traditional use of command-and-control-oriented policy tools. More detailed topics and review on the contemporary tool choice will be reviewed in the later section; Formalizing Governance.

Concepts of Policy Transfer

There is nothing new under the Sun (Ecclesiastes 1:9, New International Version).

In recent years, policy makers have shown increased interest in the cultural and creative economy, partly due to the anticipated economic and social benefits that such growth might bring, and also due to the success of developing reliable empirical evidence of activity. In spite of different political, social, cultural, and economic grids, many countries seem to confront similar problems, and policy makers search for the effective practices to learn from the success and/or failure stories of others. Policy literally travels the world.

A body of literature (Bennett, 1991; Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996. 2000 ; Rose,1993; Walker,1969) has emerged, that discusses the dimensions and forms of policy transfer, explaining it from different angles and to varying degrees, thereby producing slightly different interpretations. Whereas Walker's initial study searched for the explanation of the process named 'policy diffusion' based on temporal, geographical, and resource similarities (1969), Rose's later research, *Lesson-drawing in Public Policy: A Guide to Learning across Time and Space*, showed how each political actor or decision maker in one country spontaneously sought 'lesson drawing' from one or more other countries (1993). Most lesson-drawing theories started from the rationale that policy transfer is "voluntary" – it results from each policy actor's rational decision to search for lessons in order to modify current policy implementation that has malfunctioned. However, policies can be coercively transferred by either direct or indirect forces (i.e., international

regulation, policies of super-national institutions, technology, similar environmental conditions and shared problems, etc.).

Bennett's study looked for structural and procedural patterns associated with the 'policy convergence' process (1991). Bennett concluded that "[findings of convergence] is by no means a general finding (p. 230)," and "it is a complicated package of different "trends and processes reflecting a variety of theoretical and epistemological claims" (p. 230). Bennett affirms that it was necessary to develop a much more articulated framework that explains how and why the convergence happened or not, rather than finding the evidence itself. This study does not focus on either the process of policy difference or of convergence.

Dolowitz and Marsh's (1996) stance and definition tend to be more appropriate for this study. Dolowitz and Marsh define policy transfer as "a process in which knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements, institutions etc., in one time and/or place is used in the development of policies, administrative arrangements and institutions in another time and/or place" (p. 344). They went on to introduce a comprehensive framework to analyze the policy transfer process in their study, "Learning from Abroad: The Role of Policy Transfer in Contemporary Policy-Making." Although a growing body of literature emphasizes the importance of the process of particular cases, there remains a need to develop a broader framework to analyze the process. Details of the model for analyzing policy transfer will be provided in the following section.

A Model for Analyzing the Policy Transfer Process

Policy or a policy idea transfers from one place to another, and policymakers make a choice of what may be ‘good’ for accomplishing the targeted goals. However, an analytical framework is necessary to address the process. This is why Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) have noted that relatively few studies have attempted to place the process of policy transfer within a broader conceptual framework. Rather, research has tended to focus on identifying the transfer of policy ideas and objectives or policy tools.

Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) developed a comprehensive framework based on six questions about the policy transfer process. The continuum first searches for reasons why policy transfer occurs and how different actors are involved based on these two questions: 1) Why do actors engage in policy transfer? and 2) Who are the key actors involved in the policy transfer process?. Then, Dolowitz and Marsh posed questions about 3) What is transferred and 4) What are the different degrees of transfer?. The last two questions they posed are about the restriction and evaluation of the transferred policies (2000).

Table 4. 1 A Policy Transfer Framework from Dolowitz and Marsh (2000)

Why Transfer? Continuum Want To.....Have To			Who Is Involved in Transfer?	What Is Transferred?	From Where			Degrees of Transfer	Constraints on Transfer	How To Demonstrate Policy Transfer	How Transfer leads to Policy Failure
Voluntary	Mixtures	Coercive			Past	Within-a Nation	Cross- National				
Lesson Drawing (Perfect Rationality)	Lesson Drawing (Bounded Rationality)	Direct Imposition	Elected Officials	Policies (Goals) (content) (instruments)	Internal	State Governments	International Organizations	Copying	Policy Complexity (Newspaper) (Magazine) (TV) (Radio)	Media Past Policies Reports	Uniformed Transfer
	International Pressures		Bureaucrats Civil Servants	Programs	Global	City Governments	Regional State Local Governments	Emulation			Incomplete Transfer
	(Image) (Consensus) (Perceptions) Externalities	Pressure Groups Political Parties	Institutions			Local Authorities		Mixtures Inspiration	Structural Institutional Feasibility	(Commissioned) (uncommissioned) Conferences Meetings/ Visits	Inappropriate Transfer
	(Loans) (Conditions Attached to Business Activity)		Ideologies						(Ideology) (cultural proximity) (technology) (economic) (bureaucratic) Language	Statements (written) (verbal)	
	Obligations	Policy Entrepreneurs/ Experts	Attitudes/ Cultural Values	Negative Lessons			Past Relations				
			Consultants Think Tanks Transnational Corporations Supranational Institutions								

By answering the framework's questions, this study investigated how multiple tools came into the selection part, and why certain tools were actually selected. It will be also helpful explaining how Gwangju was selected as the priority case of the Cities of Culture initiative.

Several scholars state that there are plausible constraints when analyzing policy transfer, such as diverse concepts mixed in the framework, complex political and institutional factors, and domestic influences. James and Lodge (2003) addressed that the policy transfer framework "put a set of diverse and conflicting theories under a common framework" (p. 179). Accordingly, it is necessary to be aware of differences between available theories. Domestic political opposition may produce a different measure, in that

one policy has successfully worked somewhere, but has to be compromised elsewhere. The tendency to be attached to be entrenched and institutionalized old policies may make it difficult to adopt any new policies or change the existing policy to a very different form (James & Lodge, 2000). Also, evaluating the influence of idiosyncratic domestic factors, and utilizing some validating sequences can aid policy transfer analysts in demonstrating that policy transfer has occurred (Bennett, 1997; Evans & Davies 1999).

The concept of policy transfer helps to analyze which, how, and why multiple implementation tools and strategies have emerged for the HCAC project. However, there is still a quest to search for which culture has been operationalized in the tool selection.

Operationalizing Culture as a Policy Tool

Not only cultural policy per se, but also culture has been increasingly operationalized in the frame of public policy because such an amorphous subject as ‘culture’ is capable of delivering benefits where other policy arenas are concerned (Gray, 2006). Although investigating the contribution of culture to the attainment of specific policy goals has been questioned, it is not the intention of this literature review to deal with specific arguments. Rather, the intention is to further identify how culture has been emerged as a valuable tool for the contemporary policy paradigm.

Attempts to decipher significant difficulties of using ‘culture’ for public policy have been widely researched from the planning stage to the evaluation process (Holden, 2004; Throsby, 2001). As reviewed numerous definitions and cultural application suggested in the chapter Three, cultural planning is not a simple policy framework for the arts. Stevenson (2004) addressed a wide range of cultural planning rhetoric has taken

place in cities and regions, and it is said to be a way of accomplishing ‘a range of social, economic and urban, as well as creative, outcomes (O’Regan, 2002)’ and to the extent, it is ‘social planning, urban planning, arts planning and economic planning (Evans, 2001).

Gray (2006) more specifically addressed cultural planning approaches and their framework. The cultural planning approach has responded to the latest changes, and promoted various sets of policies, in that overarching frameworks provided a clear interpretation of how culture was understood and operationalized to accomplish policy goals in policy design. The basic assumption of the cultural planning approach is an integrated management of ‘cultural resources’ (Gray, 2004). He also argues that these resources are composed of a variety of ‘local’ activities, structures, and identifying characteristics (i.e., “communities of interest within a local area based around a common identification; local dialects; tourist guides; the quality of the built environment, specifically local products; and the diversity of retail facilities can all be included and should be utilized to inform the management and development of local areas”) (Bianchini, 1996, reviewed in Gray, 2004, p.18).

In the next section, the third alternative lens, new governance, will be explored. Again, this lens pertains to the last research case, *The Comprehensive Plan for the Hub City of Asian Culture*. Among many components, this study especially pays attention to implementation coordination, the partnership of governing bodies.

4.5 Formalizing Governance

One of the main goals of this study is to understand an evolution of partnership in the policy implementation process. As my research developed, I realized one of the invisible threads that challenged the HCAC project was management of implementation. This is a twenty-year long project, and it has to go through at least four different national administrations.²³ It requires managerial/administrative tools to sustain its policy implementation. Through several discussions, I reached the conclusion that a tool choice design in the HCAC frame seemed not only about the technical combination of policy implementation tools, but also about the exploration of the challenge of innovative implementation management.

From Government to Governance

The concept of governance has been researched in many academic fields, such as political science, public policy, planning, and sociology, and the defined ideas have been developed and encapsulated by many scholars like Kooiman (1993), Lynn and Ingraham (2004), March and Olsen (1995), Mayntz (2003), Peters (1996), Rhodes (1997), and Rosenau and Czempiel (1992). Rosenau (1992) and Mayntz (2003) have addressed a notable difference between *government* and *governance*. Despite the fact that government and governance share goal-oriented activities, they differ in how they utilize formal authority and political power. Like the old hierarchical model, government accomplishes its goals under the direct supervision of formal and legal authority and utilization of political control over civil society. However, governance creates and implements activities with actors of civil society who may or may not have formal authority.

²³ A Korean presidency is limited to single five-year term.

Governance shares its power from the decision-making stage, “encourages citizen autonomy and independence, and provides a process for developing the common good through civic engagement” (Jun, 2002).

In policy study, governance is now used to mean the more cooperative processes of governing, policymaking, and decision-making (Mayntz, 2003). Governance emphasizes that policies are formulated and implemented in multi-actor, networked environments, in which actors pursue different goals (Rhodes, 1997). The relationships among actors in these networked environments are characterized by interdependencies, and the actors need to cooperate to achieve their goals (De Bruijn & ten Heuvelhof, 2000). Governance is “used to describe the mode of coordination exercised by state actors in their interactions with societal actors and organizations,” and, thus, it is about establishing, promoting and supporting a specific type of relationship between governmental and non-governmental actors in the governing process (Howlett, 2011, p. 8).

However, in terms of different term identifications, scholars seem to agree that public administration and its active workers have met the challenge of a paradigm shift from government to governance (Bingham et al., 2005). Salamon (2002) also emphasizes this shift by pointing out the indirectness of new governance (i.e., third-party government), and challenges of management, accountability, and legitimacy.

New Governance

In response to the increased complexity of society and rapid changes in the international environment, there has been a huge transformation in the governing

partnership. Salamon (2002) argues there has been a proliferation of newer policy tools, and a form of *new governance* (i.e., third-party government) is one of them. Salamon emphasizes this shift by pointing out the indirectness of new governance.

New governance required new innovative tools. There has been rapid change in the policy implementation tools of government, which reflects a huge transformation in the governing partnership. For example, while earlier government activity was largely limited to the simple and hierarchical decision-making process (i.e., the use of command-and-control-oriented service carried by sole state agencies), now it has shifted to a complicated and multilinear interaction-making stage (i.e., public-private partnership, outsourcing of public service, and quasi-legislative and quasi-judicial processes) of policy problems (Howlett, 2011; Salamon, 2002).

Many governments have turned away from the traditional use of command-and-control-oriented policy tools, such as public enterprises, regulatory agencies, subsidies and exhortation, and moved to indirect and autonomous tools, such as government reorganizations, reviews and inquiries, governmental-NGO partnerships, and stakeholder consultation (Howlett, 2011; Salamon 2002).

Salamon argued this proliferation of newer tools and forms of new governance (i.e., third party government) are profoundly political: tools are chosen by policy actors, and therefore they carry out their perspectives and advantage in determining how policies are implemented. Therefore, tools significantly structure networks: they define the actors that are centrally involved in particular types of programs and the formal roles they will

play (p. 13). In other words, tools are operational choices with significant implications for the management of public affairs.

Consequently, this new paradigm has indicated the need for a new approach from a fundamental level, such as theory building, policy making, and public administration and management. Governance has been a watchword for decades, and this concept has heavily influenced contemporary policy design by identifying a unique form of policy tools and instruments.

Planning as a Tool of Coordination

It is worthwhile to note that a process of planning is akin to a process of orchestrating the implementation of public policy which was proposed by De Bruijn and Ten Heuvelhof in 1991 (Ringeling, 2002). Currently, public policy is likely to be implemented not only by public bodies, but also by semipublic and private organizations, and they ultimately need an auxiliary system that resolves the complex situations that confront. The planning process was used to organize communication between governmental and societal organizations in a number of policy fields, like social, economic, educational, and environmental. However, the results of the discussion are not limited to building up the relationships among organizations, but can be extended to the implementation of the plan itself. When carefully looking at the case of Gwangju, the strategic master planning of twenty years (2004-2024) is more than just a cultural plan. It is a culture-based city regeneration plan, and several policy tools explored in the master plan are designed to carry forward the accomplishment of both culture and city regeneration goals through a multi-stage implementation process.

CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY

The previous section provided a theoretical explanation of how and to what extent culture was selected as a tool of urban cultural policy making in the case of South Korea. This section discusses the analytical framework used in this study to investigate the means for conducting the research: a quest for ‘how.’ The following section introduces the case study methodology, the research context, and the research method of document analysis, interview, and drawing a timeline.

5.1 Research Methodology

To explore the research questions, this study adopts a case study design, a case of multiple-stage policy design. This research strategy focuses on understanding the dynamics within a specific organization, program, or process in depth and detail. By entailing multiple methods, the benefit of this design is taking the reader into the setting with fruitful descriptions and great detail (Eisenhardt, 1989; Marshall and Rossman, 2006; Yin, 2008). In his book *Case study research: Design and methods*, Yin (2008) suggests that the case study methodology elevates the power of the research when the

researcher investigates a real world situation (i.e., contextual conditions) with multiple sources of evidence guided by established theory. In this dissertation research, the case study approach served as a substantial ‘road map for undertaking a systematic exploration (Marshall & Rossman, 2006, p. 56)’ of the urban cultural policy design in South Korea. Allison’s (1999) ALA, Kingdon’s (2010) MS model, and three other complementary theories (i.e., decentralization, tool choice approach and policy transfer, and governance) guided this exploration process in the cases of the *Cities of Culture* initiative, the *Special Act* of the HCAC, and the *Comprehensive Plan*.

To enhance validity and to diminish its threats in case study methodology, a triangulation strategy was used in data sources, resource methods, and theories. Triangulation is a strong way of establishing the trustworthiness of data. It is crucial to have a research design that makes data converged or cross-check possible (Lather, 1986). A variety of data sources, investigators, different theories and perspectives, and different research methods are competing with one another in order to ‘cross-check’ data and interpretations (Denzin, 1978, reviewed in Guba, 1981).

5.2 Research Methods and Data Collection

5.2.1 Document Analysis

Because of the nature of policy analysis, document review was to be a significant method of data collection. Governmental records, congressional hearings, literature from multiple fields in Korea, and various media representations such as newspapers, social network sites and online homepages became a primary data set to collect. The time

window for researching was about ten years (1997-2008) around the three research cases. That was the time when the Korean government had a huge political shift between two main parties, and actively employed culture for policy development. The documentary information was obtained online through Web sites of the government, research institutes, public libraries and the media. Also, several internal documents were collected through interview meetings.

5.2.2 Field Interview

To complement the document data, this study conducted a series of field interviews with key actors. In February 2014, eight interviews were made in Korea under the condition of anonymity to freely express their opinions on the issues. Interviewees were selected through preliminary research of the document data, and they were primarily public servants, including elected officials, city planning officials, and civil opinion leaders in the arts community, whoever had been deeply engaged in the development of the Cities of Culture initiative and the HCAC project.

Interviewees were all experts who worked closely enough to explain the extended policy making process to share the unfolding stories of the three research cases. All of the interviewees were asked to provide their opinion on the study's research questions and comments on the issues related to the main topic of the study. Each interview was recorded and transcribed. Interview formats were to be a mix of a general interview guide approach with that of a semi-structured, open-ended interview (See Appendix A).

Among a total of eight interviewees, three of which were civil servants, two were arts administrators and the rest three were a politician, a scholar, and a representative for the Gwangju arts community. Of the three civil servants, two worked for the Gwangju government, and one worked for the HCAC office as a dispatched official from the local government. Of the two arts administrators, one served for the cultural foundation at the local level, and the other one served for one at the national level. My categorization not only sought to find diverse information but also tried to include balanced opinions.

The entire interview procedure was in compliance with the Ohio State University's *Human Research Protection Program*.²⁴ Potential interviewees were contacted and requested for participation through phone calls or emails with description of the study. An informed consent form was provided at the interview sight for them to sign.

5.2.3 Timeline

Another complementary research method of the study was developing a timeline. A potential limitation of document analysis was that it might not provide a big historical picture; drawing a timeline helped elaborate on the interpretation and elucidate understanding of complex change events. By visualizing several significant events and decisions and plotting out the local, national, and international events that influenced the formation of the research cases, interrelated thoughts and experiences provided a better understanding of policy design and implementation choices.

²⁴ The approved protocol number is 2013B0613.

5.3 Limitation of the Study

Several limitations exist in this study because this study is grounded in the case study method. Therefore, constructing validity and generalizability became a major concern of the study. To enhance the validity of the study, a triangulation strategy was used in data sources, research methods, and theories:

- a. Data source: governmental records, media coverages, peer reviewed journals and interview at both the local and national level.
- b. Research method: document analysis, informal and semi-structured interviews, and construction of a visual timeline
- c. Theories: multiple streams model, alternative lenses analysis, decentralization studies, policy transfer and tool choice studies, and new governance theory

This study is not generalized to all areas of urban cultural policy. In addition, the study has a limited generalizability in terms of its application to countries because of the uniqueness of the political, economic, and cultural contextual conditions of each country. However, if the results from the study are reliable, then another investigator should be able to follow the same procedures, conduct the same case study, and obtain the same results.

By minimizing error and bias and specifying measurements, this study attempted to minimize the threat to generalizability. When selecting interview participants, it was essential to demonstrate how/why they were selected and the selection intended to maximize the range of information uncovered. Guba (1981) suggested one tactic: asking each interview participant to recommend someone whose view point is different from his/her (p.88). Also, it was essential to ensure that the questions in the interviews were clear, so that they could interpret in only one way.

Also, in addition, thick descriptive data (i.e., interview questions) is available in the study itself or as an appendix format, so that other researchers can test its transferability to their study. In addition, this study relies on three cases analysis. Considering that many case studies are conducted on a single case, this study provides a better chance to be applied elsewhere. As a result, generalizability concerns was somewhat minimized.

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS OF THREE SPIRAL CASES

The *Hub City of Asian Culture* (HCAC) Gwangju project went through three policy windows of opportunities. In 2002, as a presidential candidate, Roh MooHyun promoted Gwangju as the capital of culture. The huge number of supporters in Gwangju created a turning point in South Korea's elections in 2002, making Roh the 16th president of Korea. Roh's pledge brought culture city discourse to the government's significant policy agenda. Immediately following his inauguration, the new administration actively implemented the *City of Culture* project, as promised.

With a wide array of field research for establishing Gwangju as the city of culture, President Roh officially announced the designation of Gwangju as the *Hub city of Asian Culture* and proposed its initial blue print. The policy-design process of this national project led to opening a spiral of three windows of policy opportunity. First, in 2003, the Roh administration launched the new policy initiative, "the Cities of Culture (COC)." Second, in 2006, with the legislation of the Special Act, the administration granted a prominent position to Gwangju among four Cities of Culture. Third, in 2007, the Comprehensive Plan for HCAC received the Culture and Tourism Committee's approval; and with the signature of the president, the project proceeded to implementation.

[CASE I] Analysis of the Launching of the Cities of Culture Initiative (2003)

The launching of Cities of Culture (COC) initiative went through a unique policy process to seize a window of opportunity. In many situations, a government recognizes a problem, finds the most suitable solution, and the political climate makes it the right time for initiating a new policy or changing an old one. However, in the case of HCAC, the existing literature of policy process has not fully explained the actions of the Roh government. The literature of decentralization, which is part of the conceptual framework in this study, addresses this unexplored area.

6.1 Problem Stream

Kingdon (2010) argues that policy problems are brought to the attention of government officials through several indicators, focusing events, and feedback. This section examines what kinds of focusing events and indicators get the attention of people in and around government on the city and culture issue. It first analyzes why people's attention on city and culture was brought at a certain point in time and what the main factors were that accompany those variations. Following is an analysis of the background regarding when the need for the launch of COC was raised.

6.1.1 Conditions

Up to the 1990s in Korea, a heavily centralized development plan, using industrial and economic strategies, focused intensively on the capital and the eastern region of the peninsula. For example, Korea's first highway was constructed on the eastern region to connect Seoul and Busan (the largest seaport in South Korea) in 1970, and new industrial

cities close to the highway were strategically built in the eastern region. However, it was inevitable that such developments had many undesirable side effects, among them, a serious level of imbalance between the capital and provincial areas.

Also, the Korean government had been facing an economic downturn. From the 1970s through the 1990s, Korea was one of the few Asian countries that enjoyed significant economic growth. However, when the Asian financial crisis hit Korea, a large part of the Korean economy system collapsed. The government searched for a new growth engine industry for the post-industrial era. The engine required to compete with developing countries' cheaper labor supply and with advanced countries' innovative technology in the global market.

The government emphasized the development of the creative/culture industry. With the incorporation of information technology (IT) industry in Korea, the so-called 'knowledge-based economy' became a key factor of this new economic system, and in the process of policy making, the exploitation of culture emerged, such as cultural policy, industrial policy, urban planning policy, gender policy, and international policy.

6.1.2 Indicators

Several studies and statistical data have pointed out the serious level of imbalance between the capital and the provincial areas in South Korea. Although the Asian financial crisis hit Korea in 1997, the Korean economic recovered from crisis and continued to grow in the early 2000s. However, figures represented a general decline in employment, especially in the manufacturing industry (Statistics Korea, 2003). The government had to make a strategic decision to get past this obstacle.

The Korean government saw the need to disperse the nation's core competence from Seoul to the rest of the country. Production and distribution chain was highly centralized in the capital area, Seoul, as indicated by reports from the *Ministry of Culture and Tourism* (MCT). The MCT reported that more than 90% of culture industry manufacturing (2000) and more than 30-40% cultural industry facilities (2005) were concentrated in Seoul. Moreover, about 70 % of the *National Culture and Art Promotion Fund* was earmarked for the capital area (Munhwa Ilbo, 2003).

6.1.3 Focusing Event

The realization of the need to decentralize did not necessarily hinge on any prominent focusing event, such as a crisis or disaster. However, as Kingdon (2010) pointed out, most focusing events are not always straight forward. The results of the first research case in this study confirmed that the new government's policy served as an early warning to the public, evoking the need for decentralization in people's minds (pp. 96-100). When the Roh administration was launched, regional balance was its most important political priority. This priority gained fresh impetus not only in and around government officials, but also among the general public, as Roh strongly re-emphasized decentralization and highlighted the problems of regional imbalance that followed.

The Roh government's policy approach was to repackage earlier policies for decentralization and introduce them as new policies for mega projects. One of the most distinguished projects was the construction of *Sejong City* and *Innovation Cities*, and the relocation of national government offices. Ten Innovation Cities were planned, all of which involved the relocation of public institutions away from the capital region. The

plan was to move a total of 147 public agencies out of Seoul and into either Sejong City, Innovation Cities, or to other regions. Out of these agencies, 121 needed new buildings and the rest would rent (Innocity). Sonn (2010) argued, “an Innovation City is based on a regional innovation system that emphasizes institutional arrangements for a creative environment” (Braczyk, Cooke, and Heidenreich, 1998, reviewed in Sonn, 2010, p. 1209).

Budget was not a constraint here. Within the honeymoon period of the new administration, several special acts (e.g., the *Special Act for local decentralization*, the *New Administrative Capital Law*, and the *Special Act on Balanced National Development*, all in 2003) were legislated to support the new policy agendas and projects. With heavy media coverage and PR efforts, the new government policies and projects gained serious attention.

6.1.4 Problem Definition

Looking back to 1991, when the Local Autonomy system was introduced, there were continuous government initiatives of decentralization. Starting in 1995, local officials such as mayors and governors began to be elected. These changes took place in spite of various kinds of resistance to the decentralization projects, and despite some reluctance on the part of central officials.

The second round of decentralization, which started in 2003 with the Roh administration, was different. The economic crisis of 1997 brought a huge change in the people’s perception and values, and the slow economic growth rate in the early 2000s recalled the nightmare of 1997. Roh’s advisers observed the condition of the economy

with regional imbalance as a serious problem, and his staff strongly re-emphasized decentralization, calling it their most important political goal.

The COC initiatives and the HCAC project can be interpreted as one way to realize balanced regional development through culture. Not only Korea's political economic system, but also the cultural economy system and its infrastructure were highly centralized in the capital area. The Roh government wanted to decentralize its function to other provincial and local governments. They needed a matching solution for decentralizing the cultural industries in other provincial areas.

6.2 Policy Stream

This section explains the kinds of proposals that were circulating and considered in Korea's policy community. Some ideas were accepted for serious decision making, and some others faded. A set of a few alternatives became prominent when the COC initiative was launched, and those were merged and "softened up" to attain a solid position. Below, a description of the policy communities is provided first, followed by the policy alternatives generated in the policy streams.

6.2.1 Policy Communities and Specialists

As Kingdon (2010) recognized, much of proposal generation, debate, and modification for serious consideration takes place in policy communities. These communities are mostly composed of policy specialists such as government officials, agencies, committee staffs, academics, consultants, or analysts for interest groups (p. 117). While these specialists are sensitive to political events of the time, they are not

driven by them. Some are policy entrepreneurs who are willing to devote their time, energy, and resources such as money and reputation to advocate their pet solutions in the hope of applying them to the current problems. Policy entrepreneurs do not solve problems, but play a vigorous role in coupling problems with solutions and linking policy proposals with political streams.

According Kingdon (2010), the beginning of policy ideas is arbitrary, but the narrowing process to a short list of leading candidates for serious consideration must meet certain criteria. These criteria include “technical feasibility, value acceptability within the policy community, tolerable cost, anticipated public acquiescence and a reasonable chance for receptivity among elected decision makers” (p. 131). If a particular proposal satisfies those criteria, it can join other streams and become a winning solution. However, if it fails to deliver those elements, that proposal might be adjusted or combined with others, and then floated again.

In Korea, the members of policy communities are not different from Kingdon’s observation. However, policy specialists working for the government have a pivotal role in policy design. At the time of the COC initiative, it was the policy experts at government-funded research institutes who researched and proposed the policy alternatives, generating leadership and initiating the design processes. For example, *Korea Culture and Tourism Institute* (KCTI) held a prominent position in researching and generating many policy alternatives. As a government-funded research institute, KCTI’s research projects were well reflected in the government’s policy design- as well as legislative process discussed in this section.

6.2.2 Policy Entrepreneurs

In the policy processes of the COC initiative, among the Policy Communities and Specialists, the government's prominent role in policy making was visibly noticed, as it identified the policy problem and brought it into the policy arenas, exerting great influence over the entire design process. The workforce and specialists in and around the government were the policy entrepreneurs. They formed policy agendas, commissioned research studies, and attracted public support for their agendas by drawing the media's attention; in this manner, they could make quick agreements on the short list of alternatives.

Since the late 1990s, the Korean interpretation of creative city²⁵ discourse began to be floated; in 2000, the terminology 'creative city' first appeared on the policy document, the *Town Planning and Zoning Act* (Korea Research Institute for Human Settlements, KRIHS, 2012). This legislation was about the national land planning and utilization, and the article 5 defined a 'creative city' model as one of urban pilot projects. However, it was ultimately the Roh government that established a policy platform for cities of culture. In 2002, Roh, a presidential candidate at the time, promised at his Gwangju campaign rally that he would promote Gwangju as a capital of culture of South Korea. Roh's speech highlighted the idea of the decentralization of culture, leading to the designation of the Cities of Culture initiative. Behind the scenes, President Roh spearheaded the policy process.

²⁵ The concept of 'creative city' describes a new method of strategic urban spaces, planning to make them function economically and socially within a global framework (e.g., Hawkes, 2001; Landry, 2008; Tay 2005). The Korean *Cities of Culture* reinterpreted the 'creative cities' to which cultural policy theorists and urban geographers have paid attention to create the cultural globalization that is fully integrated into the local cultural resources.

Under the same climate, the *Ministry of Culture and Tourism* (MCT) propelled the Roh administration's new culture policy agenda. The government officials in the MCT commissioned several research studies and monopolized policy design and implementation. Academics and researchers conducted government-funded research or carried out the government's direct request for consultation. Therefore, they were not independent from the umbrella of the government. Also, even though KCTI was not under the direct supervision of the MCT, it was a government-affiliated institute. It conducted several critical research studies and made policy recommendations for the government.

6.2.3 Policy Alternatives

Based on the agreement of a need for a COC policy initiative in Korea, there was a short list of ideas for an initiative. At the time when the Roh administration began to launch the COC initiative designating four cities of culture, there were not any visible policy alternatives floating around the policy communities. The four cities of culture included Gwangju, Busan, Gyeongju, and Jeonju.

The various ideas for a COC initiative were adapted from European and American models. One published government report, *A fundamental study of initiating Asia Capital of Culture*, demonstrated how the policy makers of South Korea evaluated the international models (Jung, 2008). They positively evaluated the practices of the *European Capital of Culture* (ECOC) program. The ECOC program launched in 1985, and it was initially called the European City of Culture. In 1999, the program changed its name to the European Capital of Culture. The program designated a group of cities as

Cities of Culture, and by the early 2000s, it had more than forty European cities, and required the chosen city to organize a series of cultural events for one year. The report evaluated that the ECOC could offer an opportunity for a designated city to reconsider its cultural resources, and help the city regenerate its vitality and raise its visibility at the international level. However, on the contrary, the report provided a negative evaluation for the assessment of the American model, the *American Capital of Culture* (ACOC) initiative. This program was a North American approach, established in 1997 by American Capital of Culture Organization. A non-governmental organization has been awarding the title to one or more North or South American cities annually (American Capital of Culture, 2013). However, since the main body of operation was a NGO, this program could not provide attractive and enough incentive to the designated city. As a result, the effectiveness of the program remained in doubt. Based on the practice of the ACOC model, the report recommended a need for the operation of the HCAC by the national level (Jung, 2008).

Table 6. 1 KCTI's conducted research on the issue of decentralization and culture/creative city

	Year	Title	Main Theme
Kim Administration (1998-2002)	1998	A Study on Fostering for Seven Cultural Tourism Areas	Decentralization and strategic designation
	1999	A Study on Fostering Korean City of Tourism	Strategies to cultivate Cities of Tourism
	2000	A Study on Designation and Development of Cultural City or Cultural Belt	Designation and development of a cultural city
	2001	The Mid-Term Assessment on the Development of Seven Cultural Tourism Areas	Development plan for seven cultural tourism zone
Roh Administration (2003-2007)	2004	A Study on Fostering for Cultural Cities	Balanced development among regions and creative structure of cities.

Under the administration of Kim (1998-2002), before the Roh administration, the KCTI conducted several relevant research studies, and the first research by KCTI, *A Study on Fostering for Seven Cultural Tourism Areas* (Korea Culture and Tourism Institute, 1998), that opened the discussion on decentralization and strategic designation of regional cities outside of the capital area was conducted in 1998. From 1999, another research stream began to float in the KCTI: the application of the cities of culture discourse. To achieve this goal, *A Study on Fostering Korean City of Tourism* (Kim and Yoon, 1999) researched the strategy of cultivating the Cities of Tourism for a limited time, two or three years.

One of the most prominent studies was published in 2000, *A Study on Designation and Development of Cultural City or Cultural Belt* (Hwang, Lee, Jang, Jung, and Choi, 2000). The research studied how to designate and develop a cultural city in view of global culture strategies and government policies. It heavily emphasized policy plans for

the development of cultural industries²⁶. The researchers recommended 18 candidate cities to the government, which included all four initial designated cities of the COC initiative in 2003, and one additionally designated City of Culture in 2009 (Hwang et al., 2000).

Figure 6. 1 Five Cities of Culture (left) and Seven Cultural Tourism areas (right), adopted from KRIHS 2012; Ryu and Shim 2001

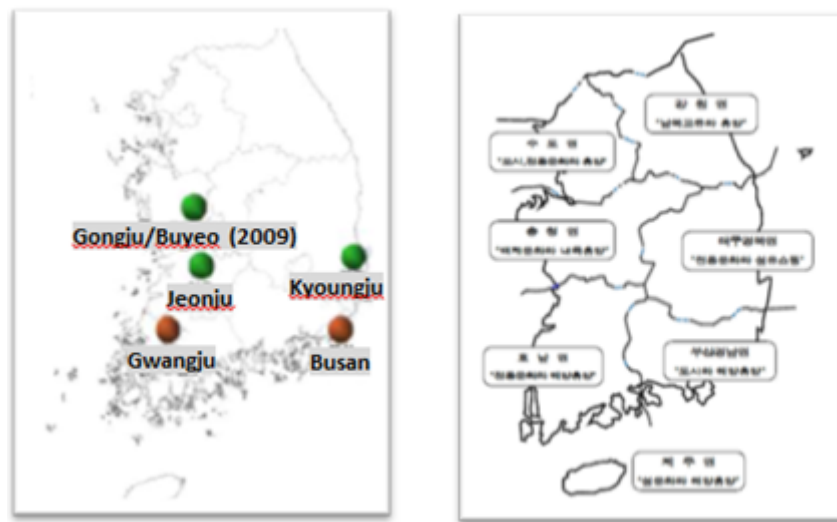


Figure 6.1 shows the link between the five Cities of Culture and seven Cultural Tourism areas. The picture on the left depicts five Cities of Culture, and the one on the right demonstrates the Seven Cultural Tourism areas. Based on the KCTI's 2001 report, *The Mid-Term Assessment on the Development of Seven Cultural Tourism Areas*, the Korean governments strategically organized the nation's land use to the seven different regions and named them by defining the characteristic of each region (Ryu and Shim).

²⁶ Those are the five-year plan for the development of cultural industries (1999), Vision 21 for cultural industries (2000) and Vision 21 for cultural industries in a digital society (2001).

The decentralization was not a concern of 2001; these seven designations included the capital area and the Jeju island area which located at the end of the peninsula. When ignoring these two regions from the picture, only five regions are remained, and the locations of five designated Cities of Culture on the left picture are exactly juxtaposed with the locations of five cultural tourism regions.

This research was followed by *The Mid-Term Assessment on the Development of Seven Cultural Tourism Areas* (Ryu and Shim, 2001). Based on its findings in these two studies, the KCTI recommended a development plan for seven cultural tourism areas to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The KCTI further recommended the assessment of the development of these areas, taking into consideration new tourism trends and products.

The next prominent study was *A Study on Fostering for Cultural Cities* (Kim, Yoo, and Kim, 2004). This later research, conducted under the Roh administration (2003-2007), on the issue of COC was important because it shared the same vision as the government on the COC initiative. The researchers urged the government to pay more attention to a balanced development among regions and creative structure of cities. The initiative fostered a culture city's increasing urban competitiveness among the world's leading cities. The researchers also recommended a long-term policy implementation, for at least 15 to 30 years, and close cooperation among the citizens, the government, and local communities.

These two prominent studies represented the two main themes of the COC initiative: promoting balanced regional development and fostering of culture/creative

cities. For each of the designated four regional cities of culture, the government wanted to decentralize four different functions of culture that had been highly centralized in the capital area until then. As Kingdon (2010) argues, the COC proposal did not suddenly appear, but mutated and evolved from some similar ideas because it would have been too late to develop a new idea when the policy window opened (p. 141). The first prominent study of *A Study on Designation and Development of Cultural City or Cultural Belt* (2000) showed that the Korean government had planned the decentralization of cultural functions from Seoul since 2000, and *A Study on Fostering for Cultural Cities* (2004) revealed that the government had started designing the big picture of the HCAC with the launch of the COC initiative from 2004.

6.3 Political Stream

Kingdon (2010) notes that public mood, election results, and changes in administration play a significant role in opening policy windows. When President Roh won the election in 2002, the national mood was divided pro and con regarding the election results, since he and his political party won only by a close margin²⁷. Furthermore, his party did not have an overall majority in the Congress. Despite these handicaps, the new government and Roh's political party carried forward ambitious electoral pledges after they assumed office. In consideration of a balanced regional development, the new government brought several foremost issues on the policy table, among which was the COC initiative. Although Roh had not won by a landslide, the

²⁷ When President Roh won the election, there was a keen competition and a political controversy. Roh's winning vote was 48.9%, just slightly higher than his competitor, 46.6% (National Election Commission).

public agreed with him that there was a problem with the way functions (economic, political, and cultural) in Korea were highly centralized. This supportive public sentiment allowed Roh to successfully open up the policy window for the COC initiative. The following section examines how the policy window came to be opened and how the process unfolded to launch the COC.

6.3.1 Electoral Politics and National Mood

As mentioned earlier, before the Roh administration, creative city strategies had been explored with regard to drafting urban cultural policy. However, they had never made it to being placed on the national policy agenda, nor gone on to implementation. It was ultimately the Roh administration that established a policy platform for cities of culture.

During his campaign rally, Roh identified Gwangju as a capital of culture. There was heated debate among politicians, academics and interest groups arguing they believed Gwangju did not have enough and unique cultural resources to be a capital of culture, and even if it had its own cultural heritages, other cities did so, as well. They requested Gwangju to provide a clear justification of why it deserved to be designated other than having been part of Roh's presidential pledge. Moreover, academics insisted the concept of capital of culture did not fit the conditions of Gwangju (Interviewee 1, 3, and 4²⁸). According to two of the interviewees for this research, it appears that candidate Roh initially meant to designate Gwangju only as a "city" of culture, but in the heat of the

²⁸ The interviewees consisted of government officers, arts administrators, politicians, artists and scholars. The six semi-structured interviews took place in either their office or a public space for 45-70 min between January and February 2014. The interviewees have been anonymized as agreed.

moment during his rally speech, he elevated his promise to making Gwangju a “capital” of culture, as he needed Gwangju’s votes to win the election (Interviewee 3 and 5).

6.3.2 Presidential Involvement and Policy Window

As Kingdon (2010) wrote, the role of the president was critical in the beginning of the COC initiative. Upon taking office, President Roh and his new administration propelled their policy agendas for decentralization and for balanced regional development. In the cultural policy arena, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (MCT) played a significant role in following the president’s directives. Ultimately, the national government modified its initial pledge and gave up the sole designation of Gwangju as a cultural capital. Given the climate of disapproval of making Gwangju Korea’s cultural capital, Roh announced in May 2003 that Gwangju was “the” Hub City of Asian Culture rather than the Korean “capital of culture.”

Within a few months, the MCT followed Roh’s announcement and designated four cities (Gwangju, Busan, Gyeongju, and Jeonju). Thus, as one of the interviewees for this dissertation believes, Gwangju was demoted to being only one of those cities of culture (Interviewee 4). Each of the Cities of Culture was assigned their own specialized “culture”: Gwangju as the Hub City of Asian Culture, Busan as the City of Visual Media, Gyeongju as the City of Historical Tradition, and Jeonju as the City of Cultural Heritage. In September 2003, the MCT reported the blueprint for the HCAC project, and the establishment of a Committee for Planning the City of Culture followed in March 2004.

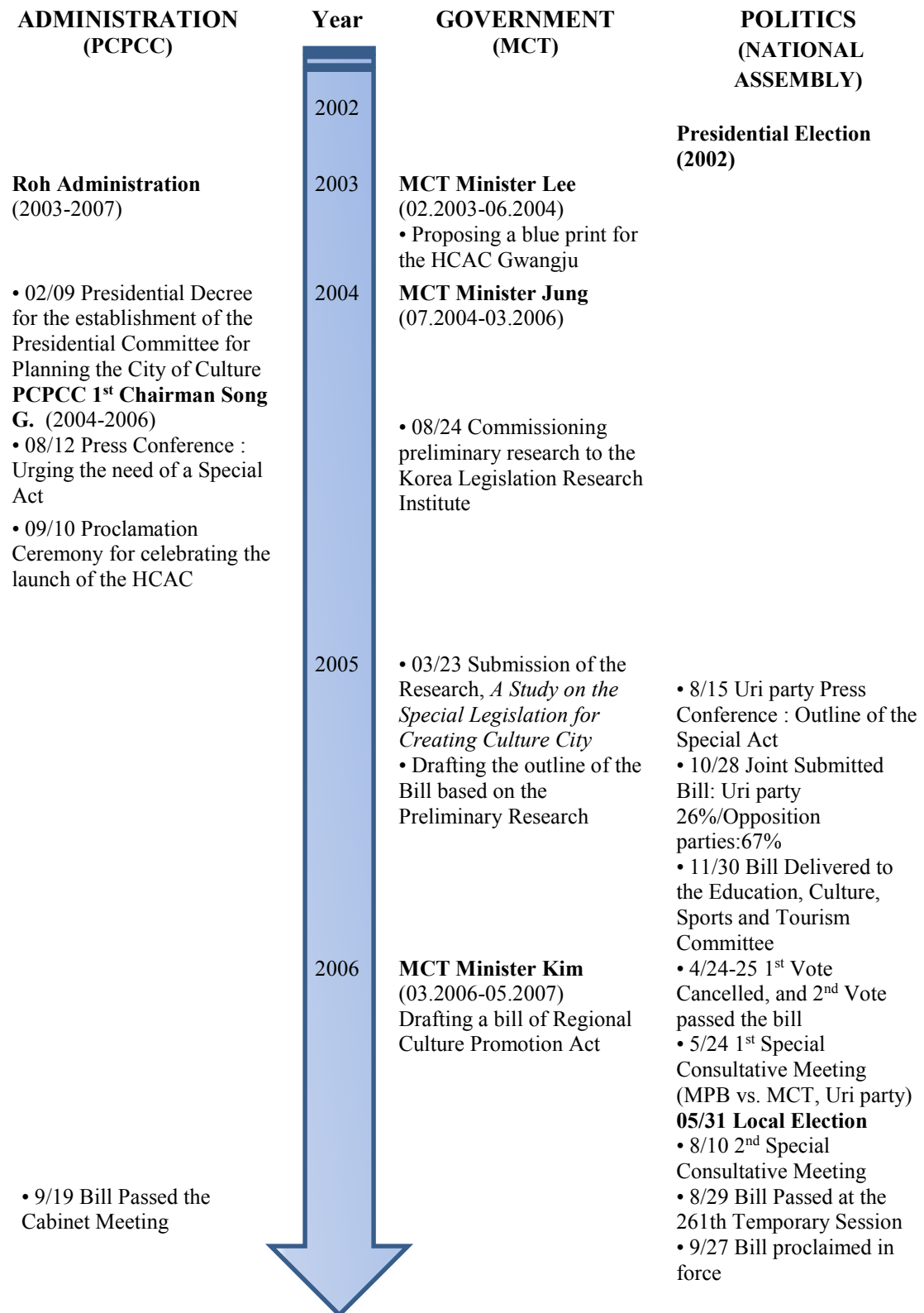
In the end, although the new administration did not proceed with its initial pledge, the coalition between the political spheres ironically led to the opening of the policy window for the COC initiative.

[CASE II] The Special Act on the Hub City of Asian Culture (2006)

After the HCAC project was launched designating the four Cities of Culture, the city of Gwangju took a prominent position among the four cities when the legislation of the *Special Act on the Development of a Hub City of Asian Culture* was successfully passed (hereafter, the Special Act). This Special Act of 2006 promised a primary position to the city of Gwangju, such as securing the continuity of the project, guaranteeing stable budget support, and stipulating the responsibilities of any parties involved. The legislation process was not smooth, but it eventually led to the opening of a second policy window for the Special Act. Without the launching of the Cities of Culture initiative, this window of the Special Act could not have existed. It is especially the inseparable relationship of the windows between Cases I and II in this research study that makes this study significant; as one policy project progressed, the open policy window of Case I required the second window of opportunity in Case II. This study defines this specific pattern of policy window integration as *spiraling windows of opportunity*.

The Special Act on the HCAC project specified its purpose and the obligations of the national government and the Gwangju Metropolitan City, as well as incorporating civil society opinions into the project implementation process. Nine chapters and 54 sub-articles passed the Korean National Assembly in September 2006, and went into effect for twenty years, from 2007 to 2026. By firmly securing the title of a “national project,”

Figure 6. 2 Timeline of the Legislation of the Special Act and Significant Events



the Act settled the controversy on the project, and established a secure platform for the implementation of the HCAC project.

6.4 Problem Stream

This section identifies the kinds of focusing events and statistical indicators that drew public attention to the issue of the Special Act. In particular, the section first analyzes the situation of Gwangju that required a special law. There were several indicators to imply that the problems that confronted Gwangju were not easy. The HCAC project required a holistic and organic legislative system that enforced not only the implementation of relevant cultural policies, but also the integration of the whole national policy, such as building code, tax system, local laws, industry policy, and budget planning.

In addition, the interests of the implementation bodies were conflicting in several situations. For example, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (MCT) was having problems receiving funding approval from the National Assembly, and the Gwangju Metropolitan Government and NGOs anticipated a budget increase and a special status for Gwangju among the four Cities of Culture. In the light of the decentralization effort that prompted the balanced development of *all* regions, the Gwangju government and citizens had a strong apprehension for the downsizing of the project scale. The *Presidential Committee for Planning the City of Culture* (PCPCC) acknowledged the various problems and announced the need for a special law, and attempted to build an integrated partnership among all participants of the HCAC project. The committee saw a

need for coordinating this partnership that led to a consistent promotion of the HCAC project in the complex web of project goals and management bodies. Justifications for issues that required attention necessitated continuous government investment in the legal promise.

6.4.1 Indicators

According to the government report and several indicators, Gwangju had tough urban problems to solve. The city's small-scale manufacturing industry was vulnerable, and its unemployment rate was high. In addition, the *gross regional domestic product* (GRDP) was low. With Gwangju having the lowest economic index among the sixteen metropolitan and provincial governments in Korea, the city population continuously dropped.²⁹ In addition, the city park area per person was the lowest among the six metropolitan cities in South Korea, and in the case of *Gwangju River*, where more than 60% of the citizens lived, the quantity of water was scarce, and the utilized functions of the riverfront area (i.e., residential, commercial, industrial, culture, tourism, and leisure functions) were weak. The urban landscape was full of cookie-cutter buildings and homes, and the oversight of Gwangju in the national development plans caused a sense of alienation. The community also had not recovered from the historical wound of the 5.18 uprising. Consequently, the city needed a holistic urban regeneration strategy with a large budget and long-term planning.

²⁹ Population in 2006 was 14th, and the per capita GRDP was 15th in 2005. In addition, the number of manufacturing companies was 12th, the employment rate in manufacturing industry was 13th, the volume of manufacture was 13th, and the number of businesses with more than 300 was 13th in 2005. In 2007, the unemployment rate of Gwangju was 13th (The Presidential Committee for Planning the City of Culture, 2007, p. 14).

Another problem the HCAC project faced was the budget earmark and management. Since it was launched in 2003, the HCAC project had been running under the supervision of the MCT and the Gwangju metropolitan government. For two years, the project budget was planned and executed within the budget of the MCT, and the amount of the HCAC budget comprised almost 20 % of the total budget of the MCT. In other words, other projects and policy implementations of the MCT were impaired due to the shortfall of their budget (Seoul Newspaper, 2006).

Moreover, the MCT had had tough moments to pass its yearly budget and had been a target of remonstrance in the National Assembly. It was because an additional allocation of 200 million dollars was assigned to the MCT for the purpose of promoting the HCAC project (the 4th proceedings, the 259th Education, Culture, Sports and Tourism Committee, 2006). Even though the Special Act was not legislated yet, some programs of the HCAC already went on the implementation. Therefore, the budget allocation for operating those programs had been assigned to the MCT since 2003. Although the congressmen of the National Assembly understood the need for increasing the MCT's budget to implement the HCAC, the number of the overall budget was much bigger than other government agencies. This imbalance of the budget size became a constant obstruction for the MCT: the creation of a separate account only for implementing the HCAC was urgently needed.

Therefore in 2004, the Roh administration set up the *Presidential Committee for Planning the City of Culture* (PCPCC) by the Presidential decree in 2004, rather than

waiting for the usual two-year period for any special legislation before enforcing it. The PCPCC was thus authorized to promote the project with partners immediately.

At this moment, the local mood of Gwangju was not supportive for the national government. Right after the national government announced the launching of the HCAC project in Gwangju in 2003, more than 76% of the citizens had supported the project and had agreed on the need for special legislation (Gwangju Jeonnam Development Institute, 2003). However, when Gwangju became one of the cities in the Cities of Culture initiative, and not the *only* one, the temperature of public opinion cooled considerably, as the project was considered far less worthwhile. Consequently, the Gwangju government and NGOs issued a succession of statements that supported the legislation of a special act only for Gwangju and demanded an increase in the project budget from the national government and the Assembly (DongA Ilbo, 2004; Yonhap News Agency, 2004).

6.4.2 Focusing Event

In August, 2004, to be supportive and help lift the skeptical mood, the Presidential Committee for Planning the City of Culture (PCPCC) held a press conference (Hankyoreh, 2004), in which Gisook Song, the chairperson of the PCPCC, acknowledged several problems. He strongly emphasized the need to organize an institutional structure to steadily support the HCAC project. Considering the skeptical mood caused by the national government's changes in the COC initiative, he went on to stress the structure would be legislated by a special act that could promote the stable implementation of the project and, at the same time, elevate the status of Gwangju among four Cities of Culture.

At the press conference, Song also announced the research plan to draft a bill. The scope of the research would include management and implementation systems, establishment of the comprehensive and annual plans, designation of a culture zone and its benefit, training of a workforce, a structure of the organizational body, and funding resources. In addition, Song, representing the Roh administration, publicly expressed that legislation of the bill was expected to be introduced by a member of the National Assembly to symbolize the full support of politics and the government for the legislation of the Special Act.

6.4.3 Issue Framing

The challenges that Gwangju was confronting were not easy, and the opposition for the issue of inequity was clearly expected during the legislation process. Therefore, the issue framing began by making a reasonable argument for promoting Gwangju as the Hub City of Asian Culture, not only for regenerating the City of Gwangju itself.

The issue framing for a special act was strategically approached from two directions based on the creation of a new city model: one approach was to create a balanced national development plan; another approach was to utilize cultural resources in order to maximize the efficiency of urban regeneration. As a follow-up to the press conference, the PCPCC and the MCT claimed the existing policies were insufficient to support this large-scale national project.³⁰ Thus, the issue framing effort focused on arriving at a consensus on the need for new legislation to secure government investment and support.

³⁰ The HCAC project was positioned as a national project that was not only for targeting the Asian countries but also for the entire world and, therefore, it should not be managed under any regional or local policy.

At the same time, in order to mobilize a supportive mood against the existing discontent, the MCT gave several reasons for why the HCAC project required a special act. Among the reasons were 1) a clear execution system; 2) a clear division of roles regarding project implementation; 3) a comprehensive plan; 4) active private investment; 5) a description of infrastructure such as the Asian Culture Complex; 6) a detailed implementation plan and timeline; and 7) integrated management of resources. Thus, the issue of legislating a special act eventually escalated to the government's decision agenda.

6.5 Policy Stream

6.5.1 Policy Communities and Specialists

The legislative process of the Special Act mostly took place through the government bodies: the national and local governments and lawmakers of the ruling and opposition parties were united by a coalition. From the national government's side, the PCPCC was likely a control tower, and concentrated on orchestrating mutual partnerships among government ministries, reconciling differences, and strengthening cooperation with lawmakers. Under the supervision of the PCPCC, the *Office for Hub City of Asian Culture* (OHCAC) directed by the *Minister of Culture and Tourism*, conducted a research study associated with a bill and explored several strategies to successfully legislate the bill. The *Korea Legislation Research Institute* completed the preliminary research, and this study analyzed the possible benefits and threats for the bill. By applying three types

of acts (general, special, and temporary) to the bill, the research investigated which type of act would provide the most effective strategy for the successful legislation.

The venue then changed from the government to the National Assembly. In response to these efforts, the ruling *Uri Party* outlined the bill based on the research and announced its plan to send the bill to the *Education, Culture, Sports and Tourism Committee*. Although the detailed bill was drafted by the ruling party, it was jointly submitted by the ruling and opposition parties. This joint submission implied that the bill was a pan-national project, and no longer just a pledge between the president and Gwangju City.

However, in this process, the Gwangju metropolitan government played a relatively passive role due to electoral politics, as Gwangju City officials pointed out in interviews for this dissertation study. As mentioned earlier, since the HCAC project was initiated from the top down, the elected personnel at the city level, such as the mayor, city councilor, or congressmen, did not want to take responsibility for advocating the act in case it ‘failed’ – i.e., in case either the bill did not pass the National Assembly, or it was passed, but seriously compromised (interviewees 2, 3, 4). Interviewee 2 criticized the irresponsibility of this attitude; the mayor or politicians did not reconcile the conflict or differences between the national policy table and the local public mood, but rather, simply reflected the voice of the Gwangju citizens. This stance will be explored more in the political stream section.

6.5.2 Policy Entrepreneurs

Like the COC, the Roh administration, government, and politicians spearheaded the legislative process of the Special Act. First, the Roh administration formed a pan-governmental control tower, the PCPCC, and communicated through this committee. Fourteen nongovernment experts were appointed by the president to serve on this committee; another fourteen, mostly ministers of relevant government departments, the governor of South Jeolla province, and the mayor of Gwangju, were ex-officio members. Since the PCPCC consisted of various groups, the president needed to find someone honored who could take control of the committee. President Roh appointed Gisook Song, a respected writer in Gwangju, as the committee's first chairman (2004-2006), and gave him the authority of a prime minister. Song took a strong lead in the whole process of legislation and successfully elicited mutual cooperation among the government bodies in both the national and local governments, the Assembly, and the NGOs in Gwangju (Interviewee 2).

On the government's side, the Ministers of the MCT and its sub-division, the OHCAC, mostly led the legislative process. For three years (2003 to 2006), three ministers had promoted the realization of the president's pledge, but the second minister, Dong-chae Jung, was recognized as the most active policy entrepreneur supporting the passing of the bill in the National Assembly. With his enthusiastic leadership, the bill passed the Committee within only six months (Busan Ilbo, 2009).

Among the lawmakers of the National Assembly, two congressmen of the ruling party, Sangho Uh and Hyungil Yang, assumed distinctive roles. Although Congressman

Uh was a newly elected member of the Assembly, he decided to serve as a representative of the bill for the ruling party. The draft of the bill was promoted by the Gwangju-based congressman, Yang. Overall, 157 lawmakers from all parties signed the bill, on the surface giving an image of ‘success.’ However, only 26% of the opposition party, which held a majority of the Assembly, had signed the bill. Due to this political imbalance, the bill underwent further hurdles as it slowly drifted toward legislation.

6.5.3 Policy Alternatives

From the submission of the bill until its successful enactment, no other policy alternative was ever discussed. However, it was evident that other Cities of Culture, not only Gwangju, also promoted the legislation of a special law. For example, in 2004 when the then Minister of Culture and Tourism Dong-chae Jung visited the City of Cultural Heritage *Jeonju*, he promised a positive review of a special law in response to the citizens’ request (Yonhap News Agency, 2004). The *Yonhap News Agency* also reported a positive evaluation was made among the local NGOs and congressmen of *Gyeongju* city, and the MCT regarding the legislation of a special act on the City of History (2005a). There was also argument for the inclusion of other plans for Cities of Culture as a part of the Special Act on the HCAC (Weekly DongA, 2007; Yonhap News Agency, 2006).

However, the MCT and lawmakers of the ruling party intensified their efforts to legislate the Special Act on the HCAC; as a result, there was little energy left for other Cities of Culture. Instead, in 2006, the MCT attempted to divert other cities’ actions and requests on the legislation of a special act, while drafting a different bill. The ministry

proposed another bill, 'Regional Culture Promotion Act,' that covered the legislation regarding the other Cities of Culture. It accordingly argued that the local governments of Jeonju and Gyeongju now promoted the projects based on the new bill, whereas Gwangju promoted the project based on the Special Act. The ruling party supported this argumentation by the logic that funding for other Cities of Culture would be covered by this new future law (the 4th proceedings, the 259th Education, Culture, Sports and Tourism Committee, 2006).

The Korea Legislation Research Institute studied the backbone of the Special Act in 2005. It submitted the report, *A Study on the Special Legislation for Creating Culture City*, to the MCT, proposing several strategies and a drafted bill for successful legislation. In particular, the draft recommended the establishment of a presidential committee and a working bureau under the MCT. Furthermore, the draft defined the extent of the Special Law, establishment of the annual plan and timeline, specification of special exceptions regarding investment promotion and business relocation, the establishment of Technology Development Corporation, and the most controversial issue, the installation of a special account.

6.6 Political Stream

The political stream had the answer for solving the major problems regarding the implementation of the HCAC project: a special act that was already under discussion. However, the political journey to legislate this special act took almost a year of prolonged political dispute and coalition process. Behind the scenes, conflicts were triggered by

several factors such as the interregional relations & different political interests, organizing & dismantling of interest groups, and election repercussions & the orientation of elected officials.

6.6.1 Spiraling Policy Windows of Opportunity

As the study progresses, it is observable that Kingdon's study had limited applicability to the cases in this study. Kingdon's policy analysis model provided a clear explanation for a policy project or legislation, but only for one policy, and not a succession of open policy windows as in the case of the HCAC. For example, the 2003 presidential election functioned as one of main factors which made the case 1 possible, but this election still made an impact on the case 2: without the launching of the case 1, Cities of Culture initiative, this window of the case 2, Special Act, could not have existed. Therefore, these two policy windows were linked by the inseparable relationship; as one policy project progressed, the open policy window of Case I needed the second window of opportunity in Case II. This spiral relationship was repeated in the case III. This study focused on this unique pattern of policy window intergradation and defined it as *spiraling windows of opportunity*.

6.6.2 Electoral Politics and Presidential Involvement

As examined in Case window I, two elections, the presidential election in 2002 and the local elections in 2006, played a significant role in making the legislation of a special act the priority on the government agenda. Consequently, three streams were linked together. During candidate Roh's campaign for the presidency, the HCAC project began to emerge; and by 2004, President Roh enthusiastically followed through his

campaign pledge to promote the HCAC project. Because the president himself had shown his strong will, the politicians of the ruling parties and government bodies also actively engaged in the Special Act legislation process with confidence. According to *Busan Ilbo* (Busan Daily News), one congressman, who was not identified, interpreted the process of as a victory of the political coalition. He remembered the toughest moment of the legislation draft in the National Assembly when there was a stalemate over several critical issues between the ruling and opposition parties. However, with assistance from the MCT led by Minister Jung, who was born in Gwangju, the congressmen of the ruling party put pressure on the opposition parties, accusing them of being dilatory in dealing with the bill. Thus, the collective effort of the ruling party and the MCT moved the bill forward (Busan Ilbo, 2009).

In the local elections in May, 2006, more than 200 city mayors, heads of county governments and city district offices were elected, and every candidate was conscious of any move their party might make that might have an impact on their getting elected. According to one media coverage, the *Education, Culture, Sports and Tourism Committee's* (ECSTC) vote for the bill was cancelled due to lack of quorum. Only the lawmakers of the ruling party showed at the ECSTC for voting (Nocut News, 2006). The Gwangju mayor, who was a member of the opposition party, even requested a delay for voting on the bill after the local elections (DongA Ilbo, 2006; Nocut News, 2006; the 4th proceedings, the 259th Education, Culture, Sports and Tourism Committee, 2006).

On the surface, the excuse for not showing up at the ECSTC meeting to vote was apparent: the interagency consultation among the ministries was yet to be finalized.

However, behind the scenes, those parties' collective action was strategically aimed at the upcoming elections. They wanted to stress the fact that the Special Act was not the achievement of the ruling party and President Roh alone, and it could not have passed the Assembly without the cooperation of the other parties.

6.6.3 The Deliberation Process of the Bill

In September 2004, the proclamation ceremony was held to celebrate the launching of the HCAC project, where several heads of the governments, including President Roh, the minister of Culture and Tourism, the mayor of Gwangju, and several thousand citizens were in attendance. About a year later, a draft of the bill was submitted to the National Assembly. The political parties hosted informal discussions and public hearings prior to the submission of the draft to collect public opinion and show goodwill. However, after the draft was submitted, the legislation process was still seriously impeded by power relations.

There were mainly three issues in the deliberation process of the bill: the interpretation of the boundary of the bill, the negotiation among the government agencies, and the debate over whether to create special account under the Act. First, with regard to the boundary of the bill, congressmen and local officials argued the Special Act could extend to the urban plans of Jeonju, Busan, and Gyeongju, the other Cities of Culture, as well. However, the MCT contended that another new bill, the 'Regional Culture Promotion Act' that would support other plans, was in the works. It argued the HCAC project was a huge challenge for the national government: it had considerably more

stature and greater spectrum than the other plans; hence, its highest priority had to be Gwangju City, which had to be endorsed by the Special Act.

Second, the negotiation among the government agencies delayed the deliberation of the bill at the ECSTC. Some lawmakers were absent from the ECSTC meeting to vote for the bill, arguing there had not been enough hearing processes, especially from other government ministries. However, in fact, arranged by the National Assembly Research Service, the bill had already gone through hearings and modifications by relevant ministries. For example, the MCT had carried out the necessary negotiations with the *Ministry of Construction and Transportation*, the *Ministry of Finance and Economy*, and the *Ministry of Government Affairs and Home Affairs*. As a result, several articles were deleted, such as the priority of the Comprehensive Plan over other urban plans, and the exemption of the national, local taxes and fees (the 4th proceedings, the 259th Education, Culture, Sports and Tourism Committee, 2006).

The last, but the most controversial issue was the MCT and the *Ministry of Planning and Budget's* (MPB) wrangling over the creation of a special account under the Act. For a year, the two ministries had a tug-of-war over this issue, causing a major delay on the legislation of the Special Act. The MPB was conservative and firm in its objection to the creation of a special account, arguing it would create several problems (i.e., such as confusion over existing policies, concern about losing equity against the other Cities of Culture, or a flood of proposals favoring the special account). Furthermore, the MPB argued that according to the Korean tax law, every special account required special tax revenue to replenish its expenditure. In response to the MPB's reservations, the MCT

tried to explain the nature of the HCAC project, which was to create a self-sustainable city model based on the culture economy. Therefore, the MCT argued that the HCAC project had potential tax revenue. However, the MPB continued to repudiate this argument and even formed a coalition with the opposition parties in the Assembly to prevent the deliberation of the bill that included the controversial article.

Nine months later, in August 2006, this taut debate between the MCT and the MPB was finally over. In April 2006, after several more debates and disputes, the bill was passed at the 259th Committee meeting, and delivered to the next National Assembly plenary session. However, the MPB's alliance with the major opposition parties remained, and they seemed to have the upper hand regarding delaying the creation of the special account until after the opening of the Asian Culture Complex. However, in August, after a series of special consultative meetings of administration and ruling party officials, the long controversy was finally settled, and the MPB approved the creation of the special account. Finally, *the Special Act on the Development of a HCAC* was passed in August 2006, to go into effect in September 2006.

The legislation of the Special Act can be interpreted in several ways: with the legislation, the Gwangju project gained solid legitimacy and distinction over the other Cities of Culture plans. With its primary and secure position, the Gwangju project had the advantage of prior consideration for attracting private investment and consulting with relevant agencies. Furthermore, the legislation allowed the HCAC project to finally break through and move forward to the next stage of finalizing the Comprehensive Plan. The obligations of the related parties in implementing the HCAC project became clear, and

almost every conflict that they pursued, such as the extension of the law, was resolved, recovering the trust of the citizens of Gwangju. Finally, the last step of the first phase of the HCAC project, the approval of the Comprehensive plan for a Hub City of Asian Culture in 2007, had arrived.

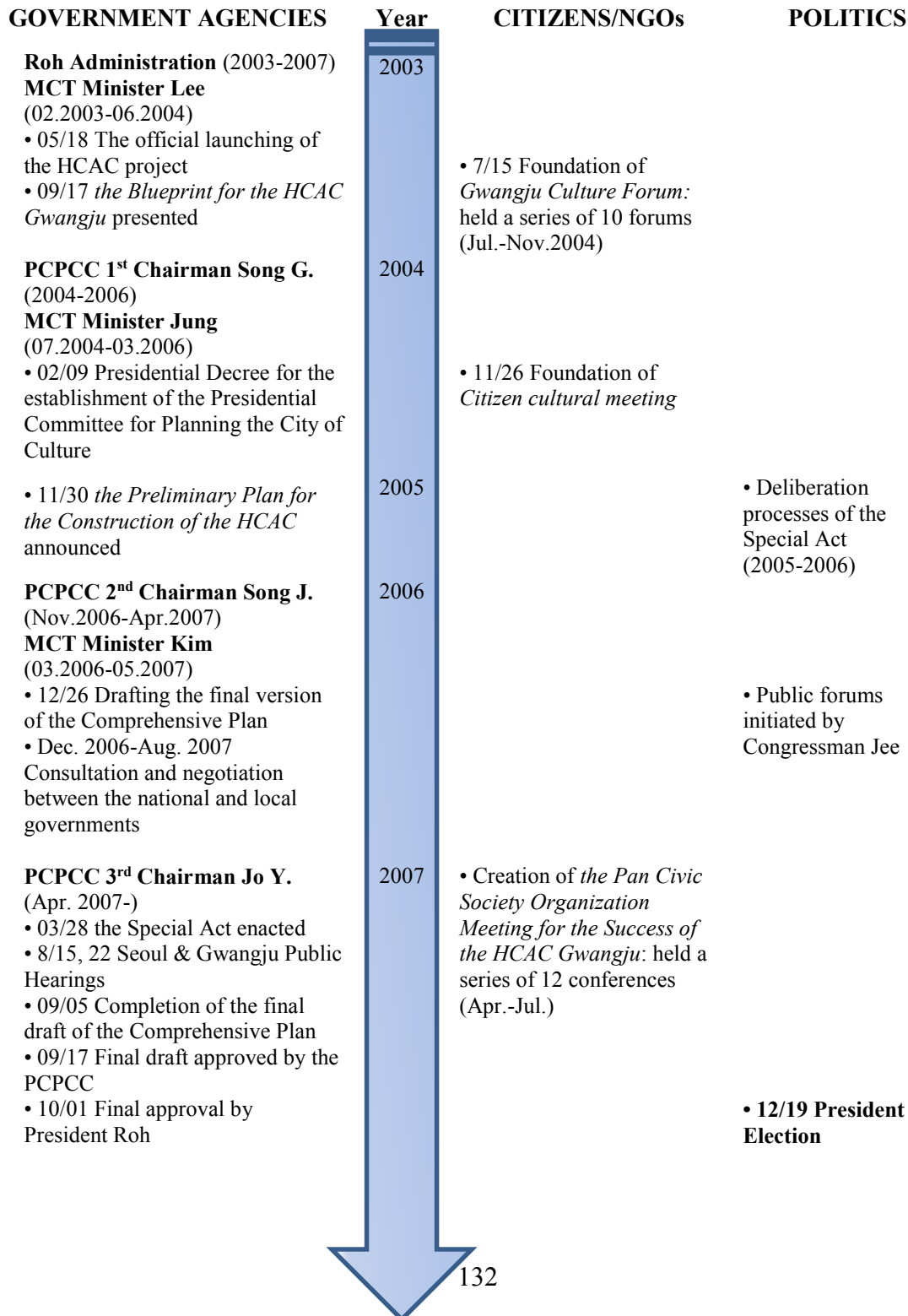
[CASE III] The Comprehensive Plan for the Hub City of Asian Culture (2007)

In 2007 when the Special Act was enacted, the most urgent issue confronting the HCAC was the establishment of a comprehensive plan. Due to the sociopolitical climate of South Korea, it was necessary to complete the plan by within the same year. However, there had been ongoing debates and criticism that delayed the prompt development of the project, and there were very little clues about how to break through.

At the same time, there was no benchmark for the creation of this new urban recreation model. Focusing on the multiple ramifications of the urban cultural re/generation of Gwangju, the core functions of HCAC were already agreed to be ‘the convergence of research and practice of cultural creativity’ and ‘the integration of Asian cultural values through the fusion of arts and industry’. However, they were too vague to develop a specific implementation plan with any precedent policy cases.

As a result, the designing and planning processes of the comprehensive plan were unlikely to follow a conventional command-and-control approach of policy making and more likely to achieve breakthrough in the murky conditions of conflicts, negotiations, and coalitions. A number of public hearings, conferences, and round-table meetings were held among the government, local press, NGOs, or cultural experts.

Figure 6. 3 Timeline of the Developments of the Comprehensive Plan and Significant Events



These gatherings occasionally could not result in an agreement, but the process itself turned into a new governing partnership (“a new governance”; Salamon, 2002), which was autonomously formed and actively engaged in the arbitration of the designing and planning processes, and continued until the Comprehensive Plan was finalized. The arbitration process was likely the designing process of the Comprehensive Plan, and the final agreement was the approval of the Comprehensive Plan. However, the literatures of the policy process in this study (i.e., MS and ALA models) do not fully explain the linkage between the new governance formation and the policy planning process. The literature of new governance, which is part of the conceptual framework in this study, addresses this unexplored area.

6.7 Problem Stream

In 2005, the MCT announced the Preliminary Plan for the Construction of the HCAC, and enacted the Special Act in 2007. However, there were controversial issues surrounding the development of the HCAC project, such as the design and functions of the Asian Culture Complex (ACC), the relocation and funding of the culture industry complex, and the city regeneration design and planning. The separate governing bodies – PCPCC, MCT, Gwangju metropolitan government, and NGOs of Gwangju – revealed insufficient understanding of, and little cooperation with, the others. Several indicators, which are discussed below, pointed to this fragmentation.

6.7.1 Indicators

Over time, severe levels of conflict were intermittently reported by the local and national media. Every governing body proposed the best possible strategies to the Comprehensive Plan design from their point of view, and there was no right or wrong answer. The conflicts among the governing bodies can be largely summarized under the following three categories.

First, there was continuing controversy over the design and functions of the ACC. The MCT, focused on the national level, emphasized the allotment of space for research and educational institutions inside the complex. The local government and NGOs, focused on the regional level, demanded the allotment of space for large performing theaters and exhibition halls that the citizens of Gwangju could frequently use. More specifically, whereas the national experts in culture insisted that the ACC needs to take the lead in the incubation of creative contents, the local experts argued for transferring research and education functions to the local institutions and focusing on the expansion of performing and exhibition spaces.

The design of the ACC became a conundrum. The MCT and PCPCC selected the architectural design of the complex, *Forest of Light*, through the international design competition. The concept of the design was based on the creation of breathing space in the busy city such as a public park, and most parts in the complex would be located on and under the ground level. However, the citizens who lived in and around the ACC and some cultural NGOs demanded the construction of landmark buildings like the Guggenheim museum in Bilbao or the Opera house in Sydney. They specifically

suggested the massive tower type architecture that was attractive enough to bring tourists, and news about them would go viral. However, at the same time, the voices of the local mood were also split. Several other local NGOs and citizens objected to the construction of a massive tower and rather supported the winning architecture design, *Forest of Light*.

Second, to foster the culture industry, the MCT emphasized the creation of infrastructure chains first, from creation, manufacturing and distribution to building human workforce. Based on the previous research data, the MCT prioritized the cultivation of building infrastructures in Gwangju. The data showed the foundation of culture industry, such as manufacturing and distribution, was weak in Gwangju. For example, the total numbers of culture industry companies in Gwangju were 32, which was just 2 % of 1,566 companies across the country. In addition, compared to the national rate, the sales profit of Gwangju's culture industry was 1.7%, and its employee rate was 2.1%. Moreover, considering the situation that most culture industry structures and systems were highly centralized in the capital area, the production and presentation markets of the cultural contents were very narrow, and talented workforces were drained to the capital area, as well (Presidential Committee for Planning the City of Culture, 2007).

However, the Gwangju metropolitan government preferred to have a more direct approach in the industrialization of its culture industry: the cultivation of several promising industries such as game, high-tech image making, and entertainment. In fact, the Gwangju government had already carried forward this policy, but requested the inclusion of two major culture industry plans in the Comprehensive Plan of the HCAC;

these were the cultivation of the five core content sectors and the creation of a culture industry complex around the ACC. For this request, the MCT argued to strategically select and cultivate one of the most potential sectors and then benchmark that successful model (PCPCC, 2007).

Third, the establishment of seven cultural zones was a controversial issue for both the national and local governing bodies. In the *Preliminary Plan of the HCAC* project, the MCT had included the development of seven cultural zones across the city. However, the Gwangju government argued that the cultural zones were not closely relevant to the cultural resources and the locality of Gwangju. In addition, they insisted that the MCT and the national government should be entirely in charge of constructing the cultural zones, including funding. Their argumentation was based on the fact that the Preliminary Plan had only included a blueprint of the zoning plan, but had never provided nor discussed a detailed implementation plan with the Gwangju government until that time.

On the other hand, the MCT argued the opposite. It highlighted that the designation of the seven cultural zones fully reflected the local resources and that the primary data was researched and shared by the Gwangju government based on *The Cultural and Environmental Research on the Development of the Culture Capital Gwangju* (2004, the Gwangju Metropolitan Government). Although the MCT agreed the Comprehensive Plan required some modifications to the zoning design, it strongly necessitated the Gwangju government to plan its budget for zoning.

Fourth, news coverage and the interview with Interviewee 2 exposed that there had been conflicts between the Roh administration and the PCPCC. Based on the

presidential decree, the Committee's statutory duties were to review and advise about the HCAC, and the leadership was required to coordinate and resolve conflict between the national and local governances. However, the Committee's performances were far below expectations. The PCPCC argued it was due to the inefficiency of the work flow and requested a revision of the presidential decree (Segye Times, 2007). However, the MCT disagreed. First, since the Ministry had to finalize the Comprehensive Plan until the end of 2007, it did not have enough energy to undertake a revision of the law. Second, the MCT believed the inefficiency was caused by the inexperience of the Committee's leadership. When he established the Committee, the Roh administration granted it as the top decision-making body. In addition, the Committee had its own subcommittees and work forces. Thus, whenever there was a conflict, the PCPCC could autonomously investigate the situation, conduct research, and resolve those encounters. However, Interviewee 2 argued that the quality of the leadership was far below expectations, and members simply voted for the approval of the Comprehensive Plan. As a consequence, the MCT assumed the responsibilities of the Committee instead (Interviewee 2).

6.7.2 Focusing Event

During the years 2006 and 2007, a series of public forums and the government's active promotion efforts attracted the interest of the people. In 2006, Congressman Jee Byungmoon initiated a public forum for urban cultural experts and general public. Over the two years, a broad spectrum of problems and conflicts regarding the promotion of the HCAC were discussed, and those issues became public, drawing much media attention. Some resolutions derived from the forums, in fact, were reflected in the final version of

the Plan, but those forums were more likely to serve as a focusing event. Even though the forums provided resolutions for enduring problems, they were not enough to end the internal conflicts among the governing bodies. Rather, once those conflicts were on the air, the public became aware of the fact that there had been unsettled problems among the governing bodies.

In addition to the public forums, the MCT actively engaged in PR efforts to refresh public support. Due to the conflict and discord among the parties, the MCT had experienced limited communication with the public, which brought much distrust and even unawareness of the Project. For the latter half of 2007, Minister Kim Jongmin of the MCT enthusiastically held several press conferences for the local media of Gwangju, including a special round-table conference for local managing editors. As a result, with strong emphasis on the need for a fast resolution, conflicts about the HCAC project and the Comprehensive Plan design process got on the air. The vice minister of the MCT held a press conference to announce the best efforts of local administrators and politicians and to consult and incorporate their opinion on various conflicts and issues.

By lowering the public's negative impression of the government and increasing its understanding for the Project, the purpose of the MCT promotion was to complete the ongoing conflicts as quickly as possible and to move forward to the finalization of the Comprehensive Plan. Also, building a strong cooperative governance among the MCT, the Gwangju metropolitan government, and the civil groups was stressed as a necessary ingredient for the successful promotion of the Project.

6.7.3 Issue Framing

As a follow-up to the public forums and active promotional efforts, the NGOs and the MCT sought to find a solution to propel the Comprehensive Plan that tried to embrace the arbitration proposals from all governing parties. The NGOs organized a special social organization and held a series of public conferences, and the MCT held public hearings presenting the draft of the Comprehensive Plan, thus reducing the controversy and creating social consensus.

Between April and July, 2007, the NGOs organized *the Pan Civil Society Organization Meeting for the Success of the HCAC Gwangju*, (PCSOM), and held a series of 12 conferences. During each conference, experts and citizens discussed thematic issues, and in the end an arbitration proposal that encompassed all of the conflicts was made. More specifically, the proposal embodied the organized opinions of all main issues that had been disputed but not resolved, such as the creation of the landmark structure, the extension of the exhibition and performing spaces, the distributed arrangement of the parking facility, the main functions of the ACC, and the seven-zone construction plan.

Until July, 2007 when a new chair of the PCPCC came to power, there had been no visible progress in developing the Comprehensive Plan. However, according to their time line, the due date for finalizing the Comprehensive Plan was October, 2007. This meant that within only three months, the PCPCC and the MCT had to complete all formal processes, including two public hearings, during which they planned to complete narrowing the issue framings and to reflect those to the Comprehensive Plan. On August 17th and 22nd, two public hearings were held in Seoul and Gwangju. The MCT presented

the draft of the Comprehensive Plan, which compromised the Preliminary Plan of 2005 and the arbitration proposals of the Gwangju government and PCSOM.

In terms of the effectiveness of the conferences and hearings, it was difficult to judge whether those efforts changed the mood of the governing bodies or found solutions to end the controversies. Rather, they drew the public's attention to the need to create a speedy consensus among the governing bodies and confirmed the need to finalize the Comprehensive Plan. Finally, the issue was framed and defined.

6.8 Policy Stream

6.8.1 Policy Communities and Specialists

The MCT, the PCPCC, and the civil organizations were actively engaged in the processes of designing and developing the *Comprehensive Plan*. No matter how much they were strategically allied, they collectively made progress. However, the role of the Gwangju Metropolitan Government was relatively passive, as the MCT took the lead over the entire process.

6.8.2 Policy Entrepreneurs

Although many civil organizations and government agencies led the entire designing and developing processes of the Comprehensive Plan, it was not evident whether they meant to form coalitions. Each governing party organized individual activities toward developing partnerships with the others but dismantled at a certain point. In the meantime, as a Gwangju-based politician, Congressman Jee Byungmoon tried to mediate between the MCT and the Gwangju government. Since his home district

was Gwangju, he intentionally switched his membership from the *Education Committee to the Culture and Tourism Committee* at the National Assembly in 2006 to be in a better position to help with the negotiations. He also initiated a series of seven public forums in 2006 and 2007 to reconcile controversies and he tried to have the results of the forums reflected in the Comprehensive Plan.

Congressman Jee also had influence during the issue framing process. He held several media interviews and strongly emphasized the urgent need for finalizing the Comprehensive Plan (Gwangjuin; Segye Times, 2007). He explained that after the Preliminary Plan had been announced in 2005, several programs of the HCAC project had been under implementation without the assurance of the Comprehensive Plan. This had meant that there was still a possibility that those programs would be eliminated from the final Plan, which would waste time and public funds.

6.8.3 Policy Alternatives

As with the Special Act, the policy alternatives had not been discussed in the policy communities. Before the Comprehensive Plan, there were two official plans produced: *the Blueprint for the HCAC Gwangju* (2003) and *the Preliminary Plan for the Construction of the HCAC* (2005).

The Blueprint for the HCAC Gwangju, announced in September 2003, was the very first plan after Roh had made his campaign promise. The Blueprint proposed two visions: creating an innovative culture-based city model and seeking a new direction for urban planning. Under these visions, the Blueprint suggested the theme of a Hub City of Asian Culture and a brief timeline for the construction of the ACC, culture zones, and

infrastructures for the cultural industries. Although it did not display a detailed implementation picture yet, this Blueprint became the backbone of the final Comprehensive Plan.

Based on the Blueprint, the MCT and the PCPCC started to research the wide range of topics, including the theoretical foundation and actual implementation strategies. For two years (2004-2006), 48 research studies were commissioned to national, private, and higher educational research institutes to research issues and themes, including a culture complex, a culture city model, legal structures, and business strategies. The findings of these studies provided the necessary data for developing the Preliminary Plan of 2005 (PCPCC, 2007).

In December 2005, *the Preliminary Plan for the Construction of the HCAC* was announced at the commemoration for the construction of the ACC in Gwangju. Based on the ten most significant research studies conducted between 2004 and 2006, the Preliminary Plan suggested a roadmap for the construction of the ACC and the creation of seven culture zones in the entire city area (MBN; Yonhap News Agency, 2005b). The ACC would be located at the center of Gwangju city where the old South Jeolla provincial government building used to stand. When the old government building was relocated to the suburb of Mokpo city leaving 35 acres of empty space in the urban center, the ACC was constructed in its place with hopes of regenerating the urban vibe. In particular, the Preliminary Plan proposed to house five institutions – the Cultural Exchange Agency, Asian Culture Information Agency, Culture Promotion Agency, the Asian Arts Theater, and Edu-Culture Agency for Children – inside of the ACC. Centering

on the Asian Arts Complex, seven cultural zones were planning to spread out through the city. The designs of seven zones were to reflect the region and city's character and history such as the Gwangju Biennale, science and technology valley, and the bank of river, as well as that of Asian culture more generally.

In 2007, the Blueprint, the Preliminary Plan, and the public hearings that were mentioned earlier in Section 6.7.3, were supplemented by a variety of voices, from culture and urban experts to the general public. The core of the first hearing in Seoul was focused on the macro level of discussion. The participants suggested their opinions with the creation of a successful model in mind, and defined new terms and concepts of the HCAC model. At the second hearing in Gwangju, a more micro-meso level of discussion ensued about the Comprehensive Plan and its implementation strategy. The participants shared their opinions about several strategies for securing the continuing implementation of the project, linking the outputs of the unit projects, creating the detailed policy plans of Asian culture, and predicting desired outcomes of the project. As a response to those issues, the MCT promised to include the drawing of annual and five-year plans in the final version of the Comprehensive Plan. The Gwangju government was in charge of making those plans, and the MCT was in charge of reflecting the updates into the long-term policy process.

Between June and September 2007, the MCT and the PCPCC adjusted the draft of the Comprehensive Plan. They held four committee meetings and discussed how to reflect the results of the public hearings with the final version of the draft. Between ideals

and realities, and between controversies and dynamics, the Comprehensive Plan eventually finalized and signed by President Roh in October 2007.

6.9 Political Stream

6.9.1 Spiraling Policy Windows of Opportunity

As the 2003 presidential election functioned as one of the main factors that made Case 1 possible. This election still had an impact on Case 2: without the launching of the Cities of Culture initiative (Case 1), the Special Act (Case 2) could not have existed. Again, the legislation of the Special Act propelled the creation of the Comprehensive Plan (Case 3). However, Case 2 was not a window, but a focusing event. Since the HCAC is a long-term policy project, it required a focusing event to move forward the implementation. When looking at the big picture, legislation of the Special Act (Case 2) did not directly trigger the Comprehensive Plan of the HCAC (Case 3), but worked as a focusing event of the long-term policy process. This relationship is further explored in Chapter 8.

6.9.2 Electoral Politics and Presidential Involvement

As the presidential election of 2002 triggered the initiation of the HCAC project, the 2007 presidential election became a catalyst for the fast finalization of the Comprehensive Plan. Since the president of South Korea is not allowed to serve consecutive terms, President Roh had to step down in early 2008. Moreover, the candidate of the opposing party, Lee Myung-bak, seemed most likely to win the election. Since, when a new president goes into office, his pledge gets prioritized, it would be a

burden for the new administration and its leadership to have a twenty-year project with an enormous public funding. Therefore, if Candidate Lee won the election, it was strongly expected that the scale of the HCAC project would be downsized.

The political burden of the Roh administration to finalize the Comprehensive plan was also evident in one media interview: when Congressman Jee was interviewed by Gwangjuin magazine in 2007, he speculated that the necessary budget allocation for the implementation of the HCAC in 2008 might be difficult under the new government leadership. In 2007, even though the ruling party of the Assembly was not changed yet, most congressmen of opposite parties were only passively engaged in the implementation of the HCAC project. If the Roh administration did not finalize the Plan before leaving office, and if a new ruling party came into power, any strong support from the National Assembly could not be expected.

In fact, those predictions were right to a certain extent. Candidate Lee won the election with a landslide. After only 4% of the ballots were tallied, Lee's victory was confirmed. When Lee started his presidency he and his ruling party, the Grand National Party, immediately embarked on the revision of the Special Act on the HCAC project and the abolition of the PCPCC (Dailian; Newsis, 2008).

6.9.3 Deliberation Process of the Comprehensive Plan

In September 2003, seven months after President Roh came into office, the *Blueprint for the HCAC Gwangju*, the very first ground plan for the HCAC, was delivered. At that point, the new President had a meeting with the chief editors of Gwangju and the local and regional media. He represented the Blueprint and promised to

implement it by 2023. It was soon to be publicized, and there were no apparent objections in and outside of the government, partly because it only suggested a rough draft, and with the flash effect of the new administration, there was no reason to stand against this rosy picture of the new urban cultural planning.

From the end of 2003 through 2005, the draft was steadily prepared in consultation with various research institutes. Also, more than 140 times of consultation meetings, various seminars, workshops, and international conferences were held to hear the voices of policy specialists, government agencies, domestic and international experts, as well as citizens. Based on those collaboration efforts, the *Preliminary Plan for the Construction of the HCAC* was announced in November 2005.

After the Preliminary Plan was announced, there was almost a two-year period of long consultation and arbitration. Based on the Preliminary Plan, the MCT drafted the final version of the Plan and completed the draft in December 2006. Then the MCT and PCPCC negotiated with the officials of the Gwangju Metropolitan government and relevant national government agencies to revise and agree on every detail in the draft. After the negotiation process was completed, the draft was pre-reviewed by the PCPCC, and was finally presented to the public in Seoul and Gwangju. During the hearings, the government agencies and the citizens made a significant contribution to adjusting the different opinions on the draft of the Comprehensive Plan. After the hearing was completed, the MCT revised the draft and sent it to the PCPCC for its final review and approval. On September 17th, 2007, the PCPCC approved the final draft, and when

President Roh signed it, the long deliberation of the Comprehensive Plan was completed. That was on October 1st, 2007.

During the finalization process of the Comprehensive Plan, no new policy plans were created or suggested. Rather, the process was focused on the deliberation and convergence of various voices and needs that the HCAC project required. A broad variety of controversies and issues were taken into consideration in order to determine the “best” “new” policy at the time. The finalized Plan suggested the best possible solutions for resolving the issues and proposed the prospect of creating a new urban cultural model. Also, the collaborative efforts the government and the citizens exhibited during the process can be confirmed through Salamon’s new governance study. With the complex nature and project scopes of the HCAC, the governing bodies autonomously collaborated and found a way to create a sustainable environment and management tool for this 20-year-long project.

CHAPTER 7

INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCE

ON THE DESIGN PROCESS OF THE HCAC PLAN

Policy transfer studies argue that each political actor or decision maker spontaneously seeks to find lessons from other countries, and most transfers occur voluntarily by each policy actor's rational decision. When there is a problem with the current policy implementation, policy actors search for lessons and modify the malfunctioning policy accordingly. The "improved" policy thus becomes a package comprised of different international trends and processes that reflect a variety of theoretical and epistemological claims (Bennett 1991; Rose, 1993). Consequently, even if a domestic policy is designed and developed in the local context, domestic politics and local conditions alone cannot explain the policy process. Without taking international trends and influences into consideration, it would be difficult to explain how and why a policy is designed and developed.

By the same token, at the beginning, this research assumed international policy transfer had a meaningful impact on the creation and design of the HCAC project. In particular, it expected that the contents of the Special Act and its designing process might

show solid evidence. This was the reason the policy transfer literature was chosen as a lens for analyzing Case 2, the Special Act for the HCAC.

However, as the analysis proceeded, Kingdon's model appeared to leave no room for analyzing the international influences working in the legislation process. First, because the model was developed in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and when Kingdon gathered the data and studied it, globalization was not yet the word of the day. In other words, his study was a pre-globalization model. However, in today's era of globalization, many countries have been under the growing influence of international trends, and policy makers have been searching for effective practices to learn from the success and/or failure of others.

Second, Kingdon's analysis model was not a perfect fit with the policy transfer literature because it is about the processes on the *agenda setting*, not *design* process. The core of Kingdon's study is targeted to understand how a certain problem became a government agenda at a certain point in time, whereas policy transfer literature focuses on identifying how and what is transferred by which key actors. In sum, the epistemological questions and focus of the two approaches are incommensurable.

However, it would be a fatal blunder not to take into account international influences on the design of the Special Act. Under the provisions of the Special Act, the parties involved had to gather culture-based urban regeneration plans from other countries into a variety package (e.g., promotion of civil culture, local culture, and arts; invigoration of cultural education; development of human capital; fostering of the cultural industry and its relevant infrastructure and support systems; and designation of

investment promotion) (MCST, 2006). To serve the government's multiple objectives, Korean policymakers shopped around and chose as benchmarks various types of culture-led regeneration strategies, such as building an iconic arts complex, constructing a cultural infrastructure and supporting systems, promoting cultural tourism and creative industries, increasing the capacity of cultural exchange, and so on. The Special Act of HCAC reflects the effects of policy transfer concerning these implementation tool choices.

Hence, the Korean government created a mega national urban cultural plan by mixing and matching culture-driven strategies of "successful" precedent cases. However, it was not an easy challenge for the Korean government to select and put together the appropriate tools with which to create a *new* urban cultural model. Unlike urban regeneration cases in other countries, the objective in the Korean case was to create a model that would benefit both the national *and* local economy. Researchers and policy makers sought to find a good policy solution that mostly corresponded with the goals of the HCAC project.

In this regard, this chapter analyzes the linkage between the design of the HCAC plan and the available international policies that influenced the design of the HCAC. Albeit detailed information of each international case was introduced in Chapter 3.3, this chapter explores how favorably the HCAC plan adopted and integrated those international cases in support of the advancement of the HCAC project. In the design process of the HCAC project, three European cities (Lille, Bilbao, and Sheffield), one American city (San Antonio), and one Asian city (Singapore) were selected as

benchmarks. In terms of their policy complexity, each city showed a profound characteristic of serving as models that would help the HCAC project to succeed.

7.1 Governance and Strong Partnership Building

Concerning the precedent of strong partnership building, the city of Lille exerted significant influence. Lille's image was renewed after it successfully hosted the European Capital of Culture (ECOC) in 2004. The city had several numeric indexes to show for its economic successes throughout the ECOC year; however, its crowning achievement was to craft a dense local network of cultural initiatives and numerous private-public partnerships between local and regional residents. Its strategies primarily targeted local residents to promote social cohesion and enhance pride and self-confidence in citizenship. Every visitor and volunteer directly or indirectly involved in the cultural programs could be a part of Lille 2004.

Similarly, the Korean government tried to build a strong governance coalition between multiple actors: national, provincial, and local governments; public money and private capital; and bureaucrats and civil societies. This was a twenty-year long project, and it would go through at least four different administrations.³¹ One of the invisible challenges that confronted the HCAC project was management of implementation. The Roh administration recognized that traditional, hierarchical governing could not guarantee successful implementation.

³¹ A Korean presidency is limited to a single five-year term.

In its research report (2007), the Korean government made reference to the Lille case of the ECOC 2004, which included a transformation in governing partnership building. The purpose of the Special Act was “to promote the Hub City of Asian Culture Development Project efficiently in accordance with autonomy and mutual consent” (MCST, 2006, p. 2). Article 3 of the Special Act required hearing the opinions of culture and arts institutes and organizations before establishing policies. In addition, Article 4 of the Act required the Mayor of Gwangju Metropolitan City to “make endeavors to facilitate the conclusion of agreements among civil society organizations by major sectors of the Development Project” (MCST, 2006, p. 2). Therefore, the cultural planning of HCAC itself formalized the governance that required the long-term engagement of partnerships in coordinated directions and stages.

During the twenty years, all involved parties were responsible for the ‘successful’ management and implementation of the biggest urban cultural project in Korea, and the case of Lille ECOC 2004 was used as a sound reference. The case of Lille did not provide the only ‘perfect’ model for the Korean government to follow; however, the policy makers of the HCAC project were captivated by its core idea (i.e., a strong governance coalition between multiple actors) and strategies.

7.2 The Four Missions of the HCAC and International Benchmarks

The next section discusses the reasons for choosing the cities of Bilbao, Sheffield, San Antonio, and Singapore, which were used as benchmarks for carrying out the four missions of the Comprehensive Plan under Article 5, *Establishment of the*

Comprehensive Plan, of the Special Act. Article 5 required the Minister of Culture, Sports and Tourism to “establish and implement a basic and comprehensive plan to promote the development of the HCAC, which include matters with regard to” the nine targeted goals³² of the HCAC. However, the integrated use of case benchmarks made it impossible to conduct a goal-by-goal analysis in this dissertation research. Hence, the following sections are organized by the characteristics of each benchmarked city that match the targeted goals of the HCAC as stated in Article 5.

7.2.1 Benchmark 1: The Flagship Project and the Tourism Industry in Bilbao

The case of Bilbao, Spain has served as a benchmark for the Korean government preparing to promote and develop foundations for local cultural tourism industries. These industries utilize arts and cultural venues, heritage sites and monuments, and events and festivals as major visitor attractions. Urban economic growth can benefit from cultural tourism through even a single cultural facility or institution. For example, the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao has often been cited as a paradigm of cultural investment that has led to the revitalization of a depressed urban area.

The City of Bilbao began its regeneration plan with a flagship project for a new urban landscape. With the construction of the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao, the physical environment of the city was transformed by aggressive place-marketing campaigns. The ‘Guggenheim effect’ spread the city’s regenerated image to global spectators, thus

³² Article 5 of the Special Act appointed nine goals that the Comprehensive Plan should include. Those are “1) basic policies for developing the HCAC; 2) promotion of culture & arts, civil culture and ecological culture; 3) education on civil culture, and training of professionals, etc.; 4) establishment and operation of cultural facilities associated with the development of the HCAC; 5) invigoration of cultural exchange; 6) promotion and development of foundation for local cultural and tourism industries; 7) financing for the Development Project, etc.; 8) business promotion with other localities, other than Gwnagju Metropolitan City, which share cultural unity and are liked functionally to the HCAC Project; and 9) such other matters as deemed necessary for the development of the HCAC” (MCST, 2006. P.3-4).

attracting international as well as regional tourists. Thus, local authorities that witnessed the boom in Bilbao's cultural tourism industry resulting from the Guggenheim effect used the arts, culture, and entertainment toward the city's economic revitalization.

After researching Bilbao's model, the Korean government embarked on a similar flagship project to bring international awareness to the City of Gwangju. Consequently, the government designed the Asian Culture Complex (ACC) project and promoted arts activities. The 1.7 billion dollar project consisted of five facilities including a multipurpose theater, exhibition spaces, and research archives. With a unique architectural design, the huge complex planned to bring world- renowned artists, performances, and blockbuster exhibitions during its opening year, 2015.

7.2.2 Benchmark 2: Culture Zone, Infrastructure, and Culture Industries in Sheffield

As reviewed in Chapter 3.2.2 *Culture in Urban Cultural Development Strategy*, the development of new and improved facilities for cultural activity (ranging from arts and media centers, theaters, museums and galleries, to spaces for public gatherings, festivals, public art works, urban design, as well as the promotion of cultural industry zones and workspaces) can transform a city's image and revitalize the city industry by adding another layer of cultural industry.

In Sheffield, United Kingdom, the idea of developing the Cultural Industry Quarter (CIQ) came after rapid economic decline and dramatic job losses in the early 1980s. The city council of Sheffield developed a strategy that promoted cultural and media industries as new growth engines for the future. Based on Sheffield's distinct

musical heritage, the city council utilized the city's musical infrastructure and musicians as cultural resources and established local music industry facilities in 1994. The approach was started from scratch by the creation of production spaces such as buildings, facilities, and a venue to attract cultural producers. This infrastructure was followed by market and distribution systems buildings. Over the next ten years, the city council promoted a scheme, whereby musicians who had the means would invest in record deals. The CIQ is portrayed as a regeneration success story due to the scale and significance of this new creative business cluster in the core of an old devitalized city.

The case of Sheffield's cultural regeneration strategy served as a benchmark for Gwangju City. Among many city cases, the Sheffield's CIQ strategy provided a motivation to facilitate the culture complex and zoning project together. Before the Roh administration came to power, the relocation of the South Jeolla Provincial Government buildings had been decided. Since the buildings were located at the center of Gwangju City, how to rehab the area at the heart of the city became a problem. The Roh government saw the opportunity to reconfigure local cultural resources for fostering competitive culture industries in the international market. Following the recommendation of the Special Act, the government developed the Comprehensive Plan to establish and operate cultural facilities, and promote and develop the foundation for local cultural and tourism industries. In response, similar to the CIQ at the center of the City of Sheffield, the Asian Culture Complex was constructed at the center of Gwangju city, and the surrounding land was designated as one of the seven culture zones, Asian Culture Complex Zone.

7.2.3 Benchmark 3: Consolidation of Natural and Cultural Resources in San Antonio

The River Walk in San Antonio, United States is one of the most renowned urban riverfront regeneration projects in the world. The San Antonio River and its bank, one story beneath the streets of downtown, were improved and extended with the construction of restaurants, historical preservation areas, and amenities. Along 13 miles of the San Antonio River, multiple partnerships recreated the city's urban landscape lined by bars, shops, restaurants, and ecosystem restoration.

The HCAC project used this case as a benchmark when especially designing *the Eco-Culture Conservation Zone* among the seven culture zones in Gwangju. This zone was intended to pursue sustainable growth by conserving an ecologically sound environment, allowing visitors to communicate with nature through experience tours. By combining the natural resources with the arts and entertainment activities, this zone was planned to include the Yeongsan River Wetland Eco-park, and Research Center for Asian Nature and Culture.

7.2.4 Benchmark 4: Aspiration to Become a Global Cultural Hub in Singapore

As discussed in Chapter 3.2.2, *Culture in Urban Cultural Development Strategy*, unlike other European cities, the city-state Singapore has had a relatively short period of history, and hence, it did not really need to 're'-generate itself, but rather, to promote a 'new' cultural image and identity and foster its competitiveness. In 2000, Singapore's desire to become a global cultural hub, benchmarked against the cultural capitals of the world, was affirmed.

The HCAC project began with the slogan, “Gwangju, Cultural Capital of Korea.” Then, due to the domestic political situation, the project title was changed to “Hub City of Asian Culture.” The idea to create a cultural hub city in Korea paralleled Singapore’s desire to become a global cultural hub, but the HCAC narrowed its purpose from creating a global hub to an Asian hub. The Special Act, Article 1 confirmed this aspiration. The article articulated the HCAC’s purpose would be accomplished by ensuring “national competitiveness through mutual exchange, research, creation and utilization of Asian culture and resources based on cultural diversity and creativity” (MCST, 2006, p. 1). This aspiration was also declared by the Comprehensive Plan. The plan stated that Gwangju would become a cultural hub city in Asia, especially in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), where a diverse range of communities and inter-cultural values would coexist and prosper (Executive Agency for Culture Cities, 2005).

7.3 Missing Evidences and Alternative Explanation

As analyzed above, this study found evidence of policy tool transfer in the design process of the HCAC. However, this research did not find evidence indicating whether the idea to create a long-term integration model was also transferred from other countries. This notion of the HCAC project can be summarized as a long-term, mega scale, multipurpose, and multiple policy windows of opportunity. Even if this study could not find a trail of this policy idea transfer, still there is possibility that this new type of urban cultural project might have existed before the HCAC project was formulated. However,

due to the lack of models, sources, and etc., that case might not be theoretically explored, so the policy transfer could not happen.

CHAPTER 8

A COMPREHENSIVE UNDERSTANDING OF CONTEMPORARY URBAN CULTURAL POLICY DESIGN

This exploratory in-depth case study was motivated by one simple curiosity: why and how culture has become a popular tool in contemporary urban cultural policy design. Guided by a complementary set of five policy analysis models and studies, this dissertation research performed a theoretical analysis on the three pivotal moments of the HCAC policy design and its initial implementation processes. Bearing in mind the above question, the study chose the Hub City of Asian Culture (HCAC) project, the largest and most extraordinary urban cultural development project in South Korea, and its three consecutive policy processes.

8.1 A Paradigm Shift and a Tool for Sustainable Management

The findings of this research indicate that there is a significant paradigm shift in contemporary urban cultural policy design. In Cases 2 and 3, a recognizable degree of transformation of the paradigm from *government* to *governance* was observed. As encapsulated in Chapter 4.4 *Formalizing Governance*, the difference between the two paradigms is how they each utilize formal authority and political power. Governance

refers to sharing power from the decision-making stage, and expanding to the extent of the more cooperative processes of governing, policymaking, and decision-making (Jun, 2002; Mayntz, 2003).

If the traditional definition of government means the powers were limited to government agencies, the confirmed partnerships between all participants in the HCAC project have shown that the authority and political power of the government in the processes of decision-making and governing were expanded to civil society, to some degree. This evolution of partnership building became evident especially when the HCAC project was challenged by severe controversies. Through a series of public hearings, forums, and the creation of the PCPCC,³³ not only were government agencies, but also third-party stakeholders, such as citizen groups, NGOs, and private entities, actively engaged in the processes of generating consensus and policy alternatives.

In addition, the corporate effort made during the legislative and design processes of the Comprehensive Plan support the paradigm shift and emergence of a new policy tool. As discussed in Chapter 4.4, Salamon (2002) identified there has been a huge transformation in the governing partnership. He argued that this shift's distinct characteristic was the indirectness of new governing partnerships (third-party government), which he labeled as new governance. Due to the complicated and multilinear interaction-making stage of contemporary policy problems, this new

³³ Although the PCPCC was created as one of the government agencies, the initial intention was to create a governance structure based on the private-public partnership. The numbers of membership was limited less than 30, and those were comprised of the partnership among the MCT, the Gwangju Metropolitan Government, the Roh administration, non-government experts and civil societies.

governance required an indirect and autonomous tool, such as governmental partnerships and consultations with third-party stakeholders.

8.1.1 Formalizing Governance as a Management Tool

One of the questions this study investigated was whether a form of governance could be an effective tool in the contemporary policy design/process. The findings indicated that, given its budget size (4.8 billion US dollars) and implementation period (20 years), the HCAC project was too formidable to be implemented by the national government, alone; it required an innovative and autonomous tool to manage the complexity of the policy design, situations, networks, and so on. The study's findings confirmed Salamon's (2002) theory of new governance: the Special Act and the Comprehensive Plan of the HCAC required long-term collaboration among governing bodies that would serve as an effective tool for the sustainable management of the project. Indeed, the Roh government made a strategic choice in engaging in multiple governing partnerships – e.g., among the MCT, the Gwangju Metropolitan Government, non-government experts, civil societies, and private entities – to sustain the momentum of the policy.

8.2 Culture in the Urban Cultural Policy Design

8.2.1 Perception of Culture

Concepts of culture have been explored by scholars in multiple fields; this research tried to demonstrate what exactly about culture has been operationalized in the design of the HCAC project (see Chapter 3.1). However, as my research progressed, I found the conceptual definition of culture to be vague and impractical, and the meaning of culture to be more apparent when it is situated in the real policy context. Therefore, I turned my attention to the practical definition of culture interpreted in the frame of urban cultural developmental strategy. As illustrated in Chapter 3.2.2, the role of culture switched between serving as a development tool, marketing tool, social tool, or economic tool, as the decision of policymakers dictated. In addition, out of many definitions of culture, a favorable definition that was fit for the policy goal was selectively employed. The research finally confirmed that policy makers, in fact, do not look to culture, but only look for the most suitable strategy that is driven by culture.

8.2.2 Operationalization of Culture in the Policy Context

Analysis of the operational use of culture in several urban cultural development projects revealed that cities chose more than one application of culture, depending on their challenges and desires; but still, there was one application in particular that led to a ‘successful’ urban cultural development model. That particular application had much influence on the policy makers’ decision-making and drew them to include it as a critical tool. Although this research did not set out to identify policymakers’ primary considerations, it determined that the sociopolitical, historical, and cultural similarities in

context were not the primary considerations. I found that the formula for arriving at the best fitting model among the precedent models was consistent with the policy design of the HCAC. As demonstrated in the Comprehensive Plan, the Korean policy makers 1) predetermined policy goals; 2) exploited culture in order to deliver the outcomes they desired; and then, 3) accordingly adopted cultural tools, reflecting the formula.

A Remedy for Multiple Issues

The case of HCAC Gwangju project indicates that one policy can serve as a multi-purpose solution in consideration of the domestic and international conditions. The contextual information analysis is pivotal to understanding the climate of when and where the case is situated. This study first questioned why the national policy agenda of South Korea came to include five Cities of Culture, and how only Gwangju was singled out as the chief recipient of the HCAC project. Decentralization studies indicated that the HCAC project was purposely designed to satisfy multiple goals of the Roh government. Based on two strategic approaches, *a new urban cultural model making* at the national level and *a culture-driven city regeneration development* at the local level, the HCAC project can be read in the frame of balanced regional development through culture.

Given the fact that Korea's economic and industrial strategies were pursued through intensive development of the capital area, the Korean government realized the need for decentralization and regional balance of the nation. Considering two facts – that a strong political interest supported this need with the 2003 presidential election, and an international trend of adopting culture-driven strategies into the domestic policy design was popular in Asia – it was smooth transition that the Roh administration decided to

adopt this popular trend in its economic, urban, industrial, and other policies, and launched the Cities of Culture initiative outside of the capital area.

Mix-and-Match Style of Toolbox for Policy Design

This study confirmed that designing the Special Act reflected the decision-making of the selection of multiple implementation tools; the mix-and-match style toolbox for the policy design was a strategic choice for effective implementation of the project. As aforementioned, the HCAC had to both satisfy the political and economic goals of the national government and consider the sociopolitical and economic implications for the local government. Gwangju and the region had been excluded from the national development plan for almost thirty years perhaps due to the uprising of 1980 in the city, which was crushed by the government. Now, the Roh government saw the HCAC project as an opportunity to heal old wounds: regenerate the city function of Gwangju and rebalance the development in the region. At the same time, the government also saw the opportunity to reconfigure local cultural resources for fostering competitive creative industries in the international market. Hence, after much worldwide research, it created a mix-and-match style of toolbox for policy design, which propelled the HCAC forward to the implementation stage.

8.3 Policy Process and International Influences

This study confirmed that Kingdon's model is a useful tool for understanding the policy processes that occurred throughout the three cases of the South Korean HCAC project, repeating a pattern: 1) when there is a problem or an agenda, policy actors search

for lessons and accordingly adapt them to the policy design; 2) by taking advantage of focusing events, the national mood gets framed in a certain direction; and 3) policy entrepreneurs watch for a critical moment to take action; and, 4) an election serves as a catalyst that links together all of the necessary conditions that make it possible to open a policy window.

The study also demonstrated that a major election such as a presidential election has greater gravity, with longer and stronger impact, prompting the opening of a sequence of policy windows. For example, the 2003 presidential election of South Korea functioned as one of the main factors that made possible the Cities of Culture initiative (Case 1). This election continued to impact the Special Act (Case 2). In other words, without the launching of Case 1, Case 2 could not have existed. In turn, the legislation of the Special Act (Case 2) propelled the creation of the Comprehensive Plan (Case 3). Therefore, I assert that the 2003 election created a chain reaction of opening multiple policy windows. Furthermore, between each of these windows, some windows became a focusing event that linked the before and after a particular window. In this research, Case 2 served as a focusing event. Since the HCAC is a long-term policy project, it required a focusing event to move forward to implementation. Case 2 did not directly trigger Case 3, but served as a focusing event during the intermediate phase of the long-term policy process.

This study shows that international influences clearly played a significant role in the policy design of the Comprehensive Plan of the HCAC: when the urban cultural development became a new goal of the Roh government, Korean policymakers looked

for precedent cases of Western practices and identified five benchmark cities (Lille, Bilbao, Sheffield, San Antonio, and Singapore) as “successful models” (MCST, 2007). Exploring each of these five cities, this study determined why the Korean government selected those particular cities as benchmarks. Then, to serve the government’s multiple objectives, the policymakers chose various types of culture-driven strategies, such as building an iconic arts complex, constructing a cultural infrastructure and supporting systems, promoting cultural tourism and creative industries, and increasing the capacity of cultural exchange. Under the supervision of the Special Act, policymakers adapted these strategies to the Korean context, making them part of the Comprehensive Plan of the HCAC project.

8.4 Analyzing Model: Limitation and Its Challenge

8.4.1 The Limitation of Multiple Streams Model

When analyzing three cases of the HCAC, the integrated model of Kingdon and Allison’s studies is helpful. Kingdon’s multiple streams model is especially useful for analyzing the agenda setting process and legislative process in the domestic policy setting. His model makes it possible to unfold the perplexed state of domestic situation, policy activities, political trends, and etc. By organizing them with three images of streams, Kingdon’s analysis model helps explaining why a particular policy window opens at a certain point in time. Allison’s alternative lenses model is quite powerful when Kingdon’s model does not explore the comprehensive understanding of the case and its link between the situated contextual information. For example, this study employs three

alternative studies as a complementary lens and performs an integrated analysis guided by the combination of Kingdon's model and perspectives of each study.

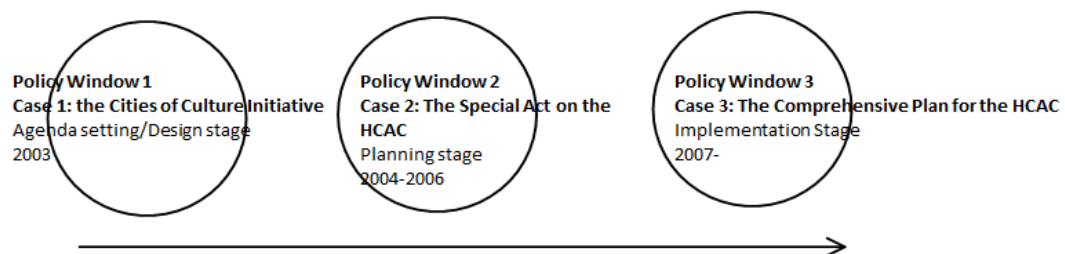
However, as the analysis proceeded, Kingdon's model appeared to leave no room for analyzing the international influences working in the legislation process. First, because the model was developed in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and when Kingdon gathered the data and studied it, globalization was not yet the word of the day. In other words, his study was a pre-globalization model. However, in today's era of globalization, many countries have been under the growing influence of international trends, and policy makers have been searching for effective practices to learn from the success and/or failure of others.

Second, Kingdon's analysis model was not a perfect fit with the policy transfer literature because it is about the process, not design. The core of Kingdon's study is targeted to understand how a certain problem became a government agenda at a certain point in time, whereas policy transfer literature focuses on identifying how and what is transferred by which key actors. In sum, the epistemological questions and focus of the two approaches are incommensurable. Therefore, for the researchers who plan a similar research design, it will be beneficial for considering alternative theories such as advocacy coalition theory, power elites theory, community organizing theory or referring for the Presidential grands projects of France in 1981-86 (Looseley, 1995).

8.4.2 Model Adjustment to Long-term Policy Process and Intermediate Stage

The Hub City of Asian Culture (HCAC) Gwangju project met three large breakthrough moments throughout its designing/agenda setting process and up to the beginning of the implementation stage; and those became the three cases of my dissertation study. I hypothesized that those three events were all open policy windows of opportunity and Kingdon's study had limited applicability for analyzing them. His policy analysis model provided a clear explanation only for one policy, and not a succession of open policy windows as in the case of the HCAC. While analyzing the data, I realized that my hypothesis about the limited applicability was right, but was not a perfect fit. The hypothesis about three policy windows and its relationship did not soundly work.

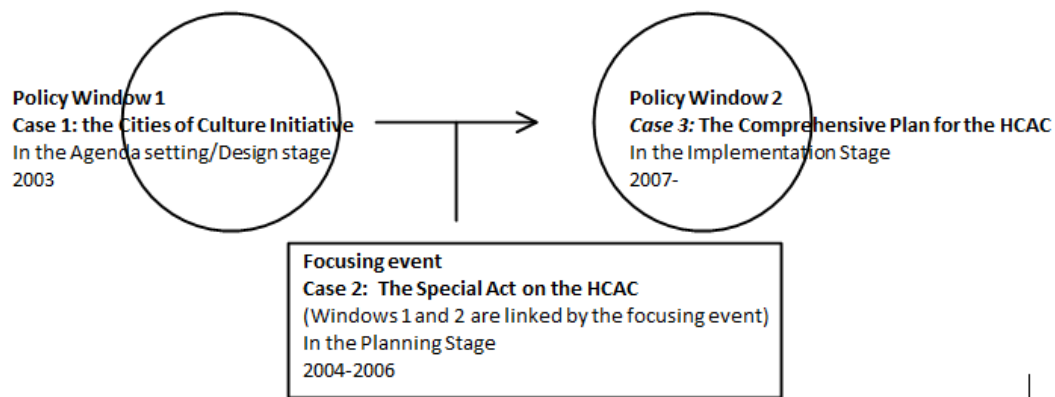
Figure 8. 1 Initial Relationship of the Three Cases



As shown in Figure 8.1, at the beginning, I assumed that those three cases were examples of three consecutive open policy windows, and those spiral shapes of windows were interdependently linked. Therefore, these three policy windows were linked by an inseparable relationship; as one policy project progressed, the open policy window of Case I triggered the second window of opportunity in Case II. This spiral relationship

was repeated in Case III. This study focused on this unique pattern of policy window intergradation and defined it as *spiraling windows of opportunity*.

Figure 8. 2 Revised Relationship of the Three Cases



However, analysis of the data indicates that the relationship among the three cases (the Cities of Culture Initiative, the Special Act for the HCAC, and the Comprehensive Plan) is only partially correct. As shown in Figure 2, instead of three open policy windows, the HCAC project is comprised of two open policy windows and one focusing event, which links Windows 1 and 2. Cases 1 and 3 work as two open policy windows, and Case 2 is a focusing event that links two open policy windows.

For example, the 2003 presidential election functioned as one of the main factors that made Case 1 possible. This election still had an impact on Case 2: without the launching of the Cities of Culture initiative (Case 1), the Special Act (Case 2) could not have existed. Again, the legislation of the Special Act propelled the creation of the Comprehensive Plan (Case 3). However, Case 2 was not a window, but a focusing event.

Since the HCAC is a long-term policy project, it required a focusing event to move forward to implementation. When looking at the big picture, legislation of the Special Act (Case 2) did not directly trigger the Comprehensive Plan of the HCAC (Case 3), but worked as a focusing event during the intermediate period of the long-term policy process.

This pattern may be due the nature of the project: a long-term implementation period with multiple experimental goals. To analyze this project, I had to modify Kingdon's model to improve understanding because it was not a perfect fit; it could analyze only a short-term and much simpler policy design than one required for today's more complex sociopolitical and economic circumstances that require a policy that considers and addresses all potential eventualities.

8.5 Recommendations

8.5.1 Recommendations to Future Researchers

As for recommendations for future urban cultural policy research, the findings of this dissertation indicate the need for a more comprehensive and sophisticated model to better explore the policy process. The external package of the new policy looks similar to the old one; however, as the contemporary policy involves a more complex picture of society, networks, and governance, there is an emerging need for more sophisticated tools, integrated policy design, and sustainable implementation strategy. Especially when policy planning meets an amorphous object that has an intangible benefit, such as culture, the situation gets messy. The biggest challenge this dissertation met was the lack of an

analysis model that could demonstrate a clear picture of the project design and process. The scale and complexity of the HCAC project was incomparable to any other precedent culture-driven development and regeneration cases, and even worse, little academic research was conducted on such a complex case. Therefore, creating innovative, interdisciplinary research design and an appropriate analysis model would yield cross-reference information that would provide a comprehensive understanding of contemporary policy design, and enrich not only the field of urban cultural policy study, but other disciplines.

Second, the findings of this study suggest there is a need for researching the case of non-Western urban cultural policy. Despite extensive research on policy evaluation and implementation, only a few studies have focused on the initial stage of policy design. A better understanding of the initial design stage would yield better policies, which in turn would lead to better implementation. Furthermore, hardly any studies have researched non-Western cases. To my knowledge, 1) there are no precedent studies, nor even a pilot study on “this” category; 2) there is not a similar case to that of the HCAC of South Korea that was theoretically explored; and 3) available research data on the non-Western urban cultural policy design process is surprisingly scarce. The lack of sources, models, or data discussed above hinders further research into policy design and makes policy transfer to other countries impossible. Most of the available data has been about Western cases. However, unlike the case of the HCAC project in Korea, the precedent cases of prominent Western cities were developed at the city level and their urban cultural development policies were 1) created for the regeneration of the declining post-

industrial city function; 2) implemented during a short period of time; 3) promoted under the provisional authorities and plan; and 4) operationalized fewer cultural strategies.

These cases can help us understand the Korean case only partially. Therefore, more studies are needed that expand their scope of research to non-Western cases of culture-led urban development.

8.5.2 Recommendation to Policy Makers

The role of the government in the governance framework needs to be minimized. As the findings of this study indicated, the creation of governance between the governing bodies of the HCAC was a strategic choice of the Korean government. Under these circumstances, the government's steering role was more important and dominant than that of the policy actors of non-governmental bodies, such as civil society or NGOs. Therefore, the non-governmental bodies participated minimally in the policy process of the HCAC. In other words, if the government lost its impetus or took another direction, this would threaten its own vitality; or if the shadow of the government was too powerful, the governance would lose its capability for responsible and accountable decision-making. One of interviewees for this research stated: "the corporate partnerships [governance] between the governing bodies were strong at the beginning of the HCAC project, and it rolled as planned. However, at this moment, the partnership has lost its vitality; it's fragmented" (Interviewee 6, 2014). Although I could not confirm whether the governance of the HCAC was vulnerable as Interviewee 6 pointed out, the above statement implied that, at least, the bonds in the partnerships became less strong. In general, the government's role in the Korean policy making process is still strong, but

ultimately, it will learn how to nurture the growth of citizen groups and keep the vitality of its partnership.

REFERENCES

- Advisory Council on Culture and the Arts (ACCA). (1989). *Report of the Advisory Council on Culture and the Arts*. Singapore National Printers, Singapore.
- Alexander, J. (2006). *The meaning of life: a cultural sociology*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Allison, G.T. (1969). Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis. *The American Political Science Review*, 63(3), 690-718.
- Allison, G.T. & Zelikow, P. (1999). *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. (2nd ed.). Longman, New York.
- American Capital of Culture. (n.d.). Retrieved March 15, 2013 from [http:// www.cac-acc.org](http://www.cac-acc.org)
- Amin, A., & Graham, S. (1997). The ordinary city. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 22(4), 411-429.
- Amsden, A.H. (1989). *Asia's next giant: South Korea and late industrialization*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Anderson, C. W. (1977). *Statecraft: An Introduction to Political Choice and Judgment*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Association of Southeast Asian Nations. (n.d.). *About ASEAN*. Retrieved February 23, 2013 from <http://www.asean.org>
- Bayliss, D. (2003). Creative Planning in Ireland: The Role of Culture-led Development in Irish Planning in: *European Planning Studies*, 12(4), 497-514.
- Belfiore, E. (2002). Art as a means of alleviating social exclusion: does it really work? A critique of instrumental cultural policies and social impact studies in the UK. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 8(1), 91-106.

- Bendor, J., & Hammond, T. H. (1992). Rethinking Allison's models. *The American Political Science Review*, 86(2), 301-322.
- Bennett, C. J. (1991). What is policy convergence and what causes it? *British journal of political science*, 21(2), 215-233.
- Bennett, C. J. (1997). Understanding Ripple Effects: The Cross-National Adoption of Policy Instruments for Bureaucratic Accountability. *Governance*, 10(3), 213-233.
- Bennett, T. (2007). The work of culture. *Cultural sociology*, 1(1), 31-47.
- Berson, R. (2003). Renaissance or regurgitation? Arts policy in Singapore, 1957-2003. *Asia Pacific Journal of Arts and Cultural Management*, 1(1), 1-14.
- Bianchini, F & Parkinson, M. (1993). (Eds.) *Cultural policy and urban regeneration: the West European experience*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Bianchini, F. (1996). Cultural Planning: an Innovative Approach to Urban Development. In J. Verwijnen and P. Lehtovuori (Eds.), *Managing Urban Change* (pp. 18-25). Helsinki: University of Art and Design Helsinki.
- Bingham, L. B., Nabatchi, T., & O'Leary, R. (2005). The New governance: Practices and processes for stakeholder and citizen participation in the work of government. *Public administration review*, 65(5), 547-558.
- Bird, R. M., & Vaillancourt, F. (Eds.). (1998). Fiscal Decentralization in Developing Countries: Overview. *Fiscal decentralization in developing countries*. Cambridge University Press.
- Bordieu, P. (1983), *La Distinzione*, Il Mulino, Bologna.
- Braczyk, H. J., Cooke, P. N., and Heidenreich, M. (Eds.). (1998). *Regional innovation systems: the role of governances in a globalized world*. Psychology Press.
- Bressers, H., and P, Klok. (1988). Fundamentals for the Theory of Policy Instruments. *International Journal of Social Economics*, 15(3/4), 22-42.
- Brown, A., O'Connor, J., & Cohen, S. (2000). Local music policies within a global music industry: cultural quarters in Manchester and Sheffield. *Geoforum*, 31(4), 437-451.
- Buijn, J. A., & Heuvelhof, E. F. (1991). *Sturingsinstrumenten voor de overheid: over complexe netwerken en een tweede generatie sturingsinstrumenten*. Stenfert Kroese.

- Bruijn, J. A., & Heuvelhof, E. F. (2000). *Networks and decision making*. Utrecht: Lemma
- Busan Ilbo. (2009. November 4). Let's solve this issue: (3) The Special Act on the Hub City of Asian Media Art. Retrieved October 15, 2014 from www.busan.com.
- Chung, K., Oh, S., & Jung, J. (2005). *Study on Cultural Administration for Regional Culture Promotion in Decentralization Era*. Seoul: Korea Culture and Tourism Institute.
- Chung, S. (2008). *Comparison between the Special Act on the Hub City of Asian Culture and the Special Bill on the Hub City of Asian Visual Media*. Gwangju: Gwangju Development Institute.
- Cohen, M. D., March, J. G., & Olsen, J. P. (1972). A garbage can model of organizational choice. *Administrative science quarterly*, 17(1), 1-25.
- Comunian, R. (2011). Rethinking the creative city the role of complexity, networks and interactions in the urban creative economy. *Urban Studies*, 48(6), 1157-1179.
- Creative Industries Working Group (CIWG). (2002). *Creative Industries Development Strategy: Propelling Singapore's Creative Economy: report of the Economic Review Committee (ERC) Services Subcommittee Workgroup*. Singapore: Economic Review Committee.
- Cultural City Planning Team. (2005). Ministry of Culture and Tourism. *The Culture of Light Project, Asian Cultural Hub City: Concept, Outlook and Strategies 2.5*.
- Cumunian, R. (2010). Rethinking the Creative City: the Role of Complexity, Networks and Interactions in the Urban Creative Economy. *Urban Studies*, 48(6), 1157-1179.
- Dabinett, G. (2004). Creative Sheffield: creating value and changing values?. *Local Economy*, 19(4), 414-419.
- Dailian. (2008. February 6). The former director of Office for Hub City of Asian Culture protested against the ruling party. Retrieved November 13, 2013 from www.dailian.co.kr.
- Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS). (1998). *Creative Industries Mapping Document 1998*. London: DCMS.

- Denzin, N. K. (1978). The logic of naturalistic inquiry. In Norman K. Denzin (Ed.), *Sociological methods: A sourcebook*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS). (1998). *Creative Industries Mapping Document 1998*. London: DCMS.
- Department of Statistics Singapore. (2012). *Population Trends 2012*. Retrieved March 1, 2013 from <http://www.singstat.gov.sg/>
- Dolowitz, D., & Marsh, D. (1996). Who learns what from whom: a review of the policy transfer literature. *Political studies*, 44(2), 343-357.
- Dolowitz, D., & Marsh, D. (2000). Learning from abroad: The role of policy transfer in contemporary policy-making. *Governance*, 13(1), 5-23.
- Donald, S.H. & Gammack, J.G. (2007). *Tourism and the Branded City-Film and Identity on the Pacific Rim*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- DongA Ilbo. (2004, July 30). The Hub City of Asian Culture Gwangju come nothing?. Retrieved November 13, 2014, from <http://www.donga.com>.
- DongA Ilbo. (2006, April 8). When will Gwangju become a culture city?. Retrieved November 13, 2014 from <http://www.donga.com>.
- Downtown Operations. (n.d.). *River Walk Master Plan*. City of San Antonio Official Website. Retrieved August 8, 2013 from <http://www.sanantonio.gov>
- Duxbury, N., & Jeannotte, M. S. (2011). Introduction: Culture and Sustainable Communities. *Culture and Local Governance*, 3(1/2), 1-10.
- EDAW/Urban Cultures (1997). *Sheffield CIQ Strategic Vision and Development Study*. Sheffield City Council, Sheffield.
- Edutainment. (n.d.). In *Merriam Webster Online*. Retrieved March 25, 2013 from <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/edutainment>
- Eisenhardt, K. M. (1989). Building theories from case study research. *Academy of management review*, 14(4), 532-550.
- Eisenhardt, K. M., & Zbaracki, M. J. (1992). Strategic decision making. *Strategic management journal*, 13(S2), 17-37.
- Elmore, R. F. (1987). Instruments and Strategy in Public Policy. *Policy Studies Review*, 7(1), 74-186.

- Esplanade Singapore. (n.d.) Wikimedia Commons. Retrieved March 1, 2013 from http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Esplanade_Singapore_01.jpg.
- European Commission. (n.d.). Retrieved March 1, 2013 from <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu>
- Evans, G. (2002). *Cultural planning: an urban renaissance?*. Routledge: London.
- Evans, G. & Shaw, P. (2004). *The Contribution of Culture to Regeneration in UK: a review of evidence*. Department for Culture Media and Sport, London.
- Evans, M., & Davies, J. (1999). Understanding policy transfer: a multi-level, multi-disciplinary perspective. *Public administration*, 77(2), 361-385.
- Evans, P.B. (1995). *Embedded Autonomy: states and industrial transformation*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.
- Everingham, C. (2003). *Social Justice and the Politics of Community*. Ashgate: London.
- Executive Agency for Culture Cities. (2005). *The 'Culture of Light' project Asian Culture Hub, Gwangju concept, vision and strategy*. Seoul: Executive Agency for Culture Cities under Ministry of Culture & Tourism.
- Flew, T. (2011). *The creative industries: culture and policy*. Sage: London.
- Florida, R. (2002). *The rise of the creative class and how it's transforming work, leisure, community and everyday life*. New York: Basic Books.
- García, B. (2004). Cultural policy and urban regeneration in Western European cities: lessons from experience, prospects for the future. *Local economy*, 19(4), 312-326.
- Garnham, N. (2005). From Cultural to Creative Industries: An Analysis of the Implications of the 'Creative Industries' Approach to Arts and Media policy making in the United Kingdom. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 11(1), 15-30.
- Gibson, C., and L. Kong. (2005). Cultural Economy: A Critical Review. *Progress in Human Geography*, 29(5), 541-461.
- Gomez, M. V. (1998). Reflective images: the case of urban regeneration in Glasgow and Bilbao. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 22(1), 106-121.
- Google Maps. (n.d.). *Maps of South Korea*. Retrieved from <https://maps.google.com>.

- Gray, C. (2004). Joining up or tagging on?: the arts, cultural planning and the view from below. *Public Policy and Administration*, 19(2), 38-49.
- Gray, C. (2006). Managing the unmanageable: the politics of cultural planning. *Public policy and administration*, 21(2), 101-113.
- Gray, C. (2010). Analysing cultural policy: incorrigibly plural or ontologically incompatible? *International journal of cultural policy*, 16(2), 215-230.
- Grodach, C. (2012). Before and after the creative city: the politics of urban cultural policy in Austin, Texas. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 34(1), 81-97.
- Guba, E. G. (1981). Criteria for assessing the trustworthiness of naturalistic inquiries. *ECTJ*, 29(2), 75-91.
- Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao. (n.d.). Wikipedia. Retrieved March 7, 2013 from [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Guggenheim_Museum,_Bilbao,_July_2010_\(06\).JPG](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Guggenheim_Museum,_Bilbao,_July_2010_(06).JPG)
- Gwangju Metropolitan City. (n.d.). Retrieved October 7, 2014 from <http://www.gwangju.go.kr>
- Gwangju Metropolitan Government. (2004). *The Cultural and Environmental Research on the Development of the Culture Capital Gwangju*. Gwangju Metropolitan Government: Gwangju.
- Gwangjuin. (2007. January 31). Special Interview: Congressman Jee Byungmoon. Retrieved November 3, 2014 from www.gwangjuin.com.
- Hall, P. (1998). *Cities in civilization: culture, innovation and urban order*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson.
- Hankyoreh. (2004, April 21). Gwangju, a city of democracy, to the center of culture. Retrieved November 3, 2014 from www.hani.co.kr.
- Hawkes, J. (2001). *The fourth pillar of sustainability: culture's essential role in public planning*. Common Ground: Melbourne.
- Henderson, J. & Appelbaum, R.P. (1992). Situating the state in the East Asian development process. In R.P. Appelbaum and J. Henderson (Eds.), *States and development in the Asian Pacific rim*. Sage: Newbury Park.

- Holsti, O. (1972). Review of *Essence of Decision* by Graham Allison. *Western Political Quarterly*, 25, 136-140.
- Hood, C. (1986). *The Tools of Government*. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House.
- Howlett, M. (1991). Policy instruments, policy styles, and policy implementation: national approaches to theories of instrument choice. *Policy Studies Journal*, 19(2), 1-21.
- Howlett, M. (1998). Predictable and unpredictable policy windows: institutional and exogenous correlates of Canadian federal agenda-setting. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 31(3), 295-524.
- Howlett, M. (2011). *Designing public policies: principles and instruments*. Taylor & Francis: Abingdon, Oxford and New York.
- Hwang, D., Lee, W., Jang, H., Jung, K., & Choi, B. (2000). *A Study on Designation and Development of Cultural City or Cultural Belt*. Korea Culture and Tourism Institute
- Innocity. (n.d.). Public Agencies Relocation Office. Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport. Retrieved March 7, 2013 from <http://innocity.molit.go.kr/>
- Institute of Asian Cultural Development. (2014). *A Brochure about the Institute of Asian Cultural Development*. Retrieved May 5, 2014, from <http://www.iacd.kr>
- James, O., & Lodge, M. (2003). The limitations of 'policy transfer' and 'lesson drawing' for public policy research. *Political studies review*, 1(2), 179-193.
- Jenkins, R. (1991). The political economy of industrialization: a comparison of Latin American and East Asian newly industrializing countries. *Development and Change*, 22, 127-231.
- Jun, J. S. (2002). New governance in civil society: changing responsibility of public administration. *Rethinking Administrative Theory: The Challenge of the New Century*, 289-307.
- Jung, J. (2008). *A fundamental study of initiating Asia Capital of Culture*. Korea Culture and Tourism Institute.
- Kawashima, N. (2004). *Planning for Equality? Decentralization in Cultural Policy*. Coventry, UK: University of Warwick

- Keane, M. (2007). *Created in China: The Great New Leap Forward*. London & New York: Psychology Press.
- Keating, M., & Frantz, M. D. (2004). Culture-led strategies for urban regeneration: a comparative perspective on Bilbao. *International Journal of Iberian Studies*, 16(3), 187- 194.
- Kim, H, Yoo, S., & Kim, M. (2004). *A study on fostering for cultural cities*. Seoul: Korea Culture and Tourism Institute.
- Kim, H., & Yoon, J. (1999). *A study on fostering Korean city of tourism*. Seoul: Korea Culture and Tourism Institute
- Kim, J. (2013). Political decentralization, subnational political capital, and intergovernmental transfers in Korea. *The American Review of Public Administration*, 43(1), 109-129.
- Kingdon, J.W. (1984). *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies* (1st Ed.). Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman and Company.
- Kingdon, J.W. (2010). *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies, Update Edition, with an Epilogue on Health Care* (2nd Ed.). Longman: New York.
- Korea Ministry of Government Legislation (KMGL). Retrieved March 26, 2014, from <http://www.law.go.kr/main.html>
- Kong, L. (2000). Cultural policy in Singapore: negotiating economic and socio-cultural agendas. *Geoforum*, 31(4), 409-424.
- Kong, L. (2009). Making sustainable creative/cultural space in Shanghai and Singapore. *The Geographical Review*, 99(1), 1-22.
- Kong, L., & Yeoh, B. S. (2003). *The politics of landscapes in Singapore: constructions of "nation"*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.
- Kooiman, J. (Ed.). (1993). *Modern governance: new government-society interactions*. Sage Publications Limited.
- Korea Creative Content Agency (KOCCA). (2010). Retrieved March 8, 2014, from <http://www.kocca.kr/eng/index.html>.
- Korea Culture and Tourism Institute (KCTI). (1998). *A study on fostering for seven cultural tourism areas*. Seoul; KCTI.

- Korea Legislation Research Institute (KLRI). (2005). *A Study on the enactment of laws and regulations creating culture hub*. Seoul; KLRI.
- Korea Research Institute for Human Settlements (KRIHS). (2012). *The Korean Cities of Culture as regional development hub: a review of the first phase-project and future directions*. Seoul: KRIHS.
- KOREA.net. (n.d.). Government/K-Culture. Retrieved March 7, 2013 from <http://www.korea.net/Government/>
- Korean National Commission for UNESCO. (n.d.). *UNESCO and Korea*. Retrieved March 7, 201 from <http://www.unesco.or.kr/>
- Kwon, S. (2005). The changing process and politics of health policy in Korea. *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*, 30(6), 1003-1026.
- Landry, C. (2000). *The creative city: a toolkit for urban innovators*. London, Sterling. VA: Comedia.
- Landry, C. (2008). *The creative city: a toolkit for urban innovators* (2nd ed.). London, Sterling. VA: Comedia.
- Lather, P. (1986). Issues of validity in openly ideological research: between a rock and a soft place. *Interchange*, 17(4), 63–84.
- Lee, K. (2007). Questioning a neoliberal urban regeneration policy: the rhetoric of "cities of culture" and the city of Gwangju. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 13(4), 335- 347.
- Lille. (n.d.). Wikipedia. Retrieved August 15, 2013 from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lille>.
- Linder, S. & Peters, B.G. (1991). The logic of public policy design: linking policy actors and plausible instruments. *Knowledge and Policy*, 4(1), 125-151.
- Looseley, D. (1995). *The politics of fun: cultural policy and debate in contemporary France*. Oxford: Berg Publishers.
- Lynn, L., & Ingraham, P. (Ed). (2004). Governance and Public Management: A Symposium. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 23(1), 3-96.
- March, J. G., & Olsen, J. P. (1995). *Democratic governance*. New York: Free Press.

- Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (2006). *Designing Qualitative Research* (4th ed.). Sage Publications, Incorporated.
- Matarasso, F. (1997). *Use or Ornament? The social impact of participation in the arts*, Stroud: Comedia.
- Mayntz, R. (2003). From government to governance: Political steering in modern societies. *IOEW Summer Academy on IPP, Würzburg*, Retrieved September 7-11, 2013 from http://www.ioew.de/governance/english/veranstaltungen/Summer_Academies/SuA2Mayntz.pdf
- MBN. (2005. December 5). The Preliminary Plan for the Construction of the Hub City of Asian Culture Gwangju was announced. Retrieved November 15, 2014 from <http://mbn.mk.co.kr/>.
- McGuigan, J. (1996). *Culture and the public sphere*. London: Routledge.
- McGuigan, J. (2005). Neo-liberalism, culture and policy. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 11(3), 229-241.
- Miles, M. (2005). Interruption: testing the rhetoric of culturally led urban development. *Urban Studies*, 42(5/6), 889-911.
- Miles, S. & R. Paddison. (2005). Introduction: the rise and rise of culture-led urban regeneration. *Urban Studies*, 42(5/6), 833-9.
- Ministry of Culture and Tourism (MCT). (1999). *Five-year plan for the development of the cultural industries*. Seoul: MCT.
- Ministry of Culture and Tourism. (2000). *Vision 21 for the cultural industries*. Seoul: MCT.
- Ministry of Culture and Tourism. (2001). *Vision 21 for the cultural industries in a digital society*. Seoul: MCT.
- Ministry of Culture and Tourism. (2003). *the Blueprint for the Hub City of Asian Culture Gwangju*. Seoul: MCT.
- Ministry of Culture and Tourism. (2003). *A preliminary study on the planning of the cultural hub city of Gwangju*. Seoul: MCT.
- Ministry of Culture Tourism. (2005). *C-Korea 2010*. Seoul: MCT.
- Ministry of Culture and Tourism. (2005). *The Preliminary Plan for the construction of the Hub City of Asian Culture Gwangju*. Seoul: MCT.

- Ministry of Culture and Tourism. (2007). *Comprehensive Plan for Hub City of Asian Culture Gwangju Project*. Seoul: MCT.
- Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism (MCST). (2006). *Special Act on the Development of a Hub City of Asian Culture (with enforcement decree and enforcement rule)*. Seoul: Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Office for Hub City of Asian Culture.
- Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism. (2007). *The Comprehensive Plan for the Hub City of Asian Culture*. Seoul: MCST.
- Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism. (2008). *2004-2007 White Paper on the Hub City of Asian Culture*. Seoul: MCST.
- Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism. (2010). *2009 White Paper on the Hub City of Asian Culture*. Seoul: MCST.
- Ministry of Information and the Arts (MITA). (2000). *Renaissance City Report: Culture and the Arts in Renaissance Singapore*. Singapore: MITA.
- Munhwa Ilbo. (2003, January 1). 2004 Special Feature: People who are waiting for Decentralization. Retrieved September 22, 2014, from www.munhwa.com
- Nadarajah, M., & Yamamoto, A. T. (Eds.). (2007). *Urban crisis: culture and the sustainability of cities*. United Nations University Press.
- Nam, D-G. (2008). *White Paper of Roh Administration Vol. 6: Spatial Balance*. Seoul: Government Information Agency.
- National Assembly of South Korea (2006, April 25). *The 4th proceedings, the 259th Education, Culture, Sports and Tourism Committee*. Seoul: National Assembly of South Korea.
- National Election Commission Retrieved September 19, 2014, from <http://www.nec.go.kr/>
- Newsis. (2008. January 31). The ruling party doesn't know about the real condition of the Hub City of Asian Culture. Retrieved November 5, 2014 from www.newsis.com.
- Nocut News. (2006. April 24). The dual attitude of the opposition party blocked the pass of the Special Act on the Hub City of Asian Culture. Retrieved October 15, 2014 from www.nocutnews.co.kr.

- Nyström, L., & Fudge, C. (Eds.). (1999). *City and culture: cultural processes and urban sustainability*. Swedish Urban Environment Council.
- O'Regan, T. (2002). Too much culture, too little culture: trends and issues for cultural policy making. *Media International Australia Incorporating Culture and Policy*, 102, 9-25.
- Office for Hub City of Asian Culture. (2008). A brochure about the Hub City of Asian Culture Gwangju. Retrieved March 7, 2013 from <http://www.cct.go.kr>.
- Office for Hub City of Asian Culture. (2009). Special Act on the Development of a Hub City of Asian Culture (with Enforcement Decree and Enforcement Rule). Retrieved March 7, 2013 from <http://www.cct.go.kr>
- Office for Hub City of Asian Culture. (n.d.). *Hub City of Asian Culture Gwangju/Organization*. Retrieved March 7, 2013 from <http://www.cct.go.kr/english/hcac/organization.jsp>
- Office for Hub City of Asian Culture. (n.d.). *Hub City of Asian Culture Gwangju/Report the Current Status*. Retrieved March 7, 2013 from <http://www.cct.go.kr/intro>
- Office for Hub City of Asian Culture. (n.d.). *Hub City of Asian Culture Gwangju/Asian Culture Complex*. Retrieved March 7, 2013 from <http://www.cct.go.kr/english/complex/outline.jsp>
- Office for Hub City of Asian Culture. (n.d.). *Hub City of Asian Culture Gwangju/Business News*. Retrieved March 7, 2013 from <http://www.asiaculturecity.com/news>
- Office for Hub City of Asian Culture. (n.d.). *Hub City of Asian Culture Gwangju/Asia Culture Complex/Facilities*. Retrieved from <http://www.cct.go.kr/english/complex/facilities.jsp>
- Paris, D., & Baert, T. (2011). Lille 2004 and the role of culture in the regeneration of Lille métropole. *Town Planning Review*, 82(1), 29-44.
- Park, B. G. (2008). Uneven development, inter-scalar tensions, and the politics of decentralization in South Korea. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 32(1), 40-59.
- Peck, J. (2005). Struggling with the creative class. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 29(4), 740-770.
- Peters, B. G. (1996). *The future of governing: four emerging models*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.
- Pick, J., Ajala, R., & Anderton, M. H. (1988). *The arts in a state: a study of government arts policies from ancient Greece to the present*. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press.

- Porter, M. E. (1989). *The competitive advantage of nations*. New York: The Free Press.
- Porter, M. E. (2000). Location, competition, and economic development: local clusters in a global economy. *Economic development quarterly*, 14(1), 15-34.
- Pratt, A. C. (2009). Policy Transfer and the Field of the Cultural and Creative Industries: What Can Be Learned from Europe?. In Kong, L. & O'Connor, J. (Eds.), *Creative Economies, Creative Cities* (pp. 9-23). Netherlands: Springer.
- Presidential Committee for Planning the City of Culture (PCPCC). (2007). *Window of Asian culture toward the world, Gwangju. Policy report on the formation of the Hub City of Asian Culture*. Seoul: PCPCC.
- Rhodes, R. A. (1997). *Understanding governance: policy networks, governance, reflexivity and accountability*. Open University Press.
- Ringeling, A. B. (2002). European experience with tools of government. *The Tools of Government: A Guide to the New Governance*, 585-599.
- Rodden, J., Eskeland, G. S., & Litvack, J. (2003). Introduction and Overview. In J. Rodden, G. S. Eskeland, & J. Litvack (Eds.), *Fiscal decentralization and the challenge of hard budget constraints* (pp. 3-31). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Rose, R. (1993). *Lesson-drawing in public policy: A guide to learning across time and space*. NJ: Chatham House Publishers.
- Rosenau, J. N. (1992). Governance, order, and change in world politics. *Governance without government: Order and change in world politics*, 1-29.
- Rosenau, J. N., & Czempiel, E. O. (Eds.). (1992). *Governance without government: order and change in world politics* (Vol. 20). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Russo, A. & Butler, D. (2007). *Cultural planning toolkit*. Vancouver: Creative City Network of Canada
- Ruy, K., & Shim, W. (2001). *The mid-term assessment on the development of seven cultural tourism areas*. Seoul: Korea Culture and Tourism Institute
- Sacco, P. L., & Blessi, G. T. (2008). European culture capitals and local development strategies: comparing the Genoa 2004 and Lille 2004 cases. *Homo Oeconomicus*.
- Salamon, L. M. (Ed.). (2002). *The tools of government: a guide to the new governance*. Oxford University Press, USA.

- San Antonio River Authority. (n.d.). *San Antonio River Improvements Projects*. Retrieved August 7, 2014 from <http://www.sanantonioriver.org/>.
- Schneider, A., & H. Ingram. (1990). Behavioral assumptions of policy tools. *Journal of Politics*, 52(2), 510-29.
- Schuster, J. M. D. (1985). *Supporting the arts: An international comparative study, Canada, Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy, Great Britain, Netherlands, Sweden, United States*. Washington, DC: Policy and Planning Division, National Endowment for the Arts.
- Scott, A.J. (2004). Cultural-products industries and urban economic development: prospects for growth and market contestation in global context. *Urban Affairs Review*, 39(4), 461-490.
- Segye Times. (2007. February 20) Dissonance between the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the Gwangju Metropolitan City over the issue of creating the Hub City of Asian Culture. Retrieved November 3, 2014 from www.segye.com.
- Sejong City. (n.d.). Sejong Special Self-Governing City. Retrieved July 23, 2013 from <http://www.sejong.go.kr/global/en/>.
- Seoul Newspaper. (2006. May 4). Why? a divisive parliamentary lobby. Retrieved November 3, 2014 from <http://www.seoul.co.kr>.
- Sheffield's Cultural Industries Quarter. (n.d.). Geolocation. Retrieved July 23, 2013 from <http://www.geolocation.ws>
- Sonn, J. W. (2010). Contesting State Rescaling: An Analysis of the South Korean State's Discursive Strategy against Devolution. *Antipode*, 42(5), 1200-1224.
- Statistics Korea. (n.d.). E-National Indicators from [http:// www.index.go.kr](http://www.index.go.kr)
- Stevenson, D. (2004). "CIVIC GOLD" rush cultural planning and the politics of the third way. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 10(1), 119-131.
- Tay, J. (2005). Creative Cities, In J. Hartley (Eds.), *Creative Industries* (pp. 220-232). Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing.
- Thrift, N. (1997). Cities without modernity, cities with magic. *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 113(3): 138-149.
- Throsby, D. (2001). *Economics and culture*. Cambridge university press.

- Throsby, D. (2010). *The economics of cultural policy*. Cambridge University Press.
- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). (2014, January 12). 28 cities join the UNESCO Creative Cities Network. Retrieved December 10, 2014 from <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/media-services/>
- Vicario, L., & Monje, P. M. M. (2003). Another 'Guggenheim Effect'? the generation of a potentially gentrifiable neighborhood in Bilbao. *Urban Studies*, 40(12), 2383-2400.
- Wade, R. (1990). *Governing the market: economic theory and the role of government in East Asian industrialization*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.
- Wagner, R. H. (1974). Dissolving the state: three recent perspectives on international relations. *International Organization*, 28(3), 435-466.
- Walker, J. L. (1969). The diffusion of innovations among the American states. *The American Political Science Review*, 63(3), 880-899.
- Weekly DongA. (2007. May 15). Gwangju, the Capital of Culture became troublesome. 585. 2425. Retrieved November 5, 2014 from <http://weekly.donga.com/>.
- Williams, R. (1961). *The long revolution: an analysis of the democratic, industrial, and cultural changes transforming our society*. New York: Columbia UP.
- Williams, R. (1984). State culture and beyond. *Culture and the state*. London: Institute of Contemporary Arts, 3-5.
- Wu, Q. (2006). Creative industries and innovation in China. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 9(3), 263-266.
- Yea, S. (2002). Rewriting rebellion and mapping memory in South Korea: the (re)Presentation of the 1980 Kwangju uprising through Mangwol-dong cemetery. *Urban Studies*, 39(9), 1551-1572.
- Yin, R. K. (2008). *Case study research: Design and methods* (Vol. 4). SAGE Publications, Incorporated.
- Yonhap News Agency. (2004, August 30). Jeonju has enough capability to be designated as the City of Cultural Heritage. Retrieved November 5, 2014 from <http://english.yonhapnews.co.kr>.

Yonhap News Agency. (2005a. August 14). Ruling Party, Promotion of the Special Act on the Hub City of Asian Culture. Retrieved October 15, 2014 from <http://english.yonhapnews.co.kr>.

Yonhap News Agency. (2005b. December 7). The Gwangju Metropolitan City announced the Preliminary Plan for the Construction of the Hub City of Asian Culture Gwangju. Retrieved November 15, 2014, from <http://english.yonhapnews.co.kr>.

Yonhap News Agency. (2006, March 27). South Korea's new culture minister to promote exchange with Asia. Retrieved November 21, 2014 from <http://english.yonhapnews.co.kr>.

Zukin, S. (1995). *The Cultures of Cities*, Oxford: Blackwell.

APPENDIX A

Set of Guiding Questions for the Semi-structured Interviews³⁴

1. What is your background?
2. How long have you been in your present position?
3. What did you do prior to this position?
4. How would you describe your position in this organization?
5. How would you describe your relationship with the government?
6. What was the model and motivation of the Hub City of Asian Culture project?
7. Why do you think the government enthusiastically launched the Hub City of Asian Culture project?
8. What do you think about the fact that the government utilized culture as a tool for this urban cultural project?
9. Why do you think the government has chosen Gwangju as the HCAC project?
10. What drove the government to design and build Gwangju as the Hub city of Asian culture?
11. What do you think that makes the HCAC project unique?
12. What do you think about the collaboration of the national/regional/local government? Have they worked together well?
13. What do you anticipate about the result of the government plan, making Gwangju as the cultural city of Asia? How will it impact Gwangju? Do you think it will drive enough benefit to the city?
14. What is the necessity of the HCAC project for the successful implementation?
15. What is its opportunity and challenge?

³⁴ Not every question was questioned. This was a list of possible questions that might be come up during the interview. The interview questions were customized according to the interviewees' job title and profile.