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Construction of *Hong-dae* Cultural District
: Cultural Place, Cultural Policy and Cultural Politics

Dissertation
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Chapter 1

Introduction

This research attempts to analyse how culture is negotiated and constructed in living space by looking at a transformative moment in Seoul under the auspices of a world city. The theory of world city has been developed in order to explain the concentration of materiality and infrastructure in cities as a consequence of economic globalisation (Beaverstock *et al* 1999; Knox 1995; Sassen 2000)[1]. In Asia, however, the notion of a world city has become a vision for political and economic projects to transform urban economies towards knowledge-oriented economies and to construct a strong sense of cultural identity that can be also utilised as a tool to attract foreign talent, tourists and investment (Cunningham 2004; Kim 2004; Marcotullio 2003; Short & Kim 1999; Yeoh 2005).

Accordingly, world city projects in Asia oftentimes intersect with cultural policies which promote the tourism and culture industries and accentuate the image of cities as being cosmopolitan and unique. These are facilitated by promoting cultural infrastructures, events and festivals. As a result, cities in Asia have adopted 'culture' as a vital factor for gaining world city status and cultural policy has been assigned not only to accomplish the 'old' role of hardening national culture but also to undertake the 'new' task of fostering a creative urban environment.

Research on urban cultures emphasises the influence of global economic change on cultural planning by highlighting that economic restructuring creates promotional cultural places in cities (Bell & Jayne 2004; Harvey 1989; Lash & Urry 1994; Urry 1995; Zukin 1989). Yet, such works overlook the interconnectedness between the micro empirical realities and broader social structures. On the other hand, cultural policy is regarded as a tool through which ruling groups portray their ideas and values in city space (Kong & Law 2002). This observation is insightful for analysing urban landscape as a text, in which dominant values are legitimised through visual images. Cultural meanings and values are, however, not only translated into urban landscape by ruling or governmental apparatuses but also by the interests of

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[1] World cities generally mean "centres of transnational corporate headquarters, of their business services, of international finance, of transnational institutions, and of telecommunications and information processing" and "basing points and control centres" for financial and cultural flows (Knox 1995: 6). The notion of a world city will be further examined in chapter 5.

corporate entities and citizens. Furthermore, the legitimisation of ideas and values into urban landscape takes place through complex processes such as struggling over producing knowledge and representing such knowledge in urban landscape.

Therefore, I argue that issues of agency, power relations, meaning-making processes and the formation of contested urban landscape should be thoroughly discussed in the current rise of cultural policy. For that, I look at a cultural policy project as a nexus which connects micro-dynamics with broad social structures and as an arena of cultural politics, in which new social meanings and norms are negotiated. Social actors pursue their own interests implicitly by being engaged in meaning-making processes in an arena of cultural politics. Furthermore, I suggest that the role of cultural policy should be critically discussed under the current trend that cultural policy addresses various objectives such as the creative industry, social inclusion and cultural democracy. There should be thorough research on role of cultural policy and its relations to social change.

Based on such research inquires, this dissertation examines how the process of creating the '*Hong-dae* cultural district' in Seoul has involved the mobilisation of various social groups and triggered the (re)institutionalisation of the meaning of 'the cultural'. I seek to explicate how a cultural policy project can stimulate the emergence of social groups, which challenge existing policy provisions and laws and lead to the (re)institutionalisation of '*Hong-dae* culture'. In so doing, I will be able to simultaneously take account of the issues of agency, structure and culture by explicating the relationship between cultural policy and social change.

In 2003, the *Mapo* district office and Seoul city governments announced a possible implementation of the cultural district in the *Hong-dae* area under the grand municipal vision of turning Seoul into a world city. The cultural district is meant to support cultural characteristics of a place such as local cultural events and cultural facilities. It is, ultimately, to form a new cultural environment (milieu) for cultural production and consumption. Yet, the district office has indefinitely postponed this plan since August 2005[2] saying that a more thorough research on *Hong-dae* culture should be accomplished prior to the enforcement of the policy. However, the *Hong-dae* area has been undergoing several changes since the policy plan was declared.

The local artists and cultural workers engaged in culture-related businesses[3] have established their own organisations and attempted to influence the feasibility study on the practice of the cultural district. Furthermore, they have defined '*Hong-*

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[2] This data is acquired from Lee from the *Seoul Developmental Institution* (SDI) in 2005. The district office had to decide whether to execute the cultural district in the *Hong-dae* area or not until August 2005.

[3] They are engaged in running institutions such as design company, gallery, theatre, art shop, atelier, animation company, performance troupe and cultural networking agency among others.

dae culture' through their own perspectives and confronted each other with regard to envisioning the *Hong-dae* cultural district. This has brought about not only conflicts among the local actors but also social debates on the amendment of the policy provision in which culture is narrowly defined as established artistic genres and heritage. In other words, the policy implementation process has created an arena, in which various contested and negotiated meanings of '*Hong-dae* culture' and 'the cultural' have emerged.

Yet the negotiation processes, evolving around the *Hong-dae* cultural district project, have taken place in close relation to economic interests trajected by the actors involved in the policy project. On the one hand, the project has been significantly influenced by the local power struggle over the representation of *Hong-dae* culture. On the other hand, it has been also deeply affected by a current global trend that culture is regarded as capital for economic and social development. The *Hong-dae* cultural district project raises complex questions. First, how broad social structures condition a local cultural policy and how a cultural policy project affects the formation of a micro-political field and second, the extent to which policy implementation processes lead to change in interpreting 'the cultural', mobilising social relations and materialising urban landscape.

1. 1   Research Questions

As this research attempts to interconnect the issues of social groups, cultural politics and social transformation through the examination of a cultural policy project, I delve into the particularities of the *Hong-dae* cultural district project by looking at the formation of stakeholders of the policy project, power relations and negotiation processes among them and the implications arising from it.

What Makes *Hong-dae* a Special Area for Culture?

The *Hong-dae* area[4], named after *Hong-ik University* nearby, is located in the western part of Seoul. The area is widely known for its idiosyncratic and creative atmosphere, which makes the area one of the trendiest places in Korea. However, there has also been criticism that the place glorifies the conspicuous youth consumption area as an emerging cultural place (Lym 1994).

The *Hong-dae* area was a university area in the 1980s, which was particularly filled with small studios of art students from *Hong-ik Art College*. Live clubs, which started emerging in the 1990s and where bands used to play punk and rock 'n' roll, have contributed to the progress of a vibrant cultural scene. Since then, *Hong-dae* is widely known for the idiosyncratic and cool atmosphere created by students, young artists and musicians. There are arts festivals and events. Many small shops and street hawkers sell products ranging from handicraft artworks to trendy accessories. Recently, the area has become a place of club culture mainly led by dance clubs. It has also led to the development of culture-related businesses such as the design, IT, game and music industries. The area is introduced as one of the 'must-see' destinations of Seoul in many travel-guide books[5].

Cultural critics, the press, local artists and visitors[6] have sought to answer why the *Hong-dae* area is an attractive place. Generally, shops, cafés, clubs and streets are pointed out as constitutive of *Hong-dae* culture. It is commonly said among local cultural artists and visitors that the area is the only place in Korea which makes people feel that they are not in Korea. How come these shops, cafés and clubs have become to emanate the unique atmosphere and are referred to as a representation of *Hong-dae* culture? How do these 'commercial places' make the *Hong-dae* area a 'cultural' place?

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[4] See chapter 2 for further geographical information on the area.
[5] For example, they are *Lonely Planet* (2004) in English and *Seoul - a description and travel notes* (2004) in Japanese.
[6] Refer to chapter 2 for a detailed discussion about it.

Why did the District and City Authorities attempt to implement 'Cultural District' to *Hong-dae* Area?

As the *Hong-dae* area has been established as a unique place and that many people, including tourists, have visited the area, the district and city governments began to acknowledge the spontaneous and creative atmosphere of the area as a 'new' form of culture (*Seoul Development Institution* (SDI)[7] 2000).

For example, the district office drew up a map called the '*Hong-dae* Vicinity Culture & Tourist Map'[8], which provides an index of 'cultural spaces'as sites for visit. They are mainly art galleries and places for performing arts. The SDI produced the first official report dealing with the *Hong-dae* area in 2000 when the city government was preparing for the 2002 *World Cup*. In the report, *Hong-dae* culture and particularly clubs were exclusively chosen to be important places for cultural tourism. These examples show that the authorities have started capitalising on *Hong-dae* culture for urban tourism.

However, the authorities do not entirely acknowledge *Hong-dae* culture as cultural. For example, in 2005, the city authorities have accused clubs of being 'asocial' and 'disorderly' after an accidental nude performance in a live TV show by a punk band based in the *Hong-dae* area and the district office often closed down outdoor art markets in order to keep public order. These examples show that there exist diverse interpretations of *Hong-dae* culture ranging from 'creative', 'cultural' to 'disorderly' and 'asocial'.

In 2003, the district and city governments, however, announced a plan to make the *Hong-dae* cultural district. What is then the policy of the cultural district? What made the district and city governments implement the policy in the *Hong-dae* area?

Is Cultural District for the Promotion of Local Culture or Urban Regeneration?

The ultimate purpose of the cultural district is to provide a sound cultural environment for cultural production and consumption (Ra 2004). However, when the plan of the *Hong-dae* cultural district was announced, some local artists criticised the policy for capitalising on culture for the sake of place development (interview and observation data). For example, an artist said that the policy aimed to control cultural activities for economic development. Another artist stated that the policy implementation would exacerbate commercialisation processes in the locale.

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[7] The SDI is an umbrella organisation of the *Seoul Metropolitan Government* (SMG), which is in charge of producing research on city development.
[8] When the map was produced is not known. However, it is assumed that it has been displayed since the *2002 World Cup*.

Furthermore, the media reported that the *Hong-dae* area might be a victim of an incompetent cultural policy which promoted commercialism rather than culture[9] (*Korea Broadcasting System* (KBS) 11 February 2004; *Hankyoreh* 2 February 2004). In general, the criticisms towards the cultural district pointed out that such a plan would support those who own assets and run businesses in the locale while worsening the working condition of artists and cultural workers. In view of these, what are the criteria which these people have employed to distinguish commercial activities from cultural activities? Which aspect of the cultural district has led the local artists to perceive the policy as to support 'commercial activities' instead of 'cultural activities'?

To what extent is the Policy Project related to Emergence of New Local Organisations and their Power Struggles?

Some local cultural workers such as designers, performing artists and curators, who were against the policy project, established a cooperative called "*Hong-dae Culture and Arts Cooperation*" (HCAC) in February 2004[10]. The HCAC asserted the history and the quality of *Hong-dae* culture and their contribution to *Hong-dae* culture. The HCAC members also claimed its main role in the policy project as a representative organisation of local artists. On the other hand, people who mainly work for the dance clubs established the *Club Culture Association* (CCA) in December 2003. The CCA welcomed the policy project, as it sought to legalise the dance club business under the auspice of the *Hong-dae* cultural district. Despite the popularity of the dance clubs, their businesses have been deemed illegal due to the absence of an appropriate legal provision for the dance club business. The majority of the dance clubs are registered as standard restaurant businesses. To be registered as standard dance halls, clubs are required to fulfil architectural regulations and high taxation, which most of the dance clubs cannot afford. Therefore, the CCA has tried to legalise the dance club business by asserting the dance clubs as cultural places.

Some HCAC members, however, felt that these dance clubs did not represent *Hong-dae* culture and argued that the cultural district should patronise arts and local artists instead. The CCA criticised the HCAC for possessing an elitist view on culture, which did not acknowledge the club culture of the dance clubs. Then, to what extent is

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[9] This criticism was mainly due to the experience of the *Insadong* cultural district, which was executed in 2002 as the first cultural district in Seoul. The area is famous for traditional art galleries and traditional Korean restaurants, tea houses and craft shops. The main purpose of the district was to preserve the traditional atmosphere of the area. The policy implementation has been often criticised for bringing in too many visitors and huge restaurants and shops in the locale.

[10] The HCAC held an opening ceremony called "Party for *Theater Zero*" and delivered a poignant, "Guard the theatre!"

the *Hong-dae* cultural district related to the emergence of these organisations and their confrontation?

In addition to these newly established organisations, there appeared other actors who were engaged in the policy project. The *Hong-ik Environmental Development Institution* (HEDI) has been appointed as a research agency for the feasibility study for the policy implementation. However, it acted as a quasi-intermediary between the corresponding authorities and the local actors by organising committee meetings and public hearings. It has also played an active role in the policy project by asserting the importance of the art sector in the future *Hong-dae* cultural district.

On the other hand, the *Cultural Action* (CA) was indirectly involved in the policy project by supporting 'local culture and artists' (CA Internet homepage cited in 2006). The CA is the first cultural NGO in Korea which was established in 1999 by scholars and cultural critics. In general, the CA produces cultural discourses, designs cultural programmes, monitors cultural policy execution and supports other groups engaged in cultural issues. It is also engaged in the promotion of rights of citizens and consumers. It especially led to the cultural movement during the 1990s, which promoted independent and non-mainstream culture in the *Hong-dae* area. It supported particularly the HCAC as a local network of artists[11]. Consequently, it empowered the voice of the HCAC, which also affected the local power relations.

The HEDI presented a positive review of the policy project in December 2004[12]. However, the district office put the policy plan in abeyance from 2005 indefinitely. Why was the policy project postponed despite the positive review? What was the reaction of the corresponding authorities towards the outcome of the feasibility study? How can one interpret the postponement of the policy? Does it constitute a failure of the policy project?

The re-figuration of social relations such as the emergence of new organisations and the collaboration among them has continued even after the policy postponement. In particular, the *Hong-dae Culture Academy* (HCA) was launched in early 2006. It offers various seminars and lectures ranging from the future of *Hong-dae* culture to marketing strategies. Who organises and runs the HCA? What is the implication of the establishment of the HCA?

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[11] For example, it presented the "cultural district for a genuine basement for production of 'culture'" as a special issue between April and June in 2004. It took part in the forum, "public policies for independent culture" in September 2004. It also presented suggestions on how to envision a cultural city and how to solve the issues on the legalisation of the dance club business in May 2005.

[12] "The area has produced very unique and diverse cultures, which can be put together only in the expression of '*Hong-dae* culture'. Now, its value has become a brand itself…" (HEDI 2004b: 184)

What are the Implications of the Feasibility Study?

The content of the feasibility study is crucial for the future development of the *Hong-dae* cultural district, as it should contain the assessment of recommended cultural facilities and businesses. Upon which principles did the *Hong-ik Environmental Development Institution* (HEDI) propose recommended cultural facilities and businesses? The HEDI states that the feasibility study outcome includes various opinions from the district and city authorities, the local cultural workers and artists, business people and residents (HEDI 2004b). How did these actors convey their opinions and have them incorporated into the study? What is the implication of the involvement of these actors in the framing of the feasibility study?

What has made the *Hong-dae* Area a Cultural Place?

The *Hong-dae* area has become a highly controversial space as the local actors hold different viewpoints with regard to the definition of *Hong-dae* culture and the vision of the *Hong-dae* cultural district. Local debate on the *Hong-dae* cultural district has caused corresponding authorities and concerned parties to re-look the definition of 'culture'.

What kinds of impact has the policy project brought about? Has the *Hong-dae* area become really a 'cultural place'? If so, is the transformation of the *Hong-dae* area towards a cultural place resulting from urban-environmental changes or a shift in defining 'the cultural'? What else has made the *Hong-dae* area a cultural place?

1.2   Theoretical and Analytical Concepts of Research

This section introduces the theoretical and analytical concepts of this research. Although these concepts will be thoroughly discussed in another chapter, I will briefly introduce them in this section since they guide the whole development of the research.

Firstly, I will examine the concept of 'arena' and that of 'cultural politics' and synthesise them in order to approach the *Hong-dae* cultural district project as 'an arena of cultural politics'. Secondly, I will discuss how conflict and negotiation in the *Hong-dae* cultural district project is interpreted.

Hong-dae Cultural District Project as Arena of Cultural Politics

The concept of 'arena' is adopted as an analytical tool, which elucidates the formation of new groups and their alliances taking place in cultural policy implementation. According to Long (2000:192), arenas are where actors are struggling by mobilising social relations and utilising discursive and cultural means for particular ends. He proposes that the concept of arena should map out issues, resources and discourses employed by actors engaged in development projects (ibid).

Long (2000) and Olivier de Sardan (2005) emphasise that a planned intervention in policy implementation does not necessarily produce expected results. Rather, they argue that it triggers ongoing processes of interactions. In other words, policy implementation provides people with contexts for mobilising social networks and organisations. Conversely, newly emerged social organisations affect the processes of policy implementation by challenging values and meanings attached to the given project. In this respect, the concept of arena captures the essence of the emergent micro politics evolving around a policy project.

Long and Olivier de Sardan also emphasise an actor-oriented perspective and the heterogeneity of social organisations in analysing strategic actions of actors in a development project. They see every actor in the project as to possess, to a certain degree, 'resources' that make it possible for the actor to influence the project. In particular, Olivier de Sardan argues that an arena appears as a game, where players utilise available power in order to pursue their own interests (2005: 186). He pays specific attention to the notion of "instituted power," which can be altered into other forms of "capital" (ibid). The resources for strategic action include 'cultural meanings', 'various discourses' and 'instituted power' (ibid).

It is significant that cultural meanings and discourses can be 'resources' and 'capital' for strategic action in a policy project. Politics, particularly in a cultural policy, often takes place implicitly via the confrontation of cultural meanings and

discourses, as they consequently decide the allocation of resources under policy implementation. In this regard, particular visions conveying certain sets of values and ideas can be effective 'resources' to be mobilised for policy participation and crucial 'capital' that brings in economic and social benefits.

Therefore, the arena concept draws attention to the issue that cultural discourses and meanings become powerful means for policy involvement and crucial objects of negotiation. In this respect, cultural policy is an arena of cultural politics, where actors struggle in meaning-making. Accordingly, Kellner (2005: 1) argues that cultural politics involves an action of "what is *cultural* about politics and what is *political* about culture (italics in original)". In other words, culture is 'relational' and politics is 'discursive'.

The concept of cultural politics is significantly elaborated by scholars from the *Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies* (CCCS) engaged in subcultural studies (Kellner 1997; Martin 2002). In particular, they have adopted the notion of hegemony in order to explore culture as a site of struggle, where subordinate subcultures resist dominant cultures. The significance of the notion of cultural politics is that it has explored material and structural bases of culture and has provided a framework to analyse culture as a field of power relations. Yet, other scholars claim that cultural politics should also comprehend complexity and heterogeneity in social relations.

For example, Martin (2002) argues that the class-based approach towards subcultures and identity formation should be broadened to accommodate various forms of collective identity. This aspect is closely related to the tendency that associates culture with substances of collectivity within cultural politics studies (Bauman 1996; Fitzgerald 1999; Grossberg 1996). Another criticism towards cultural politics studies is that it has limited the analysis of power relations in a polar system of oppression and resistance, which makes it difficult to explain alliance and negotiation taking place across diverse social groups (Canclini 1992; Grossberg 1996; Martin 2002). These criticisms indicate that the heterogeneity of social groups and power relations should be seriously dealt with in cultural politics, firmly based upon empirical scrutiny.

In order to address the complexity of social phenomenon within cultural politics, some scholars pay particular attention to material practices and economic interests. For example, McCann (2002) asserts that cultural politics is a set of discursive and material practices in which meanings are confronted and negotiated. Further, Jackson (1992: 2) claims that cultural politics closely links culture to society and explores the intersection between the cultural, the political and the economic. What these scholars suggest is that cultural politics should elucidate power struggles in meaning-making processes by explicating the interconnection between the cultural

field and other social spheres.

Such a proposal is insightful towards analysing power relations taking place in cultural policy. Cultural policy is often implemented in collaboration with urban planning and industrial planning. Consequently, economic interests are sought after implicitly through the claim of cultural meanings and values. In particular, McGuigan (1996) underlines that cultural policy is a field of cultural politics in which the confrontation of meanings, institutional contests and power relations take place (1996: 1)[13]. In short, the concept of cultural politics, which elucidates heterogeneity of collective identity and social groups, power relations in discursive and material practices and the convergence of various social spheres in the cultural field, is a useful analytical tool for cultural policy analysis. Therefore, I adopt this concept in order to examine the *Hong-dae* cultural district project.

A significant overlap between the concept of arena and that of cultural politics is that they comprehend discursive and material practices in power struggles and employ a relational notion of social groups which is based upon empirical realities. Therefore, the conceptualisation of the 'arena of cultural politics' leads one to analyse how actors in a policy project articulate their interests through mobilising organisations and cultural meanings that are attached to economic interests. This concept makes it possible to examine the competition of various discourses in a cultural policy project as a clash of different life-worlds and multiple realities.

Conflict and Negotiation in Cultural Policy

Bierschenk and Olivier de Sardan (1997: 240) propose to look at conflicts heuristically that they can indicate the functioning of society and social change. Other scholars also point out that conflict can be a state of temporary confrontation, which ultimately brings about social change (Knowles & Mercer 1990; Martin 2002). Adopting this notion of conflict, I approach conflict particularly in a cultural policy project as a transformative and dynamic state, in which communicative interactions take place.

Conflict in a cultural policy project often appears as the clash of meanings and negotiation in a cultural policy occurs in the forms of mediating meanings. However, negotiation processes in a cultural policy project do not mean that they remain only at the discursive level. Meanings in a cultural policy are closely related to the allocation of resources. Therefore, negotiation at the discursive level can be, to a

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[13] McGuigan explains that the English forged "policy" out of "police" while the French, "poltique" and the Germans, "politik", refer to both politics and policy (1996: 5-6). He points out an etymological connection between "policy" and "policing" and argues that the former is rooted in the ancient Greek "polic", which means state (ibid).

great extent, the mediation of concrete agendas and economic interests. Due to this aspect, a cultural policy project becomes a more and more contentious object of conflict and negotiation.

d'Anjou (1996) argues that there are social changes at two different levels; a change that actions of social actors generate, and an epistemological change in the way that social actors define the changed reality. Consequently, a dialectical interaction between such two levels of changes results in ongoing social changes. This dialectical interaction between actions and meanings is relevant to explain how a cultural policy project can lead to social changes. Conflict and negotiation in a cultural policy can be seen as a dialectical interaction between policy implementation (action) and policy rationale (meanings).

1.3 Research Strategies

This research delves into the processes of complex transformation revolving around a cultural policy project and strategies and interests employed by actors. Therefore, this research has been conducted as a qualitative research, which analyses in-depth complex social phenomena located in particular contexts and accordingly changes in norms, meanings and social relations (Crabtree & Miller 1992; Marshall & Rossman 1989; Strauss 2001).

This research is also framed through the approach of grounded theory, as it integrates research planning, research conduct and data analysis (Titscher *et al* 2003), generates theories intimately based upon the data collected (Strauss 2001) and conducts data collection, data analysis and theory building to be performed in a reciprocal manner (Strauss & Corbin 1990). In short, this research has been accomplished based upon a principle that a research process is seen as discovery-based and involves reflexivity in the course of research.

In the following, I discuss the research strategies employed by looking at the research phase, data collection, and data analysis and research reflexivity.

1.3.1 Research Phase

Research for this dissertation took place between October 2002 and December 2006. During this period, field research in the *Hong-dae* area was undertaken thrice; the first phase was during September 2003 - March 2004, the second during September 2004 - October 2004 and the third during March 2006. Although these phases of field research were meant for collection of data, data analysis took place simultaneously throughout the field research periods. Yet, there were certain leading activities and inquiries in each segment of the research phase.

The first phase of the research concentrated on the generation of research inquiries and the review of the literature on the *Hong-dae* area, the globalisation of culture, cultural consumption and cultural tourism. Glaser (1999), however, warns of the prior exposure to and scanning of scientific literature before empirical research, as it imposes on a researcher pre-conditioned ideas and prejudices on a field. I found it, however, helpful to perform preliminary research on the *Hong-dae* area and the literature review, since it enabled me to locate the *Hong-dae* area both at the macro and the micro levels of social phenomena and to link the construction of the *Hong-dae* cultural scene to global popular cultures.

During the first phase of field research, the *Seoul Metropolitan Government*

(SMG) announced the possible implementation of the 'cultural district' in the *Hong-dae* area, which led to the revision of the field research plan. Until the policy project was announced, I concentrated on exploring a gap between the public perception of *Hong-dae* culture and the analysis of *Hong-dae* culture by scholars and cultural critics. This led me to explore a discrepancy between cultural practices and cultural representations. After the announcement, however, the focus of the field research shifted to the policy project. As the policy plan has become a main inquiry, the examination of its implementation process has become a crucial part of the research strategies. Based upon the first phase of research, the concept of arena was adopted to elucidate power relations among actors involved in the *Hong-dae* cultural district project. The provisions of the cultural district were analysed in-depth.

During the second phase of field research, the activities of the actors involved in the policy project, public hearings and other related discussions on the policy project were observed. The period after the second phase field research was devoted to test concepts and theories. This shed light on the concept of negotiation and that of cultural politics. On the other hand, the current worldwide trends towards knowledge-based economies and world city status were examined in order to frame the *Hong-dae* cultural district project as a part of a world city project.

The third phase of field research was conducted to investigate the postponement of the policy project. Despite the positive review of the feasibility study in 2004, there was no substantial implementation process from the corresponding authorities and no visible movement from the local actors about the policy project. The suspension of the policy implementation affected the scope of the research, which made it unable for me to examine the relationship between cultural policy and the transformation of urban landscape. Instead, it sharpened the research inquiry regarding cultural politics and the negotiation of meanings in a cultural policy project by enabling me to approach a sidetracking as an outcome of negotiation in a policy project. The last phase of the research was assigned to synthesise all the data and analytical concepts and to complete the entire research.

1.3.2   Data Collection Methods

This research follows the methods of ethnographic data collection, such as participation, observation, interview and text analysis. Marcus and Cushman (1982) draw attention to reflexive ethnographic methods, which concern how a researcher interprets data and writes them into text forms. They show that data collection includes selection, interpretation and the comprehensive structuring of data. Their

interest in epistemological concern on the collection and representation of data is significant, as it indicates that certain data, which a researcher has collected, are already undergone the processes of interpretation and representation by someone else. This aspect is taken seriously in this research, since I have collected much data from interview and text analysis. They are, to a certain extent, the interpretation and the representation of social realities by others. Therefore, I have paid attention to narratives and contexts within data.

On the other hand, Atkinson and Coffey (1997: 47) say that 'documentary materials' should be regarded as primary data in qualitative research. They argue that documentary materials contain the "documentary version of social reality" (ibid). These materials, according to them, can be a medium through which social organisations communicate and construct knowledge conveying cultural values. They also propose that one should collect documentary materials paying attention to their original forms and functions rather than merely examining their validity of the descriptions. Smith (1984) further explores documentary materials in relation to 'contexts'. She draws attention to the fact that a documentary-making process itself is affected by the particular ways of categories, social discourses and interpretative schemata in local contexts, in which a text-making process takes place.

Documentary realities and contexts indicate that data collection methods in ethnographic research should comprehend firstly, how authors in documentary materials interpret realities and represent them in written words and secondly, situations in which authors are located. I have taken these perspectives seriously for the collection of data related to the *Hong-dae* cultural district project. Newspaper articles, policy provisions, minutes of public hearings and meetings, municipal reports and documents are crucial for the analysis of how authors who are situated in different positions interpret and articulate the policy project.

Interestingly, Pink (2001) argues for the importance of 'immaterial' and 'sensory' experiences and 'visual' representation in data collection. She claims that the collection of these data entails a reflexive appreciation, which involves the production of meanings and ethnographic knowledge of ethnographers (2001:29). Therefore, she proposes that visual images in ethnographic research should show how an ethnographer 'interpret' the visible rather than imposing his/her own translation and presentation of them into his/her own words.

Pink's attention to the account of intangible materials as data and their representation by an ethnographer's interpretation is adopted in this research. *Hong-dae* culture is associated with certain images, atmospheres and sensory experiences. Its definition, according to my observation, is very much dependent on individual judgement based upon their idiosyncratic ways of interpreting these sensory

experiences. For example, a cultural critic writes about how to interpret 'stinking clubs' in the *Hong-dae* area (Kim, J. S. 1999: 228):

> The fact that punk, which tends to stand against institutions, vested powers and commercialism, exists in the core of the commercialised area in Seoul is not a coincidence. The subculture here is of middleclass or above middle-class young intellectual and artists. Subcultural explorers, who can read stinking clubs as a cultural code, are real true clients.

In fact, a difficulty in translating the sensory experiences of *Hong-dae* culture into policy language has resulted in conflict over who represents it and in what manner in the course of the policy implementation.

In this regard, I have employed photographs as a crucial method to 'deliver' what I, as an ethnographer, have collected as valuable data and how other informants 'represent' their points of view. I asked people to take photos of any objects in the *Hong-dae* area, which they associated with the image of the locale or which caught their attention. For example, one informant roamed around the *Hong-dae* area and took photos of what she associated with *Hong-dae* culture. However, I have tried to be aware of the intentions and circumstances of the production of photographs by others. In other words, photographs are not taken for granted as mere capturing of visual images but considered as particular ways of representation by other authors.

Having gathered data from various resources, I found several pieces of data that described the same incidents from various perspectives. This made me re-interpret collected data in a critical and reflexive manner. For example, I have attended an opening ceremony of the *Hong-dae Culture and Arts Cooperation* (HCAC). Later, I found newspaper articles reporting the ceremony and obtained the remarks on it by other attendances. They showed a difference in delivering the atmosphere of the ceremony and the gist of speeches done by guests. Therefore, I had to compare my own observation with the content of these articles and interviews. This led me to reflect the whole process of the research from the two different dimensions, as Marcus and Fischer (1986:26) states that ethnography should concern on the interpretation of the worlds of others and the epistemological account of such interpretation. In other words, I had to investigate the content of the data in relation to their contexts and authorship, explain the discrepancy among them, and ultimately interpret this discrepancy based upon my own assessment.

During the first phase of field research, observation, survey and text analysis were conducted in order to examine the reception and the interpretation of *Hong-dae* culture. I visited clubs, shops and cafés in the locale and sometimes accompanied people in order to have conversations about their impressions and ideas about the area.

Informal conversations with street hawkers and a survey[14] on how people working in the locale and the culture-related sector interpret *Hong-dae* culture were conducted. Text analysis, mainly the content of the mass media such as newspapers, magazines and Internet sites, was accomplished.

For example, newspaper articles which were produced before the policy project was announced, were collected from four different newspapers (Internet version): the *Chosun Daily* [조선일보] (2002 - 2003); the *JoongAang Daily* [중앙일보] (1993 - 2003); the *Munhwa Daily* [문화일보] (2003); the *Hankyoreh* [한겨레] (1997 - 2003). Three weekly magazines (Internet version) are: the *Sisa Journal* [시사 저널] (2002 - 2003); the *Shindonga* [신동아] (2003); the *Hankyoreh 21* [한겨레 21] (1997 - 2002). Three monthly music magazines (print version) are: *Hot Music* [핫뮤직] (1990 - 2001); *Oi Music* [오이 뮤직] (2004); *Sub* [서브] (selected issues 1999 - 2000). Also a keyword search was done in major Internet portal sites such as *Daum.net* [다움넷], *Empas.com* [엠파스], and *Naver.com* [네이버] in order to examine the most frequently asked questions regarding the *Hong-dae* area. These keywords are the *Hong-dae* area, *Hong-dae* culture, *Hong-dae* clubs and *Hong-dae* fashion. I also became a member of certain Internet communities related to the *Hong-dae* area[15] in order to examine the various interests attached to the area.

Participant observation and interviews were mainly conducted for collecting data concerning the policy project and the mobilisation of the local actors. For example, I attended the meetings of the *Hong-dae Culture and Arts Cooperation* (HCAC) (02 - 03. 2004), several public hearings on the *Hong-dae* cultural district (03. 2004), an informal meeting between the HCAC members and the people from the *Daehakno* area[16](02. 2004), a seminar by the *Cultural Action* (CA) (04. 2004) and a public hearing on independent culture and the *Hong-dae* area (09. 2004). I also conducted semi-structured interviews with the members of the HCAC and the *Club Culture Association* (CCA) and various informal conversations with acquaintances, local residents, café managers, street hawkers and people working in the clubs.

During the second and third phase of field research, interviews were employed as a main data collection method. At first, I attempted to conduct narrative interviews, but informants showed uneasiness towards an open interview situation.

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[14] I made a questionnaire consisting of 27 questions and distributed this to a marketing division in a record company, where I conducted an internship during September and November 2003, a creative division in an advertising company, a fashion magazine reporter and two club managers in the *Hong-dae* area.

[15] For example, I became a member of internet communities such as http://cafe.daum.net/seokyo365, http://cafe.daum.net/artmarket, http://cafe.daum.net/clubbermusic, http://cafe.daum.net/liveclubfest, http://cafe.daum.net/myself24, http://cafe.daum.net/biuret, http://cafe.daum.net/Myungwolkwan, http://cafe.daum.net/npnp, http://cafe.daum.net/clubmuzik, http://cafe.daum.net/Indiestory, http://cafe.daum.net/SoundHolic, http://cafe.daum.net/clubdayok, http://cafe.daum.net/artistassociation

[16] At the time of field research, the *Daehakno* area was also under the preparation of the cultural district implementation and it has been a cultural district since 20 April 2004.

Not only experts but also artists, cultural workers and acquaintances preferred structured interviews to narrative interviews. They seemed to regard narrative interviews as being intentionally designed to gain information concerning personal stories and insider knowledge. Therefore, I prepared question sets and a piece of questionnaire for each interview. The contents of question sets are varying to informants. However, common questions are the description of *Hong-dae* area culture and *Hong-dae* people with their own languages and expressions and opinions on a growing popularity of the *Hong-dae* area, the policy execution and the existing articles or academic works regarding the *Hong-dae* area. Yet, some informants often talked about their life stories, especially their involvement in and attachment to the *Hong-dae* area and conflicts among people in the locale. In general, informal conversations were not recorded but the semi-structured and expert interviews were recorded[17]. The names of interviewees are presented when they agreed. Otherwise, I did not mention names.

During the rest of the research period, data collection was concentrated on finding text-form data related to the *Hong-dae* area, the *Hong-dae* cultural district project, urban planning and cultural policy and minutes of various occasions. The text-form data on the policy project include the municipal administration plans of the *Mapo* district and the SMG, the white papers of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (MCT), the research related to urban planning and cultural policy from the SDI, the *Korea Culture and Tourism Policy Institute* (KCTPI), the *Korea Cultural & Content Agency* (KOCCA) and minutes of meetings of the HCAC, of forums for the policy project and of the lectures and seminars provided by the *Hong-dae Culture Academy* (HCA).

Text analysis was also employed as an important method for acquiring data about the policy project. The analysis of newspaper articles, which covered the policy project and any news related to the *Hong-dae* area, was continuously conducted until the final phase of the research. There were irregular email exchanges and telephone communications with informants whom I met during field research. Much of the text I analysed was written in Korean, although some was written in English. I have translated the materials written in Korean into English and have provided footnotes only for the data which were originally written in English.

In all, I conducted interviews, surveys, participant observation and text analysis as data collection methods. There are 5 unrecorded interviews, 27 recorded interviews, 2 paper-form interviews, unrecorded ethnographic conversations, questionnaire surveys answered by 100 people in the daytime around the *Hong-dae*

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[17] Experts include researchers from the *Seoul Development Institute* (SDI), officials from the *Ministry of Culture and Tourism* (MCT), the *Mapo* district and scholars from universities.

area and inside *Hong-ik University* and a survey done by acquaintances. I have attended the inauguration of the HCAC in 2004, the meetings of the HCAC in 2004, the public hearings on the *Hong-dae* cultural district in 2004, the informal meeting between the HCAC and the people from the *Daehakno* area in 2004, a meeting of the *Cultural Action* (CA) and the inauguration ceremony of the *Space Culture Centre* (SCC) in 2006. The types of data collected are ethnographic notes, photographs, interview notes and scripts, recorded sounds and the varying text-form materials such as articles, minutes of meetings, flyers, posters and tickets.

1.3.3   Data Analysis

Data analysis is generally conducted based upon grounded theory, which integrates research planning, research conduct and data analysis in a reciprocal manner. For example, during the field research periods, I scanned interview scripts, planned next research steps and collected and analysed data. Simultaneously, various concepts were generated, tested and developed as my main theoretical and analytical research concepts.

I have also adopted the approach of discourse analysis, which underlines verifiable analysis of text and text realities. Discourse analysis stresses language, agency and power relations in text forms (Barker & Galasinski 2003). As I aim to investigate strategic behaviours of actors in the processes of a policy project, the analysis of power relations in the policy provisions, the minutes of meetings and the articles dealing with the policy project has become a prime task. Therefore, major concerns of discourse analysis regarding languages in text forms, empirically verifiable analysis of text and text realities are adopted for data analysis in this research.

Policy analysis also comprises a crucial part of data analysis for this research. According to Heidenheimer *et al* (1983), policy analysis entails examining what governments do, in which manner and what they achieve. Specifically, policy analysis includes: historical features of governments, the scope of governments' intervention, the motivations of their intervention, the reasons why they conduct certain actions or not and the consequences of government's intervention (Obuljen 2006). These elements of policy analysis are adopted in this research in order to analyse the following points: the provisions of the cultural district; the motivations and interests of the district office and city governments in the *Hong-dae* cultural district plan; the particular contexts which led these authorities to adopt certain discourses and visions; the interactions between the authorities and local actors in the course of the policy

implementation attempt.

Also Pink (2001: 18) draws attention to issues of inter-subjectivity and negotiated version of realities in constructing knowledge of research objects. She basically sees ethnography as a process of creating and representing knowledge based upon ethnographers' own experiences. The subjectivity, which interprets realities and constructs knowledge, according to Pink, is not only applied to ethnographers but also to informants. She suggests that the subjectivity of 'informants', which constructs knowledge about an ethnographer, should affect the ethnographer's subjectivity. What an ethnographer observes is a negotiated version of reality due to the relationship between the subjectivity of an ethnographer and her/his informants; in other words, inter-subjectivity (ibid).

These notions of inter-subjectivity and negotiated version of realities are taken for this research. Much of the data collected are important for analysing the issue of belonging; that is, constructing knowledge about the self and others, which was an important issue in the *Hong-dae* area. People were mobilising social networks according to the various types of affiliation such as belonging to *Hong-dae* people, outsiders, club people, media people, critics and the old generation or the new generation. In this regard, my varying identities, depending on the categories of age, gender, affiliation, education backgrounds, emotional attachment to the *Hong-dae* area, exposure to insider knowledge and even fashion style, affected my relationship with informants. This is very likely to influence the types of data collected for the research, which requires the consideration of inter-subjectivity and negotiated realities for data analysis.

I was tested many times by informants, which made the research situation far from "watching what happens, listening to what is said, [and] asking questions" (Hammersley 1995:1). On the contrary, I was watched and asked questions. For example, so-called *Hong-dae* people[18] often asked me whether I knew certain clubs, places and people. As the *Hong-dae* cultural scene became popularised from the early 1990s from the music sector, specifically from the live clubs, the so-called insiders and the first generation of the *Hong-dae* people checked my knowledge of the *Hong-dae* area by asking such a question. In fact, I was a university student during the early 1990s and roamed around the *Hong-dae* area quite often. Therefore, when I told them my experiences in the 1990s, some informants became more open.

For example, when I mentioned a club called *Sangsoo-do*, which was famous among only certain circle of people and closed down in the late 90s, some informants started talking about relatively serious issues of the *Hong-dae* area to me rather than providing general information about the area. Also one café manager told me that he

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[18] Oftentimes, local artists and cultural workers call themselves as *Hong-dae* people.

did not talk about the history of the *Hong-dae* area to those who were in their early twenties, as they did not know, according to him, the 'real' *Hong-dae* scene, which existed in the early 1990s. Some informants told me meeting points without any explanation of how to find them. They seemed to take it for granted that I ought to know where they were. One informant asked whether I played any musical instrument and said that he could not approve of anyone doing a "*Hong-dae* thing" while not doing any "culture thing". He seemed to mean a *Hong-dae* thing as my research on the *Hong-dae* area. I answered that I started learning the cello and can play the piano. The interviewee told me that it was nice that I knew how to appreciate music. He said further that some people in the locale even did not know what music should be about, which I interpreted as criticism. Once I was asked why I wore trendy items, which "everybody" was wearing. I felt embarrassed since I knew that one's appearance in the *Hong-dae* area determined whether one can be perceived as cool. Some informants displayed an uneasy feeling towards scholars and reporters since they have created, according to these informants, a gap between so-called real *Hong-dae* culture and what is known as *Hong-dae* culture.

Therefore, I have come to present myself in a favourable way in order to appeal to informants. This enabled me to establish contacts and relationships with informants. Yet, it also restricted the scope of data since it affected the way that informants constructed knowledge about me. This leads one to deeply reflect how a researcher can be reflexive in interpreting data, which are embedded in inter-subjectivity and the negotiated version of realities. I approach data analysis as a part of the integral construction of interpreting the *Hong-dae* cultural district project.

1.4   Structure of Research

In this introductory chapter, I have examined the research questions, research strategies and theoretical concepts, which will enable me to develop the following chapters.

Chapter 2 explores how the public and the district and city governments perceive *Hong-dae* culture. For that, I look at the 'Top 5 Sites' of the *Hong-dae* area, a map of the area provided by the district office and the ambiguous stance of the city government towards the local clubs. In so doing, various ranges of interpretations of *Hong-dae* culture will be analysed accordingly.

Chapter 3 examines the policy called 'cultural district', which the Seoul city and *Mapo* district governments planned to implement in the *Hong-dae* area, in association with the current trend in Korean cultural policy. Particularly, I focus on whether the policy provision contains certain problematic issues for its implementation in the area.

Chapter 4 provides an analytical framework for investigating the *Hong-dae* cultural district project by synthesising the concept of 'arena' and that of 'cultural politics' as the 'arena of cultural politics'. I further examine how the *Hong-dae* cultural district project has become an arena of cultural politics, particularly by looking at the emergence of various actors in the policy project.

Chapter 5 scrutinises how the actors have strategically pursued their interests under the policy project, focusing on cultural meanings, values and future visions that they have employed and their utilisation of social networks.

Chapter 6 discusses the negotiation of the policy project focusing on the result of the feasibility study. Chapter 7 continues the discussion specifically by looking at the policy postponement and the emergence of the local cultural elite group. In these chapters, I aim to explain how conflict and negotiation in a cultural policy project can lead to on-going processes of social changes.

In conclusion, chapter 8 suggests that a cultural policy project can be examined as a dialectical process between actions and meanings, which interconnects the issues of agency, culture and structure.

Chapter 2

'*Hong-dae* Culture' and Ambiguous Meanings of 'the Cultural'

> The techno clubs in *Hong-dae* area … have a potential to become a world-famous cultural tourism product… (*Seoul Development Institute* (SDI) 2000: 116)

> The *Hong-dae* area is a kind of image. Somewhat artistic, eccentric, chic and avant-garde… it's where we can be free. (*Chosun Daily* 25 February 2002)

> The *Hong-dae* area is an adequate place to be appointed as a cultural district due to its cultural infrastructure and cultural activities created by cultural workers. (*Hong-dae Environmental Development Institution* (HEDI) 2004b: 193)

> The *Hong-dae* clubs in the 1990s were places of experiment where young people could listen to various types of music. Yet, now they have become places for 'one night stand'. (*Kyonghyang Daily* 19 November 2006)

How does a place acquire a unique atmosphere? How does a 'cultural' place emerge? I attempt to answer these questions by examining how the *Hong-dae* area has been associated with 'culture', what '*Hong-dae* culture' refers to and how varying definitions have emerged from different social groups.

What then, is, considered as *Hong-dae* culture? Images and sounds provided by clubs, shops, artworks sold on the street, cafés and crowds of people in the midnight, in other words, the '*Hong-dae* scene' as a whole is often regarded as a representation of *Hong-dae* culture. Interestingly, the city authorities have acknowledged this scene as a new form of culture and as a resource for city development. The city and district governments have begun to institutionalise the area as a cultural place by attempting to make the area a 'cultural district'.

Yet, the urban vibrancy and events happening in the area are not entirely

acknowledged as 'cultural'. For example, the city and district authorities have criticised the local clubs for being 'asocial' and 'disorderly' and they closed down outdoor art markets several times in order to keep public order. Why do the authorities hold such an ambiguous attitude towards *Hong-dae* culture?

The *Hong-dae* area has become a highly controversial place as *Hong-dae* culture has been established and widely known but the public and the authorities hold different viewpoints regarding how to define it. I argue that the diverse interpretations of *Hong-dae* culture, ranging from 'creative', 'cultural' to 'disorderly' and 'asocial', indicate that the *Hong-dae* area is a site where the meanings and boundaries of 'the cultural' have shifted and have undergone negotiation between various social groups.

In the following sections, I examine the current development of the *Hong-dae* area and later look at how the public and the city and district authorities perceive '*Hong-dae* culture'. Specifically, I investigate the 'Top 5 Sites' of the area and the ambivalent attitude of the district and city authorities towards *Hong-dae* culture. The Top 5 Sites are live clubs, dance clubs, streets of hawkers, fashionable streets and cafés and restaurants. They are chosen as the representatives of the area based on my interviews and observation, literature review and the analysis of the media coverage.

2.1 *Hong-dae* Scene as *Hong-dae* Culture

> Let's go to the *Hong-dae* area, where avant-garde and kitsch are mixed! (Kim, J. S. 1999: 225)

> The entire area is built with artistic atmosphere and popular among people, who want to escape from busy streets. (Global-trotter Travel Guidebook[19] 2004: 224)

The *Hong-dae* area is located in the middle-western part of Seoul and consists of several parts of *Dong*, the smallest administrative unit, within the *Mapo* district. The *Mapo* district is one of the twenty-five autonomous districts in Seoul and its size is 23.87 km² covering 3.9% of Seoul. In December 2004, the population of the *Mapo* district stood at 388,111. The area covers the *Seokyo-dong* (326-411), the *Changchun-dong* (5-6, 436), the *Sangsu-dong* (64-318) and the *Dongkyo-dong* (162-189) in the *Mapo* district (SDI 2000; HEDI 2004).

(Map 1) *Hong-dae* area
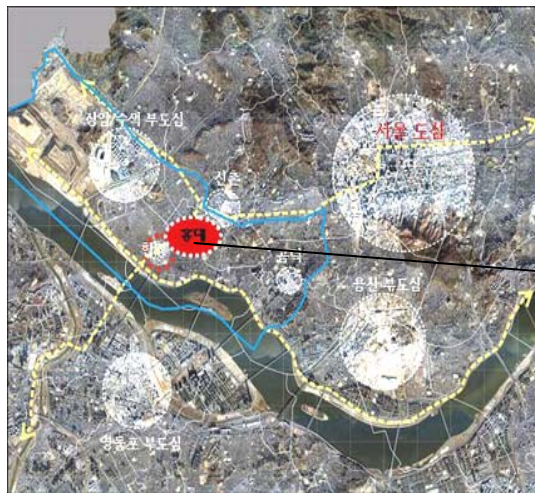
Hong-dae area as a red spot in satellite picture
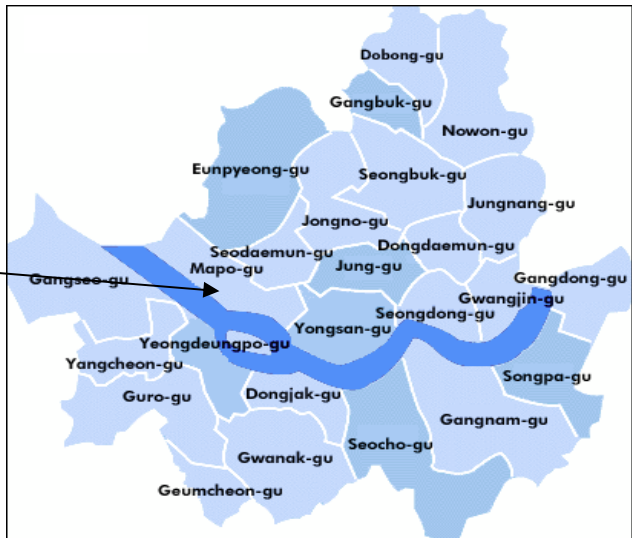
Map of Seoul

Source: Left: *Hong-dae Environmental Development Institution* (HEDI) 2004b, p.8; Right: English Internet homepage of the *Seoul Metropolitan Government* (SMG), cited in 2006

According to the HEDI report, the cultural and artistic atmosphere of the area has been developed since the 1950s, when *Hong-ik University* was established. The area has become the most unique cultural place in Seoul (HEDI 2004b). The *Hong-*

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[19] This book is originally written in Japanese. The excerpt is translated into English by Kikuchi only for this research.

dae area developed into a university area particularly for art students during the 1980s. In the early 1990s, it became famous for its stylish and artistic atmosphere created by cafés and buildings influenced by post-modern architecture styles in addition to lively studios and ateliers. As more and more cafés and shops were opened, the area was also regarded as a place for consumerism.

> The consumerism of entertainment space around *Hong-ik University* comes out from the conflict of classes and of generations…. The new generation tries to express itself through consumption. (Yim, S. H. 1994: 80-81)

> Now it has become luxurious. If compare, this place was like a folk painting in the past, but now the atmosphere is posh. Every café tries to make unique flairs and find unique colours. (A café manager, interview 2004)

In 1994, a punk club called *Drug* in the area started gaining popularity while attracting many bands and fans (Lee, S. M. 2000). Subsequently, other similar types of clubs were opened. These clubs were called live clubs, where bands played mainly punk and rock music. They have developed into a music scene, which was often described as an underground, independent and alternative music scene. For example, in 1996, when the *Street Punk Show*, a punk music performance on the public street took place in the *Hong-dae* area, it was highly publicised by the media and the area was regarded as a subcultural place of punk and rock music and further represented a vibrant cultural scene in the 1990s (*Oi Music* August 2003; Shin, H. J. 1996).

The term, 'underground' is regarded as a musical genre, understood as "the not-yet sell-out take a pause", "the could-not sell-out take a shelter" and "the would-not sell-out set them free" (Kim, J. H. 2000: 9). The term, 'independent (indie)' refers to an "economic logic, political position and aesthetic attitude" (ibid). It is, however, often said that these two terms, whether underground or independent, depict not only a musical phenomenon but also an attitude of musicians. Yet the term 'alternative' was sometimes preferred to 'independent' for describing the *Hong-dae* music scene since alternative puts more stress on the 'style' of music (Shin, H. J. 1996). Some critics emphasise that alternative music reveals a spirit of resistance by contrasting itself with mainstream musical styles (ibid). As musical styles were regarded as important to account for a new cultural change, the emergence of the clubs specialising in punk and rock were considered as signalling a new cultural movement (Yim, J. M. 2002). The style of music and the attitude of musicians are considered as an alternative proposal to a standardised mainstream popular music scene. Yet, the meanings of independent, underground and alternative are ambivalent since they are

often treated as similarly within the Korean pop music context.

Since the early 2000s, the area has become a place of 'club culture' led by the dance clubs, where DJs play music. These dance clubs have received public recognition for bringing in a new cultural phenomenon but they have also been criticised for promoting commercial-oriented cultural aspects[20]. For example, the club area was depicted as a place of decadence and indulgence:

> *Indi Culture is expelled by Decadence…Hong-dae Lost 'Innocence'…*The symbol of young and avant-garde culture, the club area in the *Hong-dae* area is being corrupted by decadence and indulgence…A local resident Kim (36) sighed, "in weekends, fights often occur in the street. I think the charm of *Hong-dae* is disappearing." The representative of the *Club Culture Association*, Choi Jung Han said, "it is true that the brand value of the *Hong-dae* clubs has decreased." (*Kyunghang Daily* 20 October 2006)

> Club manias that enjoy sound club culture criticise people who look for 'one night stand' in the clubs for causing prejudice against people who solely come to dance. (*Sport Chosun* 24 February 2007)

Recently, the number of shops has increased and tall buildings have been replacing shabby and small buildings (see Photo 4 & 5). Yet still most of shops, clubs and studios are clustered along the narrow lanes. The *Hong-dae* area consists of various mosaic parts such as café lanes, club lanes, shops lanes, art institution lanes and studio lanes, which create a unique site.

(Photo 1) Street *Seokyo 365* in *Hong-dae* area

Seokyo 365 is one of the narrow but mostly-visited streets in the *Hong-dae* area. It leads to the club area, the parking lot, the play ground and the café and restaurant area.

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[20] A so-called 'de-culturalisation' of *Hong-dae* culture in association with the dance clubs can be found in the following selected references. *Hankoyreh 21* (07 November 2002a); *Hankoyreh 21* (07 November 2002b); *Jugan Hankuk* (23 June 2004); *Film 2.0* (30 November 2004); *Donga Daily* (6 August 2005); *Munhwa Daily* (22 July 2006); *Kyunghang Daily* (30 October 2006)

A second-hand record shop in the street

Source: Cho, 2004

(Photo 2) Shops in Street *Seokyo 365*

Seokyo 365 is filled with small restaurants, pubs, grocery shops, clothes shops and street hawkers.

Source: Cho, 2004

28

(Photo 3) Graffiti in Residential Areas

Source: Cho, 2004

(Photo 4) Construction Sites
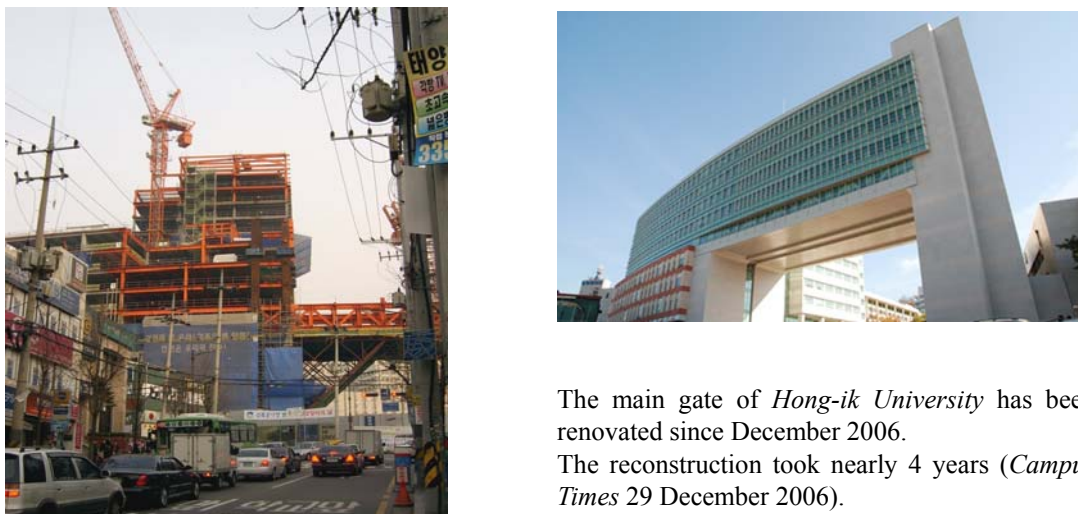
The main gate of *Hong-ik University* has been renovated since December 2006.
The reconstruction took nearly 4 years (*Campus Times* 29 December 2006).

Residential houses were being renovated into office buildings.

One of the main streets in the *Hong-dae* area.

Source: Top left and Down left, Cho, 2006; Down right, Cho, 2004; Top right, *Campus Times* (29 December 2006)

(Photo 5) Emerging Tall Buildings

The street where the subway gates are located. This street is packed with newly built tall buildings.

The tall and new buildings, relatively old residential houses and small shops are mixed.

Source: Cho, 2004

(Photo 6) Places in *Hong-dae* area

Near the club area

A café located in the residential house, behind the university

One of art academies in the art academy street

A publishing company run by an art academy

Inside *Hong-ik University*

A street behind the subway station, the most commercial area

The commercial area at night

Source: Cho, 2004

Some club managers and musicians, however, questioned whether the *Hongdae* area and its culture have been overrated. For example, a live club manager whom I interviewed said,

> I think the culture of here or the clubs here are not so special. Musicians come here to play. I just like music. It's anyway business…I don't find it nice and actually I don't like it that people claim that a rock culture developed here. (Interview 2003)

A so-called indie musician said that he did not intend to resist against anything but just wanted to play music (*Hanky*oreh *21* 4 September 1997).

A music magazine posed a question particularly whether a so-called 'resistant

and independent *Hong-dae* music scene' was constructed by cultural critics and journalist who produced articles and research on it (*Oi Music* August 2003). Discourses on the *Hong-dae* area have been produced since the 1990s, when Korean society witnessed a new discovery of culture. Those topics such as soap operas, Internet cafes and hair dyeing occupied the studies on everyday life and expanded the boundaries of cultural studies in the 1990s (*Seoul Cultural Theory Studies Forum* 2002). From my own experience in the 1990s, if young people were wearing *Levi's* (an American jeans brand), it was a form of cultural colonization and if they were listening to *Nirvana* (also an American music band), it was a new youth movement. It seemed that what young people were wearing, drinking, listening and buying became cultural phenomena in that period. The prosperity of cultural studies in the 1990s was significant since previously, political economic studies occupied social science studies. In general, Korean society in the 1990s was considered as greatly different from that of the 1980s.

For example, Kim (Kim, B. A. 2002: 206), a novelist, who experienced her 20s in the 1980s and her 30s in the 1990s, said that it was impossible to explain Korean society in the 1990s with the language of the 1980s and to understand the society in the 1980s with the sentiment of the 1990s. She says that when she was a university student in the 1980s, 'AIDS' meant 'Anti Imperial Direct Struggle' among the students, which nobody, she assumes, would have understood it in the 1990s (ibid). Yet, Lee (Lee, J. W. 1999: 117) sees the distinctiveness of the 1990s as being "an empty work out of a grand style" and criticises self-indulging sentiment, aesthetics and styles in the 1990s. Whether it was a celebration of a new sentiment or a criticism for an empty style, the *Hong-dae* area was often singed out as an example of a new cultural phenomenon.

Although it was often reported that the unique atmosphere of the *Hong-dae* area was weakened by consumption and entertainment-oriented places such as shops, restaurants, dance clubs and karaoke shops[21], diversity, uniqueness and alternativeness are still referred to as the characteristics of the *Hong-dae* area. For example, according to the survey conducted during my field research in 2004[22], informants associated the area with the descriptions of being 'free', 'young', 'idiosyncratic', 'deviant', 'bustling', 'alternative' and 'cool'. The informants regarded *Club Day*[23], art, street fashion, independent music, street hawkers, cafés and restaurants and *Fringe*

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[21] *Hankyoreh 21* 7 November 2002; *JoongAang Daily* 23 June 2004; *Donga Daily* 06 August 2005
[22] The questionnaires were sent to visitors in the daytime in the *Hong-dae* area and students inside the *Hong-ik University* in October 2004. 99 people out of 100 answered the questions. The question set is composed of 12 questions and it is mixed with a multiple choice set and short discussion questions. People were allowed to choose more than one answer in the case of multiple questions. See appendix.
[23] It is an event where people are allowed to tour 11 clubs (in the case of 2004) in the *Hong-dae* area with a single ticket. It takes place on every fourth Friday of the month.

Festival[24] as the factors contributing towards making the *Hong-dae* area famous[25]. Also, according to the feasibility study on the *Hong-dae* cultural district (HEDI 2004b), diversity was singled out as the major image of the area.

(Photo 7) A Self-Portrait of *Hong-dae* People

그들과 나는

어른들이 싫어할 법한 이야기들만 한다.
길을 걷거나 커피를 마시거나 서점에 가는 것을 좋아한다.
세상의 중심에서 조급하게 사는 것보다 변두리에서 빈둥거리기를 원한다.
지금 그대로도 괜찮다고 말해준다.
그냥 터덜터덜 삐뚤삐뚤 걷자고 한다.

마켓에서 만난 내 고마운 친구들……
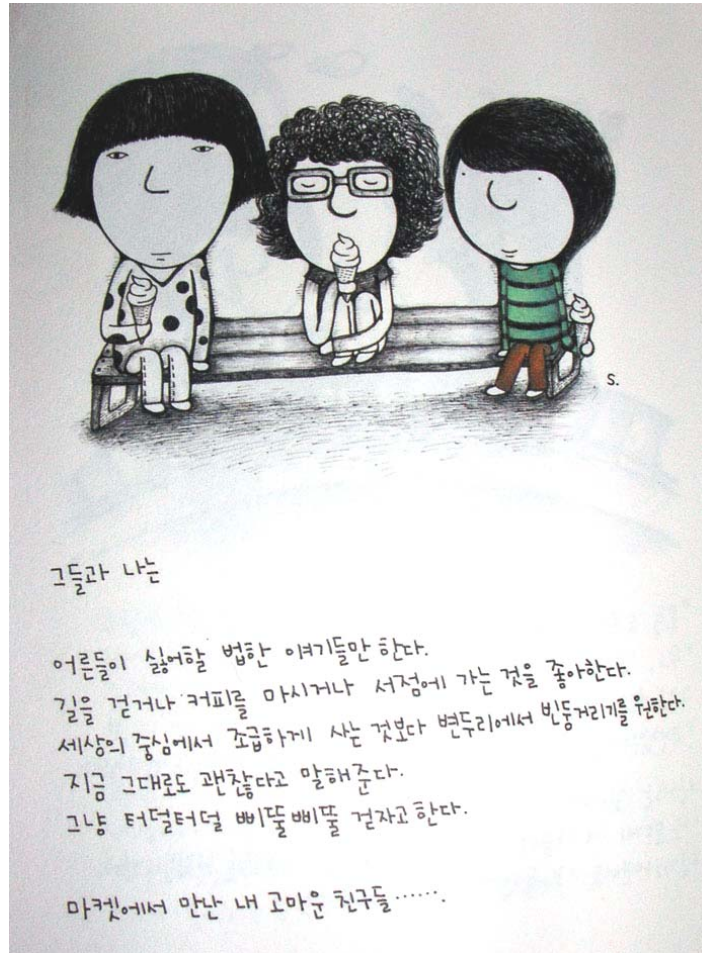
An illustration in a book describing the author and her friends. "They and I talk about things that the adult wouldn't like. We love strolling along the street, drinking coffee and going to book shops. We want to laze in the outside rather than to live in haste in the middle of the world. We talk to each other that we are fine as we are. We say that we will trudge and wobble as we do. My precious friends that I've met in the (*Free*) Market…."

Source: Lee, H. J., 2005: 118 (with permission from the author)

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[24] It was known as the *Independent Arts Festival* and was held in various spots in Seoul from 1998 until 2001. It was initiated by independent artists working in the field of performance, dance, music, art and independent movie. In 2001, the festival was changed to the *Seoul Fringe Festival* and the site of the festival has moved to the *Hong-dae* area and has become an international festival.
[25] To the question, which asks factors that contribute to making the *Hong-dae* area famous, people selected clubs and the *Club Day* 55 times out of 180 all the choices made. Art was selected 36 times, street fashion 28, indie music 22, street hawkers 15, cafes and restaurants 15 and *Fringe Festival* 6. Additionally, *Free Market* (art market) was selected 1 time, art academies 1 and do-not- know 1. See appendix.

2.2   Top 5 Sites as Representation of *Hong-dae* Culture

McCannell (1989: 111), in his research on tourist, points out that sightseers do not see San Francisco but visit only some elements, that is, markers of attractions and symbolic meanings, in a set called San Francisco. He shows that tourist attractions are formulated into meaningful sites by being attached to various types of information (ibid). He also says that such sites often symbolise something different from the initial meanings given to them (ibid). In this respect, tourist attractions, as markers of symbolic meanings, show the way that sites are coupled with certain information and come to represent particular meanings. Yet, McCannell argues that such coupling processes are deeply affected by collective experiences. In other words, tourist attractions reveal the workings of social structure, which determines the way that sites and information are conjoined to become 'attractions'.

Similar to tourist attractions, specific places and sites in the *Hong-dae* area represent the area while giving people the impression of being unique and creative. Interestingly, commercial places such as cafés, clubs and shops which are pervasive everywhere in any city represent the vivid 'cultural' scene of the *Hong-dae* area. These commercial places have become the markers of '*Hong-dae* culture' by being combined with particular information, images, memories and experiences.

For example, '*Hong-dae* style', which refers to clothes and accessories sold in the local shops, is seen as an element of *Hong-dae* culture (interview 2003; interview 2004). A visitor said that art academies occupying an entire street represented *Hong-dae* culture (interview 2004). A café manager said that *Whangeom Toogu*, a club that has existed since 1996, represented the history of *Hong-dae* culture (interview 2004). The *Club Culture Association* (CCA 2004: 6) states that the dance clubs have created a unique *Hong-dae* culture and Korean style club culture. According to Lee (Lee, M. Y. 2003: 354), the live and dance clubs have particularly played a great role in constructing the identity of the *Hong-dae* area as 'cultural incubator' and 'cultural engine', which generates cultural energy and creativity.

Accordingly, 'live clubs', 'dance clubs', 'streets of hawkers', 'streets of fashion' and 'cafés and restaurants' are chosen as the 'Top 5 Sites' that represent *Hong-dae* culture, although they are not conventionally regarded as cultural places. They are selected based upon my interview and observation data and the analysis of extant literature. This literature includes media coverage, academic works, travel guide books, information on the Internet and reports provided by the HEDI and the SDI. For example, according to the result of the questionnaire that I administered, clubs, art, street fashion, independent music and street hawkers comprise the top 5 factors that have made the area famous. The rest are followed by cafés and restaurants, art festivals and art markets. According to the feasibility study (HEDI 2004b: 131),

diversity, clubs, unique shops and galleries and theatres make a list of the representative image of the area. Cafés, independent and underground atmosphere, art academies, theatres and streets are chosen as the top 5 cultural resources in the HEDI report (HEDI 2004b: 134). The Top 5 Sites will demonstrate the way that such sites have become the markers of *Hong-dae* culture.

2.2.1   Site 1: Dance Clubs

The dance clubs in the *Hong-dae* area have become so widely known that the official Internet homepages of the *Mapo* district office and the *Seoul Metropolitan Government* (SMG) frame the information about the clubs as a local attraction[26]. Although these dance clubs are leading to a so-called club culture and widely known to the public, the majority of the dance clubs, however, are illegally run due to an absence of appropriate legal provisions for the dance club business. The illegality of the dance club business has been pointed out as a controversial issue among the dance club people and the district authorities.

The dance clubs started appearing in the *Hong-dae* area since 1995, when cultural workers, foreigners and students who came back from studying abroad gathered in the area and sought new cultural places, which would fit their cultural tastes (Lee, M. Y. 2003: 130). Ryu[27] (interview 2004) is of the opinion that the economic prosperity in the late 1980s[28] led foreigners, international students and professional cultural workers to meet together in the *Hong-dae* area in the 1990s. In addition, he said that an accident that occurred in 1994, which disconnected a bridge connecting the southern and the northern Seoul resulted in the concentration of people in the *Hong-dae* area.

Sangsoodo, *M.I*, *Jokerred* and *Hodge Podge* were all opened in 1995 (Lee, M. Y. 2003: 100). Later, *Underground* and *Hooper* appeared in 1996, *Whangkeom Toogu*, *Matmata*, *Saab* in 1997, and *101*, *108*, *Hiranya* and *nbinb* in 1999 (ibid). In 2002, the dance clubs comprised 63. 6 % of all dance clubs in the entire nation and formed 72.4 % of those in Seoul (ibid). In 2004, when the HEDI was conducting the feasibility study on the *Hong-dae* cultural district, the number of the dance clubs in the locale was reported as twenty-eight (2004b: 61).

At first, there were two different types of dance clubs. One was called 'techno

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[26]http://www.visitseoul.net/korean_new/seoul_seoul/k20010829_cafe/k20010829_cafe_m01.htm, http://www.mapo.seoul.kr/

[27] Ryu is running a cultural programme company in the *Hong-dae* area.

[28] There were many changes in the 1980s such as the *Olympic Games* which took place in 1988, travel abroad became liberalised in 1989, and the national economy was growing significantly throughout the 1980s.

club' and the other was 'dance club'. The techno clubs were clubs where literally techno music was played whilst the dance clubs referred to places where people could dance to various genres of music. When the techno clubs were emerging, the style of music was important. Techno music was introduced as the latest music genre, comprising a part of digital culture. However, techno music was not very popular among audiences since it was considered as rather long-winded and difficult for dancing. Therefore, relatively easier music for dancing such as hip-hop and standard dance music replaced techno music. Consequently, the distinction between the techno club and the dance club became insignificant. Due to the popularity of the dance clubs, when people say that they go to 'club', it usually means that they go to a dance club. Generally, it is easy to get information about the dance clubs. There is a lot of information about them on the Internet. For example, people share information and photos of clubs in some Internet community cafés[29]. They are often used as guides for those who are not familiar with the clubs.

(Photo 8) Dance Clubs

A club located in the basement of a normal office building. Sometimes, it is difficult to find a club located in a normal building in a residential area.

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[29] An Internet café in Korea usually refers to a community for particular interests and topics on the Internet.

A sign board without specific information about club
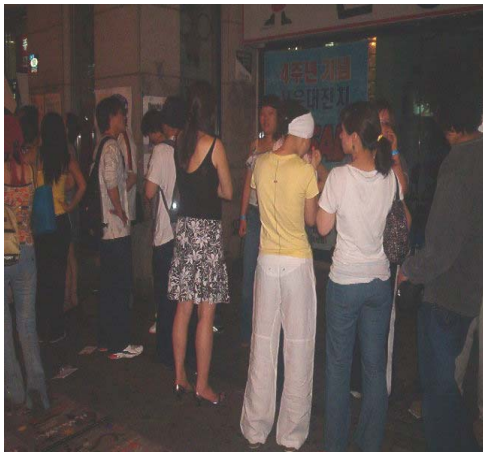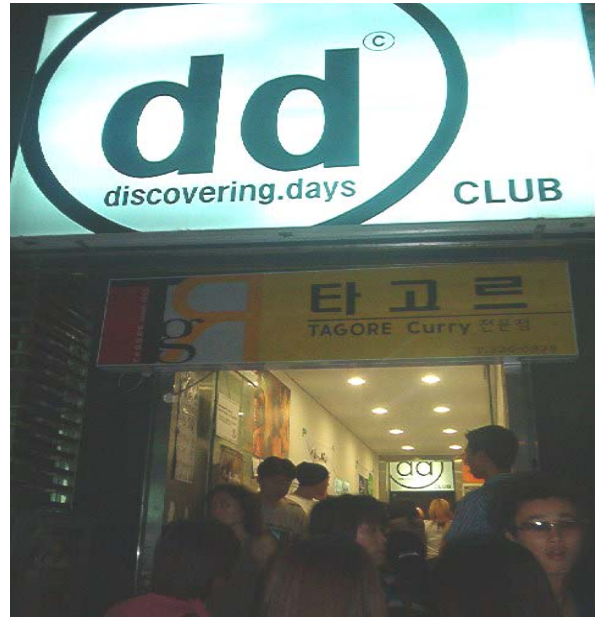
People lining up to enter

At the entrance one of the most popular clubs

Source: Top: Cho, 2006; Middle: Cho, 2004; Bottom left: Yu, 2004; Bottom right: Cho, 2004
I asked Yu to look around the *Hong-dae* area and to take photos of any object which attracted her.

In general, the clubs are small in size[30] and located in the basement of buildings. People pay an entrance fee at a main gate of a club, which is directly connected to a hall where people can dance. Entrance fees include one bottle of water or beer and people can stay there as long as they want without ordering any drink. There are seats and tables but they are located at the corner of the hall occupying a small section of the room. This allows people to concentrate on dancing. DJs play music in a booth prepared in the hall.

Among those who visit the clubs in the *Hong-dae* area for the first time, they often say that the clubs are different from those in other places. For example, there are

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[30] According to Lee (Lee, M. Y. 2003), they are 3-40 or 7-80 Pyeong (1 pyeong is equivalent to 6.013 m³).

many reports on clubbing in the *Hong-dae* area in Internet community cafés. One report, which is written by *Jini*[31], reveals that clubs in the area means an alternative choice for those who do not like existing nightclubs. In general, nightclubs have a stage for dancing and many tables and chairs, where people sit together and drink. People do not pay entrance fees but have to occupy one table and order drinks in nightclubs.

> Here, in *Chungju*[32], there is no club culture. Sometimes I went to the clubs here…but music is weird and furthermore there are often strange affairs. So I went to the *Hong-dae* area. When I was about to go for a drink, I heard loud music so I just entered the club without knowing where it was. Music was good and the light was so strong… (Jini Internet café bulletin board cited in 2004)

On the other hand, Lee (Lee, M. Y. 2003)[33] sees the dance clubs in the area as being more cultural and communicative. He emphasises the communication between DJs and clubbers and among clubbers as important for creating an atmosphere of the dance clubs. He points out that the clubbers in the *Hong-dae* area express their feelings and sentiments to DJs and DJs carefully observe clubbers dancing and in turn improvise their 'performance' (ibid). He sees that the clubs in the *Hong-dae* area has contributed to the perception of clubbing as a form of performance. This is similar to Malbon's argument, where he considers clubbing as harmonious with "lights, sounds, [the] ritual of dancing and intimacy with audience and DJs" (1998: 271).

The *Seoul Development Institute* (SDI) compared the existing clubs, which are labelled as 'nightclubs' and dance clubs, and stated that the dance clubs strived for the promotion of music and culture rather than making profit (SDI 2000: 112).

(Table 1) Comparison between Nightclubs and Dance clubs shown in SDI Report

	Nightclubs	Dance Clubs
Cost	Average more than 100,000 ₩[34]	Between 5,000 and 10,000 ₩
Major Customers	Young people Those who like to drink, dance and flirt	No age limit People engaged in professional jobs and young people with sensitivity

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[31] This refers to the ID for the internet café.
[32] A city located from the south of Seoul
[33] He is a member of the *Club Culture Association* (CCA) and used to be a researcher in the *Seoul Development Institution* (SDI).
[34] Won (₩) is Korean currency. 1250 won is about 1 euro (2006).

Size	Big (200~600 pyeong)	Small (40~60 pyeong)
Management	Waiter and guard Related to gangs Profit-making	No waiter and guard No relation to gangs Promotion of dance and culture
Visitors	Drunken Mind others' existence Flirting	Not drunken but only concentrating on dancing and music No flirting

Source: Reformulation of the table in the SDI report on *2002 World Cup* Strategic Areas, SDI 2000, p. 112

Lee's explanation and the comparison provided by the SDI are, to a certain extent, exaggerated since the dance clubs have been often criticised for becoming flirting places and bringing in consumption-oriented culture into the locale. Yet, the dance clubs are generally considered as more music and dance oriented than nightclubs.

Some people were, however, unfamiliar with the dance clubs. Yu told me that she visited a club in the *Hong-dae* for the first time, although she visited the area for shopping previously (interview 2003). Yet, she told me that she heard that the clubs in the *Hong-dae* area are cool and stylish. The club, which she visited, is one of the most famous ones in the *Hong-dae* area, especially for its hip-hop orientation and famous DJs. She has been to nightclubs therefore she compared clubs in the *Hong-dae* area with nightclubs in other areas:

> Well, you know, people in nightclubs do not dance in that way. There, people drink and dance with others. Some guys and women try to attract each other. Here, it looks a bit strange. People look like as if they think differently from others… It's like that they dance in order to fit the atmosphere.

She later commented that she had to 'learn' how to dance. Otherwise she would dance too differently from the people in the club. She mentioned that the club was interesting but unfamiliar.

Although the dance clubs in the area are generally considered as places for music and dancing, fashion style matters to some people. For example, a great concern on clothes was found among the members in one Internet community café.

> The photos taken by *PePe* took away my motivation for clubbing in *Hong-dae*. Are they only for handsome and pretty ones? So chic all of you look. I wonder whether I dare to go… (*koom* Internet café bulletin board cited in 2004)

Actually I went there to look for a girl. Other people were hugging and kissing. But I didn't dare to do so because I'm not that stylish and good-looking. (*To make myself by twisting her*[35] Internet café bulletin board cited in 2004)

During interviews and conversations with people, it was often observed that informants mentioned about the ways of dressing in the clubs. Some of them appreciated it as fashionable and cool but some of them disapproved it as showy and vulgar. For example, Lyu expressed her uneasiness with clothes and dancing style as "ostentatious" (interview 2004). This sentiment is often found among people who complain that the clubs are becoming a spot for flirting. However, fashion style seems to play a significant role in creating an atmosphere of the clubs.

(Photo 9) Clubbers in *Hong-dae* area

Some people are standing at the stage and some are chatting at the corner. Those below 18 are not allowed to enter some of the clubs.

Clubbers concentrating on dancing

Source: Yu, 2004. Yu took the photos around the *Hong-dae* area for this research in 2004.

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[35] Name of ID

(Photo 10) Club Posters in *Hong-dae* area

Source: Yu, 2004

The following articles are written as a form of travelogue by the reporters from a newspaper and a weekly magazine:

> Around 300 young women and men were packed in the basement less than 50 pyeong. Their grooves were not that strong but their faces showed full of excitement…outside the venue, there was a long queue over 30m. There were the waves of people moving from one club to another. Although it was quite chilly, there were girls wearing tank-tops and mini-skirts. Some people were wearing loose T-shirts and jeans. It seems that any particular trend does not exist. People were wearing according to their own styles. (*Hankyoreh* 31 October 2004)

> 5 a.m., the streets of the *Hong-dae* area: music is still played in the clubs. Couples of young people wearing the clothes, which would be hardly found in any place within Korea, are gathering here and there and cooling down in the fresh air at the crack of dawn. (*Cine 21* 11 March 2004)

The reporters perceived the clothes that clubbers were wearing as unique and idiosyncratic and that clubbers were self-contended with music and dancing.

(Map 2) Major Dance Clubs registered for *Club Day* in 2004
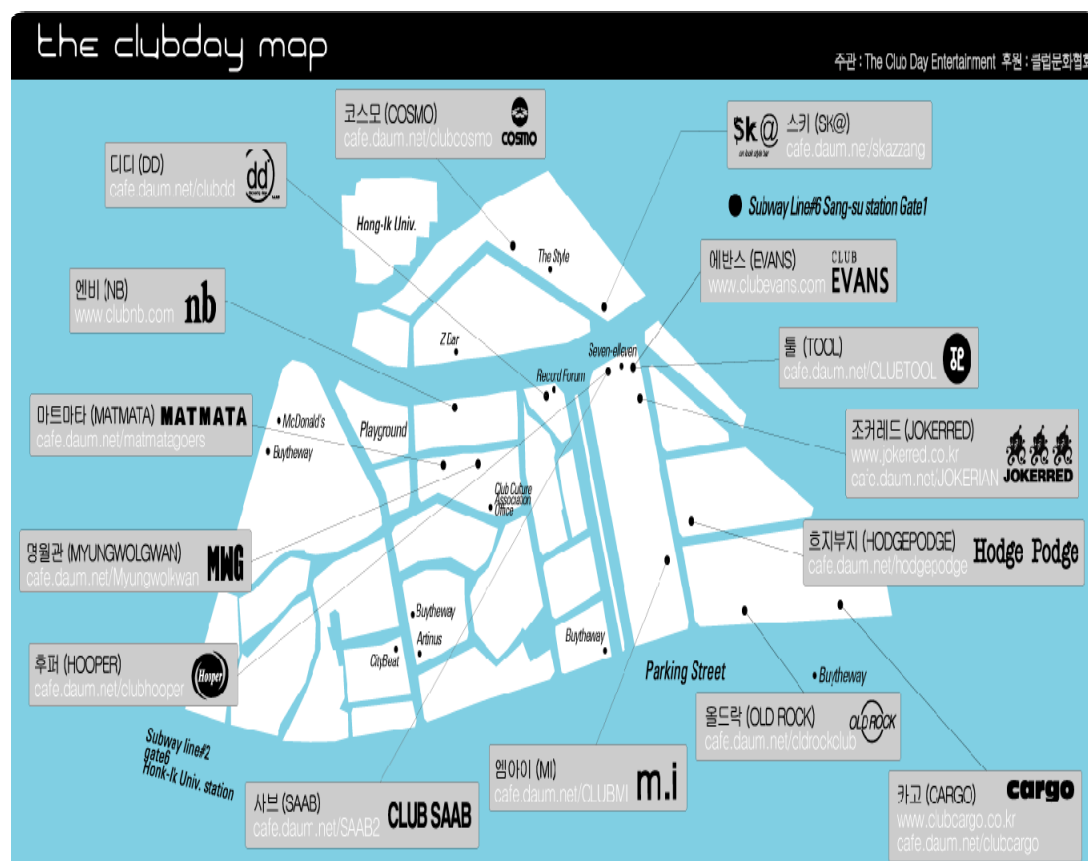
Source: Internet homepage of *Club Culture Association* (CCA), cited in 2004

Recently, however, these dance clubs are criticised for worsening commercialisation processes and for dominating the cultural scene of the area. It is generally said that the dance clubs seek more visitors while paying less attention to music programmes than the previous time. They are said to become places for entertainment and hedonism rather than for the appreciation of music and dancing[36]. In particular, a great success of *Club Day*, which takes place on every fourth Friday of the month has popularised the dance clubs and has drawn enormous visitors to the area. Some people criticise it for dumping down entire *Hong-dae* culture (interviews).

> It was a place for very special people, for those who think themselves very special. But now very normal people easily think the area as a mere place for a dance event or something like a festival. (Interview 2004)

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[36] *Hankoyreh 21* (07 November 2002a); *Hankoyreh 21* (07 November 2002b); *Jugan Hankuk* (23 June 2004); *Film 2.0* (30 November 2004); *Donga Daily* (6 August 2005); *Munhwa Daily* (22 July 2006); *Kyunghang Daily* (30 October 2006)

In fact, the representative of the *Club Culture Association* (CCA) mentioned the achievement of the dance clubs as "a half success and a half failure" (minutes of *Hong-dae Culture Academy* (HCA) Internet homepage cited in 2006). He continued that the popularisation of the dance clubs, to a certain extent, lowered the quality of cultural programmes provided by the dance clubs.

(Photo 11) A Ticket for *Club Day*

A ticket reveals that *Club Day* is sponsored by big companies. There were often free cigarette at the entrance of the clubs on *Club Day*.

Source: Cho, 2004

(Photo 12) A Street packed with Cars on *Club Day* and Dawn after *Club Day*

A street leading to the club area is filled with cars.
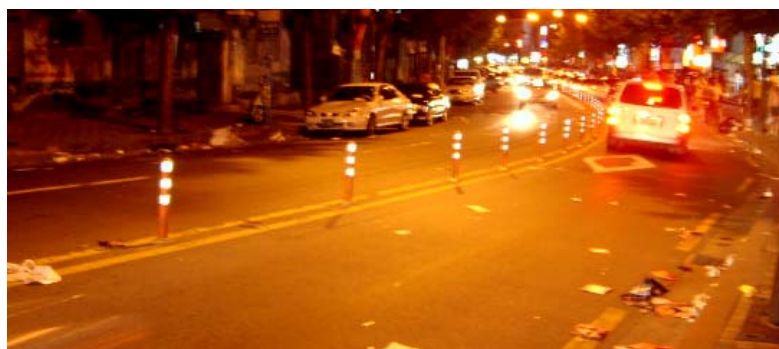
Many posters littered on the streets in the early morning after *Club Day*

Source: Cho, 2004

The dance clubs are now facing a challenge to achieve balance between popularity and quality (minutes of *Hong-dae Culture Academy* (HCA) Internet homepage cited in 2006). 'Popularity' seems to refer to many visitors in the dance clubs while 'quality' is meant to be various music programmes such as diverse genres of music and events. In order to generate creative energy within the dance clubs, the CCA has campaigned for self-regulatory rules. For example, the dance clubs are controlling visitors. In particular, American soldiers were not allowed to enter in any dance club since they were often link to drug problems and debauchery.

(Photo 13) A Signboard for GI's in Dance Club

A signboard in front of a club states: "We sincerely apologize, but due to many previous bad experiences, GI's are no longer permitted to enter *Hong-dae* Clubs".

Source: Cho, 2004

One recent example of the campaigns of the CCA is that it provided a poster, which wrote that "We do not **** on the *Hong-dae* streets" (CCA 2005).

(Poster 1) Poster of "We do not **** on the *Hong-dae* streets" provided by CCA

Source: Internet homepage of CCA, cited in 2006

2.2.2　Site 2: Live Clubs

Since a 'club' in the *Hong-dae* area means a dance club, other types of clubs are given specific labels such as a 'jazz club', a 'salsa club' and a 'live club'. Currently, the dance clubs monopolise the term 'club', which is often criticised by other clubs, especially people from the live clubs. They often say that the dance clubs are misguidedly representing the whole club scene. For example, a live club manager said:

> Unfortunately, the *Hong-dae* area, which was for mania groups, is getting so much popularised due to the clubs. It's been representing as a flirting place for the young. (Interview 2003)

'Mania' seems to refer to people who frequently come to the *Hong-dae* area in order to appreciate performance and music in the live clubs. The live clubs are regarded as different from the dance clubs since the former are more associated with live performance of bands, while the latter with DJ and clubbers. Entitled to places for underground or independent culture, the live clubs have distinguished themselves as places for resistant and alternative attitudes.

In fact, the live clubs in the *Hong-dae* area gave birth to an independent culture and the club scene in the early 1990s (Kim, J. H. 2000; Lee, M. Y. 2003). The live clubs were depicted as places of an "underground culture representing the energy of the youth, challenge, aspiration, experimentation and sensibility" (*Segye Daily* 18 February 2004). Currently, the number of the live clubs is twenty-two in 2004 (HEDI 2004b).

The live band performance at first started in clubs inside the American army bases which existed in Seoul during the 1960s (Lee, M. Y. 2003). However, there was no club exclusively for live performance and rock music was banned from being broadcast in the 1970s due to censorship by the dictator regime (ibid). Therefore, live music bands played a minor role in Korean pop music until the 1980s. Yet, since the middle of the 1990s when a club called *Drug* (see Photo 14) was opened in the *Hong-dae* area in 1994, the number of live clubs increased and this led to the emergence of an independent music scene (Kim, J. H. 2000; Lee, S. M. 2000).

As discussed earlier, Korea in the 1990s observed social stability, economic prosperity and growing interests in culture. The press, cultural critics and scholars showed a great interest in the live clubs, where young amateur musicians played rock and punk. *Freebird*, *Jammers*, *RollingStones* and *Spangle* were opened in 1996. Labels and magazines for independent music were established and the *Open Club Union*, the first union of the live clubs, was established in 1997. This union played a significant role in the promotion of an independent cultural scene. Its members, who

had concurrent positions such as scholars, cultural critics and NGO members publicised the live clubs and achieved the institutionalisation of the live clubs as places of performance in 1999.

(Photo 14) Live Clubs

The wall next to the main gate of *Jammers*.

Entrance of *Jammers*

Stage of a live club called, *Soundholic*

Source: Top: Cho, 2004; Bottom: http://www.soundholic.co.kr, citied in 2007

It seems that the bands' performance in the live clubs, for some people, is regarded as cultural production while dancing in the dance clubs as having fun or relieving stress:

> Well, isn't it that people come to dance clubs to just dance…but those who play live clubs at least practice singing and prepare for performance. They are prepared. But dancing is for fun, it's different. (Interview 2004)

> Here (live clubs) is for appreciating performance and there (dance clubs) is for dancing, enjoying and relieving out stress. (Interview 2003)

The above interview data shows that some people consider live clubs are more serious about music than dance clubs.

A reporter from a newspaper wrote that the live clubs, which are for serious music, are overthrown by the dance clubs, where young people enjoy "one night stand" (*Kyeonghyang Daily* 16 November 2006):

> *Huh, who are going such places?* (Italics in original)…"Are you talking about the live clubs? Aha… who are going to the live clubs these days? They are not stylish." I asked a question about the live clubs but an unexpected answer came back. While the *Hong-dae* clubs in the 1990s were places of experiment providing young people with various genres of music, currently they have become places for 'one night stand'…*Rock pushed away by Dance and Money* (italics in original)…Hwang Ee Guy (33), a member of modern rock band called *EQ Maniac*, told me in a street pub, "I'm afraid whether we can continue our performance. Audiences are very few. We once played music in front of just 10 people. But, we had quite many today." Yet, his voice was buried under a blaring hip-hop sound from a near-by dance club.

Yet, there appeared also criticisms on the idealisation of an independent music scene. One music magazine is of the opinion that scholars and critics chose independent music as an alternative to social evolution movements (*Oi Music* August 2003). Suh (2000: 287), a cultural critic, points out a theory-oriented approach towards independent music scene by indicating that cultural critics applied the history of the western pop culture to Korean pop music:

> It seems that we over-worshiped the history of the western popular music, which started from rock 'n' roll and came to alternative rock. Including me, we habitually worship rock 'n' roll as a grand and common meta-history, which we approve as the history.

In tandem, Cho[37] argued that intellectuals who were looking for a new subject of social science after the Marxism became out of fashion created discourses on independent music (Interview 2004):

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[37] Cho runs a cultural event company. He used to be a base-guitar player in a band and an editor of a magazine. He is one of the founding members of the *Hong-dae Culture and Arts Cooperation* (HCAC) which was established in 2004.

These were written and told by wandering intellectuals. Later, some of them went to environmental movements, some to cultural movements and others to civil right movements. Well, it's overdone by cultural researchers.

However, cultural critics have stopped producing discourses revolving an independent music since the 2000's. The business of the live clubs has been sluggish and some clubs have closed down due to financial difficulties. Some music magazines and newspapers reported that the boom of live clubs was a glorious past and that they lost their dominance to dance clubs.

> (With the delirious eyes) The year 1999 was when the *Delispice*, *Sister's Barbershop* and *Noisegarden* were robustly releasing their second albums! It was a Renaissance! (As if resigned) Would the days like that come again? Years ago, in *Shin-chon* and the *Hong-dae* area, small live clubs were mushrooming everywhere and lots of the bands were playing. They were paid attention to as an alternative to monotonous Korean pop music. (*Oi Music* February 2003)

> As the hegemony of club culture has gone to dance clubs, there appeared concerned voices. Contrary to live clubs that produce experimental creativity, dance clubs are regarded as places for fun and dancing, which led *Hong-dae* culture to become entertainment culture. (*Donga Daily* 06 August 2005)

As a result, the live clubs established the *Live Club Union* (LCU) and have tried to attain a success in selling their music in markets while involving themselves more actively in the local community.

(Photo 15) Bands in Live Clubs

Performance by *Load Fear*

A live band in a practice section

Source: *Kyeonghyang Daily* 16 November 2006

Even though music production is not as vigorous as it was during its heydays in the 1990s, the physical appearance of the live clubs is a major site of the area. They are still introduced as an important part of *Hong-dae* culture such as the production of original independent music and an alternative to mainstream Korean pop music.

> It's nice that we can see music performance everywhere and anytime. Although they are not famous, they are interesting bands. (*GMV* September 2003: 71)

> The reason why we have moved to the *Hong-dae* area is that it was impossible to bring all the instruments here from our studio whenever we had concerts. Also for better access to people and everything, we were obliged to come to the *Hong-dae* area. (Interview 2004)

The *Hong-dae* area is still a place where musicians, producers, labels and studios are congregated and where many famous bands are based. Musicians tend to gather in the *Hong-dae* area due to music agencies, social networks and music production facilities located in the area.

2.2.3 Site 3: Street Hawkers

Look at that pinkie small lorry! That's really something that we can see only here. (Interview 2004)

(Photo 16) Street Hawkers in *Hong-dae* Area

Source: Cho, 2004

The street hawkers in the *Hong-dae* area are mainly lined along the playground, which is located in front of the main gate of *Hong-ik University*. Yet, more sellers have appeared along other streets. Since people light up small lamps in the night, the colourful accessories, clothes and glittering lamps create an illuminating view. They sell various fashion items and handicrafts till midnight.

(Photo 17) Street Hawkers in the Night

Source: Cho, 2004

(Photo 18) Street Hawkers around Playground (the street towards the club area)

Source: Cho, 2004

According to one seller, those who started selling around the playground, were in fact artists who brought their strings, dyestuffs and colours in order to sell their artworks (interview 2004). These street hawkers are regarded as having contributed towards making *Hong-dae* a unique place by creating a unique atmosphere.

> 6 p.m. In front of the playground facing *Hong-ik University*, young street hawkers were making their stands. They are selling colourful accessories and clothes made by them. They are one of creators, who have made the unique '*Hong-dae* fashion'. (*Munhwa Daily* 26 August 2003)

> It was so beautiful. Everybody lit candlelight due to the lack of electricity. Many photographers came here to take photos and people in buses and cars often got off just to take photos. Later outsiders came and commercial zones appeared all along. Therefore, here and there are different. Very different because we, selling in this side, have to bear in mind that people wouldn't buy anything that can be found in other markets. (Interview 2004)

The street hawker whom I interviewed distinguished the streets around the playground by calling them as 'here' and 'there'. According to him, 'here' refers to the street along the playground which faces *Hong-ik University* while 'there' points towards other street along the playground connected towards the club, restaurant and café areas. Generally, people who occupy the street facing the university sell hand-made accessories and clothes. These people often stress that their products are unique by saying that they and their friends[38] make products or fly to other countries, such as Japan, Italy and India, to purchase unique items (interview 2004).

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[38] By saying that their friends make products, sellers imply that they know the producers of products.

Some street hawkers along the street towards the club area, however, emphasised that they designed products themselves. Even in the case of selling ready-made products, they carefully selected the items:

> Yes, I make almost everything by myself but also buy some items from others, but only the things that reach my own taste. That's why mine are a bit expensive. (Interview 2004)

Interestingly, one street hawker in the street towards the club area also used the expression of 'here' (interview 2004):

> I make everything by myself since people here are looking for something unique.

According to her, 'here' refers to the *Hong-dae* area not particular streets within the area. 'Here' distinguishes the *Hong-dae* area from other places as a place where 'unique' products are appreciated.

Based on interview data obtained from street hawkers who were selling 'unique' items 'here' (the street facing the university and the street towards the club area), the main difference between sellers 'here' and sellers 'there' (the street towards the club area and non-*Hong-dae* areas) is whether they have 'artistic skills' to make hand-made products or 'artistic minds' to find and purchase unique and aesthetic items. Yet, 'here' denotes different places depending on how street hawkers select 'here' as a marker of the *Hong-dae* area in comparison with 'there'.

(Photo 19) Products sold by Street Hawkers

Hand-made earrings bought from a street seller

This is one of the T-shirts that I bought in 2004. A seller told me that she designed all the T-shirts by herself so that they cannot be found in any other place.

Source: Cho, 2007

There exists, however, a tension between 'artists' and 'street hawkers'. There used to be so-called flea markets that took place irregularly. These flea markets have developed as a weekend arts market, *Free Market*, which has taken place at the playground since 2002. The main idea of the market is to connect local young artists to consumers (*Free Market* Internet Homepage cited in 2006). In principle, people can sell their artworks at the market on the condition that they are registered as a member artist of *Free Market*. Therefore, people who sell their arts works in the market are called artists not street hawkers.

The following is the statement about *Free Market* (*Free Market* Internet Homepage citied in 2007):

> The Free Market is an "open market" event where fine artists meet and exchange ideas with visitors to create real works of art in an open public space (like a street or park). There are no barriers between artists and visitors; it's a free environment for the evolution of ideas and by working together to create individual works of art. Any visitor can participate and become a fine artist by "tapping into" their own creativity, feelings and style. The Free Market encourages this with the guidance of skilled artists who can assist visitors in creating their own personal expression.[39]

The above explanation of *Free Market* clearly shows that the market aims to become a guardian of art through supporting the production of artworks.

There is also a *Free Market* office which authorises the membership of *Free Market* artists and conceive various programmes for the market (see Photo 21).

(Photo 20) *Free Market* Office

Door to the *Free Market* office   Inside the *Free Market* office

Source: Cho, 2004

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[39] This is originally written in English as an English website of *Free Market*.

There are one representative, seven executive members and other members in charge of market organisation, design, performance and the Internet homepage. Particularly, the seven executive members consist of NGO members from *Cultural Action* (CA) and *Green Union* (GU), a researcher from the *Korea Culture and Tourism Policy Institute* (KCTPI) and cultural intermediaries engaged in networking cultural events and people. This membership indicates that *Free Market* receives a wide-range of support from experts.

Some artists and market administrators criticised street hawkers for selling products, which were not fitting with the atmosphere of the area.

> *Free Market* started from sincerity. It was same to artists and visitors, something like a family atmosphere. But this place has been changing to a commercial zone, when street hawkers began to sell following artists. (*Weekly Hankook* 23 June 2004)

(Photo 21) A Bar between Street and Playground

This bar is constructed for guarding children in the playground. Yet, it draws the border between the 'street' where street hawkers sell their products and the 'playground' where *Free Market* takes place.

Source: Cho, 2004

However, one street hawker said that she also made artworks (interview 2004). She argued and that the only difference between her and 'artists' was that she was not registered as an artist of *Free Market* and sold products outside of the playground:

> They (who runs *Free Market*) say that the sellers outside of the playground are all street hawkers (see Photo 22)…They often look

down on us… just because I'm not a member of *Free market*, what I'm selling is considered as a market product. I want to come here everyday but *Free Market* takes place only on Saturday. If one does not keep that rule, one should be out.

The interviewee mentioned that she was regarded as selling a market product. A market product in the *Hong-dae* area generally means a product which is not handmade and manufactured for mass consumption.

(Photo 22) Artworks sold in *Free Market*

A stamp purchased from an artist in 2004

A hand-made bag bought from an artist in 2006

Source: Cho, 2007

To some extent, the street hawkers take advantage of the fame of the market. Yet, they need to sell 'artistic and unique' items in order to appeal to visitors, who expect unique products that are 'made in *Hong-dae*'. This certainly limits their choice of selling items. Being artistic and unique has become a marketing strategy even for the street hawkers in the *Hong-dae* area.

2.2.4   Site 4: Streets of Style

The expression, '*Hong-dae* style' can often be found in the media. An interesting point is that even though the term is widely used, its meaning is not clear-

cut and people assign different meanings to it.

(Photo 23) *Hong-dae* Street Fashion

Photographs of people on the street, taken by an Internet clothes shopping mall

Source: http://www.musinsa.com, cited in 2007

(Photo 24) A clothes Shop in *Hong-dae* Area
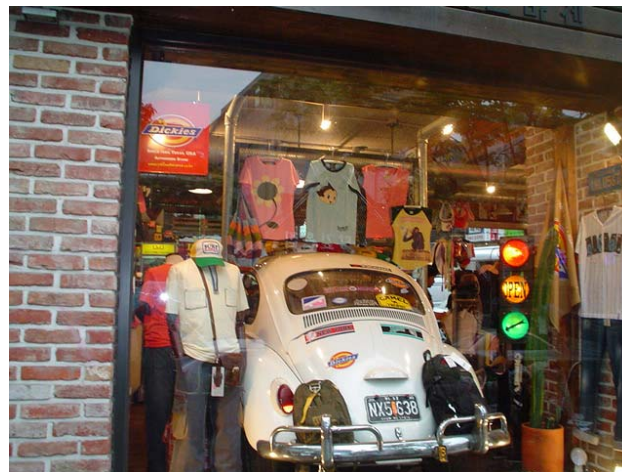
Source: Oh, 2004. Oh is a fashion-design student. I asked her to take some photos of which she found interesting in the *Hong-dae* area.

> The *Hong-dae* style means being somewhat free, bold and self-assertive rather than pretending. (Interview 2004)
>
> Somewhat dazzling, flamboyant and very short-cut skirts! (Interview 2004)

Even at first site, it's obvious that their style is not influenced by trend at all, such as, hairdo or dressing. There are many guys in their own ways, but recently it's going too much hippie. (Interview 2004)

The *Hong-dae* style is…if you read some magazines, such as *Ceci*, which many girls read you can find some sections like 'how to wear in the *Hong-dae* area'. (Interview 2004)

According to the interview data above, the *Hong-dae* style can be a hippie style, a natural way of looking, an idiosyncratic style and a new trend in fashion magazines. These various references to the *Hong-dae* style seem to show how differently people perceive the image of the area (see photo 23, 24 & 25).

(Photo 25) Clothes sold named as *Hong-dae* Style

Introduced as "*Hong-dae* style leather blue" in an Internet shop, *Urbanfish*

Source: http://www.urbanfish.co.kr, cited in 2007

Although there is no clear definition of the *Hong-dae* style, it is regarded as one of the trendiest fashions, which people from the fashion industry, advertisement agencies and journalists have to keep paying attention to. Some small shops in the area have their own designers and produce their own brands. Also there are networks of people providing items and services only for insiders.

> The commercial area in front of *Hong-ik University*, which is called as *Café Street* or *Orange Street* is changing into a new fashion plaza of the new generation. (*JoongAng Daily* 21 April 1995)

> In the department store, she says "it is called as club casual since this style looks much like what university students are wearing at the clubs in the *Hong-dae* area. (*JoongAng Daily* 8 November 2002)

> My friends took me to some people, who make the one and only hairdo or clothes…This kind of thing happens only through connection. In fact, these people are producing real unique cultures. (Interview 2004)

Although '*Hong-dae* style' in general denotes idiosyncrasy, there are, however, the boundaries of the *Hong-dae* style, which exclude certain factors. For example, looking formal and extravagant is not categorised as *Hong-dae* style and showing obvious class or educational distinctions is also denied. An interviewee, who just came to the *Hong-dae* area after his work, showed uneasiness with his suit and necktie. In another case, a woman, who was working in a commercial centre in Seoul changed her dress into jeans before coming to the *Hong-dae* area. A 'true' *Hong-dae* style seems to be vague and ambiguous, which does not reveal effort to create its style. *Hong-dae* style seems to cover difference among people such as social status, financial capacity and occupation by means of 'free style'.

This free style, paradoxically, seems to be restricted since it excludes some images but also requires a degree of 'quality'. For example, one informant emphasised that *Hong-dae* style should provide a liberal and cosmopolitan atmosphere and should not be cheap-looking (interview 2004):

> Don't you find it tiring to stay in other parts in Seoul? Places where look ok cost always too expensive in Seoul. But here things look quite ok, not that cheap-looking, somewhat having a Nippon style[40], somewhat liberal and quite cosmopolitan…We don't need much money here but still it is not shoddy …It's for us, for those who can't consume the luxurious but don't want low quality.

Another informant showed a name-card case (see photo 28) made out of the plastic packs of chewing gums. He said that his financial state was not stable enough to buy a proper one. Yet he demonstrated, according to my own observation, rather a high level of self-esteem as if he was demonstrating what a real artist should be.

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[40] Japanese style

(Photo 26) A Name-Card Holder made from Plastic Pack

A name card holder made from the plastic package of chewing gums.

The owner of the name card holder showed it to me while I was interviewing him. He said that he wanted to show me something nice. He was running a company which creates cultural contents for events and festivals and at the same time doing a part-time job as a waiter in a restaurant above his office.

Source: Cho, 2004

Indeed, '*Hong-dae* style' seems to be delicate and ambiguous for one to perform properly. It should have the 'quality' of being liberal, cosmopolitan, creative and stylish but should not show explicitly a telltale of class and status distinctions. As one interviewee expressed, *Hong-dae* style could be a shelter for those who are bewildered to or tired of extravagant fashions, which dominate current Korean society. It seems that *Hong-dae* style has been created both by those who are genuinely fashionable and free and by those who are performing themselves as such.

2.2.5 Site 5: Cafés and Restaurants

There are many cafés lined up along *Picasso Street*, the playground and behind *Hong-ik University*. These cafés occupy several narrow lanes and are located along residences and small shops. In the late 1980s, art students and young artists met together in some cafés and bars and they often held live performances and concerts. Later, these places developed into clubs. In the 1990s, new cafés with peculiar exterior and interior design and distinctive management concepts, such as providing fortune-telling services and selling art books and crafts, appeared. As a result, the term *Hong-dae* café was established. In particular, some cafés, where art students and artists held exhibitions and performances, were regarded as the birthplace of the so-

called *Hong-dae* people.

> The project cafés and clubs such as <Electronic Café>, <AlloAllo>, <Baljunso[41]>, <Space Ozone[42]> and <Gompangee[43]> are where "furious kids" were active in the late 80s and the early 90s. They produced provocative and avant-garde projects, exhibitions, plays and performances. However, now only their names remain. They were the incubators of recent diverse cultures and arts. (*Ssamzie Space* 2000: 25)

Yet, these cafés, which led to so-called café culture since the 1990s, have disappeared with the exception of some. Currently, there exist fewer cafés than in the 1990s since bars, restaurants and clubs have replaced some of them. Another change is that services and products from these cafés and restaurants have become diverse and expensive. As a café manager says, these next generation cafés have renowned reputations as social places of 'quality' (interview 2004):

> Earlier when people were in their 20s, they didn't have enough money in their pockets…Now they have become aged and have professional jobs. They want good quality even though they still want to feel their twenties.

Also, another informant said that *Hong-dae* people in the 1990s enjoyed music and a comfortable atmosphere but they have become, according to him, focused on making money and enjoying 'quality' atmosphere (interview 2004). It seems that 'quality' has become a keyword to describe the characteristic of the current cafés. Based on the interview with café managers, 'quality' seems to refer to luxurious and comfortable space, a high standard of drinks and food and various kinds of cultural events which cafés and restaurants provide for consumers.

According to an Internet magazine (*Goodtimezine* April and May 2006), the new cafés that have recently appeared are leading to a new cultural trend:

> The *Hong-dae* culture is still in evolution. As clubs have established as a mainstream culture, cafés are now leading to a new cultural trend as 'multi cultural cafés'. (*Goodtimezine* April 2006)

Interestingly, it is stated in the magazine that managers and owners of such new cafés are mainly artists who used to work in the *Hong-dae* area and that the cafés in the 1980s such as 'Electronic Café' and 'AlloAllo' have influenced the emergence of

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[41] 'Baljunso' means power plant.
[42] This was not located in the *Hong-dae* area but in *Chong-ro* in Seoul.
[43] 'Gompangee' means moulds.

'multi cultural cafés' (*Goodtimezine* May 2006):

> It is not accidental that the multi cultural cafés, which are run by artists who used to work in the *Hong-dae* area, have emerged here. At the end of the 1980s, there existed already multi-cultural places for exhibition, play, dance and performance. These are an electronic café called *Electronic Café* run by Ahn Sang-Soo, a professor in *Hong-ik Art College*, *AlloAllo* by Choi Jung-Hwa, an artist doing plastic arts and *Plastic Seojeon* by the brother of a writer, Lee Bool. In the 1990s, there was *Baljunso*, a bar in the form of studio and the birthplace of dance clubs. In the 2000s, *Yeolbanahwa* and *Monghwan* were regarded as alternative spaces, which led to club culture, movie culture and party culture. As shown, multi cultural cafés inherit from the great *Hong-dae* culture.

(Photo 27) Multi Cultural Cafés

Performance in a book café

A book café

An indie café

It is used as a gallery for indie art (independent art) and a stage for independent musicians. It also sells posters and CDs. The owner used to be a musician.

Multi cultural café for performance, literature, music and party. Move festivals were also held here.

An avant-garde performance café

The café is used as a stage for amateur musicians on Monday. Tuesday is for indie musicians, Thursday for poem, Friday for various indie bands and Saturday exclusively for one indie band.

Source: Top, http://www.irycafe.com, cited in 2007; Middle, http://www.rainbowsea.cyworld.com, cited in 2007; Bottom, http://club.cyworld.com/ladyfish, cited in 2007

It seems that those who led to new cultural movements such as independent music in the 1990s have become clients requiring quality urban amenities. Koh and his two brothers, who were running *Baljunso* and *Myeongwolgwan*, the so-called first generation of *Hong-dae* club, have launched a new café and are leading an upgraded

café culture that mixes party, exhibition, quality food and drink (interview 2004; *Goodtimezine* May 2006). One of the Koh brothers said that the concept of such space was a "comfortable space like home with diverse cultural events, parties and exhibitions in the *Hong-d*ae area" (*Goodtimezine* May 2006). He wanted to make the café a "space of lifestyle of health and sustainability beyond a multi cultural space for cultural exchanges and richness" (ibid).

Once the cafés went into decline and they relinquished their dominance to the dance clubs. Yet, the newly emerging multi cultural cafés are now providing people with quality service and various cultural events.

2.2.6   Creation of *Hong-dae* Culture through Discourse and Performance

I have examined what are associated with the unique cultural aspects of the *Hong-dae* area by looking at the 'Top 5 Sites'. The dance clubs, live clubs, street hawkers, streets and cafés represent *Hong-dae* culture while having created club culture, independent culture, artistry, idiosyncrasy, coolness, experimentalism, creativity and fusion of the commercial and the cultural. How have they become to represent *Hong-dae* culture?

Although there is constant criticism that *Hong-dae* culture is more and more commercialised, the *Hong-dae* dance clubs are regarded as providing spaces for communication and cultural exchanges. The live clubs are considered as nests for independent musicians and also as a market where they can sell their music. The *Hong-dae* streets are a showcase of the most updated trends from fashion, life style, music, art to architecture. In particular, multi-cultural cafés show how commercial spaces attempt to appeal to consumers who desire quality service, unique experiences, sensibility and urban cultures by creating new trends.

It is commonly pointed out that the area is benefiting from the existence of *Hong-ik Art College*, which has attracted young and talented art students to the area. These people are regarded as contributing towards the creation of new aesthetics and an atmosphere of tolerance and generosity, which have allowed social norms to be loosened (CCA 2004; Cho interview 2003; HEDI 2004b; Lee 2003; SDI 2000). For example, Cho said that the open and tolerant atmosphere of the *Hong-dae* area allowed woman's smoking in public space, street performances, street markets and graffiti in the area (interview 2003). It is pointed out that cultural critics, scholars and the media in the 1990s gave cultural meanings to such activities, which consequently created *Hong-dae* culture (Lee 2003; *Oi Music* August 2003).

My examination of the 'Top 5 Sites' clearly demonstrates that the continuous

creation of cultural trends has played a great role in the construction of *Hong-dae* culture. Another important factor uncovered by the analysis of the Top 5 sites is that there exists a strong recognition of *Hong-dae* culture among the local people, visitors and the public who have exercised self-regulation for keeping its 'quality'. 'Quality' is regarded as important since it denotes the characteristic of *Hong-dae* culture. Yet, the meaning of quality varies. For example, artists think it as creativity and originality, street hawkers as artistic skills and artistic minds to make unique products, café owners as a high standard of service and atmosphere, live club people as live music performance, and dance club people as an open and communicative atmosphere.

Sites to see are chosen by people who decide what can be meaningful sites. Throughout interviews and observations, it was discovered that street hawkers, shop owners, café managers, club managers, artists, musicians and visitors were aware of *Hong-dae* culture and held normative ideas about it. They have established tacit rules and codes of behaviour through establishing and performing the quality of *Hong-dae* culture, which is, to a certain extent, self-regulation. The local artists concerning themselves with cultural quality, local business people inventing multi cultural places, street hawkers selling products 'made in *Hong-dae*', the media searching for new trends and visitors demanding unique experiences have made it possible to transform clubs, streets and cafés which are normally places for consumption in other places, into cultural places.

The Top 5 Sites in the *Hong-dae* area reveal that 'cultural tourists' would have a problem even in finding sites to see if they do not know how certain sites are combined with particular meanings. The Top 5 Sites are composed of apparently normal consumption places such as shops, cafés and clubs that do not have distinctive marks or signs for visitors. People have to be aware of how to convert these places into cultural places, that is, the markers of *Hong-dae* culture, by performing particular codes of behaviour.

2.3   Dualistic Approach of Authorities towards *Hong-dae* Culture

I will investigate now, how the district and city authorities define *Hong-dae* culture by first analysing, the "Hong-dae Vicinity Culture & Tourist Map" provided by the *Mapo* district office. Second, I look into the explanation of the *Hong-dae* area in a report of the *Seoul Development Institute* (SDI 2000), an umbrella research body of the city government. Third, a reaction from the mayor of Seoul to the misbehaviour of a local punk band, which showed their naked bodies during a live TV show by accident, will be addressed.

'Culture Space' in 'Hong-dae Vicinity Culture & Tourist Map'

The *Mapo* district office has drawn up a map, 'Hong-dae Vicinity Culture & Tourist Map' near *Hong-ik University*[44]. The map stands near the playground, where *Free Market* takes place and many street hawkers, cafés, restaurants and clubs are densely located. It contains the signs of "cultural space."

(Photo 28) 'Hong-dae Vicinity Culture & Tourist Map'

A map in front of *Hong-ik University*

Source: Cho, 2004

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[44]   It is not known when the map was produced. I saw this map when I was conducting the first phase of field research in 2004. It seems that this map was made for the *World Cup* in 2002.

A map is a useful indicator to show what sites are selectively singled out as noticeable symbols and signs by unveiling meanings attached by its marker. In particular, a map for tourist connotes that its provider intentionally marks "how, when and where to 'gaze'" in a tourist place (Urry 1990: 9). Urry argues that the emergence of particular tourist places is closely related to social practices that contrast them with non-tourist places. He claims that social meanings and norms purvey particular images and emotions to certain places, which often make them special and differentiated from everyday life worlds (ibid).

As Urry points out, in the Hong-dae Vicinity Culture & Tourist Map, certain places are depicted as culturally distinctive and as possessing exciting things to see being attached to particular signs and images. It is significant that the district authorities put the term 'culture' and 'tourist' together since it reveals how the institutional interpretation of *Hong-dae* culture is marked. It indicates that the purpose of the map is to guide tourist to the sites of *Hong-dae* culture. Maps do not show, however, all the aspects of spatial realities since maps do not show lived city cultures. In this respect, the Hong-dae Vicinity Culture & Tourist Map is a text to examine what kinds of lived cultural experiences are selected into the representation of spatial realities.

(Photo 29)   Indexes in 'Hong-dae Vicinity Culture & Tourist Map'

Source: Cho, 2004

The 'introductory remarks' in the map (see Photo 31) shows that 'performance' and 'art' are important factors in *Hong-dae* culture since "performing place", "art academy" and "art shop" are chosen as one of the basic signs of the map. The index of the 'culture space' in the map consists of theatres, performing organisations, galleries, an exhibition place, an art shop and a festival agency. The theatres are *Theatre Choo, Theater Sanwoolim* and *Theater zero*, the performance organisations are *Changmu Art Centre* and *Kopas*. The galleries are *Loop Alternative*

Space, *Songhwa Gallery* and *Gallery Hanty*. The exhibition place is *Ssamzie space*. The art shops are *Beautiful Store* and *Artinus*. The festival agency is *Seoul Fringe Network*. Yet both the live and the dance clubs, which have led to 'independent culture' and 'club culture', are omitted from the index. Their absence in the map is possibly due to the fact that clubs are not conventionally regarded as places for cultural activity.

The *Hong-dae* area is, however, widely known for cultural fluidity and diversity, which produces crossover cultural genres, blurring the distinction between the cultural and the commercial. Even the district and city authorities acknowledged and promoted the cultural value of these clubs (*Mapo* district office Homepage cited in 2005; SDI 2000; SDI 2002). For example, it is stated on the Internet site of the city government that the clubs in the *Hong-dae* area contributes to making a unique *Hong-dae* culture. There is another example which illustrates that the authorities acknowledge the cultural value of the *Hong-dae* clubs. During the *2002 World Cup* period, the city government made a bus called 'Culture Tour Bus' which provided a touring service for the *Hong-dae* clubs (Lee, M. Y. 2004). Therefore, the absence of the clubs in the map reveals that the district and city authorities do not have a consistent stance in looking at the clubs as an element of *Hong-dae* culture. In addition, the index of 'culture space' shows a limitation to mark independent culture and club culture into spatial realities. As a result, the map confines cultural spaces into places where they are conventionally regarded as cultural places such as galleries and theatres.

Yet, three events, *Seoul Fringe Festival*, *Korean Experimental Arts Festival* and *Art Exhibition on the Street* are stated as 'cultural events'. Although these events are famous, they take place only once in a year. Therefore, it is difficult to see whether they represent various cultural events which take place spontaneously and continuously in varying places in the *Hong-dae* area. *Free Market* which takes place every Saturday and is publicised as one of the local cultural events, however, is not included in the index. *Club Day*, *Sound Day*, *Road Club Festival* and *Live Club Fest*, which are regularly held once in a month and attract many visitors, are also not introduced as cultural events. In general, these events that do not appear in the index are more popular culture-oriented than other three events introduced.

The index of 'cultural event' also shows that the district authorities do not include events that take place without having fixed venues or that are not run by organisations. In fact, three events introduced in the map are based upon organisations such as the student union of *Hong-ik Art College*, *Korean Performance Arts Centre* and *Seoul Fringe Network*. This may indicate that the authorities had a difficulty in circumscribing cultural events onto spatial representation. Therefore, the index in the

map does not present spontaneous and emerging cultural events.

However, some respondents have started asking who defines cultural space. In particular, they raised the problem of defining cultural space in the *Hong-dae* area.

> *Hong-dae* culture is about originality and diversity…It is not possible to categorise this area as a conventional cultural place…In order to cope with emerging diversity of the modern society…the definition of cultural activities and facilities should be revised. (Interview 2004)

> *Hong-dae* culture is made by people not by space. Should we block these people in one place and name it as a cultural place? (Interview 2004)

'The Hong-dae Vicinity Culture & Tourist Map' shows how meanings and objects are coupled and marked as sites of cultural spaces and events, particularly how the authorities have interpreted *Hong-dae* culture. The map marks so-called high culture, art and performance and public culture, such as festival and street exhibition as *Hong-dae* culture. The map shows a great difference from the 'Top 5 Sites', which include clubs, streets, cafés and shops as the places showing *Hong-dae* culture.

A Place of Creativity or Social Disorder

Although the district and city authorities have started publicising the *Hong-dae* area as a cultural place, there is still an ambiguity in their attitude towards the area. On the one hand, they acknowledge *Hong-dae* area as a place of club culture and alternative culture and on the other hand, they criticise the area for disturbing public disorder.

Since the early 2000s, the district and city governments have paid attention to the cultural vibrancy of the *Hong-dae* area. The city government has promoted the clubs in the *Hong-dae* area such as making a tourist guidebook featuring the club street as one of the best cultural sites in Seoul (*JoongAng Daily* 3 August 2005). The SDI produced a report about strategic areas for the *2002 World Cup* when the city government was preparing for the *2002 World Cup*. This report is significant since it is the first official report dealing with the *Hong-dae* area[45].

The SDI saw the *2002 World Cup* as an opportunity to publicise the cultural development of Seoul, to boost cultural tourism and to enhance the quality of life via the construction of cultural infrastructure (SDI 2000: 2). In order to achieve these objectives, the re-construction of the unique image of Seoul is regarded as the first step, which would then further the promotion of tourism, international cultural

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[45] This report will be further analysed in chapter 5.

exchanges and the national image (ibid). Therefore, the SDI appointed *World Cup* strategic areas, which hold the unique cultural aspects of Seoul and it exclusively covered the *Hong-dae* area. According to the report, the area can attract many foreign visitors due to various cultural activities taking place (SDI 2000: 14-15).

The report states that the *Hong-dae* area is a multi-cultural place that consists of art, cafés, clubs and cultural businesses spaces (SDI 2000: 25):

> The *Hong-dae* area developed as a multi-cultural place, where the four different spaces were overlapping like a collage. They are art space, café space, underground club culture space and cultural business space.

The *Hong-dae* area is also defined as a "cultural factory", "cultural engine" and "cultural incubator" that has produced alternative culture (SDI 2000: 29):

> The *Hong-dae* area is like a furnace, which mixes *Hong-ik Art College*, its graduates and students, studios and galleries, 20 underground clubs and techno clubs, 200 indie bands, 200 publishers, animation communities, perky designers, 20 organisations for short movies, internet content agencies and cooks. It is a 'cultural factory', 'cultural engine' and 'cultural incubator', where produces new and alternative culture… It has a great potential to become a cultural centre.

In particular, the local techno clubs are regarded as places of underground culture and club culture (SDI 2000: 56). When the SDI report was produced in 2000, the term, 'techno club', rather than dance club, was used to refer to clubs where people dance. For example, the list of techno clubs in the report is almost similar to that of dance clubs in the *Hong-dae Environmental Development Institution* (HEDI 2004b). These clubs are described as spaces of diversity and tolerance, which nurture cultural heterogeneity (SDI 2000). DJs and clubbers in the dance clubs are regarded as prime cultural producers of *Hong-dae* culture (ibid). It is stated in the report that people with sensibility and cultural tastes have created new cultural trends and techno clubs (SDI 2000: 61). The clubs in the *Hong-dae* area are described as spaces of underground culture and cultural diversity in the SDI report. Furthermore, they are proposed to be institutionally supported as cultural places with legal provisions in order to make the *Hong-dae* area a strategic area for cultural tourism (SDI 2000: 150-153).

There is, however, a discrepancy between the acknowledgement of the cultural value of the clubs and the institutionalisation of club culture. For example, the reaction of the mayor of Seoul towards the misbehaviour of a band indicates a dualistic approach of the authorities towards *Hong-dae* culture. In July 2005, a punk

band based in the *Hong-dae* area showed their genitals during a live TV show[46]. This became an instant nation-wide scandal. The police arrested the band immediately after the show and the producers of the show were taken to the police for investigation. The band was heavily criticised and *Hong-dae* clubs were accused of producing sensational performance instead of good music (*Daum Agora* 1 August 2005; *JoongAng Daily* 3 August 2005; *NocutNews* 31 July 2005; *NocutNews* 1 August 2005). The mayor of Seoul ordered the police to draw up a "black list" of musicians doing "asocial" performance, which can cause "social disorder" (*JoonAng Daily* 3 Aug 2005). Based on the article, 'asocial' behaviour means immoral and uncivilised behaviour as being naked in a TV live show, of which main audiences are especially teenagers. The mayor also commanded the police to patrol the clubs in the *Hong-dae* area in order to control illegal club businesses. Such attitude shows that the authorities regard a creative and idiosyncratic atmosphere as a resource for city promotion but also a hindrance for keeping public order.

In order to cope with sudden police intervention towards the *Hong-dae* music scene, some local cultural workers and artists made a Task Force and held a press conference (see Photo 32).

(Photo 30) *Hong-dae Music Task Force*

"We, *Hong-dae* musicians launch a campaign for preventing similar types of incident from taking place again…We strive for creating qualified music…"
(*Hong-dae Music Task Force* cited from *Nocutnews* 2 August 2005)

Source: *Nocutnews* 2 August 2005

They apologised for the misbehaviour of the band and also urged that people should not denounce the entire *Hong-dae* culture with one single incident (*Kukmin Daily* 2 August 2005). They argued that too much control over cultural activity would diminish spontaneous cultural movements taking place in the *Hong-dae* area (ibid). According to the interview with a member from the Task Force, he was frustrated with the city authorities, who did not acknowledge the achievement of *Hong-dae* culture and its past development but only associated it with a culture of delinquency

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[46] It is the *Music Camp* from the *MBC*, which had a subprogramme introducing independent music. It gave independent musicians, who have less exposure to the public media than others belonging to major entertainment management companies, an opportunity for nation-wide exposure.

and decadence (interview 2006).

The authorities' dualistic attitude towards the clubs and *Hong-dae* culture seems to originate from a tension between two different positions towards defining culture; on the one hand, the authorities include creativity as 'the cultural' and adopt an expanded definition of culture, which includes urban vibrancy, atmosphere and happenings into a new form of culture. On the other hand, they possess a viewpoint based upon a narrow definition of culture, which regards culture as existing for civilising citizens and for public good and order. The authorities' ambiguous attitude indicates that there is no general consensus of what *Hong-dae* culture really refers to.

2. 4   Concluding Remarks

I have examined how a certain place becomes a cultural place and what is a main driving force towards such a process by looking at the development of the *Hong-dae* area as a cultural place. I have paid particular attention to a state, in which various definitions of 'the cultural' co-exist and affect the institutionalisation of particular meanings of culture. For that, I have looked at the current development of the *Hong-dae* area and have analysed how *Hong-dae* culture is variously perceived by scrutinising the 'Top 5 Sites', the 'Hong-dae Vicinity Culture & Tourist Map' and the ambivalent attitude of the district and city authorities towards the *Hong-dae* clubs.

Scholars (Harvey 1989; Lash and Urry 1994; Urry 1995; Zukin 1989) argue that economic restructuring and employment changes create promotional cultural places for consumption in cities. Bell and Jayne (2004) draw attention to the branding of vibrant and post-industrial spaces for work and living beyond consumption. These scholars seek to link the emergence of cultural places in cities to economic conditions.

This chapter, however, has shown that *Hong-dae* culture was not created merely by economic imperatives. Rather, the emergence and establishment of the *Hong-dae* area as a cultural place is partly due to the production of discourses on *Hong-dae* culture, which have expanded the definition of the cultural. Cultural critics, scholars and the media have kept creating discourses on *Hong-dae* culture such as independent culture, underground culture and club culture. It is also partly the growing importance of the culture and tourism industries for city development. The city and the district authorities have attempted to acknowledge the idiosyncratic *Hong-dae* scene as *Hong-dae* culture for city development.

Yet, the authorities' interest in *Hong-dae* culture for the culture and tourism industries indicates that the institutionalisation of *Hong-dae* culture is closely related to economic interests. Significantly, the growing importance of city amenities and life styles for economy draws more and more attention of policy makers towards the *Hong-dae* area than that of cultural critics, scholars and the media. In short, the various definitions of *Hong-dae* culture are concomitant with the development of the *Hong-dae* area as a cultural place, which reflect and are affected by changing economic and social conditions.

Chapter 3

'Cultural District' as a Transitional Cultural Policy in Paradigm Shift

> Culture in this policy is a concept. It means that city planning should be based upon this concept. (Interview 2004)

> I'm against the cultural district. This policy means management, which definitely needs the targets to be selected. Isn't it nonsense to look at the *Hong-dae* area with specific targets? Clubs? Experimental art? Street art? Performance? Which one? It's not possible to choose one. (Interview 2004)

In 2003, the Seoul city and the *Mapo* district governments announced a possible enforcement of the policy called 'cultural district' in the *Hong-dae* area. This policy is meant generally to support cultural characteristics of a place, which is ultimately to form a new cultural environment (milieu) for cultural production and consumption. Yet, the announcement of the policy project provoked a great response amongst local cultural workers and artists. Some of them criticised the policy project for controlling cultural development, while others welcomed it as promoting local culture.

Which aspect of the policy, then, has led to a difference in opinion regarding policy enforcement among the local cultural workers? What is the cultural district about? In this chapter, I scrutinise the policy of the cultural district by linking it to the current trend of Korean cultural policy. I first briefly look at the responses of the local cultural workers towards the policy plan. Secondly, I examine the development of cultural policy in Korea in order to investigate the extent to which a paradigm transition within Korean cultural policy has affected the designation of the cultural district. Thirdly, I will analyse the cultural district particularly by examining whether the provision of the cultural district contains certain problematic items for its implementation in the *Hong-dae* area.

3.1 Dispute Over Cultural District in *Hong-dae* Area

Immediately after the announcement of the *Hong-dae* cultural district project in 2003, some local artists heavily criticised the policy project for worsening their working conditions such as increasing rental rates, new shops and visitors, which they associated with commercialisation processes. The anti-sentiment towards the policy project was accelerated partly by a financial difficulty of *Theater Zero*, an independent and experimental theatre, whose manager had to close it down due to the increased rent. The financial problem of the theatre produced a bitter sentiment amongst the local artists and the announcement of the policy project exacerbated their anger.

> Cultural district is a bureaucratic and autocratic idea! (A performing artist, opening ceremony of *Hong-dae Culture and Arts Cooperation* (HCAC) 9 February 2004)

> After all, it (the *Hong-dae* area) is becoming a commercial place, which pursues profits and strives for consumption and hedonism. It is no more a young and artistic place for cultural production and enjoyment. (A flyer of the HCAC 2004d: 6)

(Photo 31) *Theater Zero*

Source: *Segye Daily* 18 February 2004

The press directly reported the furious voices and gestures of some artists towards the policy project, which drew public attention to the locale. For example, the claim of some artists that the *Hong-dae* area was facing a crisis to become a victim of an incompetent policy was reported in a TV news programme and in newspapers as well.

The independent space of the *Hong-dae* area, a core of underground culture and non-mainstream culture, is facing its extinction. The rental is rocketing since the Seoul city government decided to make it a cultural district. Many artists have to move out due to high rent. (*Korean Broadcasting System* (KBS) 11 February 2004)

The representative of the *Hong-dae Culture and Arts Cooperation*, Yun-Suk Cho said, "due to the plan of the implementation of the cultural district in the *Hong-dae* area, owners of buildings are kicking arts organisations in order to regenerate the buildings… (*Yonhap News* 6 February 2004)

Yet, people from the local dance clubs criticised opponents of the cultural district for asserting a simplistic view on a relationship between commercialisation processes and the cultural district plan. They said that the commercialisation processes have been always present in the locale. They raised a question as to whether the financial difficulties of some theatres and galleries resulted from mismanagement rather than the commercialisation processes. An informant from the dance club sector said that what the area was confronted by was not a crisis but a new challenge (interview 2004). Since the forms of cultural activities have changed, he said, what should be sought after was a new set of ideas, which could develop the area that would fit the changing cultural atmosphere.

Some people, however, saw the cultural district as a failed policy, which should not be implemented in the *Hong-dae* area. For example, an informant said that he did not understand why the district authorities wanted to implement the policy, although the *Insadong* cultural district[47], according to him, completely failed (interview 2004). Another respondent also said that the policy project would propel commercialisation processes by making the policy project a business venture rather than support the local cultural workers (interview 2004).

In addition, the ambiguous name of the policy, 'cultural district' caused misunderstandings about the policy orientation among the local cultural workers. Some understood the notion of cultural district as a scheme to nurture certain artistic genres in a place. Therefore, they became disappointed when officials and experts said that the policy aimed to construct a cultural environment for citizens. They further accused the cultural district of being an inappropriate policy to be applied to the *Hong-dae* area. The dispute over the policy project developed into a debate over the usefulness of the cultural district and the role of public cultural policy.

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[47] The *Insadong* cultural district was enforced in 2002. People often say that the area has been more commercialised after the policy implementation.

3.2 A Paradigm Shift in Korean Cultural Policy: from Preserving Culture towards Creating 'the Cultural'

In this section, I explore the extent to which the current trends in Korean cultural policy are related to a growing interest of the authorities in culture. I will focus particularly on how the concept of 'culture' has been changed in Korean cultural policy in association with the development of Korean cultural policy. In so doing, I aim to further the discussion about the designation of the cultural district and its enforcement attempt in the *Hong-dae* area, which will be discussed in the following section.

Culture is in general regarded as constitutive of all the aspects of human activity; in short, as a way of life (Williams 1976). In the context of cultural policy, however, this definition is not workable since the cultural policy based upon this holistic definition of culture would encompass all the aspects of policy-making (Vestheim 1994). For example, the *Ministry of Culture and Tourism* of Korea (MCT) clearly states a difficulty in interpreting culture for administration (MCT 2005a: 162):

> The comprehensive definition of culture as a 'way of life' is to some extent too relative therefore it is not efficient to set out clear tasks and aims for the state cultural policy … in such condition, the state cultural policy should be relevant to current affairs.

Due to its administrative purposes, cultural policy confines culture into a certain "sector" in order to draw up administrative boundaries (Vestheim 1994: 58). Accordingly, when relevant authorities set new administrative tasks in the cultural sector, the process of re-defining culture often takes place at the level of institutional discourse. For example, a recent MCT White Paper writes that the environment has become a "new" objective of the cultural policy (2005a:76). In this respect, the concept of culture in cultural policy is a temporal categorization.

Such flexibility within cultural policy-making might, however, obscure common understandings of culture when redefinition takes place too often, depending on authorities' decisions and matters of concern. In particular, the increased role of cultural policy and ambiguous definition of culture may bring up difficulties at the level of policy application, which results from a discrepancy between policy rhetoric and practice. Therefore, the expanded definition of culture and its impact on policy rationale and administration will be examined in order to explore why the implementation of the cultural district in the *Hong-dae* area became a problematic issue.

Cultural Policy as Disseminating Culture

In general, the scope and role of cultural policy has expanded during the 1980s and 1990s and its concern on national culture has shifted to cultural content due to the global dispersal of cultural industries and international trade rules (Cunningham 2002). In Europe, states took on the role of distributing culture under the tradition of social-democratic welfare principles. In this tradition, state cultural policy was often implemented for equal opportunity such as providing public cultural facilities, services and agencies (Vestheim 1994). This type of cultural policy is regarded as "traditional" cultural policy, which emphasises culture as "pure public good", "good for soul" and "civilising" (Hesmondhalgh & Pratt 2005).

The Korean government implemented traditional cultural policy during the period between the 1960s and the early 1990s (MCT 2003). Immediately after the Korean War during the 1950s, culture was not regarded as a primary state issue and there were very few cultural polices until the 1960s (ibid). In the early 1970s, the authorities became aware of the importance of culture, especially its civilising effects. Confronted with rapid industrialisation and the consequent dissolution of traditional values, they found a solution for recovering them via the promotion of culture (ibid). Consequently, a law called the *Culture and Arts Promotion Law* was enacted in 1972 and the government implemented the *Five-year Culture and Arts Promotion Planning* in 1974 with the agendas of an "inheritance of traditional culture and creation of new national culture", "national and cultural sovereignty", an "improvement in cultural standards through arts for living and citizen" and an "enhancement of national culture by active international cultural exchanges" (MCT 2003: 35).

These agendas reveal that they are quite similar to traditional cultural policy of the Western European cases as they are based upon the premise that culture exists for the sake of good life and for civilising people. It is, however, notable that the five-year plan was much influenced by the initiatives of governmental reform at that time[48]. Its aim of spreading culture to the public was conducted in a top-down manner and the authorities showed great concern on the quantitative increase of cultural infrastructure and agencies. The mottos of the five-year plan, such as 'arts for living and citizen' and an 'inheritance of traditional culture', also show that the authorities perceived culture mainly as arts and cultural heritage.

During the 1980s, Korean cultural policy was directed to the democratisation of culture on a full-scale. According to the White Paper by the MCT (2003), the aim of cultural policy at that period was to promote cultural sovereignty and to provide cultural facilities. Both tangible and intangible cultural assets were treated importantly

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[48] For example, it is written that the planning was designated to support the state agenda, which sought to strengthen political and economic sovereignty (MCT 2003: 35).

such that Korean classics were recovered and promoted and cultural facilities and cultural agencies were established at the entire national level (ibid). The authorities expanded their interest towards sports, tourism and leisure beyond art and heritage due to the changing lifestyle that resulted from economic prosperity.

During the end of the 1980s and the early 1990s, state cultural policy emphasised culture in everyday life (ibid). Cultural administration included quality of life as its major concern (ibid). There was also an organisational reform within the MCT in the 1990s, which spurred the development of cultural policy (ibid). It is said that Korean cultural policy has been significantly developed since the 1990s, when the importance of culture for national development was greatly advocated.

Cultural Policy as Creating the Cultural Sector

'Instrumental cultural policy', according to Vestheim (1994), means the use of cultural investment as a means or an instrument to attain goals in non-cultural areas. This approach is helpful to come to terms with the 'application of culture' in cultural policy, which pinpoints the impact of culture in non-cultural domains. Despite the different developmental patterns of state cultural policy[49], cultural policy seems to be treated more and more importantly in governmental intervention due to a growing importance of the culture and knowledge-based industries. In the case of Korean cultural policy, the increased authorities' interest in cultural policy is revealed by the amount of budget assigned to the *Ministry of Culture and Tourism* (MCT). The MCT budget in 2000 exceeded 1 % of the total governmental budget, which was mainly invested in the construction of cultural infrastructure and the promotion of the culture industry (MCT 2003). It was regarded as a great achievement considering the small degree of awareness of cultural policy by the government in the past (ibid).

The contribution of culture to non-cultural areas was emphasised during the 1980s in Western Europe when public administration and services had to be adjusted to a more liberal economic change. In particular, economic imperatives in cultural policy resulted in the convergence between the cultural sector and others and consequently, the broadened administrative boundary of cultural policy. For example, Cunningham (2002) points out that the commercial industries such as those of TV, music and film became incorporated into a cultural sector during the 1970s and the

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[49] However, assessing the general tendency of the state cultural policy should be carefully done since policy-making environment is much dependent on historical, economical and social conditions. For example, Wyszomirski (2004) says that the term cultural policy itself was not so commonly mentioned in the Unites States until quite recently due to its long-established free enterprise principles and decentralised political culture. In the case of Hong-Kong, due to the influence of the British colonial government's laissez-faire principles and the historical experience of being cut-off from China, state cultural policy remained undeveloped for a long time (Ooi 1995).

1980s, thereby enlarging the territory of state cultural policy.

In the case of Korean cultural policy, the culture industry has become one of the major sectors. The culture industry is often called the creative industry. According to the MCT (2004b), the creative industry consists of publications, newspapers, magazines, comic books, animations, broadcasting, advertisements, cinemas, videos and DVDs, music, games, mobile contents, characters, crafts, performing arts and design[50]. In 1992, a new law called the *Culture Industries Promotion Law* was enforced since the culture industry has become a strategic industry of the nation (MCT 2005b: 9). In 1994, the Korean government established an institute only responsible for the culture industry, which is important for promoting "added values", "national brand image", "cultural identity" and "new technology" (MCT 2005b: 3). Recently, the MCT proposed a new policy vision to create cultural environment for cultural consumption and cultural creativity (MCT 2005b: 20).

The boundary of the cultural sector has become widened as many industrial products such as computer game software and IT technologies are also regarded as cultural products that originate from imagination and creativity (MCT 2005a). Recently, a new term, 'content industry' often refers to the industry that produces products or media containing information in the forms of letters, images and sounds (*Human Contents Academy* 2006).

The adaptation of the cultural clustering strategy in state cultural policy shows another aspect of the expanded cultural policy. The cultural clustering strategy pursues the deliberate creation of cultural sites and clusters. It aims at "creating spaces, quarters and milieus for cultural production and creativity" rather than organising "occasions for spectacular consumption" (Mommaas 2004:508). For example, a "creative city clustering" attempts to create "a brand, spatial identity" of a city through the construction of cultural infrastructure and atmosphere (Mommaas 2004:521). This clustering strategy combines economic, spatial and cultural schemes and aims at achieving multiple goals such as economic development, the creation of spatial identity and the enhancement of social virtues such as trust and collaboration. The clustering strategy indicates, to some extent, the integration between urban planning and cultural policy. This combination is proposed to comprehend social, political and cultural changes and to enable a given project to be conducted in broad and interdisciplinary perspectives rather than conventional sectoral practices (Murray

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[50] On the other hand, the creative industries, according to the *Department of Culture, Media and Sport* of the UK, include "advertising, architecture, art and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film and video, interactive leisure software, music, performing arts, publishing, software and computer games, television and radio" (Cunningham 2002; *Department of Culture, Media and Sport*, UK cited in 2006). The domain of the creative industries in Korea and that of the UK is similar but it is interesting that the UK creative industries count architecture while the Korean creative industries include IT (Information Technology) such as mobile communication contents.

2004).

In recent Korean cultural policy, the element of the cultural clustering strategy is also adopted. The *Korea Cultural Policy Institute* (KCPI), which was un umbrella research institution of the MCT and has been changed into the *Korea Culture and Tourism Policy Institute* (KCTPI) and the MCT asserted that cultural policy should be incorporated with development policy and that cultural environment should be a key factor for national competence (KCPI 2001a; KCPI 2001b; MCT 2005a). In particular, according to the MCT (2005b: 166), international companies prefer comfortable urban amenities with cultural infrastructure and openness for business environment rather than a place only accommodated with capital, market and labour.

For example, the KCTPI (2004) presented a study on the promotion of a cultural city, which can provide artistry, urban amenities and an economy (2004: 3):

> Cultural city means at first a city, where creativity can be realised based upon the industries that combine local culture and the cultural and eco-friendly environment. Ultimately, it refers to a city in which such elements as a whole can become resources for tourism. Culture, in terms of cultural city, is not confined to the arts sector but it includes human desires. That is, cultural city refers to a city which can provide artistry, urban amenities and an economy.

It is stated that the purpose of the construction of a cultural city is (KCTPI 2004: i):

> To improve the national management system and national competence by remodelling city development and quality life and bettering city landscape and cultural environment…

Furthermore, the construction of a cultural city is considered as making a competitive city under the global change that not only nations but also cities compete for global dominance (KCPI 2004: 6).

In addition, the construction of cultural milieus is meant to foster urban regeneration and community-building (ibid). The construction of 'cultural cities', which consist of 'cultural streets' and 'cultural districts', was considered to stimulate the function of a city as a basis of cultural production and a site of cultural consumption and tourism (KCPI 2000). The reorganisation of signposts and streets was approached so as to induce citizen volunteerism (MCT 2005a: 168).

Furthermore, recent Korean cultural policy envisions the national development by emphasising culture as a competence of city and nation. The MCT presented a new plan of "C-Korea 2010" in 2005. The C-Korea 2010 vision highlights a role of culture in leading to the national economy and national development (MCT

2005c). For example, the MCT envisions the national economy based upon the industries dealing with "technology, emotions, images and experiences" (2005c: 8). Cultural products are regarded as strategic export products branded with a national identity. Popular songs, films and games are particularly promoted as strategic export items framed under the rubric of "Korean-wave cultural products" (2005c: 2). It is significant that the MCT, formerly rather being marginalized in the state administration, now ambitiously envisions a national economy through asserting the promotion of the culture, tourism, leisure and sport industries.

Specifically, the vision of C-Korea 2010 aims to elevate Korea as a leading nation of the culture, leisure and tourism industries, by promoting the '3Cs' (MCT 2005c; *Korean Tourism Organisation* (KTO) 2005). 3Cs refer to 'contents', 'creativity' and 'culture'. 'Contents' is seen as a breakthrough for no-employment, 'creativity' as a driving force for the 21st economic development and 'culture' as a prime competitiveness in the global era (see Table 2).

(Table 2) National Development & '3Cs' from 'C-Korea 2010 Vision'
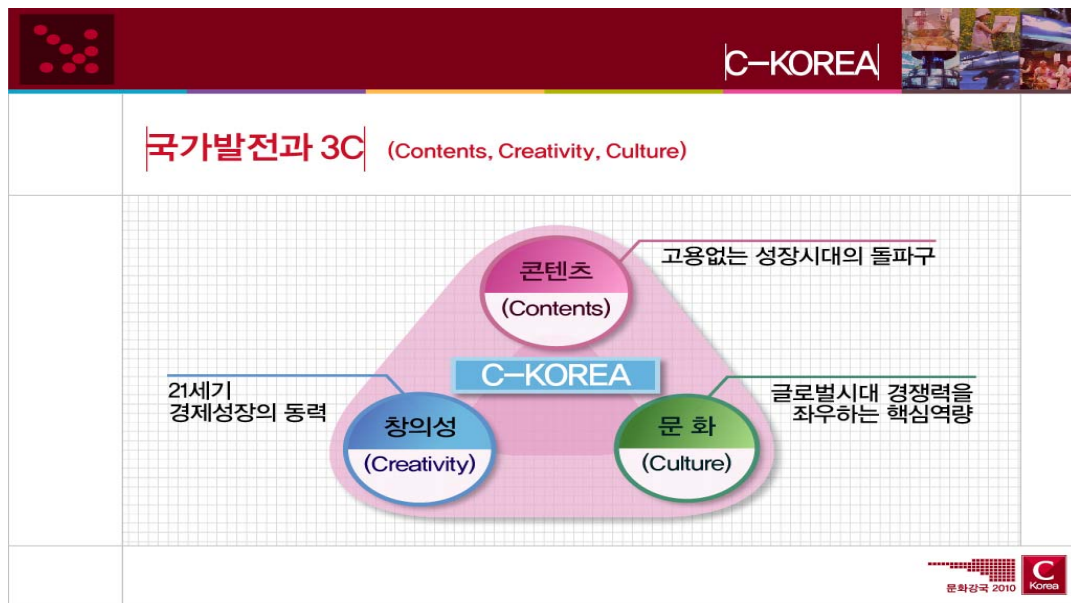
Source: KTO, 2005, p. 1

> Creativity: An engine for the national development in the 21st century…the developed countries have entered into the creative cultural economy led by creative class and the creative industries. Now, a core factor for development has moved from 'knowledge and information' towards 'creativity'…Under the era of the creative cultural economy, the culture, tourism, leisure and sport industries

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which meet the demand of costumers who value image and sensibility should be promoted. (MCT 2005c: 8)

Culture: A core competence for a competitiveness in the global era: … especially, we have to find a new engine for the national development for the 21st century while facing the challenge from low labour cost of countries like China and India and from technological innovation and strengthened competitiveness of the developed countries. (ibid)

It is clearly shown from the above excerpt that the MCT has actively articulated global discourses about creativity and creative cultural economy in its vision[51].

The MCT sets out three main goals under C-Korea 2010, which are: (1) 'becoming one of the world's top 5 culture industry nations', (2) 'becoming a tourism hub nation in the North-Eastern Asia' region and (3) 'becoming one of the world's top 10 leisure and sports industries' (2005c: 19-21). In order to achieve such goals, the construction of a suitable infrastructure is heavily emphasised:

The infrastructure for the culture industry, which can maximise the private investment and creativity…should be constructed. (MCT 2005c: 19)

The attractive tourism infrastructure, which can prevent domestic tourists from going abroad and can attract annual 10,000,000 foreign tourists, should be constructed. (MCT 2005c: 20)

We plan to become one of the world top 10 leisure and sport industry nations by constructing the infrastructure for the independent sport industry. (MCT 2005c: 21)

The promotion of the culture, tourism, leisure and sport industries requires the construction of a suitable infrastructure and accordingly, policies for such industries should include schemes related to urban planning. The state and local governments, as the public sector, are in charge of fostering the construction of such an infrastructure in cooperation with the private sector. Therefore, the construction of a city accommodated with a cultural infrastructure and a creative class has become a crucial task of the central and local governments. In general, culture is emphasised as an essential factor for wealth creation and national competence (KCPI 2002; KCTPI 2004; KOCCA 2004; KTO 2005; MCT 2005c).

Yet, Korean cultural policy not only deals with the creation of cultural milieus but it also aims to construct identity and community. The sense of belonging is regarded as an object of administration, upon which concrete provisions should be

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[51] For example, there is a direct quotation of the notion of a 'creative class' in the MCT 2010 vision (MCT 2005c: 8).

implemented. For example, the KCPI produced a "Study on policy measures for establishing cultural identity" (KCPI 2002) and the MCT states that it will expand administrative territory towards "mind, life, history and spatial culture" (MCT 2005a: 162)[52]. Furthermore, the MCT sees that cultural policy should address issues concerning living, space, leisure, disabled people, elderly people and foreign labourers (MCT 2005a: 161-163). In short, recent Korean cultural policy attempts to 'culturalise' other sectors. Culture is, according to the MCT, economy and society.

Ambiguous Definition of Culture in Cultural Policy

Cultural policy in Korea has progressed to include issues related to economy, space and community and the definition of culture has been adjusted according to the relevance of a given cultural policy. Yet, aspects of traditional cultural policy still remain. As a result, diverse tasks within cultural policy can contest and undermine each other by producing negative effects, which can result in administrative incongruity.

There exists criticism that culture has become the instrument of political and economic reasoning. For example, Kang (2003), a leader of the *Cultural Act* (CA), during the public discussion about cultural policy, pinpointed that the proclamation of the "century of culture" by the government was driven from the expectation that culture could contribute to economy rather than from the belief in the value of culture itself or motivation to achieve democratic society. He raises a question whether cultural policy has its autonomous position in state administration, which enables cultural administration to be performed without being influenced by economic or political imperatives.

There exists another criticism that cultural policy is heavily concentrated on the promotion of the culture industry. For example, Bang, a novelist from the *Fundamental Arts Cooperation*[53], argues that cultural policy fosters only the cultural industry (2005):

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[52] Other scholars also show examples that cultural policy aims to construct identity. "Culture 2000", a four-year European cultural programme was proposed in order to transform "culture into a founding value, a motor force of society, a factor of social cohesion and a guarantee of peace" (Burgi-Golub 2000: 212). According to Sassatelli (2002: 435), a new policy for the "European Cities of Culture" is an attempt to promote a "European consciousness" and to concretise an idea of Europe. "Asian values", which were asserted to enhance cultural and regional solidarity were called upon as political actions (Lawson 2002).

[53] This organisation was set up to influence the privatising of the committee of the *Korean Culture and Arts Foundation* and to look into a revision of *the Culture and Arts Promotion Law* in 2005. The *Foundational Arts Cooperation* is my own translation and 'foundational arts' means genres such as performance, music and literature, the basic artistic genres.

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Recently the value of culture and arts are advocated than any other times. The 1% of the governmental budget was poured to the cultural sector. But in fact, the arts sector is now dying out. The reason is that everything is only implemented to the culture industry.

In sum, the administrative boundaries of Korean cultural policy have been expanded and the position of cultural policy within state administration has become strengthened consequently. Accordingly, cultural policy in general faces double difficulties: the contestation of various rationales within cultural policy and the contestation over administrative legitimacy with other state policies. In other words, it tackles the question of how to achieve the promotion of the 'industry' and the 'democratic society' in equilibrium and also looks into how culture as an administrative sector could be secured autonomously from other sectors.

3.3   Cultural District as a Transitional Cultural Policy

I now examine why the implementation of the cultural district in the *Hong-dae* area has become a controversial issue by scrutinising the cultural district in relation to the current trends of Korean cultural policy which has been fully discussed in the previous section.

Specifically, I look at the content of the cultural district provided by the *Culture and Arts Promotion Law*. The research by the *Korea Culture Policy Institute* (KCPI), "A research on cultural district development and policy direction (KCPI 1999)" and "A study on designation and development of cultural city or cultural belt" (KCPI 2000), and a White Paper of the *Ministry of Culture and Tourism* (MCT) (2005), will be analysed in order to illustrate the objectives and the contexts of the designation of the cultural district.

3.3.1   Terms and Objectives of Cultural District

The KCPI designed the policy of the cultural district commissioned by the *Ministry of Culture and Tourism* (MCT) in 1999. The policy was issued as a new decree under the law in 2000. A cultural district means, according to the *Culture and Arts Promotion Law* (clause 2, Art.10), a place where cultural facilities and culture-related businesses are accommodated and also where cultural events and activities take place regularly.

According to the *City Planning Law*, a 'region' takes precedence over an 'area' in terms of legal executions and regulations. For example, all the areas belonging to a region should observe the regulations of the region. However, an area authorised as a 'district' can be given legal independence from a region. Therefore, a 'cultural district' is a district where the promotion of culture is given a priority.

The content of the cultural district is stated under the *Culture and Arts Promotion Law* in two different sections: the general principles for enactment and administration procedures[54]. Its provisions are divided into the following separate themes: the recommended types of facilities and businesses in a district, restricted businesses in a district and the evaluation processes of policy practice. The following is the condition for the enactment of a cultural district (*Culture and Art Promotion Law*, clause 2, Art.10, Internet homepage of the MCT, cited in 2005):

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[54] The entire clauses of the general principles are listed in the appendix.

Mayor and governor can appoint the following numbered areas respectively as cultural district according to the acts of *City Planning Law*.

1. A place, where the forms of business, which decree by president authorises (from now on it will be put as "cultural facilities") are clustered such as folk craft shops, antique shops and so on or where is to be planned to form as such;

2. A place, where it sustains culture and arts activities such as events and festivals;

3. A place, where decree by president authorises as cultural district with an acknowledgement of its contribution to the quality of life in terms of culture"

According to the law, a cultural district can be enforced in a place where various culture-related businesses are clustered, where cultural activities are present and where the district is expected to contribute towards enhancing quality of life. Each cultural district should possess a high density of cultural resources, a distinguished cultural identity, geographical and administrative territory and relevance to city planning (KCPI 1999: 6). Yet, the law does not specify operational details of the cultural district. Therefore, the operation of a cultural district is dependent on local authorities. For example, the *Seoul Metropolitan Government* (SMG) applies municipal ordinances for its operation (Ra 2004: 10).

The cultural district aims to systemise given cultural resources in a place and develop them into a cultural environment. Yet, the initial purpose of the cultural district was the preservation of places with rich cultural assets as the rapid commercialisation of *Insadong* in Seoul led to the designation of the policy (KCPI 1999). *Insadong* used to be a tranquil gallery area located near a royal palace in the centre of Seoul. Yet, street hawkers and mega-stores occupied the locale in a disorderly fashion replacing small-scale art shops, galleries and traditional restaurants. These street hawkers and big stores were criticised for spoiling the traditional atmosphere of the area. Later, the city government planned to implement the cultural district to *Daehakno*, *Bukchon* and the *Hong-dae* area[55].

Definition of Culture and Cultural Facilities in Cultural District

An interesting point in the *Culture and Arts Promotion Law* is that 'arts' is separated from 'culture' but they are defined together. For example, it is stated in the law that "culture and arts refer to literature, art (applied art included), music, dance, theatre, cinema, entertainment, traditional Korean music, photography, architecture,

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[55] Among these areas, *Daehakno* has been appointed as a cultural district since 2004. *Daehakno* is a place agglomerated with small-sized theatres and *Bukchon* is famous for preserved old houses.

language and publication" (clause 2, Art. 2). This can be understood in two different ways; arts has a privileged position to be separated from culture or in another content, culture is regarded mainly as comprising established artistic genres.

Yet, the definition of 'culture and arts' given in the law does not represent the authorities' viewpoint about culture. In fact, there are other state documents, which define culture as a way of life based upon an anthropological point of view. For example, in a report by the KCPI, culture is described as all the valuable ways of life and systems of expression (2000: 6):

> Culture refers to a way of life and a way of expression that human society shares and everything made in communities since human being has existed.

In a White Paper by the MCT (2005a:162), it is clearly stated that the meaning of culture has been enlarged "beyond the conventional narrow definition, which sees culture as art or cultivation." The definition of culture appears to be inconsistent with institutional discourses, drifting from specific genres of arts to a way of life. Culture, in the provision of the cultural district remains as specific genres of arts but the authorities adopt a more comprehensive meaning of culture.

The term, 'cultural facilities', which is one of the most frequently used terms in the provision of the cultural district, is also problematic (*Culture and Arts Promotion Law* clause 2. Art. 2, cited in 2005):

> Cultural facilities mean those places, which are continuously used for cultural and artistic activities such as performance, exhibition and distributing and inheriting culture.

In the above excerpt, the term 'cultural activities', which appears in order to clarify cultural facilities, is defined to promote cultural production. Therefore, the aspects of cultural activities from the cultural consumers' viewpoint, such as appreciation, participation, consumption, learning and communication are missing. This point is critical since the cultural district aims to construct cultural milieus for cultural consumption and production. It seems that the definition in the law is too narrow to embody diverse forms of cultural activities residing outside of legal definitions.

Furthermore, the cultural facilities in the provision are narrowly defined as compared to other definitions shown in other state documents. For example, the MCT regards cultural activities as taking place everywhere beyond conventional cultural spaces such as museums and educational institutions (MCT 2005a). The KCPI and the SDI include cultural infrastructure as cultural facilities (KCPI 1999; SDI 2000).

In 2000, a detailed categorisation of cultural facilities in a separate table was

newly added to the law. Cultural facilities still refer to the places for the performance of conventional arts and cultural education (see Table 3).

(Table 3) Types of Cultural Facilities in *Culture and Arts Promotion Law*

Usage	Type
Performance	1. Stage (excluding cinema): multi-stage (number of seats more than 1000), standard stage (number of seats between 300~1000), small stage (number of seats under 300) 2. Cinema 3. Outdoor music halls and the similar sort of stages for outdoor performance
Exhibition	1. Museum 2. Art Gallery 3. Gallery for exhibition and for trades 4. Sculpture park (exhibiting sculptures)
Library	1. Library 2. Archive
Local culture and social welfare	1. Culture centre (multi cultural facilities for local residents) 2. Welfare centre 3. Culture and sports centre 4. Youth training centre
Inheritance	1. Local cultural centre 2. Korean traditional music centre 3. Inheritance centre
Others	Facilities not specified in legal definition but recommended as such due to continuous cultural activities taken place in them

Source: Clause 1, Art. 2, Administration Regulations in the *Culture and Arts Promotion Law*, Internet Homepage of the MCT, cited in 2005

In short, the provision of the cultural district in the *Culture and Art Promotion Law* defines cultural facilities in a narrow sense, which makes it difficult to embody spontaneous and diverse forms of cultural activities.

Multiple Objectives of Cultural District

A cultural district should utilise the given cultural resources in a locale (KCPI 1999). Cultural resources, according to the KCPI, include nature, religion and belief, science and arts, mode of living and costumes, political and military remains and unique industries[56] (KCPI 2000: 25). In other words, the policy of cultural district can

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[56] The definition of cultural resources is found in a KCPI report on cultural city (2000). Cultural researches are "… generally (1) nature in harmony with human life (2) religion and beliefs, which are universal outcomes of humanity (3) sciences and arts, which are the products of intellectual and artistic activities (4) unique mode of living and folk customs, which belong to certain groups and places (5)

capitalise virtually all types of human activities and environment as cultural resources. Given cultural resources in a locality, a cultural district aims at regenerating a place by installing a cultural concept to the local cultural resources (KCPI 1999: 27).

In a broad sense, the cultural district serves as an avenue for 'city marketing' (KCPI 2000: ix, 36). 'City marketing' means, according to the KCPI definition, "city administration to meet the demand of customers and to achieve social and economic goals, which are a prime driving force for developing culture" (KCPI 2000: 36). The objective of the cultural district as a means for 'city marketing' is also stated in the SDI report (SDI 2002: ii). It is stated that the cultural district is a way of city marketing, which produces local images and identity (ibid). Ra, an expert from the SDI, said that the cultural district was designed to overcome the limitation of the existing cultural policies, which did not deal with cultural environment (interview 2004). In short, the cultural district aims at strengthening or creating cultural identities and reconstructing a locality.

Although the initial objective of the cultural district was the preservation of cultural heritage and assets, its objectives have expanded to include city planning and city marketing. For example, the *Daehakro* cultural district aims to ultimately forge a cultural cluster for the culture industry where production, distribution, consumption and education of performing arts can take place (*Jongno* district office 2005: 8-9). In fact, the cultural district can be seen as one type of various cultural clustering strategies, which intentionally creates cultural sites and a spatial identity, a "brand" for a locality (Mommaas 2004: 521).

There exists a similarity between the policy of the cultural district and cultural planning in the sense that both actively utilise resources available. The KCPI sees that the cultural district can capitalise on virtually all types of human activities and environment as cultural resources. Cultural planning[57] adopts local dialects, street jokes, built-environment, drinking and craft skills as its objects (Bianchini & Chilardi 2004: 245-246). Bianchini and Chilardi say that cultural planning adopts the multiple approaches based on various disciplines[58] in order to maximise the development of cultural resources. However, such multiple approaches, which aim to achieve diverse objectives and interests, may be a cause for "adverse effects and mutual distrust" among themselves (Mommaas 2005: 507).

The objectives of the cultural district encompass cultural, spatial and economic

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political and military remains, which have contributed to forming social order and system of values and (6) unique industry of certain places and outcomes of economic activities." (KCPI 2000: 25).

[57] 'Cultural planning' emerged in the early 1990s in North America, Australia and Europe, where cultural planning and urban planning are incorporated based on multi-disciplinary perspectives (Murray 2004).

[58] They include such as political economy, urban sociology, physical planning and other related disciplines (Bianchini & Chilardi 2004).

concerns. The cultural district aims to preserve cultural heritage and to promote city marketing and city planning in order to create a city brand. Yet, such diverse goals might result in disorientation in policy implementation between the protecting of and capitalising on culture.

3.3.2   Problematic Issues of Cultural District

This section examines the problematic issues of the cultural district by looking at its contrasting operational principles, that is, 'policy failure' and 'market failure'.

Overcoming Market Failure and Policy Failure

I argue that the policy of the cultural district hinges on the principle of 'market failure' that legitimises government intervention in the cultural sector where market forces do not serve public interest. According to the KCPI report, the cultural district could overcome the "limitation of the market system" in the cultural sector (KCPI 1999: 25):

> The city spaces, which accommodate non-economic and historical values but lack competitiveness are often ignored. It is due to the market economy system based upon capitalism, efficiency and rationality…But the 'cultural district', which values meanings, could overcome the *limitation of the market system*.

It is shown from the excerpt above that the KCPI approaches culture as having values that are inestimable in markets and needs public subsidy and state intervention.

Another KCPI report reveals that the cultural district is a way of governmental intervention in the economic sector beyond the cultural sector (KCPI 2000: 1-2):

> The local governments currently seek to construct cultural infrastructure, which aims at transforming a site of history and tradition into that of cultural production and consumption …The projects of 'cultural street' and 'cultural district' … are expected to contribute to the promotion of culture and arts, the culture industry and further to the *development of economy*.

Furthermore, the KCPI suggests that governments should play the role of an entrepreneur in policy practice. For example, relevant authorities are advised to create a mascot and logo in order to promote a city under the cultural city and district project

(KCPI 2000: 131):

> The main concept and slogan of each cultural city should be promoted in the domestic and international fields. The mascot, mark, logo and colour suitable for the image of each city should be developed.

This can be interpreted as an attempt of the cultural district to avoid 'policy failure' by actively adopting marketing strategies. McGuigan (2004: 45) criticises the adoption of marketing strategy in public cultural policy for selective implementation of "time, effort and money" to attract costumers, which is quite the opposite form what "social-democratic" cultural policy is expect to concern with. Yet the pursuit of marketing strategies in the cultural district does not indicate that state intervention is weakened. On the contrary, marketing strategies are proposed to be employed in order to maximise the effectiveness of state intervention in the cultural district.

The state's undertaking of the role of an entrepreneur in the cultural district is related to the growing significance of the culture industry in the global economy. For example, the KCPI supports government intervention in the culture industry for the purpose of enhancing sovereignty of national identity and for national competence in global cultural markets.

> The global and homogeneous pattern of cultural consumption and consequent change in national sentiment can confuse national cultural identity which should contribute towards the construction of a nation-state. (KCPI 2002: 5)

> Establishing cultural identity for the content of the cultural industry should be taken seriously. The cultural industry is becoming a dominant culture as the structures of cultural field change and their influence on the receivers is becoming significant. For a success in international markets, strengthening competitiveness on the Korean cultural identity is an urgent task. (KCPI 2002: 283)

The above quotes clearly demonstrate that the state aims to strengthen national culture and sell more cultural products in global markets.

The attempt of overcoming both market failure and policy failure shown in the KCPI report on cultural district and cultural city (KCPI 1999; KCPI 2000) epitomises the current tendency that state intervention is legitimised for protecting and selling cultural products. One of the problems of the cultural district is that it is grounded on an ambivalent principle, which forges both the protection and the sell-out of culture. This might hinder policy implementation processes by providing contrasting rationales.

Cultural District and the Branding of Culture

As discussed earlier, the cultural district aims to construct a cultural quarter, which can create a spatial image, a unique brand. According to marketing terms, branding refers to a process which enhances the social and cultural value of a product by the name and logo of a company (McGuigan 2004: 143). Lash and Urry (1994: 113) consider the branding of cultural objects as a form of "aesthetic operation", which allows the images of objects to attach certain values and meanings. In other words, branding of cultural objects entails the creation of new values and meanings. If a place being famous for street fashion was appointed as a cultural district, there would be processes of naming, image-building and meaning-construction. The place would be re-constructed and advertised as a 'New Korean Rodeo Street'[59].

Such branding strategy appearing in the cultural district draws attention to the issue of the representation of culture and cultural ownership. Bell and Jayne (2004: 252) argue that creating a cultural district is similar to making a museum in the sense that culture in a district is "staged" with a "narrative of place" for visitors. According to McCannell (1989:xxi), the creation of a cultural district can indicate the establishment of a tourist objective, which is to provide "pseudo-reconstruction of authentic otherness" and bring about a "utopia of difference." In this regard, the cultural district entails a whole issue of power struggles over the definition and the representation of 'local culture'.

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[59] There is already a street referred to as *Rodeo Street* in Seoul.

3.4 Concluding Remarks

I have examined the cultural district in relation to the current trend in Korean cultural policy. Recently, Korean cultural policy seeks the construction of creative urban spaces and encompasses cultural, urban and industrial planning. Yet, despite the enlarged scope of cultural policy, the meanings of culture still remain ambivalent. The traditional role of cultural policy fosters national culture and civilises citizens while its new role concerns itself with the promotion of the creative industries. The former is based upon a narrow definition of culture, which regards culture as national heritage and established artistic genres such as music, arts and performance. On the other hand, the latter is based on the broadened definition of culture, anthropological culture, which makes it possible to expand the scope of the cultural sector and consequently that of cultural policy.

In relation to such tendency of recent Korean cultural policy, I have demonstrated that the cultural district has multiple objectives and is premised upon contrasting rationales. Such objectives and rationales support the idea that culture should be protected from markets and at the same time that culture should be sold in markets. They reveal the co-existence of the narrow and the expanded definitions of culture applied to the cultural district. The idea of the cultural district shows that Korean cultural policy is now struggling to come to grips with defining culture and linking cultural sectors with others.

The definition of culture in a particular context is, however, temporary and changeable, as it is strategically selected by relevant authorities according to their interests and objectives. Yet, the meaning of culture is crucial in any cultural policy project since the definition of culture frames the allocation of investment and resources. Therefore, flexibility in defining culture in a cultural policy project might hinder common understandings of culture and result in difficulties at the level of policy application. At the same time, the ambiguous definition of culture gives social actors room for manoeuvre in a cultural policy project.

The two contrasting responses of the local cultural workers and artists towards the policy project reflect the ambiguous objectives and rationales of the cultural district. One group regarded the cultural district as capitalising on culture for economic goals, while the other saw it as an institutional devise for developing local culture. The former point of view originates from an idea that approaches cultural activities as involving the creation of meaning, which cannot be adequately managed with policy. Yet, the latter is based upon a presumption that culture is a set of practices and experiences, which should be institutionally democratised and supported. These two contrasting positions indicate the unclear notion of the cultural district and what it

really exists for.

Creating a 'cultural' district denotes an evaluation and judgement on what constitutes 'the cultural', while making a 'district' means creating 'boundaries' for exclusion and inclusion. The cultural district pertains to physical and symbolic space and relates to market and public spheres.

Chapter 4

The Formation of Arena of Cultural Politics: the Emergence of Social Groups under the *Hong-dae* Cultural District Project

> I think sophisticated cultural politics has begun in the *Hong-dae* area. There was only a movement from dance clubs. But now more groups are emerging, such as live clubs and art people. I think it is only a beginning here. There will be a long way to go. (A member of *Club Culture Association* (CCA) interview 2004)

> In the past, we had a romantic idea that we were creating something, although we were poor. Now, it seems that we are getting into a different condition, in which capital plays a role. On the one hand, we are a bit frightened because we didn't have any experience with capital. On the other hand, we feel that we should ride on this new wave, such as the cultural district. (A member from *Hong-dae Culture and Arts Cooperation* (HCAC) interview 2004)

Given my earlier analysis of the cultural district in relation to the current development of Korean cultural policy in the previous chapter, this chapter attempts to examine two main issues. First, it elucidates on the analytical frameworks employed to explore the *Hong-dae* cultural district project as an arena of cultural politics. Second, it investigates how the *Hong-dae* cultural district project has become an arena of cultural politics by looking at the emergence of conflicts and the establishment of new organisations evolving around the policy project. In so doing, I aim to elucidate how a cultural policy project is closely linked to changes in social relations in a locality.

I adopt the concept of the 'arena of cultural politics' as an analytical tool, which is useful towards explicating the power struggle among and between the actors engaged in the *Hong-dae* cultural district project. Olivier de Sardan (2005) argues that a local development project is a 'political arena', where a variety of actors pursue their interests by strategically mobilising various resources. In a similar vein, the *Hong-dae* cultural district project is a political arena, in which the local cultural workers struggle over the dominance in the policy project. Yet, it is also an arena of

'cultural politics', in which the actors struggle over defining meanings such as 'the cultural'. They have legitimised their interests through defining the meaning of 'cultural', which can give them new resources and opportunities under the policy implementation.

Such formation of a micro field of cultural politics is significantly related to the emergence of new social groups in the locale. There are mainly two local organisations, which were established just after the announcement of the policy project. The *Club Culture Association* (CCA) was established in November 2003 and the *Hong-dae Culture and Art Cooperation* (HCAC) in February 2004. In addition, the *Hong-dae Environmental Development Institution* (HEDI), a research agency in charge of the feasibility study on the *Hong-dae* cultural district and the *Cultural Action* (CA), a cultural NGO came to be involved in the policy project. What are their positions towards the policy project? To what extent did the policy project bring about the establishment of the HCAC and the CCA? What are the impact of all these organisations on the policy project and the locale?

4.1   Arena of Cultural Politics: Formation of Micro Political Field under Cultural Policy Project

I aim to synthesise the concept of arena and that of cultural politics in order to employ an empirical notion of social groups and to utilise an actor-oriented approach for the analysis of the policy project. Particularly, I adopt the notion of cultural politics that underlines the discursive and material practices in power struggle, in order to analyse how meanings and economic interests are negotiated in a cultural policy project. Furthermore, I will examine how to interpret conflict and negotiation in a cultural policy.

Arena and Policy Analysis

The concept of arena is adopted in this research as an analytical tool, which elucidates the formation of new social groups and their alliances taking place in a cultural policy project.

Long, engaged in development sociology, has elaborated this concept in order to explore interactions among various actors in development projects. His major arguments are firstly, that development projects are socially constructed and in continuous negotiation processes and secondly, that relations among market processes, governments and civil society should be explored in-depth (Long 1996:51). According to him, arenas are where actors are struggling by mobilising social relations and utilising discursive and cultural means for particular ends (Long 2000: 192). He proposes that the concept of arena should map out issues, resources and discourses employed by actors in development projects (ibid).

Yet, Olivier de Sardan (2005) emphasises a more strategic aspect of a development project arguing that it appears as a game, where players utilise available power to pursue interests. He points out two different types of power; power that everybody has and "instituted power" that is possessed only by some people and can be altered into other forms of "capital" (2005: 186). This power concept is particularly useful towards comprehending various forms of power and capital, which can be used as resources for strategic actions in a policy project, such as social status, affiliation, educational backgrounds and social network.

Long (1996, 2000) and Olivier de Sardan (2005) underline that a planned intervention through policy implementation does not necessarily produce expected results. Rather, they argue that it triggers ongoing processes of social changes. For example, social groups newly organised by a policy project affect the processes of policy implementation and further challenge values and meanings, which underpin the

given project. In this respect, the concept of arena captures the emergence of new social groups and fields of micro politics evolving around a policy project. It also seeks to elucidate reciprocal and transformational processes, which a policy project brings about but does not determine the patterns of further development.

An actor-oriented approach is another significant aspect of the arena concept, which comprehends the state of multiple realities and the heterogeneity of social actors (Long 1996). For example, in the case of the *Hong-dae* cultural district project, artists and bureaucrats are much concerned with economic results and business people with creativity[60], contrary to a common assumption that artists behave based upon "creative rationality", business people upon "economic result" and bureaucrats upon "rationality or order" (Vestheim 1994: 68). Knowles and Mercer (1990: 38) argue that social groups in political struggles are created according to common interests and agendas[61]. Such argument means that it is difficult to examine the dynamics and heterogeneity of social relations in power struggles without knowing what individual actors pursue and how they organise groups based upon which grounds.

These examples evince the usefulness of the arena concept for policy analysis. Policy analysis should be accomplished without a pitfall of standardising social actors both individuals and groups and their patterns of behaviour. Instead, such analysis should delve into what social actors claim and take actions during the processes of policy implementation. In short, the collaboration and the confrontation among actors in a policy project should be examined by looking at what each group and each individual want to gain by mobilising collective actions.

Cultural Politics and Cultural Policy

Long (2000) and Olivier de Sardan (2005) regard every actor in an arena as possessing, to a certain degree, resources that make it possible for the actor to influence a policy project. These resources include cultural meanings, various discourses and instituted power. In particular, it is significant that cultural meanings and various discourses can be resources for strategic actions in a cultural policy project.

Politics in a cultural policy often takes place implicitly via the confrontation of cultural meanings and discourses as they affect the allocation of resources, such as money, spaces and human resources, under policy implementation. Therefore,

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[60] This topic will be further discussed in the succeeding chapters.
[61] "…instead of a parallel existence of subjects and claimed interests, we see constituencies as organised by specific issues as they arise on the political agenda. In other words groups of subjects (constituencies) are created in terms of a commonality of interests around the specifics of policies…" (Knowles and Mercer 1990: 38)

particular discourses and visions delivering certain sets of meanings and ideas can be effective resources to be mobilised for policy participation and also avail crucial opportunities that bring in economic and social benefits.

The arena concept draws attention to the issue that cultural discourses and meanings become powerful means for policy involvement and crucial objects of negotiation. Therefore, cultural policy is an arena of cultural politics, where actors struggle over meaning making. In this respect, Kellner (2005: 1) argues that cultural politics is exploring "what is *cultural* about politics and what is *political* about culture (italics in original)". In other words, culture is 'relational' and politics is 'discursive'.

The concept of cultural politics is significantly elaborated by scholars from the *Centre for Contemporary Cultural studies* (CCCS) engaged in subcultural studies (Kellner 1997; Martin 2002). In particular, they have adopted the notion of hegemony in order to explore culture as a field of struggle, where subordinate subcultures resist dominant cultures. For example, Hebdige (1979) has shown the coherence of working-class youth subcultures expressed though distinctive styles such as music and dress codes. He has explained such subculture as resistance against dominant capitalistic society (ibid). Hall (2001) sees ideology and power struggles as the key words for cultural politics and approaches culture as a field where a particular set of ideas become dominant or resisted. In particular, he emphasises identity and articulation[62] as tools for the empowerment of subjectivity, which enables one to construct oneself by "using resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being" (Hall 1996: 4). Furthermore, the notions of identity, ethnicity and gender have been elaborated under cultural politics studies.

The significance of the notion of cultural politics is that it has explored issues with regard to hegemony within the cultural field by looking into material and structural bases for culture and analysing culture as a field of power relations. Accordingly, it has led to a link between culture and political movements, in which people mobilise symbolic resources to resist dominant ideologies. Yet, other scholars claim that the notion of cultural politics should further comprehend issues regarding complexity and heterogeneity in social relations.

For example, Martin (2002) argues that the class-based approach towards subcultures and identity formation should be broadened to accommodate various forms of collective identity. Therefore struggles and conflicts in the cultural field,

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[62] "An articulation is … the form of the connection that can make a unity of two different elements, under certain conditions. It is like a linkage which is not necessary, determined, absolute and essential for all time…, a theory of articulation is both a way of understanding how ideological elements come, under certain conditions, to cohere together within a discourse, and a way of asking how they do or do not become articulated, at specific conjunctures, to certain political subjects…it enables us to think how an ideology empowers people, enabling them to begin to make some sense or intelligibility of their historical situations, without reducing those forms of intelligibility to their socio-economic or class location or social position" (Hall 1996: 141- 142).

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according to him, should include deliberations on complex social phenomenon beyond class struggles. He also points out that subcultural theories, to some extent, constructed subcultures, not the other way round. This aspect is closely related to the aestheticisation of subcultures and the association of culture with substances of collectivity within cultural politics studies. In fact, some scholars (Bauman 1996; Fitzgerald 1999; Grossberg 1996) caution that approaching cultural politics as a tool for reinforcing group identity could marginalise culture as collections of distinctive substances.

Another criticism towards cultural politics studies is that it has limited the analysis of power relations in a bi-polar system of oppression and resistance (Grossberg 1996). In a similar vein, Canclini (1992: 38) argues that a perspective, which approaches social relations in a bi-polar mode such as domination and subordination cannot always explain alliance and negotiation taking place across diverse social groups. Therefore, he suggests that cultural politics should include an examination of various forms of networks, interchanges and reciprocal conditions among people (ibid). These criticisms indicate that various factions of social groups and heterogeneous power relations firmly based upon empirical scrutiny should be sought within cultural politics studies.

In terms of the complexity of social phenomenon, such as the convergence of the economic and cultural fields, some scholars pay particular attention to material practices and economic interests in exploring cultural politics. For example, Giroux (2001: 7) claims that cultural politics is about "the interplay among symbolic representations, everyday life and material relations of power." McCann (2002:387) also asserts that cultural politics is a set of discursive and material practices in which meanings are confronted and negotiated:

> *Cultural politics*, [is] a set of discursive and material practices in and through which meanings are defined and struggled over, where social norms and values are naturalised and by which 'common sense' is constructed and contested.

Jackson (1992:2) further claims that cultural politics locates the relationship between culture and society in the fore and explores the intersection between the cultural, the political and the economic.

What these scholars suggest is that cultural politics should elucidate power struggles in meaning-making processes by explicating the interconnection between the cultural field and other social spheres. Such a proposal is insightful towards analysing power relations taking place in cultural policy. Cultural policy, although it is an autonomous sector for an administrative practice, is often implemented in

collaboration with urban planning and industrial planning with links to the economic, political and social fields. Consequently, economic interests are sought after implicitly through the claim of cultural meanings and values, which determine material conditions under policy implementation.

In particular, McGuigan (1996) underlines that cultural policy is a field of cultural politics. He claims that the confrontation of meanings, institutional contests and power relations take place in cultural policy (1996: 1):

> Cultural policy is about the politics of culture in the most general sense: it is about the clash of ideas, institutional struggles and power relations in the production and circulation of symbolic meanings.

He further questions whether complex and "affective" cultures could be treated in "effective" terms of "economic and bureaucratic models of policy" (1996: 28). His critical approach to cultural policy draws attention to the political aspects of cultural policy: who are involved in policy-making; who defines cultural values; who are more influential in the setting of agendas.

In short, the concept of cultural politics, which throws light upon the heterogeneity of collective identity and social groups, power relations in discursive and material practices and the convergence of various social spheres in the cultural field, is a useful analytical tool for cultural policy analysis.

Conflict and Negotiation in Cultural Policy Project

Given the analytical tool of the arena of cultural politics, I now discuss how conflict and negotiation in a cultural policy project can be analysed.

Bierschenk and Olivier de Sardan (1997: 240) regard conflicts as explicating behaviours of social actors in certain social contexts and disclosing how a certain society functions and how social changes take place:

> Conflicts are one of the best "vital leads" for "penetrating" a society and revealing its norms or codes as well as its structure. To speculate on the existence of consensus is a far less powerful and productive research hypothesis than to conjecture the existence of conflicts. Conflicts are the preferred indicators of the functioning of a local society. They are also indicators of social change.

Therefore, conflict is a state of temporary confrontation, which ultimately brings about social changes. In other words, conflict is not a rigid state of deadlock. Rather it is a transformative and dynamic state, in which communicative interactions take place.

Interestingly, in a cultural policy project, conflicts apparently appear as the clash of ideas and resolving conflicts take place in the forms of negotiating, mediating and creating certain definitions and meanings. A cultural policy project is always administered concomitantly with the promotion of a set of meanings, which foster or forbid particular cultural values and practices. Therefore, actors who are unsatisfied with a given policy project often attempt to change the given set of meanings, which hence frame a policy project.

d'Anjou (1996) argues that there are social changes at two different levels; a change that actions of social actors generate, and an epistemological change in the way that social actors define the changed reality. Consequently, a dialectical interaction between such two levels of change results in ongoing social change. The dialectical interaction between actions and meanings is relevant in explaining how a cultural policy project can lead to social change. Conflict and negotiation in a cultural policy project can be seen as a dialectical interaction between policy implementation (actions) and policy rationales (meanings).

Conflict and negotiation in a cultural policy project are closely related to economic interests. For example, in the case of the *Hong-dae* cultural district, defining '*Hong-dae* culture' determines not only recommended cultural facilities but also the distribution of resources and legislative support to such facilities. Accordingly, they are related to changes in the local power relations and the change of urban landscape. Cultural policy has become a contentious field since material production is tightly connected with that of symbols, signs and meanings.

Cultural Policy as Arena of Cultural Politics

First of all, a significant overlap between the concept of arena and that of cultural politics is that both comprehend the discursive and material practices in power struggles. Therefore, the synthesis of these two concepts, the arena of cultural politics makes it possible to analyse how actors in a policy project articulate their interests through mobilising and creating new cultural meanings, values and discourses that are attached to economic interests. Cultural meanings and discourses can be performative by enabling one to mobilise social networks and social groups in a policy project.

Secondly, the concepts of arena and cultural politics employ a relational and empirical notion of social actors. The formation of new social relations evolving around the *Hong-dae* cultural district project are not necessarily resultant from power struggles framed in oppression and resistance. They are more complex than a bi-polar scheme of power relations and include alliance, fragmentation and negotiation. The

arena of cultural politics makes it possible to examine the competition of various meanings as a contestation of different life-worlds and multiple realities of social actors.

4.2   Conflict over Defining Dance Clubs as Cultural Places and Mobilisation of Local Actors

Based on the analytical tool, 'arena of cultural politics' which has been elaborated in the preceding section, I now investigate how the *Hong-dae* cultural district project has become an arena of cultural politics by looking at the emergence of conflicts and the establishment of new organisations evolving around the policy project.

The announcement of the possible execution of the cultural district in the *Hong-dae* area agitated people in the locale since the policy implementation should commence with defining 'recommendable cultural facilities and businesses' for the future *Hong-dae* cultural district. Therefore, the stark difference among the local cultural workers and artists in looking at the dance clubs as cultural places reveals different positions towards how the future *Hong-dae* cultural district should be developed. Furthermore, such different positions stimulated the mobilisation of social networks and the establishment of new organisations, which have resulted in changes in the local social relations.

When the *Hong-dae Culture and Arts Cooperation* (HCAC) was just established in February 2004, it heavily impeached that the cultural district would worsen the commercialisation processes. The HCAC argued that the commercialisation processes were partly led by the increasing number of dance clubs. Even before the announcement of the policy project, some local artists were hostile to the dance clubs. Firstly, they felt that they were underrepresented in a report produced by the *Seoul Development Institute* (SDI 2000), which, according to them, overrepresented the dance clubs among the various cultural aspects of *Hong-dae* culture (2004 interview). These people also thought that the dance clubs exerted power over the locale by gaining sponsorship from big companies to host various cultural events. For example, *Club Day* was sponsored by the *KT & G* (Korea Tobacco & Ginseng Corporation), *British American Tobacco* and *Mottorola* at the time of field research in 2003 and 2004. It seems that the cultural workers and artists from the non-dance club scene felt threatened in losing their dominance in the area.

They further raised an issue of the authenticity of *Hong-dae* culture and questioned whether the current *Hong-dae* culture, which the dance clubs have popularised, was 'cultured' enough. They perceived the *Hong-dae* area in the framework of the confrontation between the 'cultured us' and 'not cultured dance clubs'.

> Unfortunately, the *Hong-dae* area, which was for mania[63] groups, is getting so much popularised due to the dance clubs that it's becoming a flirting place for the young. (A live club manager interview 2003)

> Against the clubs! … I think the clubs at present are rather close to alcohol and dance houses, which are only striving for money. They are not cultural places. (HCAC Internet bulletin board cited in 2004)

Some informants from the HCAC said that the dance clubs have coined the term 'club culture' in order to legitimise the dance clubs as cultural places. They argued that the dance clubs were lowering the quality of music and clubs in the *Hong-dae* area.

> They say that there are live clubs, jazz clubs, Latin clubs and dance clubs under club culture… well, this kind of explanation is, I think, an excuse to legitimise the dance clubs…and club culture of the live clubs are used in order to support the dance clubs… (A HCAC member interview 2004)

The *Club Culture Association* (CCA) was established in December 2003. Its main activities are to unite the dance clubs in the *Hong-dae* area and to organise various events and programmes related to club culture. Before its establishment, the *Space Culture Centre* (SCC) was coordinating the dance clubs. The SCC was set up as an NGO in 2000, dealing with community-making and place-marketing and has become a corporation since March 2006. As the number of dance clubs increased, a few key members of the SCC initiated the establishment of the CCA in order to undertake tasks only related to the dance clubs (CCA 2004). Subsequently, the CCA has run various programmes such as *Sound Day, Road Club Festival, Youth Club Day* and *Club Culture Alternative Education Programme*. Yet, the representative, Choi and the key member of the SCC, Lee, are the same as those of the CCA. This often leads people to regard these two organisations as identical.

Due to the organisational structure of the CCA that the same members from the SCC occupy the key positions and its broad range of events, people in the HCAC speculated on its existence. Some criticised the CCA for being an authoritarian organisation which attempted to monopolise cultural events and programmes in the locale (interview data 2004). Yet Choi, the representative of the CCA and the SCC said that the HCAC remained in the "old mannered" way of cultural production staying only inside of their ateliers and not questioning the relationship between cultural production, consumption and circulation (interview 2004). Further, he said that *Hong-dae* culture produced by this old manner should be replaced by a "new

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[63] It seems that 'mania' refers to people who like independent music of the *Hong-dae* area and possess insider knowledge about clubs and events in the locale.

system" that should seek communication with the public. His argument, however, worsened scepticism about the role of the CCA among the HCAC members.

The scepticism towards the CCA is partly due to the personal background of its representative, Choi. He came to the *Hong-dae* area relatively recently, compared to the majority of the HCAC members who have studied or worked in the area since the 1980s or at latest early 1990s. He came to the *Hong-dae* area when he participated in the *2002 World Cup* preparation organised by the Seoul city government in 2000. Since then, he has worked on the dance clubs and his presence in the *Hong-dae* area has been influential. He is, according to some members of the HCAC, an 'outsider', who has nothing to do with *Hong-dae* culture. Some HCAC members criticised him for utilising *Hong-dae* culture politically as a means to organise human resources (interview data 2004).

> They see people as resources. They systematically collected professors and experts as their committee and contacted local business people. (A HCAC member interview 2004)
>
> I don't know what he really wants here. I don't know whether he knows culture…I guess that he's a typical activist, who sets agendas and dominates people and resources. (A HCAC member interview 2004)

Choi was engaged in the labour movement while he was a university student in the 1980s and later worked for a transportation labour union and pioneered the environmental movement in the 1990s. Now, he is mainly working on community-making and place-marketing based in the *Hong-dae* area. It seems that the way that he has operated the SCC and the CCA and communicated with the local neighbours was perceived as too political to those artists and cultural workers who regarded Choi as an outsider.

The CCA officially claims that the dance clubs are spaces where music and dancing unite people and enable people to communicate with one another and that club culture is a youth subculture created in the club space (CCA 2004: 4-5). The CCA perceives the dance clubs differently from the live clubs (2004: 4):

> In the case of Korea, there have developed two types of clubs; 'live clubs' are based on the performance of rock music and 'dance clubs (techno clubs)' are based on techno music and have appeared since the 1990s. Therefore, it is regarded that club culture is composed of 'live club culture' and 'dance club culture'… The dance clubs and live clubs have different cultural aspects due to a difference in the developmental backgrounds, characteristics of spaces and costumers…recently, it tends to define club culture focusing on the dance clubs.

Choi says that the independent culture of the *Hong-dae* area[64] has significantly lost its power to lead to *Hong-dae* culture (interview 2004). The dance clubs, according to him, have a potential to construct a new system, which could link cultural production and consumption in the locale.

While the confrontation over the representation of club culture and *Hong-dae* culture in the locale has already existed, the policy project further deepened it and stimulated the mobilisation of people. Particularly, as the policy implementation should start with selecting representative local cultures and recommended cultural facilities and businesses[65], what represents *Hong-dae* culture has become a sensitive issue among the local cultural workers engaged in various sectors such as art, design, animation, performance, publication, cultural networking and intermediary and music including clubs.

Yet, recently, the *Hong-dae* area has become more known for the dance clubs and club culture than the live clubs, art and independent culture. Therefore, some people seemed anxious as to whether the dance clubs would gain more power through being appointed as main cultural facilities in the future *Hong-dae* cultural district. These people, who became mostly the members of the HCAC, claimed the quality of *Hong-dae* culture as being creative and experimental to be a keyword in the *Hong-dae* cultural district. Further they criticised the dance clubs for being not cultured enough. The CCA, however, asserted that the *Hong-dae* area has become the "representative of the Korean club culture" due to the dance clubs (CCA 2004: 7) and that the dance clubs should be included as recommended cultural facilities in the future *Hong-dae* cultural district (2004: 81).

In short, the announcement of the *Hong-dae* cultural district project significantly accelerated the existing power struggles over the representation of *Hong-dae* culture and the mobilisation of the local artists and cultural workers. This consequently resulted in the establishment of the CCA and the HCAC. The stark difference in looking at the dance clubs as the places of the ' Korean club culture' and as 'dance houses' and 'flirting places' is closely related to the issue of the selection of recommended cultural facilities and businesses in the future *Hong-da*e cultural district.

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[64] In general, the independent culture of the *Hong-dae* area means the cultural scene which has been developed from the independent music scene in the local live clubs in the 1990s. See chapter 2 for further discussion about the formation of *Hong-dae* culture.

[65] The implementation of a cultural district in a locality needs various types of planning based on a cultural concept which fits with a local cultural characteristic.

4.3 *Hong-dae Culture and Arts Cooperation* (HCAC): Claiming to be the Representative of '*Hong-dae* People'

> It used to be a place where there was no need of any organisation…but the reason that we had to establish the *Hong-dae Culture and Arts Cooperation* was that others made an organisation and have exercised power over the whole area. (*Hong-dae Culture and Arts Cooperation* (HCAC) member interview 2004)

In the previous section, I have shown how the announcement of the policy project stimulated the establishment of the *Hong-dae Culture and Arts Cooperation* (HCAC) and the *Club Culture Association* (CCA). This section will examine the establishment of the HCAC, its mission-statement, membership and claims on the cultural district.

Establishment of *Hong-dae Culture and Arts Cooperation* (HCAC)

People who were preparing for the establishment of the HCAC numbered twenty (HCAC 2004a) in January 2004. They consisted of the local cultural workers, NGO members and one official from the *Mapo* district office (ibid). Yet, there was no one from the dance clubs. Specifically, six participants were engaged in the art and design sector as curators of galleries and managers of design companies, two engaged in the music sector as a DJ and a live club manager, one was running an architecture company, one was a performing artist running a performing troupe, one was engaged in film and documentary making, one was a reporter for an webzine[66] and seven were engaged in cultural intermediary work such as running cultural event companies, festival organisations and cultural NGOs.

They started the first meeting by introducing themselves and addressing what they thought as important issues. Many of them spoke about how long they have worked in the *Hong-dae* area and expressed concerns about the local cultural scene.

> I've grown up here and lived for thirty-six years…I think the poor working condition of artists is also a problem. I hope that this meeting will develop into a forum for open communication regardless of genre differences. (A design company manager, minutes HCAC 2004a)

> I'm a representative of *XXX* and an art programmer of *Independent Arts Festival*. Since the last year, art programmers formed an organisation called the *Organisation for the Prosperous Mapo Art*. We have met three or four times and have discussed various issues

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[66] A webzine means a magazine on the Internet.

including the cultural district. We (the organisation) understand very well the problem of rent prices here. We (participants) should not only discuss the issue (the rent problem of the *Theater Zero*) but also propose alternative and practical solutions. (A curator, minutes HCAC 2004a)

I've lived here for twenty-years…I feel that the arts have suddenly disappeared here. In the 1990s, there were many performances in the clubs and streets…Now, individuals who love *Hong-dae* cannot develop the local culture anymore… Networking of people has become important. (A performing artist, minutes HCAC 2004a)

There were also some participants who came to the area recently, yet they showed interest in local issues concerning networking and the cultural district project.

I'm engaged in XXX *Festival*. I'm like an immigrant. I felt exclusion from the local people while hosting the festival. I think that the root of the *Theater Zero* problem lies in the *Hong-dae* cultural district project. I think that we should participate in the campaign for the theatre and make the cultural district beneficial to all of us. (A manager of a festival, minutes HCAC 2004a)

I've been here for fifteen days. I was working for a social movement and was running XXX Centre for five years. I do a lot of work in association with the Seoul city… I didn't have interest in the *Hong-dae* area. But once I got to meet some people, I became interested. I become impatient if a movement is driven by individual interest or it does not create any activity and productivity. It is important for me to carry forwards our tasks whenever we meet. (A manager of a cultural NGO, minutes of HCAC 2004a)

In general, newcomers had experience in cultural and social movements and acted as intermediaries, engaging in cultural networking. Those who had been working in the locale for more than ten years were generally involved in the art, design, performance and music sectors.

Initially, people gathered in order to discuss the financial difficulty of *Theater Zero*, which is an independent and experimental performance theatre facing the situation of having to cease operations due to the increase in rent. The manager of the theatre is a significant figure in the *Hong-dae* area since he is a founding member of the legendary café called *Gompangee* in the early 90s. This café was a combination of café, performance theatre, dance hall and gallery serving as a cradle of *Hong-dae* culture. Therefore, the financial problem of the theatre resulted in bitter feelings amongst local artists. Furthermore, the announcement of the policy plan exacerbated their uneasiness toward any intervention, which they associated with

commercialisation processes.

The participants' concerns included soaring prices of rent and the financial difficulty of *Theatre Zero*. During the first preparation meeting, the participants came to a conclusion that the financial difficulty of the theatre resulted from the implementation plan of the cultural district.

> I think that the root of the *Theater Zero* problem lies in the *Hong-dae* cultural district project. (A manager of festival, minutes of HCAC meeting 2004a)

> We need an initiative approach, for example, asking a question like for whom the cultural district exists. (A cultural intermediary, minutes of HCAC meeting 2004a)

At their second meeting, there were twelve participants, yet the majority of them were cultural intermediaries with no artist present (HCAC 2004b). For example, there were twelve participants. Among them, seven were working for cultural event and festival companies, cultural NGOs[67]. The participants decided on the name of the organisation as the *Hong-dae Culture and Arts Cooperation* (HCAC). They selected Cho as the first representative. He has been living in the *Hong-dae* area since 1985 and has run a cultural programme agency. He was a student at *Hong-ik University* and a member of *Whyangshinhye Band*. He has been involved in various activities in the locale such as a member of the *Hong-dae Shinchon Culture Forum*, an organiser of *Hope Market* and a candidate of the district council. Cho said that the participants had to expose the theatre issue in public in order to generate public opinion and influence the execution of the cultural district. One participant also said that social consensus on looking upon *Theatre Zero* as a valuable cultural place for and by the public was crucial for solving its rent problem. Further, he said that the cultural district should be used as a public forum to discuss the theatre issue. Therefore, the participants in the meeting decided to organise collective campaigns for the theatre, together with publicising their concerns on the cultural district project.

The opening ceremony of the HCAC took place in February 2004 in the forms of a campaign for *Theater Zero*, a performance about artists and an open forum for discussing the cultural district. The membership of the HCAC, at that time of the establishment, amounted to approximately one hundred and twenty individuals and thirty organisations (HCAC 2004d). As I witnessed, there were many participants at the ceremony including the press. The performance during the inauguration of the HCAC intensified the image of the local cultural workers and artists as the sufferers

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[67] the *Cultural Action* (CA) and the *Citizen Cultural Network* (CCN)

of commercialisation processes (see Photo 34). This ceremony received much press coverage.

(Photo 32) Opening Ceremony of HCAC

The second and third photos were about a performance, which depicted an artist who was almost dead in a poor environment but kept a hope of life. This was expressed through a flower at the bare foot of the artist.

Source: *Weekly Donga* vol. 423, 26 February 2004

The HCAC distributed the flyers stating their mission statement and demands about the solution for the increased rent prices and the participation of the HCAC members in the policy project (flyer HCAC 2004d):

> The *Hong-dae Culture and Arts Cooperation* (tentative)[68] is a group of the local artists and cultural workers … established as a voluntary local cultural association in order to solve the agendas of the local cultural issues.
>
> Prepare practical concerns and measures for the *Theater Zero*, a representative space of the *Hong-dae* area and place exclusively for arts in the crisis of the closing-down! Prepare practical support for making infrastructure and corporations for *Hong-dae* culture and arts so that we can cope with soaring rent! Ensure institutional participation of the local artists and cultural workers in the cultural district project!

Later, the HCAC also organised a street demonstration in the form of a funeral performance, which signified the death of the theatre and the arts (see Photo 35). This campaign also drew attention from the press. The major broadcasting companies and newspapers reported the *Theater Zero* issue in the manner that the local artists and cultural workers were the victims of commercialisation processes and

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[68] When the flyer was produced, the *Hong-dae Culture and Arts Cooperation* was a tentative name of the organisation.

the cultural district project would only aggravate their current situation.

(Photo 33) Performing Funeral of *Theater Zero* by HCAC members

The HCAC demonstrated against the cultural district project by putting up a performance about the funeral of *Theater Zero*, which drew considerable public attention. The original plan was a nude performance. Yet, due to the intervention of the police, they wore black short pants. The person forefront is the manager of the theatre and others are performing artists and some members of the HCAC.

Source: *Chosun Daily*, 22 March 2004

Responding to the press coverage, the *Mapo* district office played the role of an intermediary between the theatre manager and the owner of the building. A committee for the preparation of the *Hong-dae* cultural district was also launched in February 2004, which comprised fifteen members from various sectors, such as district council members, experts on cultural policy, local artists and business people and residents. Within the committee, four people were appointed as representatives of the local artists. Three of them were from the HCAC.

Considering that the HCAC is an organisation established in a short time, their resonance in the mass media was significant. On the one hand, it was partly due to the well-established reputation of the area as a centre of alternative and independent culture. Many cultural critics, scholars, journalists and civil activists have greatly engaged in the promotion of alternative and independent culture. On the other hand, it is partly due to the existence of the members, who have experiences of the engagement in cultural movements and campaigns. For example, the live clubs, supported by the *Cultural Action* (CA) which is a cultural NGO and an explicit supporter of independent and non-mainstream culture, campaigned for the legalisation of the live club business in the mid-1990s. Furthermore, a cultural activist from the

CA and the *Citizen Cultural Network* (CCN) attended the preparation meeting of the HCAC and advised the members on how to start negotiating with the authorities and how to gain publicity (minutes HCAC 2004a). In addition, the majority of the founding members of the HCAC who are engaged in the art and design sector have links with *Hong-ik Art College* since they are its graduates. Most of all, the HCAC members effectively mobilised the well-established fame of the *Hong-dae* area and their social networks for publicity purposes.

HCAC as a Group of '*Hong-dae* Natives'

Although the HCAC was against the *Hong-dae* cultural district project at the beginning, its members soon claimed that a 'real *Hong-dae* culture' should be promoted and that 'real *Hong-dae* people' should take part in the policy project. A real *Hong-dae* culture seems to refer to *Hong-dae* culture in the 1990s, as some members of the HCAC often mentioned that the current *Hong-dae* culture should return to its former characteristics.

In fact, some informants mentioned expressions of 'original *Hong-dae* people' and 'innocent *Hong-dae* culture'. These expressions convey that real *Hong-dae* people developed a real *Hong-dae* culture in the 1990s:

> I don't see people who are running clubs now as original *Hong-dae* people. Well, the owner of the club XXX is not also *Hong-dae* people. He is only a business person. (A street hawker, interview 2004)

> It was good before. There were many people with whom you could talk about culture…Recently, some students wanted to interview me and told me that they wanted to return to the innocent *Hong-dae* culture. So, I've asked how old they were. Oh, gees, the eldest was only twenty-five-years old…How much would they know about *Hong-dae* culture? I can understand their good will but just wonder what they know about it. (A café owner, interview 2004)

The expression '*Hong-dae* people' is a commonly used term, which refers to the local artists, residents, students and owners of shops and cafés. Yet, according to my interview data, people used other similar expressions such as 'people here' and '*Hong-dae* guys':

> *People here* have their own colours…I can immediately tell people from the outside…Well, *guys here*, clothing or hairdo in terms of everything, are not influenced by any particular trend or fashion. (A street hawker, interview 2004)

> Other *Hong-dae guys* are cheerful and always happy. Yes, it's vivid energy." (A singer in a band, interview 2004)

> I was away from 2001 till the early 2004. Many things have changed. Well, many *outsiders* have come… (They are) business people. Here come more people looking for money. (A café manager, interview 2004)

A street hawker whom I interviewed distinguished 'people here' from other places by their styles. A singer considered '*Hong-dae* guys' as having their own characteristics and attitudes. On the other hand, a café manager used the expression 'outsider' to describe new comers to the area, who were mainly engaged with business. This reveals his understanding about 'insider', *Hong-dae* people. Although he was also a business person running a café, he seemed to regard him as belonging to *Hong-dae* people. He said that *Hong-dae* people engaged in business should seek not only money but also 'sensitivity' (interview 2004).

According to interview and observation data, what exactly distinguishes '*Hong-dae* people' from others is not clear since people emphasise different aspects of being *Hong-dae* people such as styles, attitudes and sensitivity. Yet, self-consciousness that he or she does something that fits the characteristics of the *Hong-dae* area as a unique and cultural place makes one regard himself/herself as belonging to *Hong-dae* people:

> Whether one has stayed here 10 years or 20 years, it is meaningless if he or she isn't doing anything here. If one has something to do with the *Hong-dae* area, then he or she belongs here. What matters if he or she has been here only 6 months? (A live club manager, interview 2004)

> I do not want to sell out the effort of the senior *Hong-dae* people who cultivated this area as a cultural place (HCAC Internet bulletin board cited in 2004)

Furthermore, the shared feeling of doing something within the *Hong-dae* area, whether they are engaged in galleries, festivals, clubs and cafés, seems to make *Hong-dae* people respect each other.

> I tell you again that *Hong-dae* is a place where we don't need any organisation. It's where people respect and help each other and it should be… In general, people don't care what others are doing. But if something happens, people come and help each other. (A HCAC member, interview 2004)

The shared sentiment of being *Hong-dae* people was also important for the

establishment of the HCAC. According to the HCAC mission statement, it is clearly described that the HCAC represented the local artists and cultural workers, who had affection to the area (HCAC 2004d):

> The *Hong-dae Culture and Arts Cooperation* (tentative) … will do best for cultural comprehension, production and distribution. The *Hong-dae Culture and Arts Cooperation* welcomes any artist and cultural worker who have affection to the *Hong-dae* area.

Yet, there appeared a new expression, '*Hong-dae* natives', which is not as widely used as '*Hong-dae* people'. However, it is significant that this expression serves to strengthen the sentiment of the local artists, inferring as if the *Hong-dae* area was a village of indigenous artists.

> Cho…emphasises that those people who rent their working places around the *Hong-dae* area established 'cooperation' for the sake of survival not for artistic idealism… he said that he is a self-appointed '*Hong-dae* native'. He calls the identity of all the artists, who have settled in the *Hong-dae* area, as '*Hong-dae* native'. (*Weekly Donga* 26 February 2004)

> In fact I started using the term '*Hong-dae* natives' but nobody has told me that I made up the story. (Cho interview 2005)

Cho, the first representative of the HCAC, said that "unqualified outsiders polluted *Hong-dae* culture" recently and the local artists were the only people who were able to maintain its quality (interview 2004). He said that he wanted to save the area for cultural workers and artists:

> In fact, many people are against the cultural district…Now those who have interests in it are property owners and those who are bustling about culture including me…We want to hang around and produce something together. Even through borrowing institutional forces, we want to keep this community as far as we can save some spaces for us.

The time when Cho started using the expression '*Hong-dae* native' (see the quote from *Weekly Donga* 26 February 2004) is significant as February 2004 was when he and other *Hong-dae* people just established the HCAC and publicised it to the public after the announcement of the policy project (September 2003) and the establishment of the CCA (*Club Culture Association* December 2003). As shown in the excerpt above, the term '*Hong-dae* natives' was coined in order to give a clear identity of local artists who have been working in the area. Yet, it further served to present the

HCAC as a representative group of local artists by giving 'indigenous' and an 'authentic' cultural identity to the HCAC.

For example, some participants who gathered to prepare for the establishment of the HCAC attempted to influence the policy project by emphasising the contribution of *Hong-dae* people to the local culture. They also proposed that the HCAC should hold an exhibition about the history of *Hong-dae* culture:

> We, all of us, haven't met together before. But now we have to display who are the subjects of *Hong-dae* culture and what we have been doing… The reason why we need an organisation is that we have to make a channel to communicate with the authority. We have to reveal ourselves as a group. (An organiser of a cultural event company, minutes HCAC 2004a)

> We need to have an exhibition about the subjects of *Hong-dae* culture. I have collected all the articles about it since the 1990s. I can bring them here. We have to bring all the materials and documents which can show a real history of here. (An organiser of a cultural event company, fieldnotes March 2004)

> Now, the district office should do something concrete. It includes collecting materials, recording what's going on here and publishing them. (A performing artist, minutes HCAC 2004a)

This articulated identity of being *Hong-dae* natives naturalises, to a certain degree, the link between the HCAC and the *Hong-dae* area and justifies its legitimacy over policy participation as the representative of the local culture. This is closely related to the objective of the cultural district project, which aims to select representative local cultures and strategically promote them for the construction of cultural infrastructures in a locality. The self-description of *Hong-dae* natives serves to empower the HCAC and to make room for manoeuvring in the policy project.

Heterogeneous Membership of HCAC

Although the HCAC is based upon the shared sentiment of being *Hong-dae* people, it cannot be seen as a uniform group of the local artists. Its members hold different occupations and affiliations since the *Hong-dae* area itself is famous for its diverse cultural aspects. As shown earlier, among the twenty participants who initiated the establishment of the HCAC, one was a DJ, one was a performing artist running a theatrical company, one ran a live club, one worked in a film and documentary making company, one was an architecture and one was a reporter while six were gallery curators and seven were working as festival and project planners in companies

and organisations including NGOs (minutes HCAC 2004a). Some of them have various affiliations. For example, three out of four members in the representative body have more than one occupation or association. Cho was running a cultural content agency, representative of *Hope Market* and committee member of the *Hong-dae* cultural district feasibility study. Kim was running a live club and representative of the *Live Club Union* and *Free Market*. Lee was a representative of *Fringe Festival* and was also engaged in festival programming in other cities.

On the other hand, there were thirty-four organisations which were registered as the members of the HCAC when it was just established in February 2004. Specifically, eight organisations were from the music sector, especially live clubs, thirteen from the art and design sector such as art festival organisations, galleries and art shops. Three were related to the media sector such as film and documentary programme making, four were cultural event and festival organisations, two were art markets and one was a research centre. Yet, this diversity challenged the HCAC members to establish a collective identity and to find common issues and interests. As some members mentioned in their meeting (HCAC 2004c), there were various motivations and interests in participating in the HCAC.

Cho, the first representative of the HCAC said that his own networking actually constituted the early form of the HCAC, which was similar to an ad hoc (interview 2005). He said that whether it would continue or not depended on the extent to which its members could pursue their interests through the HCAC. As for him, he said that he benefited from the network created by the HCAC. He assumed that other members also took advantage of it. However, he pointed out that the members of the HCAC dwindled after the *Theater Zero* problem was solved. According to him, its members did not see any urgent agenda in the locale and were occupied by their own affairs. An interesting point in Cho's remark is that some members of the HCAC did not perceive the *Hong-dae* cultural district project as a serious matter, although the policy project stimulated its establishment.

In general, the number of participants at regular meetings, especially that of individual artists such as musicians, painters and designers, was very low. After the theatre issue was settled[69], the collective activities of the HCAC significantly dropped. Their official website became out of service and meetings were not held regularly. Cho resigned as the representative in 2005 and a new representative body that consisted of four members took over. According to one interviewee, musicians are not interested in cultural activism or political agendas (a live club manager, interview 2003). Cho said that "real" artists would not appear at the HCAC meetings because they regarded, according to him, the HCAC as a political gathering, not a cultural

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[69] The theatre manager and the building owner agreed to set a new rental price.

organisation (interview 2004). It seems that some artists thought that the HCAC politicised *Hong-dae* culture.

Although the number of regular attendances of the HCAC meetings was very low, cultural planners and intermediaries regularly participated in the HCAC meetings. There appeared suspicion about these members as to whether they took advantage of the membership for pursuing their own interests (observation and interview data 2004). For example, a member expressed his suspicion that some members attempted to utilise the HCAC for pursuing their own interests (interview 2004). He gave an example concerning space. One possible form of support, which the cultural district could provide for the area, according to him, would be the construction of venues, so-called cultural centres. He said that the allocation of such space and its management would pose as a tricky undertaking. He also said that it was difficult for the HCAC to articulate a collective voice in order to negotiate with the authorities or to commence upon collective projects. Oftentimes, he continued, certain issues appeared to be beneficial to some groups but not to others within the HCAC. He further stated that he was disappointed with other members, who were only reactive to issues relevant to their own interests. He saw the future of the HCAC in a rather pessimistic manner since, he thought, there would always be a clash of interests.

This type of speculation mostly went to those who came to the area relatively recently, or those who have been engaged in networking such as organising festivals or managing cultural events and those who have made political statements in the name of the *Hong-dae* area. For instance, an informant said that he did not like any type of statement for cultural events referring to '*Hong-dae*' or 'indie' culture (interview 2004). He said that those who attempted to utilise such terms were not truly interested in the *Hong-dae* area but in doing politics (ibid). It seems that this kind of suspicion made it difficult for so-called 'new comers' and people engaged in networking people and cultural events to carry out their activities.

There is a good example which shows the importance of the local network in the *Hong-dae* area. During the first HCAC preparation meeting, Lee, who was a representative of *Fringe Festival*, said he felt like an "immigrant" in the area (minutes HCAC 2004a). He came to the *Hong-dae* area when *Fringe Festival* was moved to the *Hong-dae* area from *Daehakno* in 2001. He said in a magazine interview, that he had to move his residence in the locale in order to prove him as a local person and to firmly establish the event as a local festival (*Film 2.0* 1 September 2005).

The success of any festival, event and cultural business, which takes place in the *Hong-dae* area, depends very much on human networks and cooperation. Therefore, these new comers engaged in networking should gain recognition and trust in the locale for their successful career. Therefore, it seems that cultural planners and

organisers, who generally need networks to organise events and programmes, were more active in participating in the HCAC rather than individual artists and cultural workers. Consequently, conflicts surfaced between these people and individual artists within the HCAC, which affected its organisational structure. This will be discussed in detail in another chapter.

In sum, the local cultural workers and artists, who cultivated *Hong-dae* culture during the 1990s, engaged in the art and design sector and the live clubs, felt challenged by the growing popularity and influence of the dance clubs. As the cultural district project was announced, they organised the HCAC in order to represent themselves as the producers of local culture. As the *Hong-dae* area has become a strategically important place for urban development, they felt a necessity of coping with the growing size of the local economy and mobilising social networks in order to take up the forefront position in the changing local environment.

4.4   *Club Culture Association* (CCA): Claiming to institutionalise 'Club Culture'

> We aim to be the best communicator here…the *Club Culture Association* produces various club contents for young generation and the local society. (*Club Culture Association* (CCA) Internet Homepage cited in 2005)

I will now examine the *Club Culture Association* (CCA) by focusing on its organisation and self-representation. The establishment of the CCA is significant since it has actively utilised the cultural district for the legalisation of the dance club business. Although the dance clubs have claimed that they have developed the Korean-version of club culture, strictly speaking, dancing in these dance clubs is illegal. According to the *Foods and Hygienic Law*, dancing in normal restaurants is prohibited. Yet, the venues of the most dance clubs are too small to be registered as dance halls and they are registered as standard restaurant businesses.

The CCA supported the cultural district project since the policy provision can exempt 'recommended cultural facilities' in a district from certain legal obligations. Therefore, it sought to legalise the dance club business under the cultural district. Subsequently, the CCA has advocated the dance clubs as cultural places, which facilitate club culture.

Club Culture Association (CCA): Claiming to be the Guardian of Club Culture

In December 2000, the dance club owners and managers in the *Hong-dae* area, members of the *Space Culture Centre* (SCC)[70] and officials from the city government discussed how to deal with the illegality of the dance club business (CCA 2004: 60). The SCC and people from the dance clubs started holding a monthly event called *Club Day* in March 2001 in order to promote club culture, which became a great success. The number of visitors in one *Club Day* amounted to 10,000 in 2004 (CCA Internet homepage, cited in 2007). The SCC participated in the *2002 World Cup* preparation of the city government, through which the dance clubs and *Club Day* were promoted as tourist attractions (ibid).

Later, the SCC and dance club workers decided to establish an organisation exclusively in charge of the promotion of the dance clubs. Subsequently, the CCA was established in the *Hong-dae* area in December 2003 (CCA Internet Homepage cited in 2005):

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[70] As introduced earlier, the SCC is closely related to the CCA since Choi, a representative of the CCA, established the SCC prior to the CCA.

Club Culture Association composed by a citizen's organization, club related persons, cultural artists and city professional has been established in [sic] Dec.10th 2003. Club Culture Association is managing and sponsoring many festivals held in Hongdae such as Clubday, Soundday, Road club festival and Youth club festival. Moreover, we put our efforts on planning many other cultural programs and supporting young musicians for home and abroad. We aim to be the best communicator in this local area helping them harmonize. Club Culture Association combines various club contents into one for young generation and local society in Hongdae so that here could become a culture liberated area for whom loves Music and Dance.[71]

It consisted of one representative, thirteen trustees, thirteen consultants and two auditors at the time of its establishment (CCA 2004: 61). Yet, the active members are Choi, a representative, Lee, also a member of the SCC, and the dance club managers and owners.

Choi, a representative of the CCA, has tried to legalise the dance club business by directly raising the issue to the city authorities since he established the SCC. Yet, the reaction of the city government was not positive. Although the city government acknowledged the cultural value of the dance clubs, it was not in charge of legal issues. In fact, the legalisation of the dance clubs should be handled by the *Ministry of Health and Welfare,* which could authorise the revision of the *Foods and Hygienic Law* (CCA 2004: 75). Subsequently, the CCA had to come up with other solutions. It started garnering public opinion on a necessity of solving the illegality of the dance club business and submitted the corresponding petitions to the city government and the *Ministry of Culture and Tourism* (MCT).

The CCA also proposed a pilot policy tentatively named the "district of the *Hong-dae* club culture" for creating a district in which the dance club business can be legal (CCA 2004: 277). Since there was already a case of the *Insadong* cultural district, making another cultural district for club culture was regarded as realisable. In fact, utilising the cultural district for legalising the dance club business was already proposed in the report on the *World Cup* strategic areas produced by the SDI in 2000. One of the suggestions for promoting the *Hong-dae* area is, according to the SDI report, to implement special policies for the dance clubs such as the cultural district (SDI 2000: 152).

The main argument of the CCA was that the dance clubs have made the *Hong-dae* area a culturally rich place and also a tourist attraction, which should be further supported by proper policy practice (A petition for a district of *Hong-dae* club culture submitted in 2002, cited from CCA 2004: 77):

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[71] This text is originally written in English on the CCA Internet homepage (cited in 2005).

> They (DJs) are electronic techno musicians producing new sounds improvising electronic instruments. It is their performance that makes club costumers dance and communicate with each other… club culture is forming a new local culture and community... club culture is certainly a new type of culture, which should be protected in order to construct Seoul as a cultural city.

The effort of the CCA towards legalising the dance club business through the cultural district was almost realised since the district office announced the *Hong-dae* cultural district plan in 2003. To some extent, the *Hong-dae* cultural district project was initiated by the active campaigning of the CCA.

Some people, especially those from the HCAC, however, harboured an antagonistic feeling towards the campaign of the CCA. There was, based on my observation and interviews, speculation that the CCA and the dance clubs have dominated discussions on the meaning of the *Hong-dae* culture on the pretext of the *World Cup* preparation and have coined the discourse of club culture in order to legalise the dance club business.

> Recently people easily associate club culture with the dance clubs or *Club Day*… I think this kind of association is dangerous since there are many musicians in the live clubs, who are highly ranked in Korean pop music and leading independent culture. But people don't pay attention to them and roughly categorise everything into club culture, into the issue of space. They argue that club culture is an attraction for tourism and cultural events. I find it as a very superficial approach. (A HCAC member, interview 2004)

To some extent, 'club culture' is a newly created term. There was no common use of the term until the SDI produced the report on the *World Cup* strategic areas in 2000. Every sector in the *Hong-dae* area used to be referred to as independent culture. Interestingly, Lee, who was affiliated to the SCC and later the CCA, conducted the SDI report as a researcher in the SDI. He also wrote his Ph.D. dissertation[72] in 2003 about place-marketing and the *Hong-dae* dance clubs, which was the first academic work dealing with the *Hong-dae* dance clubs. He seemed to play a significant role in spreading the term of club culture to the public as he was affiliated to the SCC and the CCA while writing academic works on club culture and producing research for cultural administration and policy in the SDI. He also led the city and district authorities to pay more attention to the illegality of the dance club business.

According to Lee (Lee, M. Y. 2003: 116), club culture is a branch of youth subculture originating from the club space in the *Hong-dae* area.

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[72] Lee, M. Y., *The place marketing strategy and the cultural politics of space: a case of the club cultures at the Hong-dae area in Seoul*, Ph.D. Thesis, Seoul: *Seoul National University*, 2003

'Club' is defined as *a multi cultural space with unique music, dance, people and communication* [author's emphasis]. And 'club cultures' are defined as the unique youth subcultures, which are generated, shared and changed around the club space. Club cultures are characterized as 'taste culture, party culture', 'alternative culture, digital culture', and 'local culture, community culture'…The Hong-dae is a representative area where club cultures are clustered in Seoul. The clubs at the Hong-dae area famous for 'live club' and 'dance club (called techno club)' has been constructed and transformed in close relation to the place identity of Hong-dae area called 'cultural incubator', or 'cultural engine'. (2003: 354)[73]

Lee emphasises the "sense of place" in club culture by arguing that the dance clubs provide places, where people meet and enjoy music and dancing (2003: 116). His explanation about the sense of place and club culture supports the claim that the dance clubs can be regarded as cultural places, where cultural activities take place. A member from the HCAC, however, argued that the sense of place in the account of cultural activities was overrated (HCAC Internet bulletin board cited in 2004). He claimed that people used a place culturally not that a place let people do cultural activities. The HCAC criticised that the CCA homogenised the discourses of *Hong-dae* culture by emphasising only club culture.

CCA as Cultural Intermediary

The CCA defines itself as a communicator for networking and mediating local artists and cultural workers and organising diverse cultural programmes (CCA Internet Homepage cited in 2005). Choi and Lee see themselves as the coordinators of *Hong-dae* culture, who interlink various genres of cultural activities and provide diverse cultural programmes. They often use terms like 'intervention', 'mediation', 'coordination' and 'networking' in describing their role.

My role is networking. I'm a coordinator. I have no intention to do business or acquire space or make any organisation here…Planners are coordinators. Cultural planners should intervene in politics as cultural activists. They should make a connection with and link people and get involved with local governments… I think it's about the politics of intervention. (Lee interview 2004)

With proper intervention and planning, we intervene in and mediate various interests and try to play a role in getting them together… I thought that the cultural district can make things better. There were some limitations for creating something new in the club scene.

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[73] The author (Lee, M. Y.) has written this text originally in English.

Therefore, I thought acquiring social acknowledgement that approves the dance clubs as cultural places is a priority for making a new scene. (Choi interview 2004)

Choi's former engagement as a civil activist in the field of labour union and community-making indicates that he has interest in spatial and economic issues. Specifically, he was working as a labourer in a factory involved in the organisation of a labour union when he was majoring geography in *Seoul National University*. However, due to his labour movement, he was removed from the university. Later, he worked in the *Seoul Subway Labourer Union* and pioneered the environmental movement and community-making movement in the 1990s. His academic background in geography and his social movement in the fields of labour and environment seem to affect his activities in the SCC and the CCA since the interests of the both organisations are closely related to constructing new living and cultural environments and linking the cultural sector to local economies. For example, during the interview, he said that the dance clubs have a potential to lead to a new economic system in the *Hong-dae* area and that the role of the CCA was to coordinate cultural producers and consumers in the locale. Further, he argued that there was an overlapping role of cultural producers and consumers in the dance clubs, which could contribute towards constructing a self-sufficient economic system that could incorporate both cultural and economic production.

Choi seems to promote club culture in order to engage himself with social, political and economic agendas. In fact, the activities of the CCA impinge upon various issues from club culture to cultural democracy and community-making. These various agendas that overarch culture, politics and economy seem to be the reason why some people from the HCAC criticised the CCA for being hegemonic and manipulative. In particular, Choi's assertion on a new economic system to run *Hong-dae* culture seems to provoke *Hong-dae* people, who regard the area as a place for creative and experimental culture. A member from the HCAC said that finally, a political activist discovered that the *Hong-dae* area was interesting enough to be infiltrated (A HCAC member, interview 2004):

He saw finally that culture is something interesting for him to intervene in. Now, the *Hong-dae* area is infiltrated even by a group of political activists.

Lee, a crucial member of the CCA, has played an important role in publicising the *Hong-dae* area as a strategic place for place-marketing[74]. He has been designing cultural programmes related to club culture as a member of the CCA and also

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[74] He has also studied geography (BA, MA and Ph.D.) in *Seoul National University*.

producing relevant research as a researcher in the *Seoul Development Institute* (SDI). Lee thought that the *Hong-dae* area could be a model of an ideal community, which could show the successful symbiosis of culture and economy (interview 2004). He asserted that people should propose the vision of the *Hong-dae* cultural district instead of putting a veto on the policy plan. In this regard, he saw a role of mediator as important since a mediator could, according to him, coordinate local interests and those of the authorities. He argued that a successful policy practice would require an assignment of a proper role to each actor and that it was difficult for artists or musicians to become mediators since their job was cultural production, not as intermediaries. He was critical towards some members of the HCAC since, according to him, they wielded their symbolic power to decide what constituted culture. Some members of the HCAC, however, criticised Lee for not playing a proper role of a mediator by favouring the dance clubs.

'Cultural intermediary' refers to people engaged in presenting or representing symbolic goods and services by bridging cultural production and consumption (Bourdieu 1984; Negus 2002). Generally, cultural intermediaries work in the field of marketing, advertising and public relations, in which they can add value on cultural products or choose which would be final cultural products (Bourdieu 1984; Negus 2002)[75]. Yet, Negus emphasises the power of cultural intermediaries in shifting the boundaries of the existing cultural meanings and creating new cultural practices and aesthetics such as creating new music genres (2002). Wright (2005) also suggests that the cultural intermediaries' mediation between cultural production and consumption should be seen as a process of the 'reproduction' of cultural capital and power. Both Negus and Wright pay attention to the power of cultural intermediaries to create cultural meanings.

Choi and Lee might reproduce a gap as cultural intermediaries, rather than connect cultural production and consumption, between what the dance clubs offer and what visitors gain, by publicising the normative image of the dance clubs based upon their own viewpoints. They have been actively producing new meanings, such as 'Korean club culture' and 'communicative club spaces'. Further, they have also incorporated their political and economic ideas such as cultural democracy and sustainable economy into *Hong-dae* club culture. In this respect, they have empowered the CCA not only as an organisation of the dance clubs but also as a cultural intermediary and a producer of cultural discourses. It should be further

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[75] "…all the occupations involving presentation and representation (sales, marketing, advertising, public relations, fashion, decorations and so forth) and in all the institutions providing symbolic goods and services… and in cultural production and organization which have expanded considerably in recent years." (Bourdieu 1984: 359)

considered whether Choi and Lee instrumentalise the CCA as a nexus that connects their political and cultural ideologies into club culture.

4.5   *Hong-dae Environmental Development Institution* **(HEDI) as a Research**
      Agency and Supporter of Art

According to the ordinance of the cultural district, a feasibility study should be accomplished prior to the enforcement of the policy. In the case of the *Hong-dae* area, the *Mapo* district office commissioned the *Hong-dae Environment Development Institution* (HEDI) at *Hong-ik University* to accomplish a feasibility study.

Some people, based on interview data, assumed that the HEDI might produce a research outcome favourable to the art sector since *Hong-ik University* is a bulwark of art. Some people were also of the opinion that the existence of the HEDI as a research agency would be favourable to the HCAC since the majority of the founding members of the HCAC graduated from *Hong-ik Art College*. Some people also were also concerned whether the HEDI would produce a comprehensive research outcome about *Hong-dae* culture. For example, an informant said that professors from the university were not aware of the culture outside the campus and had nothing to do with *Hong-dae* culture at all (interview 2004):

> The university is like an island. Professors there don't know what *Hong-dae* culture is about. They are not involved in any cultural activity. I even guess that they do not know what club is about.

The HEDI emphasised, to some extent, the art and design sector as a leading sector in the future *Hong-dae* cultural district by proposing to make the area a centre of independent arts. The HEDI held a public hearing in June 2004, in which the HEDI presented an interim report and an outline of the future *Hong-dae* cultural district. Many participants attended the hearing such as the head of the *Mapo* district office, a researcher from the SDI and local cultural workers (minutes HEDI 2004a). A member of the HEDI presented the description of the present *Hong-dae* culture, objectives of the feasibility study and outlines of the future *Hong-dae* cultural district. The future *Hong-dae* cultural district was proposed as a centre of independent arts (ibid):

> There should be programmes for independent arts…and tentatively, an alternative cultural centre, which can serve as a kernel of the *Hong-dae* cultural district…the most important thing is to prevent local artists from leaving the area, therefore schemes for cultural organisations and for the constriction of studios should be provided.

The above speech reveals that the HEDI approached the *Hong-dae* culture district as a hub of artists filled with their working places.

The HCAC and the HEDI seem to be in correspondence throughout the

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process of the feasibility study through the preparation committee for the *Hong-dae* cultural district and other meetings. The key members of the HCAC, especially those who were working in the art and design sector, became members of the preparation committee for the *Hong-dae* cultural district. This committee consists of fifteen members from six different groups. Among these fifteen members, two members are officials from the *Mapo* district office, four members from the district council, three external experts on cultural administration, four representatives from local artists and cultural workers, one representative from local resident and one representative from the local business sector. Specifically, four people are appointed to represent the local cultural workers. Three of them are from the HCAC and the fourth is Choi from the CCA. According to the feasibility study (HEDI 2004b), there were four meetings held with the preparation committee. Yet Choi did not participate in all the meetings (interview 2004), which means that often the HCAC members only represented the local cultural workers. In addition, the HEDI participated in a meeting called "support for the HCAC" organised by the HCAC (HEDI 2004b: 4). Also, the moderator of the public hearing organised by the HEDI was a member from the HCAC.

The HEDI as an agency for the feasibility study has affected the existing power relation in the locale. The HCAC gained influential power in policy talk since the HEDI supported independent arts and artists. Yet, the position of the CCA in the policy project became weakened. It used to have a direct communication channel with the city and district authorities before the HEDI began the feasibility study. The CCA used to have a direct talk with the authorities about the legalisation of the dance club business. Yet, as the HEDI appeared as an intermediary in the policy project, the CCA had to address their issues through the preparation committee and official channels such as public forums and meetings. A member from the HCAC regarded the changed position of the CCA as to pluralise communication channels with the authorities by involving the HCAC members in 'making the value of *Hong-dae* culture'[76].

> One of the objectives of the HCAC was to publicise the people who have been making the value of *Hong-dae* culture…before, the communication channel with the *Mapo* district was only one, the CCA but now it has changed. (A HCAC member interview 2004)

Yet, there appeared some HCAC members who became disappointed with the feasibility study. For example, during a public hearing in March 2004, a manager of one live club asked a researcher from the HEDI as to why the research team did not research on the live clubs (fieldnotes March 2004):

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[76] This seems to mean producing and publicising the discourses about *Hong-dae* culture.

I think that the HEDI should immediately start researching the identity of *Hong-dae* culture, something like an ethnographic research. I wonder why people from the HEDI haven't come to the live clubs for the feasibility research.

It seems that people from the non-art sectors became unsatisfied with the HEDI's emphasis on the art and design sector. In particular, some people were concerned over why their working places and businesses would not be appointed as recommended cultural facilities and businesses in the future *Hong-dae* cultural district.

People engaged in businesses might turn against the policy project because the result of the feasibility study will favour art…when their businesses are not regarded as recommended businesses under the cultural district, they wouldn't support it. (Interview 2004)

Although the HEDI tried to meet various local demands for the feasibility study (HEDI 2004b), it placed more emphasis on the art and design sector. Fleming (2004) points out that academics and policy-makers have become a new type of cultural intermediary, who intervene in public policy. In this respect, the HEDI has become an intermediary in the policy project while conducting the feasibility study and mediating the local actors and the district authorities. At the same time, the HEDI has become a stakeholder in the policy project. Although the HEDI introduced itself as an "observer" (minutes HEDI 2004a), it explicitly supported the art and design sector and cooperated with the HCAC.

4.6   *Cultural Action* (CA) as Producer of Discourses on Local Culture

The *Cultural Action* (CA) is the first cultural NGO in Korea, which was established in 1999 by scholars and cultural critics (CA Internet Homepage cited in 2006). The establishment of the CA is closely related to the change of social movements in Korea, of which the earlier focus has expanded from politics and economics towards attention on the environment, culture, ecology and social equality. The CA has attempted to connect culture and politics by advocating 'cultural democracy', which accommodates a sentiment of democracy in every day life. In general, the members of the CA are engaged in creating cultural discourses and organising campaigns, designing cultural programmes, monitoring cultural policy and supporting cultural movements.

Interestingly, its founding members are scholars, activists and critics, who led to a boom in cultural studies during the 1990s by launching a journal called *Cultural Science* and other publications on various cultural issues. In particular, they were closely involved in the live club movement in the mid-1990s, which campaigned for the acknowledgement of the live clubs in the *Hong-dae* area as the performance stages of independent music. The CA together with the live clubs in the *Hong-dae* area campaigned for an acknowledgement of live clubs as places for cultural performances in the late 1990s and has kept showing a great interest in the live clubs in the *Hong-dae* area. It organised an open forum 'promoting live clubs for the vitalisation of performing culture' in 2003.

Since the policy of the cultural district is one of the major cultural policies of the Seoul city government, the CA was monitoring its implementation processes. As shown earlier, a member from the CA and the founding members of the HCAC collaborated in drawing attention from the media to the issue of *Theater Zero* and the *Hong-dae* cultural district project. In fact, between February and April 2004, when the HCAC was established and held campaigns for the theatre and the policy project, press coverage on the *Hong-dae* area increased significantly.

For example, there were twelve articles related to the '*Hong-dae* cultural district' between 2004 and 2006 in a daily newspaper called the *Hangyoreh* (internet version)[77]. Approximately 67 % of all the articles - eight out of twelve - appeared during the period between February and April 2004. In most of the articles, the *Hong-dae* area was depicted as dying off due to the commercialisation processes and an incompetent cultural policy.

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[77] I located those articles through the Internet in September 2006.

Cho, an ex-member of the *Whyangshinhye Band* and a co-representative of *Hope Market* said "rent is increasing unbelievably in the *Hong-dae* area and *Dahakno*, therefore poor artists are leaving."…At last, it will be degraded into a commercial area only for consumption and hedonism. It will not be a place for art any more, where cultural comprehension and production coexist." (*Hangyoreh* 10 February 2004)

The implementation of the cultural district in the *Hong-dae* area might increase rental rate and cause negative effects on the live clubs. (*Hangyoreh* 20 February 2004)

The city government that plans to implement the cultural district in the *Hong-dae* area ironically drives artists and cultural workers out of the area. Therefore, they demonstrated a nude performance in order to deliver their status as being naked and hungry. (*Hangyoreh* 30 March 2004)

The newspaper interview with Cho in the above excerpts is similar to the conversation in the minutes of the HCAC preparation meeting. For example, they are:

Whether the cultural district would be implemented or not, the price of rent would increase. There should some support for rent. (minutes HCAC 2004a)

We need an initiative. For example, we should ask, "For whom does the cultural district exist?" (minutes HCAC 2004a)

This is not a problem, which is only confined to *Theater Zero*. It applies to all the alternative spaces. There is no culture remaining when the cultural district is to be enforced. Isn't it advantageous when we are talking about the cultural district now? (minutes HCAC 2004b)

Publicity is our job, but you have to talk about the ways that the government and the district office could intervene in this issue. (minutes HCAC 2004b)

We have to say that the cultural district expels out culture. Isn't it favourable to us, when we really speak aloud? (minutes HCAC 2004b)

The voice of the HCAC seems to be delivered directly to the press. In fact, Cho is one of the founding members of the HCAC, who contributed towards spreading the opinion of the HCAC to the press (see the quote from *Hangyoreh* 10 February 2004). The CA was indirectly involved in the policy project by empowering the voice of the HCAC through helping its establishment and strategic mobilisation of public opinion. The influential power of the CA as a cultural NGO seemed to be crucial for the

HCAC in generating public opinion and drawing attention from the authorities and the press.

Yet, the CA has been an explicit supporter of non-mainstream culture and independent culture and has kept producing discourses about them. For example, it presented the "cultural district for a genuine basement for production of 'culture'" as a special issue on its Internet website from May to June 2004. It took part in the forum "public policies for independent culture" organised within *Fringe Festival* in September 2004 (see Photo 36) and presented ideas on how to envision a cultural city and how to solve the legalisation of the dance club business in May 2005.

(Photo 34) Forum 'Public Policies for Independent Culture'

The forum panels consisted of members from the CA, a researcher from the SDI, a member from another cultural NGO, *Citizen Cultural Network*, a cultural intermediary from *Seewol* and a curator based in a gallery in the *Hong-dae* area. As I observed, the number of the participants was small approximately fifteen and cultural producers such as individual artists were among the audiences rather than participating in the forum as panel members.

Source: Cho, 2004

As the CA is also concerned with the dance clubs, the interest of the CA in the *Hong-dae* area seems to be related to its principle agenda about cultural democracy rather than interest in the cultural district project itself. In general, the CA advocated the promotion of local culture and criticised economic-interest driven public cultural policy.

> If culture is a 'way of life', it means the ways of realising self, policies, schemes, environment … and structuring a whole life beyond a narrow definition of art and the culture industry (CA Internet homepage cited in 2006)

Cultural district kicks off poor 'culture'! … The reason for this is that the policy is going to be implemented without consideration about the local characteristics, urban environment and legal provisions. (CA Internet homepage cited in 2006)

It is local artists, cultural workers and activists that have created *Hong-dae* culture for years and years. Their opinion is vital in regenerating the local culture and sustaining its production and development. In this regard, the '*Hong-dae Culture and Arts Cooperation*' can play a role of networking alternative cultural workers. (CA Internet homepage cited in 2006)

Although it is difficult to see the CA as a stakeholder of the cultural district project, it has affected power relations among the local actors by producing discourses on cultural democracy and local culture. These discourses were favourable to the HCAC in advocating their claims.

4.7   Concluding Remarks

This chapter has examined firstly, the analytical concepts such as the notion of arena and that of cultural politics in order to investigate the formation of new social groups, conflicts and negotiations among them under the *Hong-dae* cultural district project which will be discussed in the following chapters. Specifically, the concepts of arena and cultural politics have been discussed with a focus on how a micro field of politics emerges under a cultural policy project.

Based on these concepts, I have examined secondly, the formation of new social groups in the *Hong-dae* area. Particularly, I have looked at how the announcement of the *Hong-dae* cultural district project led to the establishment of the *Hong-dae Culture and Arts Cooperation* (HCAC) and the *Club Culture Association* (CCA) and their engagement in the policy project as active stakeholders. I have also investigated how the *Hong-dae Environmental Development Institution* (HEDI), the research agency in charge of the feasibility study became a stakeholder of the policy project and how the *Cultural Action* (CA) came to play an advisory role in the policy project.

(Table 4) Formation of Actors in *Hong-dae* Cultural District Project in 2004

CA: *Cultural Action*	HEDI: *Hong-ik Environmental Development*
CCA: *Club Culture Association*	*Institution*
City & District: Seoul city & *Mapo* district	SCC: *Space Culture Centre*
HCAC: *Hong-ik Arts and Culture Cooperation*	SDI: *Seoul Development Institute*
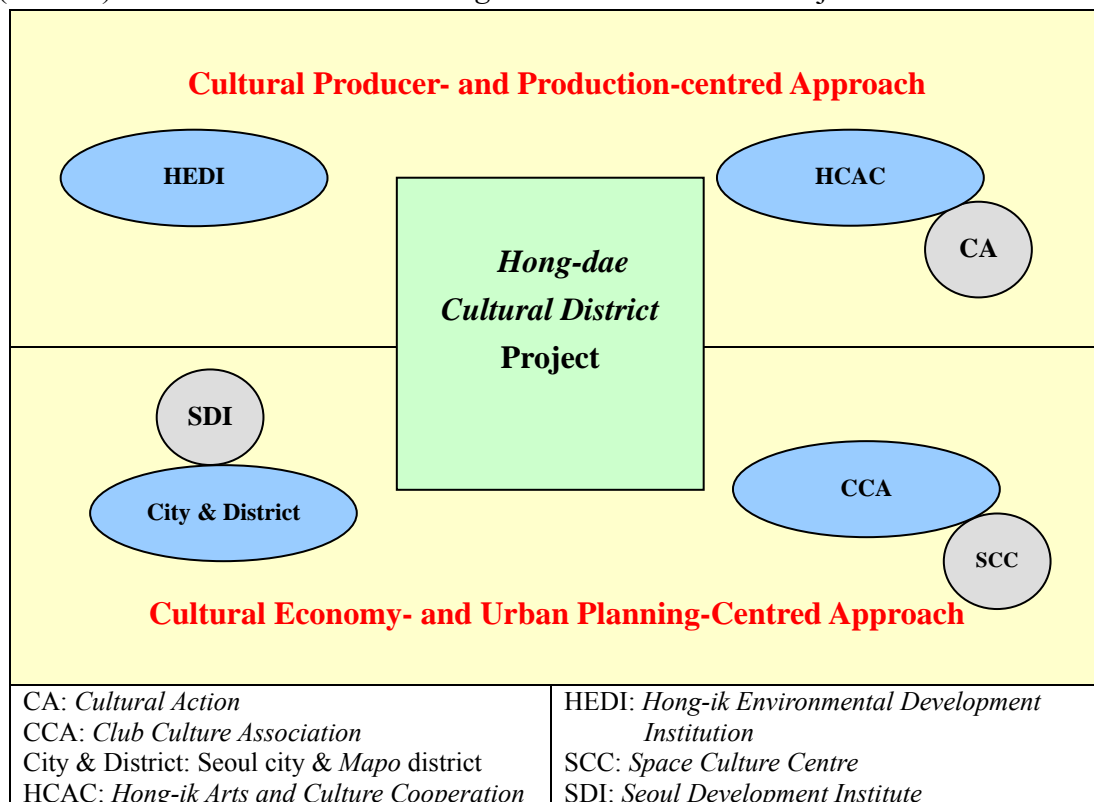
In general, the HCAC, the CA and the HEDI have emphasised cultural production and the role of cultural producers in the future *Hong-dae* cultural district. Yet, the district and city governments and the CCA have stressed the integration of cultural and economic production (see Table 4).

Olivier de Sardan (2005) suggests that the formation of groups in a development project takes place according to the common problems and interests of individuals. He proposes that how these individuals, who are situated in various social contexts, deal with their own problems should lead to various strategic behaviours (ibid). In a similar vein, it is shown in this chapter that the formation of stakeholders of the *Hong-dae* cultural district project, such as the local cultural workers and a research institution at the university, are all embedded in various positions and have found new problems and opportunities in the policy project. Accordingly, they have mobilised various forms of resources available in order to pursue their interests and have established new organisations, namely the HCAC and the CCA.

The notion of arena elucidates how these local artists and cultural workers participate in the policy project by capitalising on social networks and cultural meanings as resources to form collective groups and stakeholders of the policy project. As the policy of the cultural district stresses 'unique local cultures' for policy implementation, the local actors particularly the HCAC approach '*Hong-dae* culture' as a representation of collective identity and an exclusive 'brand'. This has affected the way they present themselves and influence the policy project.

For example, the HCAC has actively claimed the authenticity and the quality of *Hong-dae* culture. As the dance clubs have popularised and represented the area as a place of club culture, other cultural workers from non-dance club sectors have tried to strengthen their voice through the HCAC. These people advocated the HCAC as a legitimate local artists group in order to claim their leading role in the policy project by appealing to the policy objectives that promote local and unique cultures. The CCA, however, has claimed that the dance clubs have been producing open, communicative, cosmopolitan and cultural spaces in the locale. Furthermore, Choi, the representative of the CCA, has explicitly asserted that the CCA will contribute towards constructing the *Hong-dae* area as a new community run by a new system, which incorporates cultural and economic productions. Expressions of '*Hong-dae* natives', a 'coordinator of local culture' and a 'representative of *Hong-dae* culture' convey a legitimate status to represent or brand '*Hong-dae*'.

The concept of arena has illustrated the local groups as strategic groups of which members pursue common interests and agendas under the *Hong-dae* cultural district project. Yet, this concept also draw's one's attention to the existence of heterogeneous membership and accordingly varying interests, conflicts and struggles

within a group. For example, it is shown that the HCAC membership is heterogeneous and the power relation within it has been changing. Although cultural workers working in various fields have been enrolled as HCAC members, active members were cultural planners and intermediaries. These cultural intermediaries have initiated the establishment of the HCAC.

On the other hand, the involvement of the CA as a producer of discourses and the influence of the HEDI as a research agency in the policy project show the significant role of "symbolic analysts who create knowledge and ideologies" (Chang 2005: 249) about culture in a cultural policy project. McGuigan (1996: 50) argues that a "sense of dissatisfaction" towards public cultural policy, generates new ideas and important issues for cultural policy and that the pressure from cultural dissatisfaction is "a requisite for an open-form of cultural policy-making". Similarly, civil activists and scholars, that is, the involvement of the CA and the HEDI in the cultural district project, to a certain extent, contributed to creating "an open-form of cultural policy-making" (ibid), where cultural dissatisfaction can be delivered and solved.

Yet, an increased role of civil activists, scholars and cultural intermediaries in mobilising 'cultural dissatisfaction', as shown in this chapter, indicates a growing power of intermediaries in the policy project. It should be inquired, however, the extent to which the increased influence of cultural intermediaries leads to the open cultural policy-making since these cultural intermediaries also can 'manage' and 'coordinate' this cultural dissatisfaction for their own purposes and interests.

Chapter 5

Conflicts in the Arena of Cultural Politics: Competing Meanings & Visions under the *Hong-dae* Cultural District

> The role of *Hong-dae* native is to generate new visions and values. We have to do that because it is our home. (A HCAC member, interview 2005)

> The *Hong-dae* area is a place where new trials and attempts spontaneously take place…every sector such as art, music and performance is making their own ways. (A CCA member, interview 2005)

Given the examination of the formation of new social groups in the *Hong-dae* cultural district project in the previous chapter, this chapter investigates how the city and district governments, the *Hong-dae Culture and Arts Cooperation* (HCAC), the *Club Culture Association* (CCA) and the *Hong-dae Environmental Development Institution* (HEDI) have strategically pursued their own interests in the policy project as active actors. For that, I first look at the extent to which the municipal administrative visions have framed the policy project and second, how the local actors have articulated the policy project by strategically defining *Hong-dae* culture and envisioning the future *Hong-dae* cultural district. In so doing, I aim to elucidate how the actors associated their own definitions of *Hong-dae* culture and the visions of the future *Hong-dae* cultural district with their own interests.

As examined earlier, a feasibility study should define representative local cultural identities and provide an administrative plan containing reasons for policy execution, recommended types of cultural facilities and businesses and plans for district management (*Jongno* district office 2005:1). It should be accomplished prior to the execution of any cultural district. Therefore, the definition of *Hong-dae* culture is crucial to frame the future *Hong-dae* cultural district. Yet, this caused a conflict among actors concerning what represents *Hong-dae* culture since actors define *Hong-dae* culture differently depending on their view points.

In this respect, the *Hong-dae* cultural district project has become an arena of

cultural politics, in which people have struggled over defining '*Hong-dae* culture'. I approach that conflicts over defining *Hong-dae* culture are ultimately interwoven with the economic concerns of actors such as what kind of cultural facilities and businesses are to gain benefit and investment under the policy project and how local cultures are to be promoted in order to generate profit in the tourism and culture industries. Therefore, competing meanings and visions under the *Hong-dae* cultural district project need a rigorous scrutiny in order to analyse how these meanings and visions convey strategic behaviours of the varying actors.

In the following part, I first examine how the *Mapo* district and Seoul city government have envisioned the *Hong-dae* cultural district with a focus on the incorporation of the notion of world city into the policy project. Secondly, I look at how the local actors competed for defining *Hong-dae* culture and envisioning the future *Hong-dae* cultural district.

5.1 Incorporation of *Hong-dae* Cultural District into a World City Vision

Olivier de Sardan (2005) draws attention to a particular set of social contexts of a policy project such as ecological, economic and political contexts and the relationship between such contexts and strategic actions of actors. Urry (2003, 2005, 2006) and Knorr-Cetina (2005) also argue that micro-dynamics, non-linear changes and connectivity between micro fields and broader levels of empirical realities should be taken into account for explaining social transformations. Therefore, I approach a cultural policy project as a nexus, in which broader social structures and the micro level of social realities interact and bring about social change.

Accordingly, I suggest that municipal visions reveal the social contexts of the *Hong-dae* cultural policy project, as they reflect the political and economic contexts of Seoul. Yet, the district and city governments are also actors involved in the policy project and the municipal visions demonstrate also the authorities' interests and visions in the policy project.

The *Mapo* district and city governments have recently presented the municipal visions of a world city which deal with the *Hong-dae* area. For example, the *Mapo* district office has presented a vision to construct a 'cultural triangle' that connects the *Hong-dae* area, *Danginri* and *Sang-Am Media Valley* as a multi-cultural and industrial complex suitable for a world city. The city government has introduced several administrative visions such as "Vision Seoul 2006" in 2002, "2020 Basic Urban Planning" in 2004 and "Vision 2015 Cultural City Seoul" in 2006. They all mention the contribution of *Hong-dae* culture towards world city status.

In the following section, I first examine a current trend that the notion of a world city has become a prime goal of cultural policy under the global trend towards knowledge-based economies. Secondly, I analyse the extent to which the notion of a world city is incorporated into the *Hong-dae* cultural district project and has framed the policy project.

5.1.1 World City and Cultural Policy

Recently, the Seoul city has emphasised an importance of turning Seoul[78]

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[78] Seoul has been the capital city of Korea since 1394 from the *Choson* dynasty. Until the Japanese colonial government took over the *Choson* dynasty in 1910, Seoul was called *Hanyang* and was the capital of the dynasty, which lasted for nearly 500 years. Through the *Choson* dynasty, Korea had little contact with foreigners till Japan forced to sign treaties and to open to the world in 1876 (Hill & Kim 2000). From 1910 to liberation in 1945, during the colonial period of the Japanese colonisation, its name was changed to *Kyungsong*. The *Korean War* broke out soon after liberation and the present name of Seoul was given in 1949 when it became the capital city for South Korea. Although Seoul has more

into a world city. An official from the city government commented that culture is the only way for the survival of Seoul in the future while presenting the "Vision 2015 Cultural City Seoul" (*Yonhap News* 27 February 2006). Interestingly, the *Hong-dae* area is dealt with in this vision.

What, then, is the relationship between these visions of a world city and the *Hong-dae* cultural district project? In order to address this question, I will commence with examining how cultural policy has come to adopt the notion of a world city.

World City, Visibility and Cultural Policy

The theory of 'world city' has been developed in order to explain the connection between cities and the global economy. Large cities have been called 'mega cities', 'global cities' or 'world cities' mainly in terms of demography or function (Beaverstock *et al* 1999: 445). The theory of world city is based on the functional tradition, which approaches cities as constituents of contemporary globalisation processes (ibid).

Generally, world cities mean the "centres of transnational corporate headquarters, of their business services, of international finance, of transnational institutions, and of telecommunications and information processing" and "basing points and control centres" for financial and cultural flows (Knox 1995: 6). Due to the close relation to globalisation processes, world cities are often interchangeably called 'global cities' (Friedmann 1995; King 1995; Sassen 2000a). For example, Friedman states that a city is a "space of global accumulation" (1995: 22) and that world cities are the "sites of concentration of capital, information and people" (1995: 317). Sassen (1995: 64) also stresses a city as the "*place*-boundedness of significant components of the global information economy (italics in original)". According to the world city theory, the economic globalisation entails the concentration of materiality and infrastructure in cities (Sassen 1995, 2000a, 2000b). This explanation is, however, criticised for overlooking various ways of constructing a world city.

First of all, some scholars argue (Kim, Y-H. 2004; Marcotullio 2003; Short & Kim 1999; Wang 2003) that the existing world city theory explains only the hierarchy of cities in the world economy and neglects the historical, political and cultural contexts of varying cities. These scholars draw attention to the fact that states, rather than the concentration of global capital, are important players in constructing world cities, particularly in Asia. For example, in the case of Shanghai, Wu (2000) argues that the process of making Shanghai a world city is not only shaped by global

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than 600 years of history as the capital city, colonisation and the civil war devastated the city with a few remains of historic sites and landscapes. The total area of Seoul is about 605.5 km² which amounts to 0.6 percent of the entire country.

influences but also by endogenous changes in the policies and strategies of the central government. In the case of Taipei, Wang (2003) shows that the occasions of mayoral and presidential election affected the project of making Taipei as a regional global city.

In particular, scholars (Kim 1995; Yeoh 2005) pointed out that the notion of a world city in Asia has become a 'vision', a 'political project' of states for gaining visibility and a competitive edge. For example, Yeoh (2005: 956) argues that the notion of a world city serves as a form of spatial "imagineering."[79] On the other hand, King (1995: 228) claims that the world city notion has become a "mirror to animate [a] competitive image". Therefore, world city projects in Asia are deliberate plans to create future centres of the regional and global economy.

This 'world city vision' has consequently affected cultural, economic and urban policies in Asian cities. For example, Douglas (2000) and Marcotullio (2003) show that governments of the Asian NIEs (Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore) have implemented various measures in order to intentionally construct world cities, which now demonstrate similar characteristics including large airports, ports and high-speed trains.

Among various state policies employing the vision of a world city, Yeoh (2005) draws particular attention to how states and cities use culture for mixing 'global' and 'Asian' in the construction of world cities. She argues that many cities in Southeast Asia have adopted the vision of "going global" together with "local heritage" and "Asian identity" in order to gain a strategic edge in the global market place (2005: 946). She observes that cities in the post-colonial states are often heavily preoccupied with projecting representational spaces for their self-image of a world city and determination for global status (ibid). According to her, these cities turn to culture for visualising their visions and self-images. Similarly, Douglas (2000) says that the world city project in Asia is often pursued through the creation of cultural symbols.

In this respect, gaining 'visibility' is regarded as the first step towards a world city, which makes it possible for such cities to acquire positive images and consequently to attract foreign investment and capital. In particular, as developing countries, according to Kim (2004), are struggling with their vague international images or negative reputation associated with poverty, disasters and environment pollution, they strive for gaining visibility in the world. Therefore, the world city project oftentimes intersects with cultural policy, which concerns accommodating cultural infrastructure and facilitating various cultural programmes and events. These designated landscapes and cultural activities can effectively offer a glimpse into the

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[79] According to Paul (2004), the verb 'imagineer' was coined by *Walt Disney Studios* to describe its strategy of combining imagination with engineering in order to create theme parks.

future visions of cities and states.

Furthermore, the recent global trend towards the knowledge-based economy has generally strengthened the collaboration between cultural policy and world city project for the purpose of holding a leading position in the world economy. Cunningham (2004: 109) points out that the knowledge-based economy enables especially emerging economies to perform a successive take-off as it is "not based upon old-style comparative factor advantages but on competitive advantage" such as education, technology and investment strategies. The *World Bank* (Internet homepage cited in 2006) also advocates a programme called "the knowledge for development" to developing countries for enhancing their competitiveness in the global economy.

As knowledge-based industries are regarded as advanced industries, culture is regarded as an economic asset for the industries and as a regional and national competitiveness. In particular, the culture industry is regarded as a model for an industry fitting to the knowledge-based economy (Lash & Urry 1994). Accordingly, cultural policies are infused into policies of other fields: they have to tackle with the issues of copyright, tax systems, media ownership, the mobility of capital, goods and people and the liberalisation of marketplaces. The attainment of a world city status, to a great extent, depends on how successfully a city can accomplish a transition from an industry-based economy to a knowledge-based economy; in other words, the integration of economic and cultural production.

Cities which seek towards becoming a hub of production and consumption, have implemented urban infrastructure for both cultural and economic production (Harvey 1989; Yeoh 2005). This reflects the current trend that "technology, knowledge and human capital" are regarded as the core driving force of economic growth (Florida 2005: 7). According to Florida, human capital refers to "creative people", whose work functions to "create meaningful new forms" (2005:34). According to him, creative people are scientists, engineers, university professors, poets and novelists, artists, entertainers, actors, designers, architects, non-fiction writers, editors, cultural figures, think-tank researchers, analysts and opinion-makers (ibid). They are a crucial factor for economic development and tend to cluster around 'creative places'. These places are where "technology, talent and tolerance" (Florida 2005: 37) generate openness, diversity and high levels of education.

Therefore, a creative environment that contributes towards urban diversity and vibrancy is vital for 'creative people' to gather and to produce new value-added products. The promotion of culture in the vision of world city is often emphasised for the provision of such an environment, where creative people can work and live. For example, the *Korean Culture and Tourism Policy Institute* (KCTPI 2004) presented a study on fostering cultural cities, which advocates the notion of a cultural city as a

strategy for attracting skilled labourers.

In short, the growing importance of the knowledge-based industries for national and global economies has strengthened the integration of the economic and the cultural sectors. Consequently, world cities, which are leading cities of economy, tend to adopt such a trend: the role of culture for attaining a world city status in the competitive global economy has to be strengthened; cultural policy has expanded to deal with the construction of a creative urban environment. Oftentimes, culture-led urban planning, economic policy and cultural policy are intertwined. In particular, cities and states in Asia tend to pursue world city projects by adopting cultural policy as a means to gain visibility and a competitive edge in the knowledge-based industries.

5.1.2   World-Class Cultural City and *Hong-dae* Cultural District Project

Based on the previous discussion about the growing relationship between cultural policy and world city project, I now examine the extent to which the Seoul city and the *Mapo* district governments articulate the vision of world city in the *Hong-dae* cultural district project.

Hong-dae Area for Tourism

The *Hong-dae* area has begun to receive attention from the city government when it was preparing for the *2002 World Cup*. The *World Cup* was regarded as an immeasurable opportunity for recovering the staggering economy after the economic crisis in 1998 and for enhancing the national publicity and tourism (SDI 2000). The city government especially employed the slogan of the "culture *World Cup*, civic *World Cup* and environmental *World Cup*" in order to promote tourism and to make Seoul a world-class cultural city by hosting the *World Cup* (SDI 2000: 2). Therefore, appropriate measures for enhancing unique cultural images of Seoul were sought after (SDI 2000: 3). To meet these demands, the SDI proposed four different types of the *World Cup* strategic areas in Seoul, which were regarded as major attractions for visitors (SDI 2000: 5).

The SDI introduced the *World Cup* strategic areas in a report, "Place marketing of *World Cup* Strategic Area: Case study of Hongdae Area" (SDI 2000). The *Hong-dae* area was mentioned in an official report for the first time. The report is approximately four-hundred-page, explains place-marketing[80] and the identity of the

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[80] Griffiths *et al* (2003: 154) argues that the emergence of place-marketing is partly resulted from the changing consumption pattern of goods and services based upon aesthetic and symbolic content. He

Hong-dae area and examines the tasks and the suggestions for the place-marketing of the area.

According to the SDI report, the *Hong-dae* area is a strategic place for youth and subcultures (SDI 2000:15). Its competitiveness is evaluated through its popularity among foreign visitors, the presence of various cultural activities and an agglomeration of diverse cultural businesses (SDI 2000:102). Accordingly, the recommended schemes for the area are proposed to vitalise existing cultural activities by legalising the dance club business and improving the cultural infrastructure (SDI 2000: 101). In particular, the enforcement of the *World Cup* ordinances and the implementation of the cultural district are meant to institutionalise the dance clubs as cultural facilities and to designate the *Hong-dae* area as a centre of underground culture (SDI 2000: 152).

By suggesting such schemes, the SDI report in fact challenges existing laws. As discussed in an earlier chapter, it has been a problematic issue that live club businesses have been legalised while dance club businesses are not. The *Foods and Hygiene Law* allows dancing only in venues of certain size that are registered as entertainment businesses but most of the dance clubs in the *Hong-dae* area are registered as standard restaurants due to their small sizes. Therefore, it is suggested that the cultural district can be a solution for legalising dance clubs, which can grant an exceptional condition to them such as being freed from the sanction of certain laws (SDI 2000).

Significantly, the SDI tries to publicise the dance clubs as cultural facilities. It is clearly shown in the report that the SDI employs various terms in order to explain the cultural value of the *Hong-dae* area and the necessity of public investment on it. For example, youth culture (SDI 2000: 93), multi-cultural space (ibid) and cultural diversity (ibid), underground culture (SDI 2000: 25) and club culture (ibid) are articulated in order to describe the *Hong-dae* area as a cultural place. The rationales for implementing the cultural district in the *Hong-dae* area have been drawn from conducting place marketing (SDI 2000: 13), making it a new model of governance (SDI 2000: 14), promoting local cultural development (ibid) and fostering tourism (ibid).

The SDI recommends that the local residents are encouraged to understand the necessity of a cultural district and the legalisation of the dance club business in order to vitalise the local culture (SDI 2000: 93):

> Young people who like music and dancing are deprived of their right
> to enjoy. It is also pointed out that the closing-down of more and more

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also claims that economic success is increasingly dependent on creating and selling the value from culture and creative activities (ibid).

clubs, due to the crack-down, tarnishes the charm of the *Hong-dae* area. Therefore, there is a great necessity of 'the legalisation of techno clubs' and 'the recognition of the club space as the culture space'…those public, who are not accustomed to underground culture, should be open-minded and discard the prejudice against underground culture.

Furthermore, the SDI proposed the legalisation of the dance club business in order to vitalise the local culture (SDI 2000: 93):

Young people who like music and dancing are deprived of their right to enjoy. It is also pointed out that the closing-down of more and more clubs, due to the crack-down, tarnishes the charm of the *Hong-dae* area. Therefore, there is a great necessity of 'the legalisation of techno clubs' and 'the recognition of the club space as the culture space'…those public, who are not accustomed to underground culture, should be open-minded and discard the prejudice against underground culture.

The reason that the SDI proposes the legalisation of the dance club business is due to the potential of the clubs in becoming a world-famous tourism product (SDI 2000: 116)

The techno clubs in the *Hong-dae* area … have a potential to become a world-famous culture and a tourism product as a representative cultural space of the *Hong-dae* area.

The SDI is of the opinion that a proper application of 'place-marketing' can maximise the cultural potential of the locality and achieve sustainable cultural development and promote the image of Seoul (2000: 13):

The 2002 *World Cup*, through the re-construction of city image, provides a momentum for place-marketing, which pursues the vitalisation of city economy and quality of life for citizens and the construction of city image… Therefore, the strategic employment of place-marketing based upon diverse localities should be accomplished for the construction of geographical networks and the overall image of Seoul.

The development of the *Hong-dae* area is seen as a suitable case for place-marketing and a model for the cooperative cultural project between the public and the private sector (SDI 2000: 14):

Among the strategic areas, this study concentrates on a place agglomerated with cultural facilities and businesses, possessing a

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significant cultural potential to lead to the culture of Seoul and facilitating endogenous movements for local cultural development. Through the study on such a place, we aim to propose an efficient model for the cooperation between the public and the private sectors.

The SDI depicts the *Hong-dae* area as a new type of a cultural place and interprets clubs and happening-places as constituents of a cultural environment. Therefore, the SDI proposes to develop such an environment through the legalisation of the dance club business under the cultural district. Yet, the promotion of the *Hong-dae* area is strongly based upon the enhancement of the city image and tourism by utilising the vibrancy of the area.

Another attempt of the city government to utilise the *Hong-dae* area for tourism can be found in the municipal vision, "Vision Seoul 2006, World-class City Seoul" (Internet Homepage of SMG cited in 2006). The city government introduced the vision in 2002, which has envisioned Seoul as a financial, economic and business hub of East Asia. Vision Seoul 2006 aims at making Seoul a world-class city through these three visions: 'compassionate Seoul for the good of ordinary citizens', 'lively Seoul with economic vitalisation' and 'human-centred and convenient Seoul'.

In particular, the idea of an "open cultural city with tradition and modernity in coexistence" is singled out as the cultural vision. As tradition and modernity are emphasised, the restoration of the historic and cultural remains, the creation of historical parks and the promotion of cultural events and the tourist industry are suggested as the prime tasks. The enactment of the *Hong-dae* cultural district is planned in the vision so that the clubs and shops in the *Hong-dae* area can be tourist attractions for foreign tourists.

Concentrated development of the strongholds of foreigners' tourism and shopping…recreation of club culture in *Hongik University* town as a tourist attraction.

'Vision Seoul 2006' shows that the city authority plans to implement a cultural district in the *Hong-dae* area in order to boost the tourism industry.

Hong-dae Area under the Incorporation of Cultural and Industrial Zonings

In 2004, the city government presented a new long-term urban planning, the "2020 Basic Urban Planning" with the vision of making "Seoul as the world-cultural city and the central city of the north-east Asia." (Internet homepage SMG cited in 2006). Under this vision, the *Hong-dae* area is regarded as a vital spot for the culture industry beyond it being an attractive place for tourism. The city government started

looking at the *Hong-dae* cultural district project as a device to connect urban culture with the culture industry.

This planning seeks to achieve the following: balanced development in general; improvement of life conditions; restoration of history and culture; and networks of governance. The specific visions for the cultural sector can be gleaned from the slogan of the "city with live history and culture", which are segregated into four different issues. They are 'urban environment, quality of life, city competitiveness and city amenity'. Under this slogan, Seoul is horizontally and vertically divided into six regions and each region is given a different cultural emphasis (see Map 3). They are "eco/unification culture", "international culture and arts", "modern culture and arts", "mass culture", "historical culture" and "*Han* River culture" (Internet homepage of SMG cited in 2006; see Map 3). Each case is closely related to the geographical location and historical development of the divided regions.

(Map 3) Division of Seoul into Cultural Dimensions
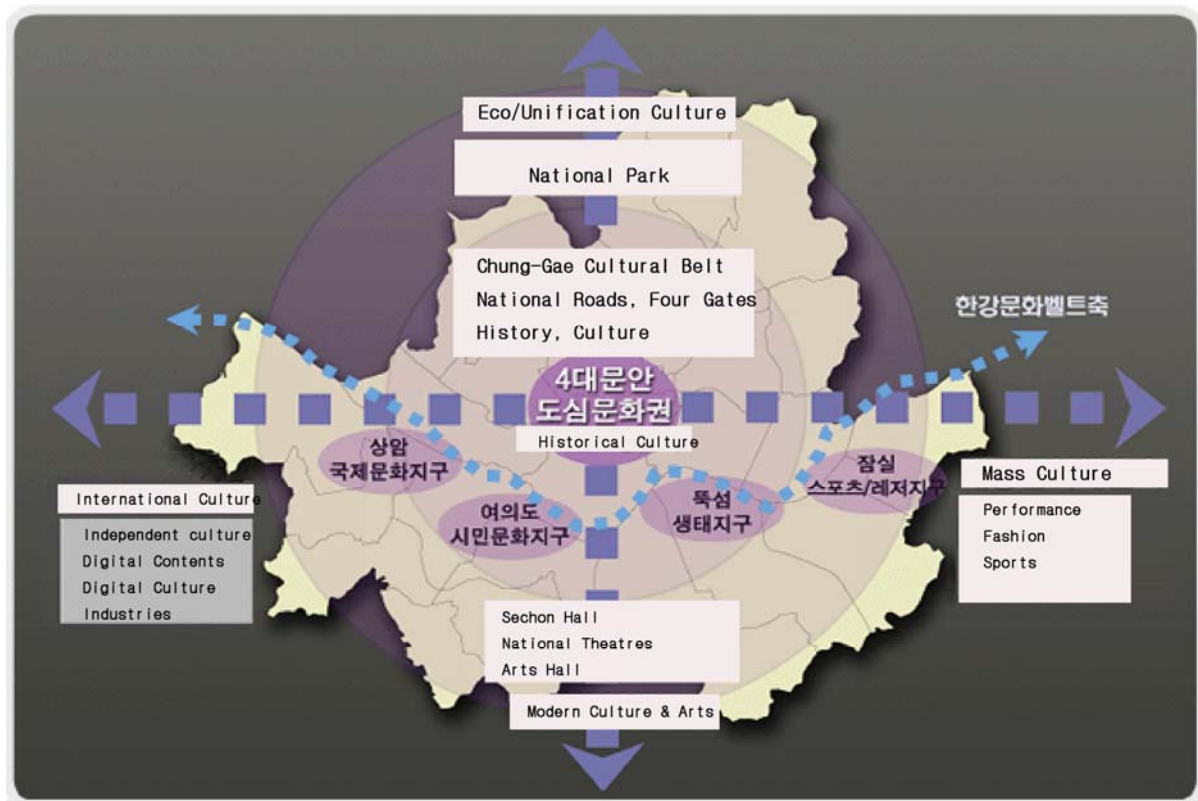
Source: Internet homepage of SMG, cited in 2006

In the map above, the central downtown is a place where several royal palaces from the *Choson Dynasty* (1392 - 1910) still remain. The eastern part with the

concept of 'mass culture' is where theatres, fashion outlets and sports stadiums are clustered. The southern part under 'modern culture and arts' is where various museums, national theatres and modern art galleries are congregated. The western part, where the *Hong-dae* area is located, is given a concept of 'international culture and arts'. It is very likely that 'independent culture' in the map refers to *Hong-dae* culture.

Significantly, this cultural mapping of Seoul overlaps, to a great extent, with the industrial division of Seoul.

(Map 4) Network of Industrial Clusters in Seoul

Source: Internet homepage of SMG, cited in 2006

The industrial division is also a part of the schemes for the world city project, which aims to make Seoul a centre of the finance, IT and contents industry (Internet homepage of SMG cited in 2006). The 'contents' refer to all types of content for media such as words, image and sound (Human Contents Academy 2006: 14). In particular, the finance, culture, multi-media and fashion industries are promoted as the 'Seoul style business', as they are regarded as suitable for transforming current

industries towards knowledge-oriented ones (Internet homepage of SMG cited in 2006). Based on this industrial plan, the city government designed the industrial zoning, in which the central part is assigned as a place for creating cultural contents, the southern part for packaging these contents with software and IT technology and the southern-western part for manufacturing these software and technology into products (see Map 4).

An interesting point is that the media and digital industry zones surround the *Hong-dae* area. Furthermore, the promotion of an independent culture (Map 3) and the promotion of the media industry (Map 4) are based on the independent culture of the *Hong-dae* area. As the provision of the cultural district states that each cultural district should utilise local cultural resources and harmonise with other urban planning initiatives, the *Hong-dae* area in both maps is integrated within the overall cultural and industrial zonings.

The recent municipal visions of Seoul show that culture is employed as a contributor for the tourism and the culture industries. These visions also reveal that the city government aims to make Seoul a culturally and economically advanced world-class city, which is well-accommodated with a cultural infrastructure. Under such administrative projections, the *Hong-dae* area is approached as a strategic place to connect its local culture to various industries. Accordingly, the *Hong-dae* cultural district project is regarded as a policy to develop the tourism and culture industries.

Hong-dae Area for Innovative Industrial Complexes

The *Mapo* district office presented the municipal administrative principle, "21st *Mapo* Vision" in 2005 (*Mapo* district Internet homepage cited in 2006). It contains the vision of 'enhancing quality of life and local competitiveness' and 'achieving digitalisation of the *Mapo* district' and the nine schemes to realise such visions. Among the nine different schemes[81], the *Hong-dae* area appears in the '2020, creating new knowledge and values for future', 'activating local economy and increasing income' and 'nurturing *Mapo* culture with its identity'.

Under the scheme of 'creating new knowledge and values for future', the district office aims at facilitating innovative industrial complexes and efficient urban zoning systems. The *Sang-am Digital Media City* (DMC) is particularly introduced as a main contribution to the innovation of the *Mapo* district. The *Sang-am* DMC is a

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[81] They are: (1) 2020, creating new knowledge and values for future, (2) ensuring green space filled with concepts and culture, (3) activating local economy and increasing income, (4) realising warn welfare community, (5) nurturing *Mapo* culture with its identity, (6) improving educational environment, (7) realising digital Map, (8) performing the best administration with kind service and (9) operating efficient council.

new millennium project of Seoul for constructing a huge complex for the IT, media and entertainment and digital contents industries in the area called *Sang-am*, formerly a waste landfill within the *Mapo* district (Internet homepage of *Mapo* district cited in 2006; DMC Project from SMG Internet homepage cited in 2006). The emphasis of the project lies is that the *Sang-am DMC* offers a unique business environment by specialising in the media and entertainment industries (DMC project from the SMG English Internet homepage cited in 2006):

> The DMC will create an optimal business environment for businesses in the information and media industries by providing the most innovative technologies, and will offer high value-added services for information and media consumers. As a Mecca of information technology, it will play an important role in developing Korea into a centre of the Northeast Asian economy. Unlike MSC in Malaysia, the [the] Hshinchu Science-based Industrial Park in Taiwan and other IT complexes in Asia, *Sang-am* DMC will be differentiated from others by specializing in the media and entertainment industries.

The district office introduced another plan for constructing an industrial complex for the game industry, called the *Hap-Jung Game Centre* in the *Hap-Jung* area which is located next to the *Hong-dae* area. Interestingly, the district office aims to connect the *Sang-am DMC* and the *Hap-Jung Game Centre* to the *Hong-dae* area, of which cultural resources can provide contents for software and media products (*Mapo* district Internet Homepage cited in 2006):

> *Hap-Jung* will be a huge game district…The advanced IT technology of the *Sang-am DMC* and young and creative *Hong-dae* culture are to be connected.

The city government sees the "ultramodern" business environment as a place where information, technology and culture are congregated (DMC Project from SMG Internet Homepage cited in 2006). Similarly, the district office regards *Hong-dae* culture as a crucial factor to provide urban amenities and vibrancy, which would then strengthen the competitiveness of the business environment. For example, the district office states that artists and cultural workers are important for "activating local economy and increasing income" (21st *Mapo* Vision, Internet homepage of *Mapo* district office cited 2006). The office also mentions that fifty thousand young artists in the locale are expected to be registered in a human-pool that could be used for establishing a new art market. The existence of artists and cultural workers working in various culture-related businesses are regarded as important for stimulating the culture and media industries.

The *Hong-dae* area is involved in another scheme, called 'nurturing *Mapo* culture with the local identity'. This scheme aims to foster traditional and artistic festivals. Under this scheme, the district office has appointed *Fringe Festival* and *Hong-ik Street Art Exhibition* as the main arts festivals and also as tourist attractions and anticipates that the *Hong-dae* cultural district will maximise these events for publicising the local culture.

The district office has also presented a map, a 'cultural triangle', which connects the *Hong-dae* area, *Danginri* and the *Sang-Am DMC*, as the most innovative and create place within the district (see Map 5). *Danginri* used to be a power station, which is now under refurbishment as a multi-cultural complex and the *Sang-Am Media Valley* is slated to be a huge complex for the IT, media and design industries.

(Map 5) Cultural Triangle

Source: Internet homepage of *Mapo* district office, cited in 2006

The above map shows that the district office mainly approaches the *Hong-dae* area in terms of urban industrial planning. The area is likely to be a strategic place for developing the media, IT, game and culture industries, which the district office aims to foster as the main industries in the region. Under this vision, the *Hong-dae* cultural district seems to be a linkage that connects the local culture to the industries.

***Hong-dae* Area under the Vision of a World City**

I have investigated the extent to which the *Hong-dae* area has been framed under the vision of a 'world city' influenced by the global trend towards knowledge-based economies. It is shown that the city and district governments have actively incorporated the world city notion into municipal visions. Accordingly, the corresponding authorities have approached the *Hong-dae* cultural district project as a scheme to develop the tourism, culture, IT and media industries.

The interconnection between municipal visions and the *Hong-dae* cultural district project is significant since it can elucidate why particular issues have generated conflicts and the kinds of strategic actions that the local actors have taken. Yue (2006: 17) points out that a recent development of cultural and media policy in Asia is deeply rooted in branding so-called "new Asian values" in order to produce 'cultural capital' to be utilised in the creative industry. Similar to Yue's observation, the Seoul city and the *Mapo* district governments attempt to brand the *Hong-dae* area as a site of the unique Korean style club culture for tourism. Furthermore, the concentration of people engaged in the cultural sector is regarded as contributing towards the production of unique cultural contents for the creative industry.

Yet, this branding strategy which seeks "cultural capital of authenticity" (Packer & Coffey 2005: 656) for the tourism and creative industries may cause conflicts over cultural representation in a locality. For example, there may emerge conflicts over what could be selected as the representative characteristics of *Hong-dae* culture among its various sectors and who takes initiatives in branding *Hong-dae*.

Yet, the authorities approach the *Hong-dae* area based on municipal visions and their interest in the *Hong-dae* cultural district may fluctuate as municipal priorities shift. Generally, a district office should provide detailed schemes of planning and administration of an appointed cultural district and a city government should approve the proposal of the district office. As the city and district government can set different tasks and objectives, there might also be a difference in imperatives to pursue the policy project between the authorities. In fact, the Seoul city government recently tends to seek more visible cultural projects such as the restoration of historical and cultural heritage, urban regeneration and the construction of multi-complexes. It has recently paid much effort to restore the inner-city area of Seoul through refurbishing the landed-up watercourse, *Cheonggye-Cheon*[82] and historical sites such as old palaces and gates.

Hong-dae culture, however, is composed of new urban cultural phenomena such as clubbing, shopping, events and happenings, which are not yet regarded as 'the cultural' officially. This aspect requires the process of institutionalising these

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[82] This project was completed in 2005.

phenomena as the cultural in order to implement the cultural district in the *Hong-dae* area. Therefore, when the city or district authorities prefer more visible and less-time consuming projects than the *Hong-dae* cultural district, it is possible that this project can be replaced by others or significantly re-directed. In short, the *Hong-dae* cultural district project is framed by how the authorities articulate the vision of a world city into municipal visions.

5.2   Defining *Hong-dae* Culture under the Arena of Cultural Politics

The interests of the cultural critics who produced various writings on the alternative and independent culture of the *Hong-dae* area during the 1990s became tarnished in the 2000s. Instead, the city and district governments have shown interest in the area and have accomplished research on *Hong-dae* culture for city development. Yet, some of interviewees criticised both the recent research on *Hong-dae* culture driven by the city authorities and the previous research done by scholars and critics for dominating the discourses of *Hong-dae* culture and for taking advantage of them so as to gain publicity and to pursue city development.

> They (intellectuals) once came here. But here is too small for them who have such great enthusiasm…They move in an upper level. (For example), I submit application and they are sitting as executive members of the board. (Cho, interview 2004)

> There has been no voice from *Hong-dae*… *Hong-dae* has been kept being talked about by outsiders but among insiders, nothing has spoken out. (Cho, interview 2006)

> I don't like the *Seoul Development Institute*. Although I'm not a researcher, I think there is a problem in it. For example, they have some formulas to approach local cultures and places. They say, "we do this first and later that. Then it will promote local economies." They select a few things to promote economies. (A HCAC member, interview 2004)

As the *Hong-dae* cultural district plan announced, however, the local cultural workers and artists had to start also producing the discourses on *Hong-dae* culture by themselves. They had to provide a legitimate definition in order to fit it with policy language and to keep drawing attention from the public and the authorities. The HCAC, the CCA and the HEDI advocated the identity of *Hong-dae* culture based on their viewpoints about where to draw the line between 'cultural' and 'cultured' and what were desirable ways to frame the future *Hong-dae* cultural district. The various interests of the local actors were revealed through their speeches in public hearings, committee meetings, interview occasions and their own writings in magazines and on the Internet. However, Ryu from the HCAC said that defining *Hong-dae* culture through a clear statement would generate unavoidable conflicts even within the HCAC since *Hong-dae* culture meant to be diverse (interview 2004).

A cultural policy project that concerns the formation of a new environment brings about a contested field of meaning-making since particular meanings decide the allocation of resources, which in turn determines economic conditions and social

relations of an appointed place. In this regard, I now look at how local actors have competed for defining *Hong-dae* culture. Although the district and city government are active actors in meaning-making processes, I do not deal with their cultural discourses and meanings employed for the policy project in the following section. They were firstly, discussed in the preceding section which has discussed world city project and secondly, the period which is dealt with in this chapter is when the corresponding authorities were waiting for the result of the feasibility study and implemented virtually nothing to the *Hong-dae* area.

Confrontation over the Definition of *Hong-dae* Culture

The CCA had a clear aim to legalise the dance club business under the policy project therefore it emphasised the existence of club culture as a crucial part of *Hong-dae* culture. The HCAC argued that the current *Hong-dae* culture should go back to its 'original' form but it did not have a concrete idea about what original *Hong-dae* culture meant and a consensus about how the HCAC should benefit from the policy project. The HEDI stated its position as an 'observer' (minutes HEDI 2004a) as it undertook the feasibility study yet it explicitly asserted the contribution of *Hong-ik Art College* towards the 'history' of *Hong-dae* culture. Although the CA was not a stakeholder of the policy project, it criticised the cultural district as a capitalism-oriented development plan and it supported the HCAC as a local artist group to propose an alternative plan for the local culture. In general, the local actors worried whether the district officials understood the cultural elements of the *Hong-dae* area. Therefore, they presented normative definitions of *Hong-dae* culture by way of making their positions known.

The HCAC started defining *Hong-dae* culture when it planned to hold an exhibition about the history of the *Hong-dae* area[83] (fieldnotes March 2004). Yet, the HCAC members had a problem in providing a clear definition of *Hong-dae* culture, since it has been associated with idiosyncratic attitudes and atmosphere instead of being affiliated to certain cultural genres. Therefore, the HCAC attempted to re-create a normative definition of *Hong-dae* culture. It questioned what should be the authenticity of *Hong-dae* culture and how cultural values can be measured.

New York people have their identity as New Yorkers. Famous places over the world have their own identities. But *Hong-dae* has not yet. So

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[83] The HCAC, when it was just established, claimed that *Hong-dae* people should present the untold history of *Hong-dae* culture and its creators (fieldnotes March 2004). The exhibition, however, did not take place due to insufficient preparation.

now we're trying to produce the *Hong-dae* value. But I can't figure it out yet what it should be. (Cho interview 2004)

The values of *Hong-dae* culture are these virtues such as being independent, alternative, creative and experimental. (HCAC Internet bulletin board cited in 2004)

Some members highly valued 'creativity' as an essence of *Hong-dae* culture and showed uneasiness towards the dance clubs, which, according to them, lacked creativity.

I think the present dance clubs are rather close to alcohol and dance houses... They are not cultural places. The ground is that the bars, where I often go, are more cultured than the clubs… My opinion is that all the clubs that are not doing creative performances should disappear. (HCAC Internet bulletin board cited in 2004)

Rather than validating the existing *Hong-dae* culture, the members of the HCAC asserted that *Hon-dae* culture should be creative and experimental. In emphasising creativity as a virtue of *Hong-dae* culture, they often sought to exclude the dance clubs from *Hong-dae* culture by disapproving of their lack of creativity.

Choi, the representative of the CCA, however, criticised the current *Hong-dae* culture as being exclusive, elitist and individualistic (interview 2004). *Hong-dae* culture, he argued, should be transformed into a 'public' culture with the help of professional mediators. He accused individualistic attitudes of lacking energy to lead the community of the *Hong-dae* area (interview 2004). In fact, Choi is the representative of another NGO, *Community Union* (CU) that looks forward to constructing new communities and social systems (CU 2002). Similarly, in the CU White Paper, he depicted *Hong-dae* culture as a 'decadent' culture led by a few exclusive artists (CU 2002: 80):

Hong-dae culture, the epitome of artists detached from the local society is decadent culture of musicians.

It seems that Choi's criticism against *Hong-dae* culture originates from his disapproval of spontaneity and individualism in social change and his belief in the workings of a 'system'. He approaches the development of culture as resulting from evolutionary processes, which develops from a primitive stage towards a complex system. He compared *Hong-dae* culture in the 1990s to a "primitive phase" and that of the 2000s to a "structural phase" (interview 2004):

Hong-ik Art College served as a basic infrastructure. Therefore, the existence of artists is not trivial. Yet, a problem is that the *Hong-dae* area in the 1990s should be changed as time went by. This basement could not keep up with a new period. Structures for cultural consumption and production are changing. The *Hong-dae* area in the 1990s can be a primitive stage, in which the identity and the ground of *Hong-dae* culture were forming, that is, a kind of stage for occurrence. But when it became the 2000s, a new structure was needed for delivering *Hong-dae* culture to the mass. The past *Hong-dae* culture of the 1990s, I think, was not successful in that matter.

His criticism on *Hong-dae* culture draws attention to a couple of interesting but contradictory issues. First of all, *Hong-dae* culture has not been regarded as so-called elitist or high culture. Rather, it is closer to low culture as it has developed from independent music, live clubs and street fashions. In fact, the main problem of the authorities in the policy project was that *Hong-dae* culture was 'too popular' to be institutionalised under the cultural district. Secondly, *Hong-dae* culture has been widely regarded as being alternative and resistant, which is far from being elitist. In particular, the live clubs led to the new cultural movement in the 1990s, which challenged the elitist point of view on performance proper.

Choi seems to criticise the fact that people, who have developed *Hong-dae* culture during the 1990s as alternative and resistant, cast an ignorant view on the dance clubs and do not acknowledge them as cultural places. His argument, to some extent, explains why he criticised *Hong-dae* culture as elitist and exclusive and the HCAC as an outmoded organisation which fossilises *Hong-dae* culture. He thinks that club culture is more communicative and open to the mass audiences and represents the current *Hong-dae* culture.

The HCAC, however, heavily criticised Choi for limiting *Hong-dae* culture to mere club culture. According to the HCAC, club culture is only a part of the entire cultural aspects of the *Hong-dae* area. Also, some HCAC members criticised that the CCA was an instrumental organisation of Choi, who wanted to test his own political ideologies in the name of *Hong-dae* culture (interviews 2004). In particular, one HCAC member said that the CCA caused power struggles in the locale by dominating the *Hong-dae* cultural scene (interview 2004):

Why we had nothing but making an organisation is because that one organisation appeared and is trying to dominate all over here. We had no choice except coping with it and forming a counter-part…. Yes, I mean the *Space Culture Centre* and the *Club Culture Association*.

In fact, when Choi first came to the *Hong-dae* area, he was more interested in the role of place and place-marketing than *Hong-dae* culture itself (interview 2004).

At first I saw this area from the perspective of outsider, that is, I, approached this area as a place for foreign visitors during the *2002 World Cup* from the prospect place marketing. (HCA Internet bulletin board cited in 2006)

Yet, he soon came to perceive the *Hong-dae* area, especially the dance clubs, as interesting places, where a new system could run both cultural and economic productions (interview 2004).

Choi's remark, to a certain extent, resulted in nullifying the so-called characteristics of *Hong-dae* culture such as creativity, artistry and idiosyncrasy. While defining *Hong-dae* culture as a system that could integrate cultural and economic productions, he paid little attention to subjects who create cultural scenes. His advocacy of *Hong-dae* culture as a 'culture for the mass run by a system' is emptied of aesthetics and cultural values. This is a crucial point, which brought out conflicts between the CCA and the HCAC. The HCAC disapproved Choi's idea as imposing a political and hegemonic interpretation on *Hong-dae* culture.

Contrary to the fact that Choi asserted a system for *Hong-dae* culture, the *Cultural Action* (CA) explicitly supported cultural producers. The CA said that the HCAC could be an alternative voice which could prevent commercialisation processes in the locale (CA Internet homepage 2004, cited in 2006). In principle, the CA regards that *Hong-dae* culture originated from the endogenous local culture. Therefore, it supported the HCAC for the sake of promoting genuine local culture.

The CA, however, seems to pay little attention to how the local cultural workers and artists interpret *Hong-dae* culture. For example, there was an incident that shows a gap between the CA member and the local artists and cultural workers in interpreting independent culture. At a forum for independent culture and the future of *Hong-dae* culture (25 August 2004), a member from the CA said that there was much demand for designing concrete polices for independent culture rather than defining its meaning. Yet, the members from the HCAC and the CCA refuted his claim by saying that the definition of independent culture was not yet substantially discussed. A member from the HCAC especially said that he experienced a gap between what he was actually doing as an independent artist and what people discussed about theoretical concepts of independent culture. This case indicates that the CA approached *Hong-dae* culture from an abstract framework, which was not entirely shared by the local artists and cultural workers.

In fact, the discourses on *Hong-dae* culture produced by the CA tend to remain at an ideological and abstract level (CA Internet homepage 2004, cited in 2006):

The core of the problem lies in how to understand *Hong-dae* culture. Therefore, there is a need of politics of sentiment… which is adopted

from the space of heterotopia, where various layers of spaces can co-exist… the *Hong-dae* space can be a place where difference, deviation, emergence and subversion can clash each other.

The CA also seems to politicise the HCAC as a counterpart of capitalism and as a representative of genuine culture (CA Internet homepage 2004, cited in 2006):

> There is a clash of interests among the authorities, owners of assets and cultural workers who are similar to indigenous people. … At least, this game is not about the confrontation between owners of assets and cultural workers who wish to preserve the local culture. To some extent, it originated from capitalistic development of urban space and from unreasonable mediation of the authorities.

> The HCAC … (has) a positive image of dandies and the mass who are busy in small cafés, basements and attics…inside a huge capitalistic space.

The CA idealised the HCAC as a group of 'indigenous people' and 'dandies in the *Hong-dae* area' and depicted the cultural district as a policy forwards 'capitalistic development of urban space'. The CA demarcated the cultural from the commercial, which the local cultural workers and artists have in fact attempted to negate by making this distinction fluid and blur. A member from the CCA criticised the CA for intervening in the local issues without knowing the local contexts (interview 2003).

While the CA emphasised the group of local cultural artists and cultural workers as forming a key contribution towards *Hong-dae* culture, the HEDI asserted the art and design sector as a key resource of *Hong-dae* culture. For example, a researcher from the HEDI said that the art and design sector has been leading other sectors (minutes HEDI 2004a):

> In fact, aren't human resources most important in the *Hong-dae* area? …Anyway, at the moment, we continue the research in a way that the art and design sector is leading other sectors.

As he ended his speech, an official from the *Mapo* district office asked a question on how to deal with the dance clubs, which have greatly contributed to forming the identity of *Hong-dae* culture. It seemed that some participants were puzzled by the HEDI, which emphasised a leading role of the art and design sector in the *Hong-dae* cultural district, although there was not yet a consensus on how to define *Hong-dae* culture.

The HEDI also emphasised *Hong-ik University* as crucial for the construction of *Hong-dae* culture (ibid):

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> The original places of art and culture are important. There is a need of preserving these places and to some extent there should be systematic schemes for making them as places of pilgrimage and for creating myths. *Hong-ik Art College* and the *Hong-dae* area have such a strong image that is carved deeply in Korean people. It can be compared to the Soho area in London and Brooklyn in New York. The area has such an ample potential to become an internationally famous place.

It is generally acknowledged that the existence of *Hong-ik University* was crucial for the gathering of young artists and students in the area. However, according to interview data from artists, cultural workers and street sellers, *Hong-dae* culture originated from the synergy created by the gathering of artists, students, musicians, business people and visitors. Some informants speculated that the HEDI was favourable to the art sector since it represented the interests of the university.

Contestation over Meaning-making in *Hong-dae* Cultural District Project

The cultural district adopts cultural uniqueness in a locality as a brand and as a resource for promoting local cultures and the culture and tourism industries. Therefore, what represents the brand name '*Hong-dae*' is a contentious issue among the local cultural workers, as it determines the allocation of resources in the future *Hong-dae* cultural district.

Particularly, a feasibility study determines how to brand a locality as corresponding authorities are to designate concrete schemes for a new cultural district based on the outcome of the feasibility study. It generally consists of an overview of a designated area, an analysis of policy practicability and an administrative plan. It should propose how to divide an entire district into quarters and what to be selected as recommended cultural facilities and businesses based on cultural characteristics of an appointed district. In the case of the *Hong-dae* area, the HEDI started a feasibility study in November 2003 and finished in December 2004. During this period, the local actors attempted to define *Hong-dae* culture in ways that would benefit their businesses.

In general, the members of the HCAC claimed that *Hong-dae* culture should have authenticity, originality and creativity. By asserting these characteristics, they argued first that *Hong-dae* culture originated from local artists and second that the dance clubs, which, according to the HCAC, did not produce any creative activity or product, should not belong to *Hong-dae* culture. The HCAC contrasted 'creative artists' with 'commercial dance clubs' in order to exclude the dance clubs from *Hong-dae* culture. As the majority of the HCAC members were engaged in various cultural sectors such as art, design, performance and cultural networking, the HCAC defined

Hong-dae culture abstractly as alternative, creative and experimental rather than referring to specific genres. In short, the HCAC emphasised the contribution of local artists towards *Hong-dae* culture based on the viewpoint of cultural producers. This demonstrates the HCAC members' belief that the cultural district should support the local artists.

The CCA claimed that *Hong-dae* culture should be communicative and open and it should be for the masses. At the same time, the CCA argued that the dance clubs were open cultural places for the public. This interpretation is consumer-oriented. Yet, it also justifies the demand of the CCA for the legalisation of the dance club business by appealing to the idea that cultural places should exist for the cultural life of citizens.

Whether *Hong-dae* culture is praised as 'alternative' and 'creative' or criticised for being 'elitist' and 'exclusive', these various definitions of *Hong-dae* culture are closely related to how the corresponding authorities framed the *Hong-dae* cultural district project. As discussed in the previous section, they approach the *Hong-dae* area with the branding strategy which seeks to transform unique *Hong-dae* culture into a product for the tourism and culture industries. Ironically, this stance is composed of mixed interpretations of culture. On the one hand, culture is seen as a unique substance of collectivity and on the other hand, it is regarded as a whole way of life that includes consumption, lifestyles and urban amenities. Under this approach, the local actors came to emphasise the uniqueness and authenticity of *Hong-dae* culture for its contribution towards the community and local economies.

For example, expressions such as '*Hong-dae* native culture' and 'original *Hong-dae* culture' are closely related to the branding strategy employed in the policy project which regards culture as a cultural capital of authenticity. This position is mainly held by the HCAC. Yet, club culture and community culture indicate that the CCA has adopted the expanded and anthropological interpretations of culture in order to connect *Hong-dae* culture with broader social issues. Stevenson (2004: 123) suggests that anthropological interpretations of culture make it possible to explore new sites of struggle beyond the cultural field and to re-conceptualise cultural activities as processes and practices rather than artistic objects and productions. Similarly, the representative of the CCA perceived *Hong-dae* culture as encompassing the economic and political spheres and aimed to construct a new cultural and economic system in the local community based on club culture[84]. Yet, this position was criticised for overlooking the contribution of people towards *Hong-dae* culture only to emphasise a system for cultural activities.

The HEDI approached *Hong-dae* culture as an alternative culture led by the

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[84] See also chapter 4 for more information on Choi's approach to a 'new system'.

art and design sector and *Hong-ik University* as a place from which *Hong-dae* art and culture originated from. This position illustrates that the HEDI interpreted *Hong-dae* culture based on the idea that culture is composed of established artistic genres. It also reveals that the HEDI sought to use the *Hong-dae* cultural district in its scheme to promote the art and design sector.

On the other hand, the CA perceived conflicts arising from the cultural district project as the confrontation between capitalism and genuine local culture. To a certain extent, its macro perspective towards the policy project explored the political economic side of the policy project. The CA, however, did not look at the power relations within *Hong-dae* culture, which resulted in romanticising the notion of genuine and local culture. The CA also paid little attention to the fact that the HCAC members 'articulated' *Hong-dae* culture for their own interests.

In short, the competing definitions of *Hong-dae* culture among the actors involved in the policy project demonstrates that processes of meaning-making, power struggle and economic concerns are closely interrelated in a cultural policy project.

5.3   Competing Visions of Future *Hong-dae* Cultural District Under the Arena of Cultural Politics

While the district and city governments envisioned the *Hong-dae* cultural district as a nodal point for linking urban culture to the tourism and culture industries, the local actors capitalised on the policy project for pursuing various interests such as gaining public attention, extending human networks, securing working places and obtaining financial support. However, they refrained from directly displaying economic and political interests. Rather, their interests were revealed implicitly in the visions of the future *Hong-dae* cultural district.

Zukin (1998: 629) argues that cultural meanings become materialised through spatial and social practices. Similarly, the various visions of the *Hong-dae* cultural district could illustrate firstly, how visions convey certain meanings and interests, secondly, how such visions can be negotiated and translated into concrete schemes and plans in a policy project, and thirdly how such negotiation processes affect the allocation of resources in a policy project and further influence the make-up of the urban environment. The visions of the *Hong-dae* cultural district effectively show that 'intangible' resources such as the ability to design future visions and to mobilise cultural discourses can be an influential capital, which can induce economic and political gaining in a cultural policy project.

In the following section, I specifically examine how the various visions of the *Hong-dae* cultural district convey the interests of diverse actors. Yet, issues relating to the translation of the visions into the specific policy schemes and the negotiation between the actors will be thoroughly discussed in the next chapter.

Competing Visions of *Hong-dae* Cultural District: Should it be a Centre of Art, Cultural Networking or Independent Culture?

In general, the HCAC, the CCA and the HEDI actively produced their normative visions of the cultural district. Although the CA actively claimed the importance of local culture in the execution of the cultural district, it did not provide any concrete vision of the *Hong-dae* cultural district. Rather, it suggested how it should be operated in a broad sense such as emphasising the policy project for citizens and not for the generation of money (CCA Internet homepage 2004, cited in 2006).

When the policy project was just announced, there were some local artists who understood that the cultural district was meant to support individual artists and to improve their working conditions. For example, at the inauguration ceremony of the HCAC, it claimed institutional devices for securing rental rates for their working

spaces and individual cultural production. This kind of attitude, which demands an implementation of public cultural policy for cultural producers is closely related to the legacy of Korean cultural policy, which supported individual cultural production due to its limited capacity for undertaking more grand projects (Ra interview 2004). Yet, some members of the HCAC soon questioned whether their status as 'artists' was so privileged that they could demand the authorities to spend public money for solving increasing rent prices and improving working conditions for them (HCAC Internet bulletin board cited in 2004):

> Aren't we justifying too much what we're doing? Honestly, we are doing business, namely, *cultural business*. What I'm doing is also for making money… But is it right and of conscience that we claim the *blood-like* tax taken from other people, who have to work from dawn to night, which I hate, to be used for supporting our businesses?

Another HCAC member suggested that artists should find common goals with the authorities at the level of pursuing 'public good', such as renovation of environment and designing cultural education programmes, which could give them more room for negotiation with the authorities (ibid):

> Therefore, it'd be a good strategy that we try to make a proper compromise with the authorities at the level of pursuing public good, which makes possible to launch public projects…if we want to maintain free and cultural environment, I think we should suggest alternative visions and clearly express what we think.

Such discussions about common goals and the pursuit of public good reveal that the HCAC started considering their positions within the frame of the policy project and searching for a way to legitimise their businesses in terms of public good. Rather than criticising the policy project, the HCAC members presented their visions of the future *Hong-dae* cultural district.

For example, some HCAC members who have been working in the art and design sector, envisioned the future *Hong-dae* cultural district as a space for art and creativity. These people mostly graduated from *Hong-ik Art College* and possess a shared feeling that they have constructed the *Hong-dae* area as a leading artistic place. They were much concerned about the aesthetic spatialisation of the entire *Hong-dae* area.

> I hope that the *Hong-dae* area remains as a space for creative activities and that the Ministry, Seoul city and the *Mapo* district should actively intervene in this issue … Let's make a good city space for children,

where money plays no role. (HCAC Internet bulletin board cited in 2004)

My argument is to make the promenade in the *Hong-dae* area as the cultural axis of Seoul. (HCAC Internet bulletin board cited in 2004)

The authorities should make specific measures to change public land into space for art and creative activities… Personally, I wish that the parking space should be converted into the 1.5 km-long street of art, which is to be filled with galleries and small performance stages, something like lanes in forests. (HCAC Internet bulletin board cited in 2004)

Yet, as more public hearings and meetings with the authorities took place, there emerged various ideas on the future *Hong-dae* cultural district. For example, there was an open discussion on how to make the *Hong-dae* cultural district, hosted by the HCAC in April 2004[85]. Ahn, a professor from *Hong-ik Art College* stressed the importance of the existence of the art college. Although he is not a HCAC member, the professor is widely regarded as *Hong-dae* people. According to Cho, the first representative of the HCAC, '*Hong-dae* culture' is an outcome of the imagination of the professor Ahn (interview 2006). Ahn is a pioneer in an electronic art, opened the first multi-cultural café, *Electronic Café* in the *Hong-dae* area in the 1980s and invented a new typeface. He proposed to use '*Hong-Party*' in order to refer to artists based in the *Hong-dae* area. He is much respected by the members of the HCAC who graduated from *Hong-ik Art College* or have worked in the art and design sector. The professor said that the *Hong-dae* cultural district should be a centre of Korean modern art (minutes HCAC 2004g):

I became a student (of *Hong-ik Art College*) in 1970 and have been here for 33 years. I think if the *Hong-dae* area would disappear, then the Korean culture and art scene would vanish, too…I think the art college made it possible that the music and performing arts scenes were able to originate from here. Therefore, the cultural district should support mainly the art sector by making the locale as a basement of the Korean modern art for the globalisation of the Korean art…I think there should be a huge cultural centre supporting the artists here, where various types of independent art can be nested… Art should be located at the centre and other sectors such as performing arts, music, clubs and restaurants can get benefit out of it.

The representative of *Fringe Festival* and a member of the HCAC, at first agreed to the opinion of the professor that the art sector initiated the *Hong-dae*

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[85] There was, however, no participant from the dance clubs in the *Hong-dae* area.

cultural scene. However, he argued that there has been a specialisation of cultural activities in the locale and that all people from various genres should get together and come up with a common vision. He inferred that cultural intermediaries, who could manage multi-cultural spaces, could contribute towards uniting various cultural genres and revitalising the diversity of *Hong-dae* culture (ibid):

> As for me, *Ssamzie Space*[86] is very interesting…A multi-cultural centre made a scene … I see that our task is to recover the original diversity of the local culture. Isn't it the reason why we are together here? Although we are from different professions and backgrounds, aren't we in the process of coordinating a new vision for the *Hong-dae* area?

There was tension between the professor and the representative of *Fringe Festival* concerning what would be a leading sector in the future *Hong-dae* cultural district. While the former envisioned the district as a centre of modern art, the latter saw the district as a centre of cultural networking. The professor prioritised the art sector among others and thought that the promotion of the art sector would bring about the prosperity of the rest sectors. Therefore, he proposed constructing a huge art centre. On the other hand, the representative of *Fringe Festival* demonstrated his disapproval of the dominance of the art sector and his interest in cultural intermediary work by proposing to build a multi-cultural centre for the 'original diversity' of *Hong-dae* culture. By stressing the original diversity, he conveyed that *Hong-dae* culture should not be the art sector-oriented.

Yet, Kim[87], the representative of the *Live Club Union* (LCU) and also a HCAC member said that *Hong-dae* people would not stop cultural production even if there were no support from the authorities (ibid). He raised a new issue of whether the policy implementation was necessary for the locale:

> I want to raise an issue of whether we need any governmental support. Before we argue that *Hong-dae* culture is now facing a crisis and therefore we need to take advantage of the cultural district, I think we should think how to activate *Hong-dae* culture. Maybe, we don't need to consider the policy at all. I suggest that we should reflect upon ourselves to deal with the crisis of *Hong-dae* culture.

It seems that Kim did not like the fact that people had suddenly started talking about the policy project. During my interview with him, he said that the idea of establishing an organisation in the *Hong-dae* area was naïve (2004). He continued on to say that

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[86] It is a private multi-cultural centre located in the *Hong-dae* area, which accommodates galleries, performance stages and art shops.
[87] Later, he became the second representative of the HCAC.

concrete schemes and strategies were not prepared to solve local issues including the cultural district, although people made the HCAC. He seemed to regard that the HCAC members were unskilful in strategic problem-solving. Kim has experience in cultural movements as he was working for the live club movement during the 1990s. He doubted whether authority intervention into soaring rental prices, commercialisation processes and innovation of cultural programmes could be effective. Another member of the HCAC during the forum also expressed the opinion that the policy project would not be the best solution for the promotion of *Hong-dae* culture. He said that the policy implementation might restrict *Hong-dae* culture with rigid legal definitions.

On the other hand, Cho, the first representative of the HCAC, wanted to utilise the policy project for gaining sponsorship. Yet, he was against constructing so-called cultural centres because he believed that these places would facilitate only a few organisations and consequently become a league only for them. Rather, he suggested that the policy should support cultural production financially:

> How many people can be accommodated there? Twenty people per year? …XXX *Foundation* started supporting cultural organisations or groups that have more than five members. I heard that it's more than 15,000,000 Won[88] per year. This amount of money sounds quite happy.

Although the HCAC members discussed how to construct the *Hong-dae* cultural district, there was no collective statement within the HCAC as yet. One member of the HCAC said that the policy implementation provoked many controversial issues in the locale. He described how the issues of the cultural district caused conflict within the HCAC (interview 2004):

> I wanted to attend the last meeting but I didn't. Because I felt I would have fought with others if I had been there. He argued that he needs an alternative space. OK, that's fine to bring in that story. Then who operates it, if there's such a space? That's his calculation. He said that he would. But it's out of question. Whoever occupies, it's a problem.

In all, the minutes of the forum and interview data reveal that the HCAC members did not have concrete ideas on how to utilise the policy project for the local community, although people presented how to envision the future *Hong-dae* cultural district. It demonstrates tension among the HCAC members regarding the key concept of the future *Hong-dae* culture and appropriate forms of support under the policy

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[88] Approximately 11,000 euros.

implementation. Furthermore, the absence of the CCA at the forum, whether it resulted from the boycott of the HCAC or the veto of the CCA, indicates that the conflict between the dance club sector and the non-dance club sectors was not reconciled. Throughout the whole period when the feasibility study was carried out, there were few occasions that the HCAC and the CCA members met together in public forums and meetings (interview data).

Contrary to the dissonant visions within the HCAC, the CCA's vision was clear and explicit. The CCA emphasised that the *Hong-dae* cultural district should be an institution that could legitimise non-conventional cultural activities as new forms of culture. Therefore, the CCA strongly advocated that the future *Hong-dae* cultural district should acknowledge club culture as a genuine culture and the dance clubs as cultural places and legalise the dance club business[89] (CCA 2004: 77):

> Club culture has newly re-constructed the local culture coping with the changing realities of the locality. This club culture is a very new form of culture, which can serve for developing Seoul as a cultural city. Therefore the SCC, the *Hong-dae Shinchon Culture Forum*, 157 people from 11 civil organisations and 3,238 of citizen including foreigners made a petition to make the '*Hong-dae* club culture district and pilot clubs'.[90]

Rather than constructing decentralised cultural facilities, the CCA requested for the establishment of a central cultural centre for the purpose of networking various people and organisations. This demand seems to reflect the visions of the CCA, which aims to mediate networks within the locale (CCA 2004: 81):

> Since the core of *Hong-dae* culture is 'cultural diversity', the focus of the future cultural district should lie in providing programmes for underground, independent and non-mainstream cultural activities including people, organisations and facilities related to them. In the case of cultural facilities, especially multi-cultural facilities, namely 'underground cultural centre (tentative)' should be constructed as a main project rather than constructing individual facilities.

Choi, the representative of the CCA, saw clubbers in the dance clubs as "prosumer" (interview 2004). He observed some clubbers became DJs or managers and owners of the clubs, which he understood as a new social relation; in other words, an overlapping role of cultural producer and consumer. He believed prosumers

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[89] In fact the SCC, the predecessor of the CCA, started the campaign for the legalisation of the dance club business. It invited the mayor of Seoul in 2002 and 2003 for its official events, held a discussion with the SMG about the enforcement of the cultural district in 2002, invited the officials from the *Mapo* district and the SMG to *Road Club Festival* and the inauguration ceremony of the CCA in 2003.

[90] Originally written as a petition in 2002.

possess the potential to construct a self-sufficient community, which nurtures new social relations and an economic system for the incorporation of cultural and economic production. His notion of the 'prosumer' illustrates that his economic and political vision as an institution to legitimise the dance clubs as cultural places and fosters a new economic system in the locale.

His belief in a new system and a self-sufficient community is shown also in the prospectus of the *Community Union* (CU), of which he is also the representative. It is written in the prospectus that 'spontaneous community-making' falls into the false vision of "local utopia", which prevents people from looking at a community from a bigger framework of social system (CU 2002: 5):

> A place serves for social fragmentation, which is premised upon social system. Spontaneous community-making tends to be immersed in the value of place or practice, that is, a 'local utopia'. In other words, it tends to attach only to communication not looking at an entire system.

'Spontaneous community-making' and a 'local utopia' are similar to an 'analogue village' which a HCAC member claimed to be the future *Hong-dae* area (interview 2004). Yet, during an interview with Choi (2004), he regarded the vision of an 'analogue village' as being retroactive to a feudal village where people produce and consume what they need and people know each other within its community. He said that such an idea was idealistic but could not construct a new community in the era of soft-capitalism. Therefore, he proposed to construct a 'digital village' where people can communicate each other and produce and consume in the global level. He said that to construct a digital village was his task and that club culture could be a starting point to build the cultural and economic system of a digital village.

Choi saw the *Hong-dae* dance clubs as a new model of community where people simultaneously play the roles of consumers and producers and accordingly cultural and economic systems are incorporated into each other. Therefore, he saw the legalisation of the dance club business as necessary to develop such a new community model. The dance club owners and managers also wanted to legalise the dance club business since they have been accused of violations of laws. Therefore, the CCA claimed that the *Hong-dae* cultural district should promote non-conventional cultural activities, new cultural phenomenon and independent culture in order to legalise the dance club businesses under the cultural district.

Although the CCA and the HEDI together stressed on an 'independent culture' for the *Hong-dae* cultural district, they interpreted it from different perspectives. While the CCA advocated club culture as independent culture, the HEDI saw the art and design sector as a leader of independent culture:

We continue the research in a way that the art and design sector is leading others. (minutes HCAC 2004f)

The aim of the study is to …nurture the *Hong-dae* area … as a specialised cultural district for experimental and independent arts, alternative culture and various cultural facilities. (minutes HEDI 2004a)

There should be programmes for independent arts… The most important thing is to prevent the local artists from leaving the area. Therefore, schemes for cultural organisations and the construction of ateliers should be provided. (ibid)

In June 2004, there was an expert seminar on how to design the *Hong-dae* cultural district organised by the HCAC and the HEDI. The HEDI suggested that the local residents should discuss more about what to negotiate with the authorities rather than dispute over the policy implementation itself. It also proposed that the process of making the *Hong-dae* cultural district should serve as an occasion for solving the existing problems of the locale (ibid). A member of the HCAC said that the *Hong-dae* case should contribute towards improving Korean cultural policy by allowing more people to have a chance to talk about their opinions on the *Hong-dae* cultural district (ibid).

Although a collective vision of the future *Hong-dae* district was not yet conceived during the expert seminar, consensus on a few issues were reached. Firstly, it was agreed that the existing provision of the cultural district without modification would not be suitable for the *Hong-dae* cultural district. Secondly, the existing problems in the *Hong-dae* area, which the policy project shed light on, such as how to deal with 'arts business' and 'illegal cultural activity', should be solved prior to the policy implementation (minutes HEDI 2004a).

Competing Visions in the Arena of Cultural Politics

The various visions of the *Hong-dae* cultural district convey the interests of the local actors. These local actors, however, avoided the direct expression of economic and political interests. Instead, they elaborated to convey them through such expressions like a 'promotion of independent arts', a 'development of cultural spaces', a 'centre of modern arts', an 'original diversity of *Hong-dae* culture', and 'multi-cultural facilities'. Yet, all the actors strategically utilised the objective of the cultural district, which aims to re-construct the local cultural environment. Therefore, they tend to stress the uniqueness of *Hong-dae* culture from their own perspectives and the construction of a cultural infrastructure conducive to the unique *Hong-dae* culture that

they perceived individually.

The HEDI envisioned the *Hong-dae* area as a centre of Korean modern art. Therefore, they suggested that providing an infrastructure such as a centre of modern art should be an ideal investment. In general, the HCAC members agreed that the future *Hong-dae* cultural district should be a centre for an independent and alternative culture but they showed a difference in opinion regarding what kinds of schemes should be implemented for realising such a vision. Cultural intermediaries from the HCAC conceived of the cultural district as a centre of cultural networking. Therefore, they proposed to construct multi-cultural centres where cultural workers and artists can be steadily accommodated. On the other hand, those who have worked individually and have operated relatively small-scale businesses saw that securing minimum living standards of individual artists could contribute towards a successful policy implementation. The CCA emphasised cultural diversity in order to legitimise club culture as a new form of cultural phenomenon and to legalise the dance club business.

Significantly, cultural intermediaries actively took part in producing the visions of the *Hong-dae* cultural district and accordingly empowered the voice of the local cultural workers in policy talk. Yet, it also resulted in leaving out certain people in policy talk, particularly those who did not actively participate in such meaning-making processes.

In the case of the HCAC, cultural intermediaries who had social network, affiliations and the ability to create abstract expressions and discourses affected the intra-power relations within the HCAC by representing the opinions of other individual artists and cultural workers. Some examples are Cho (running a cultural programme company), Lee (a representative of *Fringe Festival*) and Kim, (a representative of *Free Market* and *Live Club Union*). Choi and Lee from the CCA who have the wide range of social network and various affiliations enabled the CCA to produce and publicise its vision of the future *Hong-dae* cultural district. Yet, it was often the case that other club managers, owners and DJs were not present at public forums and meetings. The HEDI can be also seen as a cultural intermediary who intervenes in the policy project through being a research agency and inserting its own vision of the *Hong-dae* cultural district in the feasibility study.

Despite dominance of cultural intermediaries in envisioning the *Hong-dae* cultural district, the various ideas and interests on the policy project were openly displayed particularly among the local artists. Kong and Law (2002) regard cultural policy as a tool through which ruling groups portray their ideas and values in city space. This observation is useful to analyse urban landscape as a text, in which dominant values are visualised. This takes place through complex processes such as

struggling over producing knowledge about the objects. Therefore, I have shown, in the course of presenting their visions of the *Hong-dae* cultural district, the local artists, the cultural intermediaries, the university and the district and city governments have been involved in the power struggle over producing knowledge about what constitutes good culture for a cultural district. These visions implicitly and explicitly conveyed their interests.

5.4 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has examined first the incorporation of the *Hong-dae* cultural district project into a world city project articulated by the district and city governments and second how the local actors have competed with each other in defining *Hong-dae* culture and providing the vision of the *Hong-dae* cultural district. In so doing, I have focused on the processes of how contested urban landscapes come into shape, rather than analysing urban landscapes as a text to detect hegemonic contestations.

The Seoul city and *Mapo* district governments have sought to turn Seoul a world city and have incorporated the *Hong-dae* cultural district project into a world city project. The policy project came to focus on branding the *Hong-dae* area for tourism and spatialising to fit it with the industrial zoning of the city. The SDI report and the municipal visions which I have examined in this chapter accentuate cultural uniqueness of the *Hong-dae* area and promote world-standard and cosmopolitan sensitivity in order to sell 'unique' cultural products in the 'global' market. In these reports and visions, the district and city governments played the role of entrepreneur to provide 'customers', rather than the 'public', with cultural products and services.

Under these circumstances, *Hong-dae* culture is seen as an essence of collectivity, a brand to be patented and a resource to be capitalised by industries. This affected the way that the stakeholders of the cultural district project, such as the HCAC, the CCA and the HEDI, presented themselves, re-articulated the policy project and participated in the policy project. In other words, there emerged conflict over cultural ownership and cultural representation. The local actors have defined *Hong-dae* culture by employing the phase 'independent and alternative culture' but they have assigned various meanings and values to it according to their own interests in the policy project. They envisioned the future *Hong-dae* cultural district as 'a centre of Korean modern arts', 'a centre of cultural network' and 'a centre of non-mainstream culture' for the purpose of acquiring investment on the art sector, independent cultural sectors, financial support for local artists and the legalisation of the dance club business. They justified their visions by claiming 'the authenticity of *Hong-dae* culture', 'the original diversity of *Hong-dae* culture' and 'the evolution of *Hong-dae* culture'.

Cho, the first representative of the HCAC and a self-claimed '*Hong-dae* native', however, said that taking about independent culture became meaningless when I interviewed him in 2006. It is significant that he, who eagerly advocated the value of *Hong-dae* culture, said *Hong-dae* culture was 'imaginary'. He further said that 'talking about culture' became absurd and that he wanted to 'conduct culture'.

What, then, made him discreet in talking about *Hong-dae* culture?

Cho's remarks clearly show that the policy project has become an arena of cultural politics, where the actors have struggled over defining *Hong-dae* culture. Cho's remarks also lead one to reflect upon what encourages or hinders the participation of citizens including artists, interest groups and private corporations in a cultural policy project. Since the meaning of *Hong-dae* culture still remains abstract and ambivalent, there is still opportunity for confrontation and manoeuvre under the policy project. Accordingly, there appeared people like Cho, who were disappointed with or failed in 'talking culture'. This chapter has demonstrated that the strategic mobilisation of cultural discourses and future visions is a crucial way of participating in a cultural policy project. Yet, it has also shown that people who did not or could not take part in such cultural politics were left out of the policy project.

Chapter 6

Negotiation in the Arena of Cultural Politics I
: Feasibility Study as Negotiating 'the Cultural'

> The area has produced very unique and diverse cultures, which can be put together only in the expression of '*Hong-dae* culture'. Now, its value has become a brand itself. (Feasibility study on *Hong-dae* cultural district HEDI 2004b: 184)

In December 2004, the *Hong-dae Environmental Development Institution* (HEDI) presented a positive review of the feasibility study. However, the district and city governments have indefinitely postponed the *Hong-dae* cultural district project since fall 2005[91]. What was the result of the feasibility study? What, then, does the policy postponement indicate? Does the policy postponement mean a failure of the policy project?

According to the feasibility study, various opinions from the district and city authorities, local organisations, business people and residents were collected and reflected in the study outcome (HEDI 2004b). In fact, during the period of the feasibility study, both the HCAC and the *Club Culture Association* (CCA) intervened. For example, Lee from the CCA wrote the section about the dance clubs and research materials about the dance clubs originally written by him are cited in the study as well[92]. Yet, Cho from the HCAC was an advisory member for the feasibility study. In this respect, the voices of the HCAC and the CCA are, to a varying degree, reflected in the study. Also, the HEDI injected its interest into the feasibility study.

Therefore, the outcome of the feasibility study can be seen as the textual

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[91] I was not able to trace exactly when the district office announced the postponement of the policy project. But in May 2005 when I conducted a phone interview with a CCA member, the district office did not announce it. However, the district office had to officially announce whether to implement the policy or not until August 2005. The email inquiry with an official from the city government in October 2005 confirmed that the policy project was postponed. Therefore, it seems that the policy postponement was decided around August 2005, when the district office had to announce the decision.

[92] In particular, the Ph.D. dissertation about place marketing and club culture of the *Hong-dae* area (2003) and the SDI research on the *World Cup* strategic area were referenced (HEDI 2004b).

realities of cultural politics and as the 'negotiated' vision of the local actors who attempted to legitimise their businesses and working spaces as 'cultural' in the future *Hong-dae* cultural district.

In the following, I examine the content of the feasibility study by looking at the description of *Hong-dae* culture and various kinds of planning in the administrative plan. In so doing, I aim to explicate first the extent to which the feasibility study contains the negotiated definition of *Hong-dae* culture and vision of the *Hong-dae* cultural district, second how this definition and vision convey the interest of the local actors and third who is most influential in determining the content of the feasibility study.

6.1   Negotiating the meaning of '*Hong-dae* Culture'

The feasibility study is two hundred and eighty-five pages long and consists of four chapters: the outline of the study, the overview of the *Hong-dae* area, the overview of the practicability of the policy execution, and the administrative plan for the future *Hong-dae* cultural district (HEDI 2004b). More specifically, the overview of the area includes an assessment of *Hong-dae* culture, its geographical connection to other neighbouring areas, an ethnographic report about the *Hong-dae* area[93] and results of the surveys. The practicability of the policy project includes the evaluation of the policy, the expected result and the problems of the policy implementation and the overview of the existing policy provisions and laws. The administrative plan is composed of basic principles for the *Hong-dae* cultural district, specific schemes and plans for supporting recommended cultural facilities and businesses and plans for maintenance and management, fund raising and evaluation.

It is stated in the study that the local people were sensitive towards the study outcome, which affected the social relations in the locale during the study period (HEDI 2004b:6). A couple of incidents are particularly singled out as important events such as the financial problem of *Theater Zero*, the increase in the number of galleries and clubs, the construction of skyscrapers and the establishment of organisations by the local cultural workers and artists (HEDI 2004b: 6-7).

'Non-mainstream Art and Music' as *Hong-dae* Culture

According to the feasibility study, the identity of the *Hong-dae* area is "non-mainstream 'art' and 'music' based on creativity and experimentalism" (HEDI 2004b: 17):

> The key words, which represent the identity of the *Hong-dae* area are non-mainstream 'art' and 'music' based on creativity and experimentalism…The area is a multi-cultural space, which consists of various cultural characteristics. The art space, quality café space, underground club culture space and cultural business working space constitute this multi-cultural space.

The unique cultural value of the *Hong-dae* area is pointed out as encompassing fluidity, mixing, and pluralism (HEDI 2004b: 183, 190). It is highly underlined that cultural activities, which take place in non-conventional cultural places in the *Hong-*

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[93] The ethnographic examination of the *Hong-dae* area covers rental rate, asset price, location of galleries, clubs, theatres, DJs, art academies, shops, studios, streets, playgrounds, cultural events and local organisations (ibid).

dae area, give an opportunity to reflect the existing cultural policy, which confines cultural facilities as places only for established artistic genres and the public sector (HEDI 2004b: 198).

The study also pays particular attention to emerging cultural phenomenon, which cannot be categorised into particular cultural sectors. Accordingly, certain commercial and consumption places are regarded cultural places on the condition that "artistic minds" transform commercial activities and spaces into those of "multi-cultural" (HEDI 2004b: 183). In other words, artistic minds change commercial places into multi-cultural sites. The images of the area created by non-mainstream art and music are regarded as making the area unique and suitable for "city marketing" (HEDI 2004b: 24):

> Due to these place images, now the area distinguishes itself as a suitable place for city marketing. Furthermore, the development of neighbouring places will even increase the value of the area.

Furthermore, *Hong-dae* culture is seen as a model for a new community, which can combine "play, culture, economy and community" (HEDI 2004b: 198):

> A growing potentiality to become a new business model of "Play + Culture + Economy + Community" – the *Hong-dae* area has a characteristic of a multi-cultural place and club culture can interconnect contents from these different sectors. The aim of place-marketing of club culture is a 'construction of club economy and local economy' and furthermore its long-term objective is a 'construction of a club culture district for community development'. These aims are conceived based on economic interconnectedness.

It is significant that expressions such as 'place marketing', 'club culture', 'club economy', 'club culture district' and 'community development' explain the economic potential of the *Hong-dae* area in the feasibility study. As shown in earlier chapters, Choi and Lee from the CCA have used these expressions in order to publicise the cultural value of the dance clubs and their significant contribution towards *Hong-dae* culture. Yet, the minutes of the HEDI which are examined for this research do not contain a particular comment on the cultural and economic value of the dance clubs. The HEDI kept emphasising the importance of arts in the locale. Therefore, the appearance of an expression 'new business model of play, culture, economy and community' in the feasibility seems to be an outcome of the intervention of the CCA.

On the other hand, *Hong-ik Art College* is emphasised as the cradle of *Hong-dae* culture and as a crucial factor to have made the area a centre of Korean non-mainstream culture:

> The area possesses endogenous power of creativity due to the harmony between academia and non-mainstream artists. The area has established itself as an engine of Korean non-mainstream culture." (HEDI 2004b: 10)

> Thanks to the environment created by art production and education of *Hong-ik Art College*, it is also a place where cultural facilities for practical and valuable art are congregated. (HEDI 2004b: 24)

'*Hong-dae* people' are also depicted as the creators of the *Hong-dae* cultural scene, who have been engaged in cultural production since the 1980s (HEDI 2004b: 17):

> Many art shops and studios around *Hong-ik University* were the major sites of the *Hong-dae* area in the 1980s. It was *Hong-dae* people based in *Hong-ik Art College* who formed these sites. Their sentiment and creativity were the catalyst for the birth of alternative and independent culture.

It is significant that places and people that have existed since the 1980s are particularly mentioned as contributors to the birth of an alternative and independent culture. It seems to reflect the influence of the so-called first generation of *Hong-dae* people who have affiliation with *Hong-ik Art College* and have claimed the originality of *Hong-dae* culture.

In general, the definition of *Hong-dae* culture in the feasibility study is comprehensive. Although it was stated that 'non-mainstream art and music' represent the identity of *Hong-dae* culture, the expressions of 'non-mainstream' and 'multi-cultural space composed of underground club culture, art and cultural business' expand the definition of *Hong-dae* culture to include various sectors beyond art and music. This broad definition of *Hong-dae* culture reflects the opinions and interests of the HCAC, the CCA and *Hong-ik Art College*. For example, 'artistic minds' which transform commercial places into cultural places and the 'role of *Hong-dae* people' in the construction of *Hong-dae* culture are the main arguments of the HCAC, which emphasised creativity and artistry of *Hong-dae* culture. The expression 'new business model based on the combination of play, culture, economy and community' is the main motto of the CCA. The expressions 'harmony between academia and non-mainstream artists' and *Hong-ik Art College* as 'a cradle of *Hong-dae* culture' clearly convey the interest of the art college. Overall, the feasibility study, however, puts more emphasis on the art sector as a main characteristic of *Hong-dae* culture than other sectors.

'Alternative Culture and Arts' as Concept of *Hong-dae* Cultural District

      The feasibility study states that proper criteria for policy implementation are whether; (1) there is an indigenous culture firmly established upon a local historicity and particularity, (2) there are cultural events and facilities resulting from such a unique local culture, (3) local residents and public opinion consent to the implementation of the policy and (4) the policy project is consistent with the cultural administration of the city government (HEDI 2004b: 182).

      Based on these criteria, the HEDI reports that the *Hong-dae* area is: (1) a birthplace of independent, underground and alternative culture in Korea, (2) a spontaneous concentration of cultural workers, experts, artists and students working in art, design, popular music, dance, performance, animation and cultural planning have formed a unique local atmosphere and (3) a cultural plant, which provides the locale with comprehensive cultural knowledge and cultural infrastructure (HEDI 2004b: 182-183).

      In terms of the conformity with the cultural administration of the city government, the policy implementation in the *Hong-dae* area is seen as contributing towards the aim of the city government, which seeks the construction of a balanced cultural environment (HEDI 2004b: 190):

> In terms of the geographical aspect, the *Insadong* cultural district is located in the middle of Seoul as a traditional arts district and the *Daehakno* cultural district in the eastern Seoul as a performance district. Therefore, the implementation of a cultural district in the *Hong-dae* area, as a western cultural centre, is self-evident…As a whole, there is a necessity to connect *Insadong*, *Daehakno* and *Hong-dae* as a cultural triangle for balanced cultural investment and development. Such consideration can be concomitant with the master plan of Seoul for the construction of a cultural environment…The specialisation of each locality is considered as desirable for local development and corresponds with tourism policy of the city government.

The existence of the unique local culture, cultural infrastructure and activities and the conformity with city planning make the *Hong-dae* area a suitable place for a cultural district (HEDI 2004b: 193)[94].

      Accordingly, the main concept of the *Hong-dae* cultural district is proposed as a cultural district for "alternative culture and arts" (HEDI 2004b: 192). Based on this concept, the outline of the future *Hong-dae* cultural district is provided (see Table 5).

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[94] "The *Hong-dae* area is an adequate place to be appointed as a cultural district due to cultural infrastructure and cultural activities created by cultural workers in the various sectors."

(Table 5) Outline of *Hong-dae* Cultural District in Feasibility Study

	Hong-dae Cultural District – District for Alternative Culture and Arts
Distinctive Features	Performance stages, facilities and companies for alternative arts Studios and organisations related to cultural facilities Various cultural events
Place identity	Place for diverse underground culture
Purpose of district	Promoting genres of alternative arts and culture
Recommended facilities	Cultural facilities and culture-related businesses and events such as alternative space and small-scale theatres
Purpose of administration	Preservation of alternative culture and arts
Direction of administration	Improvement of conditions for alternative culture and arts
Direction of main projects	Projects for promoting alterative culture Provision of service for visitors and creation of spaces

Source: HEDI 2004b, p. 192

There are a couple of interesting points in the outline of the future *Hong-dae* cultural district (see Table 5). First of all, 'arts' is singled out from 'culture' in the main concept of the district, such as "a district for alternative culture and arts", but there is no explanation of what culture and arts refer to. Yet, there are certain terms in other sections of the study, which explain why culture and arts are mentioned in a separate manner. The expression of "arts production (play, music, dance and art)" indicates that 'arts' refers to already established genres such as 'play, music, dance and art' (HEDI 2004b: 9). Yet, "underground culture" (HEDI 2004b: 8), "street culture" (ibid), "minority culture" (HEDI 2004b: 9) and "low culture" (ibid) show that 'culture' refers to more comprehensive categories than genres. However, a frequent use of 'arts' in the outline of the future *Hong-dae* cultural district is noticeable since the *Hong-dae* area is commonly associated with alternative culture or independent culture rather than arts. This seems to suggest that the HEDI is affiliated to *Hong-ik University* and *Hong-ik Art College*.

Secondly, 'alternative space' suggested as a recommended facility seems to be misleading since it apparently looks like it refers to any type of places for alternative culture and arts. Indeed, the term 'alternative' is a problematic expression since it is very often used in the study without a clear definition. For example, there are certain phrases and terms using 'alternative': "experimental and alternative

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production of art beyond traditional frames of arts genres" (HEDI 2004b: 9); "alternative culture as creative and experimental non-mainstream culture and independent art" (HEDI 2004b: 23). These expressions, to some extent, indicate that alternative means the opposite of traditional, conventional and mainstream.

However, alternative space refers to "gallery" as specified in another section of the study (HEDI 2004b: 11):

> *Gallery (alternative space)*: Galleries located in the *Hong-dae* area generally are exhibition spaces in the form of alternative spaces. These alternative spaces are registered as small-scale galleries. They are characterised as non-profit-seeking exhibition spaces mainly for non-mainstream artists. They accommodate exhibitions beyond genre differences (mixing of music and art and that of fine art and performance and etc).

The above excerpt suggests that alternative spaces mean 'small-scale galleries' while alternative refers to an attitude and a characteristic of being experimental and non-mainstream.

In general, a couple of obscure points of the concept of the *Hong-dae* cultural district are that: (1) the expressions of 'alternative space galleries' and 'alternative arts' appeared in the study for the first time and (2) 'alternative' is ambiguously used in various dimensions, such as from a branch of cultures (alternative culture) to a new form of gallery (alternative space). It seems that the term 'alternative' serves to link the art sector closer to the *Hong-dae* area, which is widely known as a place of alternative culture. Moreover, it indicates that the feasibility study favours the art sector, particularly galleries that are presented as a new term 'alternative space galleries'.

Description of 'Clubs' and 'Art and Design Sector'

As discussed in the previous chapters, the issue of whether the dance clubs can be categorised as cultural facilities has brought about acute conflicts between the HCAC and the CCA. Some people expressed dissatisfaction with the appointment of the HEDI as a research agency while suspecting that the art and design sector would be privileged in the study. Therefore, I now examine how the clubs (dance and live), and the art and design sector are described and evaluated in the study.

It is written in the study that there are 22 live clubs and 28 dance clubs in the *Hong-dae* area (HEDI 2004b: 55). It is mentioned that the number of live clubs increased from 14 to 22 and dance clubs from 24 to 28 during the period of the study (HEDI 2004b: 55). These clubs are divided into subgroups based on musical genres.

The live clubs include 17 rock clubs and 5 Jazz clubs. The dance clubs consist of 13 techno clubs, 5 hip-hop clubs, 6 pop/rock clubs and 4 Latin clubs (ibid). In general, the clubs are defined as "multi-cultural spaces where unique music, dance, people and communication coexist" (HEDI 2004b: 55-56):

> In general, 'clubs' are multi-cultural spaces where unique music, dance, people and communication coexist. In other words, advanced and diverse music genres in the clubs (advanced rock, techno and etc), which are leading to the latest trends, enable people to be open-minded, soothe worn-out bodies and souls and to provide them hope for life. In the clubs, there exists also dance, a body language, which connects and unites people in the world. There are clubbers, who share similar cultural sentiments and tastes and world people, who are making alternative culture by breaking out from uniform life styles. Also, the clubs are where people can exchange information, share life experiences and construct communities, where parties take place and where cultural discourses and various forms of information are generated.

Interestingly, research on the dance clubs in the *Hong-dae* area conducted by Lee from the CCA is referenced in the feasibility study such as '*The place marketing strategy and the cultural politics of space: A case study of the club cultures at the Hong-dae area in Seoul*' (Ph.D. dissertation, *Seoul National University*, 2003) and '*Place Marketing of World Cup strategic Area: case study of Hong-dae Area (Seoul Development Institute,* 2000*)*. His research and the feasibility study contain very similar expressions and terms. For example, his Ph.D. dissertation and the SDI report on the *World Cup* strategic areas which he was in charge of contain much similar explanations about the dance clubs as the feasibility study:

> Firstly, the clubs are spaces where 'music' exists. There are advanced and diverse types of music in the clubs…Secondly, the clubs are where 'dance' exists. There is dance, a body language, through which people all over the world can communicate…Thirdly, the clubs are spaces where 'people' exist. There are clubbers and ravers, who share similar cultural sentiments and tastes…Fourthly, clubs are spaces where 'conversations' exist. (Lee, M. Y. 2003: 117)

> The techno clubs are spaces where young people can satisfy their desires to spend leisure time, to be reflexive and to meet and communicate with people through music and dance with a relatively low price…In the techno clubs, there are attempts and trials to create alternative party culture and Korean style rave culture by mixing advanced techno music and Korean traditional music. Therefore, these clubs can contribute towards the promotion of a new form of performance for the digital era. (SDI 2000: 114-115)

This similarity between the feasibility study and research done by Lee indicates that the CCA was able to intervene in the feasibility study by providing knowledge about the dance clubs.

In particular, the live clubs are described as places where music producers (bands) and consumers (clubbers) can meet and enjoy various types of non-mainstream music that are less controlled by the mass media (HEDI 2004b: 56). The dance clubs are depicted as cultural spaces, where students, foreigners, cultural workers meet and communicate through dancing (HEDI 2004b: 58). Yet, the dance clubs are concerned with keeping a good control of their atmosphere. The rules regarding under age drink, bad dress code, drug and violence are heavily controlled (HEDI 2004b: 59).

The fact that the feasibility study introduces such rules is interesting. The CCA has advocated their practice in order to claim that the dance clubs concern themselves with the quality of club culture. As discussed in earlier chapters, 'quality' is regarded as a crucial characteristic of *Hong-dae* culture, although its meaning varies depending on diverse viewpoints. Particularly, the CCA has promoted the quality of club culture by claiming that they prevent the dance clubs from becoming flirting and consumption places as they have recently been criticised for being places of hedonism and indulgence[95]. Therefore, the self-regulations of the dance clubs seem to be included in the feasibility study as a result of the intervention of the CCA.

In sum, both the live and the dance clubs are regarded as multi-cultural spaces where music, dance and open communication coexist. It is particularly pointed out that people in the dance clubs are trying to keep the quality of the club spaces. However, most parts of the club section in the feasibility study are referenced from research conducted by Lee, who is an explicit supporter of the dance clubs and club culture. Therefore, the description of the clubs is much affected by the viewpoint of the Lee and the CCA.

As for the art and design sector, the feasibility study explains the small-scaled galleries as 'alternative spaces' which exhibit experimental artworks by young artists and they present new types of exhibitions mixed with performance, play, movie and music and multi-cultural spaces (HEDI 2004b: 12).

> These alternative space galleries discover and support unique, creative and talented young artists… provide infrastructure for diverse culture and arts through creating exhibition spaces…operate spaces for connecting audiences and artists… build up international network and hold various events. (ibid)

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[95] See chapter 2 for further discussion on it.

Art academies which are clustered around *Hong-ik University*, are renowned for producing successful students who enter famous art colleges throughout Korea. According to the study, there are 102 art academies, in which approximately 10,000 students are enrolled (HEDI 2004b: 73). The number of high school students who are preparing for entrance examination of art colleges is 8,000, while middle-school students for art high school amount to 200 and elementary students for art middle school, 200 (ibid). The number of teachers is about 1,000 (ibid). These art academies are regarded as providing the area with an image of a cradle for future artists and as attracting tremendous numbers of students, who may become future visitors of the area (ibid). Therefore, it is proposed that the art academies should be considered as cultural facilities, which contribute to increasing the number of visitors in the area (ibid).

Craft shops and arts markets namely *Free Market* and *Hope Market* are considered as creators of the local identity (HEDI 2004b: 75). Ateliers and studios are seen as the birth places of various genres of arts and leading artists in Korea (HEDI 2004b: 81). In particular, these ateliers and studios are emphasised as bringing about the competitiveness of the locale and furthermore the nation, which produce high value-added products (HEDI 2004b: 82):

> The unique features of these working spaces are that people in there are relatively young artists and students…These working spaces are the most important places, which have constructed the characteristic of the *Hong-dae* area and gave birth to an independent and underground culture…Considering the current tendency that a few pieces of quality movie or music produce more value-added than the heavy industry[96] does…The promotion of people who are working in these spaces will be an important basis for national competitiveness.

Among the art and design sector, small-scaled galleries, art academies, craft shops, ateliers, studios and art markets are selected as cultural facilities for the future *Hong-dae* cultural district. It is significant that private working spaces such as ateliers and studios are highly regarded as the most importance places of the local identity and further, as a resource for national competitiveness. This seems to show that the demand of the local artists, who claimed their participation in the policy project, is reflected in the feasibility study. In general, most of all the institutions and businesses under the art and design sector are highly represented in the study. It shows that the voices of *Hong-ik Art College* and people engaged in the art and design sector are well articulated in the feasibility study.

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[96] The heavy industry in Korea generally means the heavy and chemical industry.

Negotiation over Defining *Hong-dae* Culture: *Hong-dae* Culture as Multi-Culture

The term 'multi-cultural space' shows that the interests of the local actors are reflected in the feasibility study (HEDI 2004b: 17):

> The area is a multi-cultural space… The art space, quality café space, underground club culture space and cultural business working space constitute this multi-cultural space.

The local cultural workers and artists have claimed that commercial spaces such as clubs, cafés, art shops and art academies and artists working in ateliers have created the *Hong-dae* cultural scene by creating cultural events and atmosphere. They have also stressed that these places are private and profit-seeking places but at the same time provide cultural products and services for citizens. Yet, the policy of the cultural district aims to construct a cultural environment for cultural production and consumption for the public. Therefore, whether cafés, art shops and clubs can be institutionally acknowledged as constituting a cultural environment under the cultural district has become a tricky issue. The feasibility study attempts to acknowledge the contribution of such commercial places towards *Hong-dae* culture by describing them as the 'art space', 'underground culture space', 'quality café space' and 'cultural business working space'. Although the expression 'space' blurs the conventional division between commercial and cultural places, it also poses a problem as to clarify what constitutes each space.

For example, what kinds of cafés can be included as 'quality café' requires processes of defining the meaning of quality and of categorising cafés in the locale. The expression of 'quality' is often used to describe the value of *Hong-dae* culture but its meanings are diverse as people differently evaluate it. What the term 'underground club culture space' means is ambivalent as 'underground' is associated with the live clubs while 'club culture' refers to the dance clubs. The combination of these two terms seems to be intended to put the live and dance clubs together under the category of the club space.

In general, the categorisation of *Hong-dae* culture based on 'space' can be seen as the negotiation among the local actors who sought to present their working spaces as cultural spaces under the cultural district. Although they confronted each other over issues with regard to drawing the line between 'cultured' and 'cultural', they negotiated their conflict so as to represent their working spaces as 'multi-cultural spaces' by actively intervening in the feasibility study.

6.2   Administrative Plan as Substantiating 'the Cultural'

Designing an administrative plan is one of the most important process in the policy implementation of the cultural district, as it should specify detailed plans about how to administrate a planned district and to present the opinions of residents (HEDI 2004b: 216). An administrative plan should be approved by a city mayor or a governor of a province within one year after an official announcement of the policy implementation (ibid). In general, an administrative plan consists of various types of planning such as overall planning, spatial planning, administrative planning and maintenance planning (HEDI 2004b: 217). Specifically, spatial planning is basic since it divides the entire district into several quarters and marks recommended cultural facilities and businesses in each quarter (see Maps 6 & 7).

In terms of the overall boundary of the *Hong-dae* cultural district, the HEDI and the preparation committee set the boundary and the *Mapo* district office finally commissioned it (HEDI 2004b: 222). At first, there were two proposals for the boundary. One has a narrow territory and the other has a wider one (see Map 6).

(Map 6) Two Types of the Boundaries of *Hong-dae* Cultural District in Feasibility Study
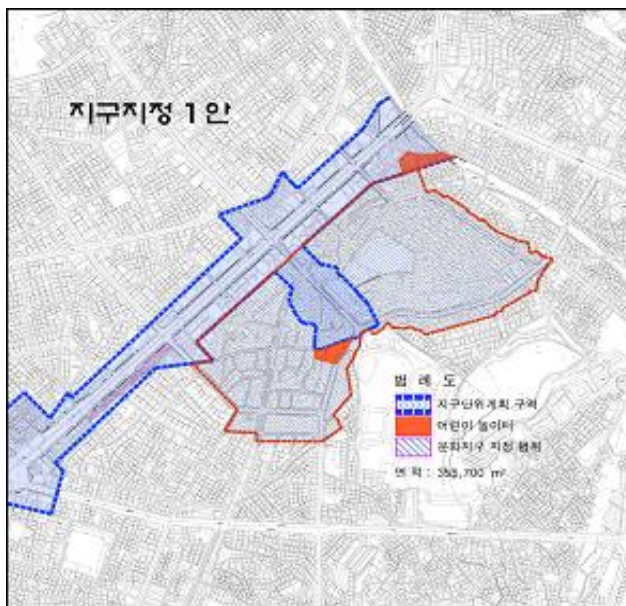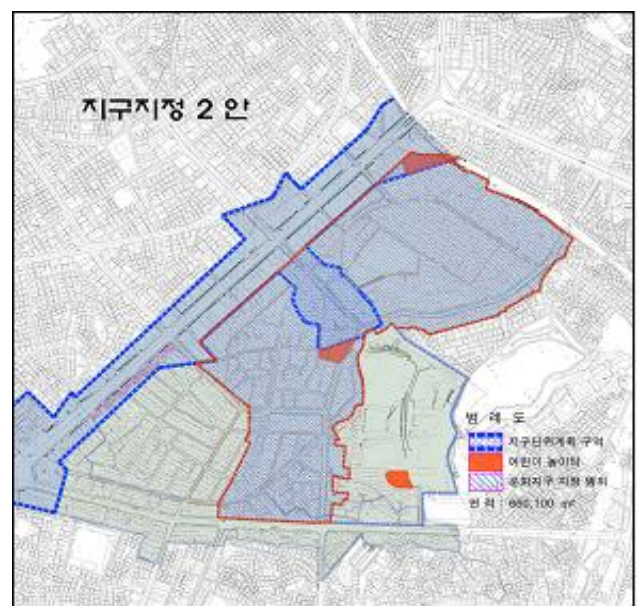
Plan 1   Plan 2

Source: HEDI 2004b, p. 223

Plan 1 is based on the effectiveness of the policy implementation and Plan 2 on the

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potential of the future *Hong-dae* cultural district (HEDI 2004b: 223). However, each plan has own limitations. For example, Plan 1 is not flexible for the future development of the area and may provoke the opposition from people in non-district areas while Plan 2 may pose a difficulty for practical administration (ibid). Yet, the preparation committee has chosen Plan 2 as the boundary of the *Hong-dae* cultural district. There is no explanation why the committee has selected Plan 2. Yet, as Plan 2 includes broader areas to be within the boundaries of the cultural district than Plan 1, the committee seemed to approach *Hong-dae* culture from a comprehensive viewpoint in order to include various places as cultural facilities under the *Hong-dae* cultural district.

(Map 7) Spatial Planning of *Hong-dae* Cultural District in Administrative Plan

Quarters under spatial planning

C1 Residential area
C2 Residential area
C2 Residential area (under 7 storage)
C3 Residential area
  Business area
  Semi-residential

범 례 도
지구단위계획 구역
제1종 일반주거지역
제2종 일반주거지역
제2종 일반주거지역 (7층이하)
제3종 일반주거지역
근린상업지역
준주거지역
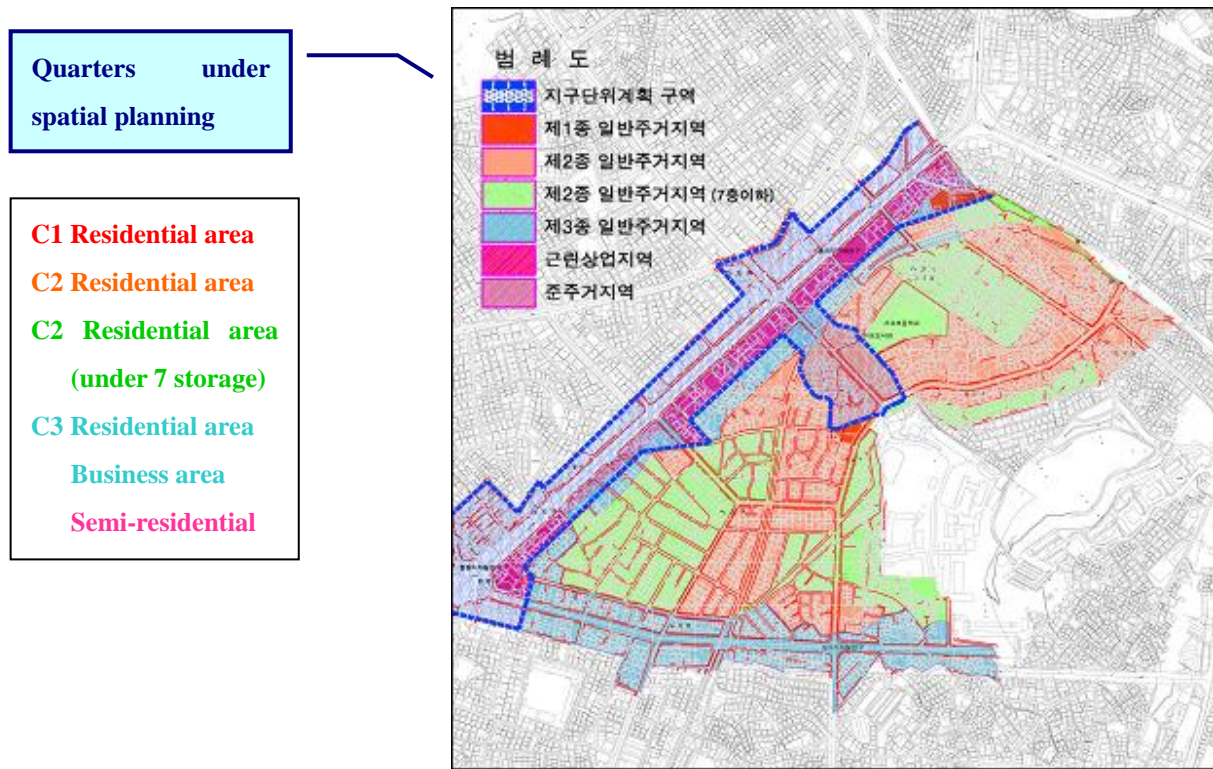
Source: HEDI 2004b, p. 2

The HEDI prepared an administrative plan which would be revised and supplemented when the policy enforcement is confirmed. The initial aim of an administrative plan is to provide planning for the physical environment as the cultural district seeks to promote culture by organising spaces (HEDI 2004b: 217). Yet, the

HEDI suggests that the administrative plan for the *Hong-dae* cultural district should seek devices for the utilisation of human resources and that it should pin down factors which retard the development of *Hong-dae* culture (ibid). Therefore, I will examine what has been particularly emphasised for the development of *Hong-dae* culture as well as the basic principles and recommended cultural facilities and businesses.

Basic Principles of *Hong-dae* Cultural District

The feasibility study writes that its outcome has mostly reflected the endogenous attempt of overcoming commercialisation processes by the local cultural workers and artists (HEDI 2004b: 219). Furthermore, it is written that the basic principles of the administration plan have been conceived in order to comprehend such efforts of the local people (see Table 6). Therefore, it seems that the voice of the HCAC among local actors is reflected more in the basic principles, as it was the HCAC which claimed for measures against the prevailing commercialisation processes in the locale.

(Table 6) Basic Principles of Administrative Plan for *Hong-dae* Cultural District

● Constructing a centre of cultural production for supporting activities related to independent culture and arts (tentatively Alternative Culture and Art Centre)
● Confirming recommended events and facilities
● Providing environmental regulations
● Supporting recommended cultural facilities and cultural businesses
● Supporting recommended cultural events and planning
● Supporting cultural facilities and events with distinctive local identities
● Providing aids for cultural environment
● Supporting culture and art organisations
● Providing tax schemes and other incentives

Source: HEDI, 2004b, p. 219

These basic principles are divided according to the following aims: (1) to support a centre of cultural production, (2) to prepare schemes for the art and design sector as a top priority, (3) to preserve independent and alternative arts streets, (4) to support events and programmes related to independent and alternative culture and arts, (5) to support indigenous culture, (6) to support the establishment of a united culture and arts organisation, (7) to conceive devices for regulating low quality drinking houses and (8) to promote a creative night culture (HEDI 2004b: 222).

These basic principles clearly show first that they are more oriented towards cultural production and producers than consumption and consumers. Generally, the local actors regarded that *Hong-dae* culture as having been developed by leading

artists, musicians and business people who created new cultural trends rather than by visitors or cultural consumers. The reason why the basic principles are heavily centred on cultural producers seems to originate from the fact that the active stakeholders of the policy project are mostly people engaged in cultural production.

Second, one of the basic principles 'to support indigenous culture' implies that the cultural district should support *Hong-dae* culture which is developed by indigenous local people. It is similar to the claim of the HCAC that the indigenous *Hong-dae* culture has deteriorated due to commercialisation processes. Indeed, the HCAC created the expression of '*Hong-dae* natives' in order to emphasise the contribution of local artists to *Hong-dae* culture and the HCAC as a group that represent them. Therefore, the basic principle 'to support indigenous culture' implies that the feasibility study acknowledges the authenticity of *Hong-dae* culture and its creators. As the HCAC has publicised its existence as a group of genuine local artists, the basic principles support the opinion of the HCAC.

Recommended Cultural Facilities for the *Hong-dae* Cultural District

Recommended cultural facilities and businesses should be selected based on the characteristics of each cultural district (HEDI 2004b: 225). The selection procedure of recommended facilities starts when operators of facilities apply for recommended facilities and the final decision of the selection should be conducted by the *Hong-dae* cultural district administrative committee (HEDI 2004b: 226, 232).

In case of the *Hong-dae* cultural district, recommended cultural facilities are selected according to the following principles: (1) facilities recommended in the *Culture and Arts Promotion Law*, (2) facilities and events that represent the image and the cultural characteristics of the *Hong-dae* area, (3) cultural facilities and events that cannot be sustained without support and (4) facilities and events that are recommended by local residents and experts (HEDI 2004b: 226).

Yet, it is highlighted in the feasibility study that recommended cultural facilities for the *Hong-dae* cultural district should be different from conventional types which are mainly institutions for cultural education and public service. It is stated that the criteria for the selection of such facilities and businesses in the *Culture and Arts Promotion Law* are not comprehensive enough to account for *Hong-dae* culture (HEDI 2004b: 10). In particular, the synergy effect created by an interaction between the commercial and the cultural is regarded as a crucial characteristic of *Hong-dae* culture (ibid):

> Currently, various cultural facilities, publishing companies, events, cultural planners and artists in studios interact each other and create

synergy, which also makes the area dynamic…there are … many cultural spaces formed by the commercial and the cultural in the area, which attract visitors.

Commercial spaces in the *Hong-dae* area, according to the study, have become unique cultural spaces due to artists who run them with the "artistic minds" (HEDI 2004b: 183). Therefore bars, cafés and clubs are not considered as places for generating profit but for accommodating exhibitions and performances. For example, a restaurant called *Hong kiwa Jip* is introduced as a place, which functions as an archive of the modern Korean and the Western gramophones, music hall and gallery (HEDI 2004b: 183). In addition, it is suggested that facilities and businesses related to 'independent arts' should be added to the criteria to select recommended cultural facilities (HEDI 2004b: 201):

> As 'independent arts' has been newly added as a new division in a 2003 yearbook of the *Arts Council Korea*, businesses facilities related to independent arts should be added to the existing category of cultural facilities.

Accordingly, the feasibility study writes that the value of *Hong-dae* culture would be damaged if it was judged upon the conventional idea that distinguishes the cultural from the commercial and that 'recommended cultural facilities' for the *Hong-dae* area should comprise: (1) galleries that exhibit crossover genres, small theatres that are used as multi-cultural places for exhibitions, performances, service facilities such as restaurants and cafés, (2) clubs (live, dance, etc) that are used as multi-cultural places accommodating music, dance and communication, (3) art academies that produce future artists and contribute to the artistic image of the locale, (4) publishing companies that construct a local cultural infrastructure, (5) craft shops (handicraft, steel ware, fashion and other sundry items) that create the unique local atmosphere, (6) studios that are used as experimental and creative places for young artists and as cultural infrastructure for the culture industry, (7) bookshops, (8) art shops, (9) music shops, (10) ceramic shops, (11) ceramic studios and (12) educational research centres (HEDI 2004b: 10, see Map 8 & Table 7).

Specifically, these facilities consist of 16 exhibition space (alternative spaces), 5 small-scale theatres, 50 clubs (live, dance and etc), 92 publishing Ltd., 219 studios, 11 bookshops (art, design, digital image, animation, architecture and etc), 102 art academies, 20 art shops and mounting stores, 7 record shops, 46 craft shops (handicraft, metal, fashion, sundries and etc), 2 ceramic shops, 5 educational facilities and other various facilities related to culture (HEDI 2004b: 10).

The criteria for the selection of recommended cultural facilities are presented

below (see Table 7).

(Table 7) Characteristics of Cultural Facilities in *Hong-dae* Area

	Alternative space	Small theatre	Studios	Art org.	Live clubs	Dance clubs	Craft Shops	Art Aca.	Record Shops	Publ.	Art Shops	Furniture	Book shops	Ceramic shops
1	●	●	X	X	X	X	△	X	X	X	●	X	X	●
2	●	●	●	△	●	●	●	△	●	●	●	●	△	△
3	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	△	△	●	△	X	△
4	●	●	●	●	X	X	△	X	X	△	△	X	X	●
5	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	△	△	△	△	△	●	●

1. Facilities recommended in the *Culture and Arts Promotion Law*
2. Facilities and events that have created a new image of the area (since 1990s)
3. Facilities that possess a representative image of *Hong-dae* area
4. Cultural facilities and events that cannot be sustained without support
5. Facilities and events recommended by the local residents and experts

●: High   △: Middle   X: Little,

Source: HEDI 2004b, p. 229

According to Table 7, facilities related to the art and design sector generally meet the criteria for recommended facilities. Live clubs and dance clubs are also highly regarded as the facilities that represent the image of the area. Yet, in general, the art and the design sector comprises the majority of the recommended cultural facilities.

(Map 8) Cultural Facilities appointed in Feasibility Study

Hong-dae cultural district

Ceramic shops 2
Ceramic ateliers 2
Galleries 16
Small theatres 5
Clubs 50
Publishing Ltd 92
Ateliers 219
Book shops 11
Art academy 102
Art (mounting) store 20
Record shops 7
Craft shops 46
Education facilities 5
Parking places
Parks 3
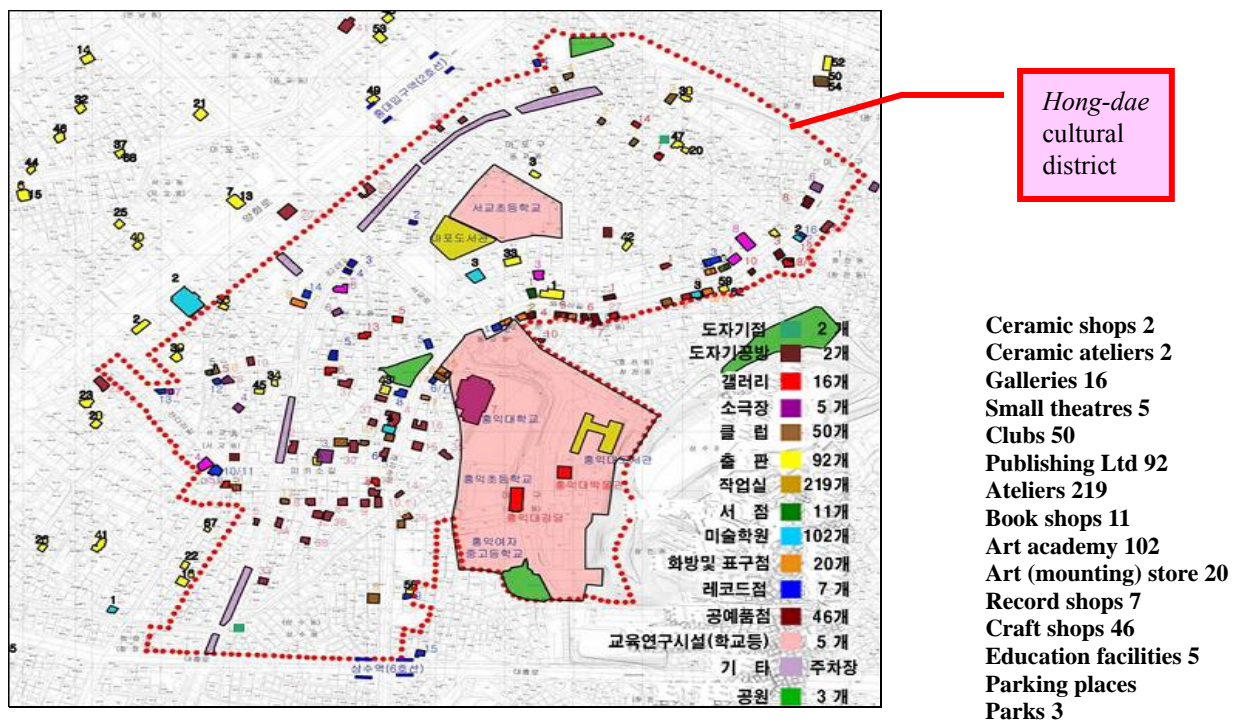
Source: HEDI, 2004b, p. 11

These recommended cultural facilities are segregated into the first and second classes (see Table 8). The first-class facilities are those which coincide with the criteria specified in the *Culture and Arts Promotion Law* and which represent the local cultural tradition but face serious financial difficulties (HEDI 2004b: 230). However, there is one exception that ateliers are regarded also as first-class, although the law does not define ateliers as cultural facilities (ibid). Generally, the first class facilities are very much art sector-oriented as the first class is composed of galleries, art shops, mounting shops, ateliers and ceramic shops.

The second-class facilities refer to places which have represented the local image since the 1990s and do not require financial support (ibid). This criterion is interesting since most of the facilities which appeared since the 1990s are clubs and cafés and they do not need financial support since they are profit-seeking businesses. Generally, it is said that art students and artists formed the *Hong-dae* area as a university area during the 1980s and the music scene led by the live clubs developed this area further into a place of independent culture in the 1990s. To a certain extent, the 1980s represents an art-oriented *Hong-dae* culture and the *Hong-dae* area during the 1990s represents an independent culture.

Another type of second class facilities is the commercial facilities which have close relations to the culture industry and are run by creative business styles (ibid). The definition of creative business styles is not provided but live clubs, record shops, ceramic ateliers, book shops, publishing companies, craft shops and certain restaurants and cafés are provided as examples of commercial facilities based on creative business styles (see Table 8). Therefore, creative business styles indicate businesses producing or selling cultural products and service including performance and exhibition.

While first-class facilities are entitled to receive direct investment from the authorities such as tax reduction, loans, refurbishment and incentive (HEDI 2004b: 234-235), second-class facilities receive indirect support such as publicity and exemption from certain legislative restriction (HEDI 2004b: 235).

(Table 8) Recommended Facilities for *Hong-dae* Cultural District

Class		Type of Business	Features
1st	Facility	Centre for cultural production	Promoting exhibition and artistic production
		Galleries	Multi-spaces for exhibition of non-mainstream culture
		Small-scale theatres	Place for performance acknowledged by *Performing Law*
		Mounting shops	-

		Ceramic shops	Production and selling of ceramics
		Ateliers	Space of artistic production
		Cultural and artistic organisation	Planning performance and events
	Activity	Fringe Festival, Street Art festival, Experiment Art Festival, Hope Market, Free Market Other events for non-profit independent arts and alternative culture	
2nd	Facility	Live clubs	Providing live music Sound and young non-mainstream culture
		Record shops	Selling various genres of music such as independent, non-mainstream and underground music
		Ceramic ateliers	Education of practical skills
		Book shops	-
		Publishing	-
		Craft shops	Production and selling of crafts
		Others	Multi-space for such as combination of restaurants and exhibition places
	Activity	Performance and art-related events Club-related legal events Other cultural events	

Source: HEDI 2004b, pp. 235-236

Table 8 shows that most of the first-class cultural facilities are mainly places for cultural production and exhibition (centre for cultural production, gallery, theatre and atelier), networking of cultural producers (centre for cultural production, cultural and artistic organisation) and the art sector (gallery, mounting shop, ceramic shop and atelier). It is also shown that the most of second-class cultural facilities are places where cultural products are sold with the exception of live clubs.

Interestingly, dance clubs are not included as second-class cultural facilities. It is stated in the feasibility study that the issue of the illegality of the dance club business makes it difficult to categorise the dance clubs as cultural facilities (HEDI 2004b:231). Instead, 'club-related legal events' are entitled as second-class 'activities'. It indicates that the dance clubs are not entirely regarded as legitimate cultural places, although the events taking place there are regarded as the cultural.

Yet, it is pointed out that whether the dance clubs can be categorised as cultural facilities or not is an important agenda for the *Hong-dae* cultural district project (ibid). It is suggested that dancing in the dance clubs should be seen as a form of cultural activity and the illegality of the dance club business should be resolved under the cultural district project (HEDI 2004b: 213):

Dancing in the clubs should be approached…as a cultural activity…A complementary provision for the dance clubs should be provided …in order to strengthen the characteristics of the *Hong-dae* area…The illegality of the dance club business, in fact, has stimulated the discourse of the cultural district…Therefore, this report expects this issue to be solved under the cultural district project.

The above excerpt shows a great similarity with the claim of the CCA, which asserts the legalisation of the dance club business and the acknowledgement of club culture as a new form of culture. It seems that the CCA has affected the selection of the issue concerning the illegality of the dance club business as an important agenda for the feasibility study.

The HEDI, however, suggests that cultural programmes and human resources should promote *Hong-dae* culture rather than cultural facilities. The HEDI also highlighted that the corresponding authorities should listen to various demands from the local artists in order to eschew damaging the intrinsic diversity of *Hong-dae* culture (HEDI 2004b: 201):

Many cultural workers in the *Hong-dae* area warn that, if particular cultural facilities are promoted or restricted based upon the viewpoint of the authorities… the cultural diversity of the area will be damaged. Therefore, the authorities should follow suggestions made by the local cultural workers and artists regarding what types of cultural facilities to be promoted and to be prohibited.

In this respect, the construction of a centre for alternative culture is highly recommended as providing working and communication spaces for the local cultural workers and artists (HEDI 2004b: 237-238). Suitable candidates for this centre are proposed as the following: cultural planners, producers and distributors engaged in underground culture; professional planners for cultural events and festivals; and individuals and groups engaged in the art and design sector (HEDI 2004b: 238).

Yet, the HEDI states that the construction of any infrastructure under policy implementation needs a cultural identity (ibid). Therefore, "art and design" is suggested as providing a distinctive identity to the *Hong-dae* cultural district (HEDI 2004b: 219). Interestingly, the role of *Hong-ik Art College* in creating such a local identity is emphasised. For example, the art college is singled out as a magnitude of artists (HEDI 2004b: 229):

Since … *Hong-ik Art College* is located within the *Hong-dae* area, it would be a great idea to create a centre… in which artists can live together. Although there might be difficulties in pursuing this project,

> providing a physical space for artists would be the most ideal and urgent task.

The appointment of the art and design sector as the main contribution towards the local cultural identity is significant, as it might lead people engaged in the art and design sector, the HCAC and *Hong-ik University*, to assume a leading role in the future *Hong-dae* cultural district.

The administrative plan in the feasibility study shows the identity and the value of *Hong-dae* culture through the appointment of the recommended cultural facilities and businesses. As plurality and fluidity that blur the distinction between the cultural and the commercial are pointed out as the uniqueness of *Hong-dae* culture, alternative spaces galleries, ateliers, various art and craft shops, art academies, live clubs, record shops and publishing companies are categorised as recommended cultural facilities for the future *Hong-dae* cultural district.

Significantly, these recommended cultural facilities demonstrate first that 'culture' is interpreted differently in the feasibility study from the provision of the cultural district. The provision defines culture as established genres of arts and heritage while culture in the feasibility study includes cultural products, service and activities. Second, the selection of recommended cultural facilities is greatly influenced by the viewpoint of cultural producers such as '*Hong-dae* people engaged in the art college' and 'local artists'. The contribution of visitors who consume cultural products in the area is underrepresented in the basic principles and the selection of recommended cultural facilities. This reflects the fact that active stakeholders of the policy project are mainly local artists who consider the development of culture as being determined by producers rather than consumers. Third, the fact that the art and design sector was appointed as the first class shows that it would take precedence over other sectors in the future *Hong-dae* cultural district. This has partly resulted from the fact that the dance clubs are not yet legally recognised as cultural places. Yet it also indicates that the voice of the HCAC and the HEDI were more influential than that of the CCA in the feasibility study.

6. 3   Feasibility Study as the Negotiated Vision of *Hong-dae* Cultural District among Local Actors

The HCAC and the CCA officially and unofficially participated in the feasibility study such as undertaking a part of the study, participating in the preparation committee, holding public hearings and forums in association with the HEDI. In so doing, they incorporated their interests into the feasibility study. The HEDI, despite its official position as a research agency, also inserted the interests of *Hong-ik University* into the feasibility study. Therefore, the feasibility study has become the negotiated vision of the future *Hong-dae* cultural district among the various local actors.

Initially, the *Space Culture Centre* (SCC) and later the CCA introduced the idea of the implementation of the cultural district in the *Hong-dae* area in order to solve the illegality of the dance club business. Once the policy project was announced, however, other local cultural workers and artists became engaged in the policy project. As the selection of recommended cultural facilities is crucial for framing the future *Hong-dae* cultural district, the feasibility study has become a battleground of competing meanings and visions of the *Hong-dae* cultural district. The local actors included their interests in the content of the feasibility research via mobilising various resources such as social network and affiliations.

For example, Cho, the first representative of the HCAC, was an advisory member for the feasibility study. He is an alumnus of *Hong-ik University* and an explicit supporter of art. He also maintains a very close network with professors in *Hong-ik Art College*. His affiliation and network were useful for the cooperation with the HEDI. As shown in the previous chapter, the HCAC and the HEDI held public hearings together. On the other hand, Choi, the representative of the CCA, was a member of the preparation committee. Lee from the CCA participated in writing the section for the dance clubs (interview 2004). Furthermore, as shown earlier, his research on the dance clubs and club culture is referenced in the feasibility study.

The HCAC and the CCA had conflicts over categorising the dance clubs as cultural places. The HEDI asserted the leading role of the art sector in the *Hong*-dae culture. The local actors were aware of others' criticism of them. For example, the HCAC members knew that the CCA criticised them for being exclusive and arts-oriented. The CCA members knew that the HCAC disapproved of the dance clubs for bringing in a consumption-oriented culture and dominating the local cultural scene. The HEDI knew that some people criticised it for favouring the art sector. Therefore, as examined the preceding sections, the HCAC emphasised a multi-cultural and alternative aspect of arts. The CCA highlighted the quality of the dance clubs and their

contribution towards the local economy. The HEDI included the legalisation of the dance club business as a crucial issue of the cultural district in the feasibility study. They cooperated to define *Hong-dae* culture as 'multi-culture' composed of an 'art space', an 'underground club space', a 'culture business space' and a 'quality café space' in the feasibility study. The claims of each actor are all incorporated into the feasibility study. The term 'multi-culture' can be seen as the negotiation among the local actors who wanted to ensure their working spaces and businesses would be recommended as cultural facilities and businesses.

Other claims of the local actors are also shown in the feasibility study. For example, the participation of local artists in policy implementation is regarded as a vital condition to keep the intrinsic diversity of *Hong-dae* culture (HEDI 2004b: 201). This is one of the main demands of the HCAC that the cultural district should foster cultural production and support artists. The legislative revision is a main claim of the CCA. The feasibility study writes that commercial spaces in the *Hong-dae* area have become unique cultural spaces and bars, cafés and clubs serve as locations for exhibitions and performances. On the other hand, the feasibility study puts that the art and design sector is a distinctive local identity and *Hong-ik Art College* is a pivot of alternative spaces. This reflects the interest of *Hong-ik Art College*.

In all, the feasibility study shows that the local actors negotiated to define *Hong-dae* culture comprehensively instead of singling out certain sectors and also that they intervened in the selection of recommended cultural facilities and businesses in order to legitimise their working spaces and businesses as 'cultural'. The provision of the cultural district, however, narrowly defines culture as heritage and artistic genres. Therefore, the local actors ultimately challenged the existing institutional definition of culture and demanded its amendment so as to revise it.

6.4   Concluding Remarks

This chapter has examined the feasibility study as the negotiation among the local actors over defining *Hong-dae* culture and envisioning the future *Hong-dae* cultural district. As Long (1996) asserts that an actor-oriented approach in the examination of a policy project is effective to explicate the state of multiple realities, the analysis of the feasibility study with a focus on actor has significantly illustrated the multiple realities of the local actors reflected in the feasibility study.

The claims and arguments of the local actors, which have been examined in previous chapters, to a varying degree, shaped the feasibility study. This is significant as the study outcome will determine the allocation of various resources in the area, which will consequently change the local social relations and landscape. In other words, the negotiated meaning of 'the cultural' will be substantiated into the forms of recommended cultural facilities and businesses in the *Hong-dae* area.

The intervention of the local actors in the feasibility study demonstrates that meaning-making ability such as creating new knowledge and information on and future visions of *Hong-dae* culture can lead to the attainment of more resources and opportunities in the policy project. Therefore, I have shown in this chapter that cultural meanings are institutionalised not only by governmental apparatuses but also by the interests of citizens who actively participate in meaning-making processes.

My examination of the feasibility study also pays attention to significant influence of symbolic analysts such as policy planners and academics in the implementation processes of a cultural policy project. It is difficult for them to maintain a neutral position in a policy project. For example, the HEDI (*Hong-ik Environmental Development Institution*) resembles more of an interest group than an 'observer' in its self-description. The HEDI represented the interest of the university and supported the HCAC (*Hong-dae Culture and Arts Cooperation*) as it had a close relationship with people engaged in the art and design sector. On the other hand, the fact that Lee was a member of the CCA (*Club Culture Association*) and also a researcher at the SDI (*Seoul Development Institute*) affected the representation of the dance clubs in the feasibility study.

As a cultural policy project is implemented concomitantly with the promotion of a set of meanings which foster or forbid particular values, academic consultants and experts tend to support certain values through providing particular knowledge and information relevant to a policy project.

Chapter 7

Negotiation in the Arena of Cultural Politics II : Policy Postponement & Emergence of a New Local Cultural Elite Group

> We plan to accomplish further research on club culture and seek appropriate schemes for the *Hong-dae* area…We have decided not to rush the implementation of the *Hong-dae* cultural district and will have thorough discusses on the project. (An official from Seoul city, written interview 2005)

> We don't need to just follow the *Hong-dae* culture during the 1990s which the father generation created. There is a great need to create a new generation *Hong-dae* culture through our own language and expressions. (minutes of a seminar *Hong-dae Culture Academy* (HCA), Internet homepage of HCA 2006, cited in 2006)

In December 2004, the feasibility study presented a positive review about the *Hong-dae* cultural district project but the district and city governments did not start implementing the cultural district in the *Hong-dae* area. In October 2005, an official from the city government said that there would be another research project on club culture and the *Hong-dae* area and the policy project would be postponed until the research was completed (email correspondence 2005). Why has, then, the policy project been postponed despite the positive review of the feasibility study? Why was another study of club culture and the *Hong-dae* area needed?

Later, in January 2006, the representative of the HCAC launched a new organisation called the *Hong-dae Culture Academy* (HCA) sponsored by the city government. What is the relationship between the emergence of the HCA and the policy postponement? How can all these incidents be interpreted in relation to the *Hong-dae* cultural district project?

This chapter aims to elucidate the extent to which the policy postponement and the establishment of the HCA was the outcome of the negotiation among the

actors over the *Hong-dae* cultural district project. Specifically, the policy postponement is, on the one hand, the negotiation among the authorities over determining the efficacy of the policy implementation. On the other hand, it is the negotiation between the local actors and the authorities over the extent to which the feasibility, which is a negotiated vision of the local actors, can be substantiated in the policy implementation. The HCA can be regarded as the outcome of negotiation among the local actors, particularly cultural intermediaries who have emerged as the local cultural elites while dealing with the policy project.

While the outcome of the feasibility study was the negotiation over re-defining the meaning of *Hong-dae* culture, the policy postponement and the establishment of the HCA can be seen as the negotiation over who will re-construct the redefined *Hong-dae* culture in which ways.

7.1   Postponement of the Policy Project as Negotiation

What made the corresponding authorities postpone the policy project? Does the policy postponement point towards a sidetracking or a failure of the policy project? In this section, I look at the policy postponement first as negotiation among the corresponding authorities such as the city government and the district office which have not consented to how to substantiate the future *Hong-dae* cultural district. Secondly, I approach it as negotiation between the authorities who regarded the policy postponement as minimising a risk of policy failure and the local actors who saw the policy postponement as a temporary solution to minimise conflicts in the locale.

Policy Postponement as Negotiation among Authorities

Yim, an expert on cultural policy, points out that individual officials play an important role in policy execution processes since decisions made by officials, who carry both organisational and personal expertise, could affect the whole procedure of a policy project (interview 2006). In this respect, rather than looking at the corresponding authorities as a unitary actor, I approach the officials responsible for the *Hong-dae* cultural district as heterogeneous actors having different affiliations, who could also confront each other under the policy project.

There are three different governmental authorities which are involved in the *Hong-dae* cultural district. First of all, the *Mapo* district office is responsible for the preparation and the administration of the future *Hong-dae* cultural district. Yet, the city government has to approve policy execution. The *Ministry of Culture and Tourism* (MCT) commissioned the designation of the policy itself. They may hold different attitudes towards budget, consultation with other bodies and objectives of the policy project. For example, Choi, the representative of the CCA said he felt that the *Hong-dae* cultural district project became more complicated than he expected, since officials from various affiliations such as the *Mapo* district office, the city government, the *Ministry of Culture and Tourism* (MCT) and the *Ministry of Health and Welfare* (MOHW) were involved in the issue of the illegality of the dance club business (interview 2004).

Although I did not have a chance to observe how officials cooperated in the *Hong-dae* cultural district project, some informants said that they felt a difference in the motivations and initiatives in the *Hong-dae* cultural district project between the district office and the city government. For example, Choi, the representative of the CCA said that the mutual understanding about the legalisation of the dance club business between the former mayor and the CCA became weakened, when the mayor

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was changed to the current one[97]. According to Choi, the current mayor placed much emphasis on legality in municipal administration, which made it difficult for the CCA to negotiate over the legalisation of the dance club business under the cultural district project. For example, Koh who was the mayor between 1998 and 2002 acknowledged the dance clubs as cultural places and proposed the legalisation of the dance club business to the MOHW when Choi submitted several petitions to him regarding the issue.

> Despite the illegality of the dance club business, we have also acknowledged that the dance clubs in the *Hong-dae* area have received social recognition as cultural places for young people, as Mr. Choi explained to us. Therefore, we suggested the revision of the *Food and Hygiene Law* to the *Ministry of Health and Welfare* in the last July. (Answer to the petition of Choi 16 April 2002, cited from CCA 2004: 75)

Yet, as examined earlier, Lee (Lee, M. B.) who was the mayor between 2002 and 2006 condemned the clubs in the *Hong-dae* area as asocial and immoral places and ordered the police to control the illegal business of the clubs. Choi saw that the change in mayorship brought confusion to officials at the district office who were working at the execution level and had to receive approval of the city government in the execution of a cultural district in the *Hong-dae* area.

There was speculation among some informants that the district office was willing to enforce the cultural district in order to attain more achievements while the city government shifted the policy project to the next term. In fact, according to my observation, the city government undertook and showed more interest in other grand cultural projects such as the restoration of national heritage, the construction of a concert hall and the conservation of city environment, which were generally prompt at generating tangible results. A HCAC member who was organising a festival in association with the city government, however, said that the cultural administration of the city government in general was favourable to cultural workers as the government aimed to improve cultural spaces and cultural programmes (interview 2006). On the other hand, the *Cultural Action* (CA) accused cultural projects of the city government, such as the conservation of environment and the cultural district project, of capitalising on culture driven by economic imperatives.

These various impressions of the authorities indicate that they are not a unitary actor and they may deal with cultural administration from different municipal principles and priorities. For example, the city government tends to approach the *Hong-dae* area based on a grand plan of the incorporation of the cultural and

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[97] At that time of the interview, the mayor was Lee, M. B. (2002 - 2006).

industrial zonings of Seoul under the notion of a world city. Yet, the district office is more focused on the promotion of the local economy by actively utilising art markets, festivals and events and artists and cultural workers in the *Hong-dae* area. Therefore, the city government may pay more attention to the incorporation of various policies and schemes at broader levels while the district office may draw more attention to the opinions of local residents, business people and artists and cultural workers.

A gap between cultural policy makers, such as research agencies affiliated to the MCT and the city government, namely the *Korea Culture and Tourism Policy Institute* (KCTPI) formerly *Korea Culture Policy Institute* (KCPI) and the *Seoul Development Institute* (SDI) and policy executives such as officials working in the district office should be also accounted for understanding what the policy postponement indicates. Specifically, there exists a gap between policy makers and policy executives concerning the ways to approach the cultural district and to interpret cultural resources in localities.

Policy makers adopt the most updated global trends into cultural policy. For example, a cultural vision, 'C-Korea 2010' provided by the MCT employs marketing and business language such as 'blue ocean strategy', 'brand power' and 'cultural technology' (MCT 2005c). There is also a report by KCTPI, "Study on promotion of cultural city" produced in 2004 and a Seoul municipal vision "Vision Seoul 2006" presented in 2002, in which the terms of 'cultural city' and 'creative people' appeared. They, particularly "Study on promotion of cultural city", are greatly influenced by Florida's 'Creative Class', which was published in 2002. In this book, Florida argues the importance of a creative class who possess talent or human capital to develop high-technology industries and regional economies. He argues that these people gather in places where the level of diversity is high and cultural amenities and nightlife are rich. Further, he suggests that the concentration of the creative class should lead to the development of regional economies and therefore cites should provide diversity and rich cultural life.

Florida's assertion of the development of urban amenities and cultural diversity for regional economies has significantly affected cultural policy making. Yet, his idea has also been much criticised for supporting gentrification and socio-spatial inequality and repackaging economic competitions with languages of cultural policy. In fact, the adaptation of Florida's ideas into cultural policy leads one to reflect upon the role of cultural policy, whether it is socio-democratic policy for citizens or it is marketing for costumers and consumers.

Cultural policy makers from the KCPTI and the Seoul city adopted Florida's idea that the construction of cultural cities will bring about the development of regional economies in order to fortify the position of cultural policy within city and

state administration. Yet, the employment of marketing terms and the changed authorities' role from administrator to entrepreneur seems to cause confusion between policy makers and policy executives. Particularly, new concepts and expressions with marketing terms are not fully translated into concrete actions in cultural administration at the local government level.

For example, there was a discrepancy in the interpretation of a 'creative urban environment' of the *Hong-dae* area. The *Hong-dae* area is introduced as a creative place to attract visitors and knowledge-based industry workers in the municipal visions of the district office. However, the representative of *Free Market*, criticised that the district office did not acknowledge *Free Market* as a culturally valuable event, as district officials dissolved the market place several times and accused the market of disturbing public order (campaigning flyer of *Free Market* 2004). Cho, the first representative of the HCAC said that he was discouraged whenever he had to explain *Hong-dae* culture to officials in the district office, who knew very little about it (interview 2005).

These examples indicate that a new trend in cultural policy, which accounts for urban vibrancy as a prime resource for city development is not fully applied in local cultural administration. Furthermore, they, to a certain extent, explain that the policy postponement resulted from incongruity among the corresponding officials concerning how the notion of a creative urban environment is to be interpreted and how the *Hong-dae* cultural district should be established and run. In addition, entangled legal issues related to the *Hong-dae* cultural district seem to lead the district and city governments to look to other cultural projects, which would be more manageable to implement and to generate desired outcomes. The feasibility study provided by the HEDI requires intricate legislative revision and a substantial sum of money which the authorities did not intend to handle and provide or were unable to undertake.

The postponement of the *Hong-dae* cultural district project can be interpreted as temporary negotiation among the authorities who have to find common agendas and procedures for policy implementation and avoid a policy failure.

Policy Postponement as Negotiation between the Authorities and the Local Actors

The corresponding authorities could not take all the suggestions in the feasibility study. Specifically, suggestions regarding the revision of the policy provision and the legalisation of the dance club business were not utilised as they required the complicated process of legal revision in cooperation with the *Ministry of*

Culture and Tourism (MCT) and the *Ministry of Health and Welfare* (MOHW).

The MOHW was not willing to revise the *Foods and Hygiene Law* for the legalisation of the dance club business out of fairness to other service businesses.

> The Ministry showed a great difficulty in the revision as it is unfair to other service businesses… Therefore, the legalisation of the dance club business should be openly discussed when the consensus on this issue is achieved among local residents and the general public. (Answer of a Mayor of Seoul to the petition of Choi 16 April 2002, cited from CCA 2004: 75)

The excerpt above illustrates that the legalisation of the dance club business is a difficult issue for the city government to handle. Revision of laws requires cooperation with other governmental bodies and much time for policy implementation. As the mayorship and district headship last five years, the city and district authorities tend to attain quick achievements during the term.

In fact, a corresponding official from the city government said that the amendment of the policy provision and the related laws was a very complicated issue, which required a separate project (email correspondence October 2005):

> The basic principle of the city is to develop further the cultural characteristics of the *Hong-dae* area, such as a underground, independent and alternative culture, the concentration of galleries, art shops and cultural events, club culture made by young people and a university culture, into a famous cultural place. For that, we commissioned the feasibility study. But we've decided to postpone the project for the time being due to the illegality of the dance club business and the issue of the protection of private property. Instead, we are planning to improve the space around the university such as improving the fences around the university. Also we plan to conduct more thorough research on the clubs and on conceiving practical schemes for the *Hong-dae* cultural district …We approach the *Hong-dae* cultural district based on a long-term perspective and we would not enforce it in haste.

The excerpt above indicates that instead of the immediate implementation, the city government tried to implement other schemes to the locale, which were less complex than legislative revision.

In 2006, an official from the *Mapo* district office also commented that the authorities put the policy project into abeyance due to 'complicated issues' despite the importance of *Hong-dae* culture (telephone inquiry, March 2006):

> Nothing has been supplemented since the feasibility study was completed. We are aware of the importance of *Hong-dae* culture. But there are so many complicated issues. Therefore we try to deal with the policy project very prudently… in fact, corresponding officials in charge of it are all changed and we haven't received any resources about the project.

The official did not specify what the complicated issues were. Yet, it is likely that he was referring to the legalisation of the dance club business and the revision of the policy provision as the corresponding authorities have constantly pointed out these issues as hard tasks to tackle. Also, the change in corresponding officials within the district office and the lack of information on the policy project indicate that the district office had difficulty in pushing ahead with the policy project.

The remarks of the city and district officials indicate that the corresponding authorities were not willing to implement the cultural district according to the feasibility study. The officials pointed out that the policy implementation was complicated and there should be further research on *Hong-dae* culture including club culture. It seems that they found it difficult to accept all the suggestions and demands in the feasibility study such as the revision of the legal issues, the construction of a huge cultural centre and the provision of working spaces for artists. Indeed, some experts on public cultural policy point out that demands of artists that require financial support and working space for individual cultural production often fail to appeal to public cultural policy, of which rationale should hinge upon the pursuit of public good (Lee interview 2005; Ra interview 2005; Yim interview 2006).

The indefinite policy postponement might be seen as a failure or a sidetracking. Rather than looking at the policy postponement as a failure, however, I approach it as negotiation between the local actors and the corresponding authorities about how to substantiate 'the cultural' in the future *Hong-dae* cultural district.

Although the feasibility study presented a comprehensive viewpoint towards *Hong-dae* culture and included galleries, art shops, art academies, cafés and clubs as recommendable cultural facilities, all the local actors were not satisfied with the result of the feasibility study and some of them lost interest in the policy project. For example, Lee from the CCA expressed that the outcome of the feasibility study should have been more thorough and substantial (interview 2005). He commented that the policy implementation, without the achievement of the legalisation of the dance club business, would not succeed. Therefore, he seems to be dissatisfied with the outcome of the feasibility study as the dance clubs were not categorised as cultural facilities and the issue of how to solve the legalisation of dance clubs was not substantially discussed. On the other hand, expectations towards the policy implementation among the HCAC members declined significantly. For example, a member of the HCAC said

that people lost their interest in the policy project when the *Theater Zero* issue was solved in 2004 (interview 2006). A few HCAC members told me that most of the local cultural workers and artists were not interested in the outcome of the feasibility study (interview 2005, 2006).

There is, however, a limitation to account for the number of people who knew the result of the feasibility study since it was not presented in public channels such as the media, the Internet and public hearings[98]. Therefore, an examination of various responses towards the outcome of the feasibility study was difficult. Yet, some informants who are mostly the leading members of the HCAC and the CCA, commented on the outcome of the study. They agreed to the suggestion in the feasibility study that the policy provisions and the related laws should be amended in order to allow a diverse range of cultural activities. However, they pointed out that it was not substantial enough to contain the various aspects of *Hong-dae* culture.

In general, it seems that the local actors came to be less enthusiastic about the policy project. The HCAC members were not able to present a common vision of the *Hong-dae* cultural district and the activity of the HCAC became sluggish. The CCA attempted to legalise the dance club business through the cultural district project but it was not able to take initiatives in the policy project. Eventually, the HCAC and the CCA came to realise that a hasty implementation of the policy without a local consensus on how to envision the *Hong-dae* cultural district would not bring about benefit to the locale. Therefore, they became doubtful about an immediate policy execution and proposed a more thorough and comprehensive discussion about how to develop the local culture.

For example, a local cultural intermediary urged a more thorough and collective discussion about the policy project (minutes of forum for *Hong-dae* cultural district 2 July 2004 from CA Internet homepage 2004, cited in 2006)[99]:

> We need various kinds of workshops for collecting various voices from the area. There are 400 live bands, artists belonging to *Hope Market* and *Free Market*, members of *Fringe Festival*, VJs and DJs, studios and cafés…I think what is most needed is a system for discussion for the local culture. Personally, I don't see the institutionalisation or the restriction of certain activities as necessary…If there is no process of dialogue, discussion and research for the area, the cultural district will be a poison for *Hong-dae* people and independent/alternative culture.

Similarly, Lee from the CCA said that a discussion about the promotion of the local culture on a full scale rather than a hasty policy implementation would be better

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[98] I was not able to find any information about the result of the feasibility study on the Internet and in the mass media. Yet, I was able to obtain the entire result through an informant in the HCAC.
[99] Reported in the Internet homepage of the *Cultural Action* (CA) on 8 July 2004.

for the area in the long-run (interview 2004). He added that the definition of independent culture would be crucial for the construction of the future *Hong-dae* cultural district, which was not yet, according to his opinion, fully discussed in the feasibility study.

A member from the HCAC was opined that the policy was unlikely to be implemented since the corresponding officials in the district office were changed, which showed, according to him, an inconsistent attitude of the authorities towards the policy project (interview 2006). The authorities, he continues, would not like to undertake any project without a consensus from local people. He further criticised the HCAC for failing to conceive common interests for its members and the locality:

> I'm critical towards the HCAC. I personally think that the members are more concerned with their own businesses rather than the improvement of the *Hong-dae* area. I don't see any point of growing dominance in the area by organising a group. Rather, I value more that we, as individuals, should do our best for own affairs.

Additionally, he expressed that the enforcement of the cultural district was unrealisable:

> Basically, I don't agree to the principle of the cultural district. Cultures are something to emerge and disappear. I don't see any point of keeping and preserving certain cultural forms. And the asset price of the *Hong-dae* area is astonishingly high and people are complaining that they can't stay here anymore. Then, how can the cultural district improve this situation? Do the district and city governments have enough money to purchase these expensive lands here? I'm concerned whether we can conceive realisable policy schemes.

These voices from the HCAC reflect that there was no consensus on the policy project although the feasibility study was completed.

Instead of asserting an immediate policy implementation, people started talking about communication and cooperation among the local artists and cultural workers for the development of *Hong-dae* culture. Some leading members of the HCAC said that they would continue their own businesses regardless of the policy implementation. For example, Cho said that he was establishing a new organisation with local proprietors, which aimed to regenerate shabby lanes and buildings in the area (interview 2005). On the other hand, the corresponding authorities from the district and city government postponed the policy implementation by proposing more thorough research on *Hong-dae* culture.

In this respect, the policy postponement can be seen as negotiation between

the authorities and the local actors. The authorities were not willing to deal with complicated legal issues suggested in the feasibility study and wanted to minimise a risk of policy failure. The local actors realised that a hasty policy implementation would bring about more conflicts in the locale and they started looking for the way that they could develop the local culture without the help of the policy project. In addition, they did not have concrete ideas about how to make the future *Hong-dae* cultural district and therefore were not able to take a leading role in the policy project.

The policy postponement is temporary as the project might be significantly re-directed depending on the initiatives of the authorities and local demands. As Long (1996) suggests that a planned intervention should entail on-going processes of transformation, the policy postponement can be located within on-going processes of social change. Both the authorities and the local actors acknowledged that the definition of culture in the policy provision was too narrow to apply to the *Hong-dae* case and they agreed to have more public discussions and research on *Hong-dae* culture and legal revision.

The policy postponement would enable the local actors to come up with the mediated ideas of *Hong-dae* culture which will frame the *Hong-dae* cultural district. Subsequently, they may bring about changes in the institutional meaning of 'the cultural' and the construction of a cultural environment in city spaces. In this respect, the policy postponement is not a failure of policy implementation but a new condition for further negotiation of the meaning of 'the cultural' and the construction of a 'cultural place'.

7.2   Establishment of *Hong-dae Culture Academy* (HCA) as Re-configuration of Local Cultural Elites

Since the policy project was announced in 2003, the local cultural workers and artists have mobilised their networks and established their own groups in order to take part in the policy project. Throughout these experiences, the local social relations changed. First of all, the establishment of the HCAC and the CCA made the position of cultural intermediaries stronger than that of individual artists who were not interested in or incapable of organising collective actions and participating in the policy project. Secondly, the policy project provided an occasion for various ideas about the *Hong-dae* culture among the local cultural workers and artists were exposed. This has led not only to conflicts but also re-configuration among these people. The *Hong-dae Culture and Arts Cooperation* (HCAC) and the *Club Culture Association* (CCA) represent the local 'conflict' which resulted from the policy project. Yet, this section examines the local 'negotiation' resulted from the policy project particularly in terms of the local social relation.

Establishment of *Hong-dae Culture Academy* (HCA)

As a new type of governance that seeks the incorporation of the private and the public in municipal administration, the *Seoul Cultural Foundation* (SCF), an umbrella organisation of the city government, sponsored the launch of the *Hong-dae Culture Academy* (HCA) in January 2006. The HCA is a part of the project for promoting *Hong-dae* culture initiated by the city government. The HCAC organised the project team for the HCA (HCA Internet homepage cited in 2006). According to interview data, the HCA received a significant amount of money from the city government for operating its programmes (a HCAC member interview 2006). The first representative of the HCA is Kim who was a founding member of the HCAC and became the second representative of the HCAC. He runs a live café called *Pang* in the *Hong-dae* area and is a representative of the *Live Club Union* (LCU) and also a representative of *Free Market*.

The aim of the HCA is to provide a channel of communication among the local cultural workers and a forum for the discussion of the local culture (HCA Internet homepage cited in 2006). Therefore, the HCA mainly offers lectures and seminars to discuss the local culture and also provides workshops and courses such as business management and other skills such as marketing and PR. The HCA started organising official lectures since February 2006. For example, the programmes of the lectures and seminars for early 2006 are, 'Looking at *Hong-dae* from inside and

outside - listen to the present *Hong-dae* culture from insiders and experts', 'Project for the local culture community – Looking for the prospect of the local culture', 'Making processes and relations – Aims and know-how of high quality festivals', 'Meet local communities through the culture and arts education programmes', 'Special lectures for examining the energy of *Hong-dae* culture, and 'Practical guides for local cultural workers and planners – basic theory of PR and practical issues (ibid).

The speakers for the seminars in early 2006 were composed of several cultural intermediaries from cultural organisations, a representative of a performing art troupe, a researcher from the *Korea Culture and Tourism Policy Institute* (KCTPI), a representative of the HCAC, a representative of the CCA, a professor from *Hong-ik Art College*, a representative of an independent music label, a design critic, a cultural festival programmer, a music critic and an editor of a design magazine. In general, the guest speakers were affiliated to various organisations and virtually no individual artist or musician was invited for a talk. Many of them were also the HCAC members who ran cultural event and festival companies. Those who were not the HCAC members are generally academics and cultural intermediaries engaged in festival and cultural event-making.

New Attitudes towards *Hong-dae* Culture

The launch of the HCA is significant since it signals several changes in the locale. First of all, the CCA and the HCAC started communicating with each other through the HCA. Choi was invited as an expert to discuss how to re-define independent culture and how to construct a new cultural and economic system for the locale. Choi emphasised that an independent and underground culture should be re-defined in the period of the information society. Otherwise, he continued, the creation of something out of *Hong-dae* culture would be a difficult task (minutes of HCA seminar, HCA Internet homepage, cited in 2006):

> In the period of the information society, we should re-interpret an independent and underground culture… Maybe this kind of approach is different from the position of the first *Hong-dae* generation, particularly regarding how to connect culture and market and how to construct a cultural infrastructure… I see that *Hong-dae* can remain as a space where something happens but not in the way that it used to be. We should think about what we should create in new situations and conditions. I'm now trying to find a new format of club performance.

Choi claimed that *Hong-dae* culture which the first *Hong-dae* generation created in the 1990s should be transformed to fit changing economic and cultural environments.

His argument is basically similar to the claim which he used to present for the *Hong-dae* cultural district. At that time, the HCAC was critical of his idea, particularly concerning the transformation of the *Hong-da*e culture.

Yet, Kim, the representative of the HCAC replied that independent musicians should seek to break through stagnation. Moreover, he said that the live clubs should learn from systematic schemes and programmes of the CCA. Interestingly, Choi also said that the criticism that the dance clubs underestimated the contribution of people towards club culture was right. He continued that people rather than places created a cultural scene.

> I'm thinking about the position and activities of the live clubs in the *Hong-dae* area. Independent musicians can find few outlets for the future… We didn't have a bad relationship with *Club Day*[100] before. On the contrary, in 2002, we wanted to learn from *Club Day*. We were thinking about how we could produce something like *Club Day*. (Kim, minutes of HCA seminar, HCA Internet homepage, cited in 2006)

> Generally, *Hong-dae* culture does not provide good facilities as other performance places can do. Therefore, people come to the *Hong-dae* area due to the emotional relationship with the area (rather than for good facilities). They find something from the clubs by themselves through feeling the atmosphere. Yes, people are the interior of the clubs. People and the atmosphere together create synergy. I think that the criticism towards *Club Day*, to a certain extent, was right. (Choi, minutes of HCA seminar, HCA Internet homepage, cited in 2006)

It seems that there emerged a mutual agreement between the HCAC and the CCA on the production of a collective discourse on *Hong-dae* culture after the experience of the cultural district project.

> There was lack of experience and recognition on how to let the inner energy of *Hong-dae* people communicate with people outside and how to construct new relationship with them. It was always observed that people say, "it's not *Hong-dae* style". It could be free and idiosyncratic way of thinking but in another aspect it is narrow-mindedness. I think that the experience of the *Theater Zero* incident and the cultural district project awakened us. (Kim, representative of the HCAC, HCA Internet homepage cited in 2006)

The above remarks by Kim show that the HCAC attempted to re-construct *Hong-dae* culture by reflecting several concepts which were keywords of *Hong-dae* culture. Kim criticised '*Hong-dae* style' for lacking the ability to communicate with other people. It

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[100] An event organised by the CCA.

is a significant change since the HCAC used to assert the originality of *Hong-dae* culture. In fact, this reflects also the change in the membership of the HCAC. The emergence of the cooperative mode between Choi and Kim indicates a shift in the power relations within the HCAC. Many of the founding members of the HCAC engaged in the art and design sector, particularly curators and gallery managers, did not participate in activities of the HCA. Instead, cultural intermediaries and external experts gave lectures and talks.

This is partly due to the fact that the first *Hong-dae* generation did not actively take part in either the HCAC or the HCA. In general, the first *Hong-dae* generation worked in the art and design sector or they were individual artists. It seems that these people do not need as dense social networks as cultural intermediaries working for cultural events and festivals. The art and design sector seems to have its own markets and established networks. In addition, some HCAC members said that individual artists were not interested in collective activities such as the establishment of new groups and the organisation of forums and seminars.

The reduced position of the first *Hong-dae* generation within the HCAC and the HCA has mostly resulted from that the influence of cultural intermediaries intensified in the course of participating in the cultural district project. The cultural intermediaries in the HCAC are generally younger than the first *Hong-dae* generation and started working in the area relatively recently such as since the 1990s or the 2000s. They have experience in social and cultural movements in working with other organisations such as NGOs and the authorities. For example, Kim, Ryu and Lee went to universities during the 1990s and are all founding members of the HCAC, engaged in cultural intermediary work and attended the seminars by the HCA. Kim, the representative of the HCAC worked for the live club movement in the 1990s, Lee who represents *Fringe Festival* works for local festivals in association with local city governments and Ryu takes part in *Hi Seoul Festival* by providing cultural programmes. In general, these people claimed ability to create cultural trends and new demands and to think in a consumer-oriented attitude to provide service.

> People should change themselves according to changing circumstances. Now, the problem is that people are left behind regressing from the social flows. (Kim, representative of the HCAC, HCA Internet homepage cited in 2006)
> I think cultural planners are people who mix the energy of local arts and cultures … Possessing the cultural energy is very important. The 20th century mixing style is to just display cultural resources. But the 21st century mixing is to order various cultural resources and transform them into various sounds and bits. (Ryu, a HCAC member and the representative of a cultural event and festival company, HCA Internet homepage cited in 2006)

There were some moments when fantasies and myths became important factors by which to judge *Hong-dae* culture. They existed not for self-reflection but for questioning how *Hong-dae* culture should be shown to others and how it should be consumed. People engaged in *Hong-dae* culture should deny such fantasies and myths… If people who created *Hong-dae* culture for the first time made the memory of *Hong-dae* culture, it cannot be a right answer for now…We are now standing in between the demand from the first *Hong-dae* generation and the demand from the outer world. (Lee, a director of art-management company and a representative of *Fringe Festival*, HCA Internet homepage cited in 2006)

The excerpts above illustrate that Kim, Ryu and Lee asserted the transformation of *Hong-dae* culture which the first *Hong-dae* generation cultivated for the sake of survival in a changing environment. Therefore, their claim also applies to the generation change in the *Hong-dae* area.

Cho, the ex-representative of the HCAC represented the first generation but he resigned from the position and did not want to work for the HCAC anymore. Although he was reluctant to speak about why he left the HCAC, during the interview with him, he said that he wanted to be 'conducting culture' rather than 'talking culture' (2006). As he often mentioned that *Hong-dae* people should create something rather than politicising it, he seemed to be dissatisfied with cultural intermediaries who claimed a new system to overcome the *Hong-dae* culture created by the first generation. Yet, the influence of these cultural intermediaries has increased within the HCAC and the *Hong-dae* area while they were providing new definitions and visions of the future *Hong-dae* cultural district.

The change in the power relation within the HCAC and the establishment of the HCA draw more attention to the role of cultural intermediaries such as people working in cultural event companies, cultural organisations and cultural NGOs. These people, during the lectures of the HCA, emphasised a new flow of people and ideas to the *Hong-dae* area. They advocated an importance of cultural intermediary in connecting culture to market and constructing a sustainable economic system of *Hong-dae* culture. It was also often mentioned that the current *Hong-dae* culture was facing a crisis of stagnation, which new people with new ideas should break through:

We can call cultural intermediaries as leading actors, who achieve a success in markets…now, *Hong-dae* culture does not have a structure, which generates money. There is an absence of future visions and systematic organisations…We need intermediaries, who are ready to act and can make a structure for economic independence. (Lee, a representative of *Seewol Network*, HCA Internet homepage cited in 2006)

I personally think independent culture in the *Hong-dae* area finished already in 2003 or 2004. Don't take me wrong. What I mean is that … the interests of people have changed. You have to break new ground although it is a tough job…Even though no journalist visits the present *Hong-dae* area, someday they will come again. Otherwise, you are giving out the impression that you've been doing the same thing all the time. (Shin, a music critic, HCA Internet homepage cited in 2006)

It seems that the local cultural workers, particularly cultural intermediaries, through the experience of the policy project, have come to think that culture and economy are to be incorporated. Consequently, they felt a necessity of the transformation of *Hong-dae* culture from an aesthetic statement towards a cultural and economic system. They generally share the feeling that *Hong-dae* culture has lagged behind in keeping pace with changing cultural and economic trends. Therefore, a new interpretation of independent culture and the establishment of the local networks were raised as the new tasks for the locale.

In particular, there appeared a significant interest in the pursuit of success in markets, which was ignored for a long time in the *Hong-dae* area. New topics on how to achieve economic success surfaced. For example, both Choi from the CCA and Kim from the HCAC emphasised that the economic and cultural success of *Hong-dae* culture has become an important agenda.

There was an urgent need to cope with the commercialisation processes followed by the popularisation of the clubs … but it was not easy to keep the quality of club culture and to be economically successful. Place-marketing might distort the locality but if it is well managed, it can create a cultural infrastructure, by which a profit-generating structure can be sustained. (Choi, representative of the CCA, HCA Internet homepage cited in 2006)

Generally, musicians in the live clubs work like they are manual labourers. But *Sound Day*[101] team has even a planning chair, which works very professionally. I think, we should learn from it….The HCAC is now attempting a new media business… Contrary to the previous one like a manual guide book, I imagine it would be a link to connect media and content. (Kim, representative of the HCAC, HCA Internet homepage cited in 2006)

Furthermore, Choi and Kim stressed that there appeared a need for a new framework of mind, which could provide as a source of incentive to the local cultural workers and the *Hong-dae* scene.

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[101] An event organised by the CCA.

> The old idea to see the *Hong-dae* area as a place, where people can simply create something cannot sustain the *Hong-dae* area anymore. (Choi, representative of the CCA, HCA Internet homepage cited in 2006)

> I feel that we are in stuck. We need a new breakthrough but can't come up with a new idea… What is important for us is that we should seriously think what we can do … I hope that this media business attracts more people to the locale. (Kim, representative of the HCAC, HCA Internet homepage cited in 2006)

Previously, independent culture used to mean particular attitudes and styles which connoted idiosyncrasy and freedom. Yet, now, Choi and Kim claimed a necessity of re-interpreting 'independent culture'. They argued that independent culture should not remain as a style but should become a new system for cultural and economic production. Other speakers also emphasised a close relationship between culture and market.

> In general, culture is, in short, the relationship among producer, intermediary and consumer. *Hong-dae* culture tends to seek meanings but we can't live with meanings. We have to survive… *Hong-dae* people do not have understanding of the market. They are not producing programmes to make money. (Lee, a representative of *Seewol Network*, HCA Internet homepage cited in 2006)

> I suggest that we should sell independent music in the world. Then we have to sing not only in Korean but in other languages. Commercial music is not the same as being sellable in the global market. (Shin, a music critic, HCA Internet homepage cited in 2006)

> Marketing decides almost everything. An individual project can be innovative and creative. But how to put such interesting projects together makes a difference. (Paek, an editor of design magazine, HCA Internet homepage cited in 2006)

The remarks of the speakers reveal that they associated the development of culture with economic success in markets and sought to sell cultural products and to create incomes. When the cultural district project was just announced, the HCAC criticised the authorities for capitalising on *Hong-dae* culture for tourist incomes and city development. It also disapproved of the CCA for promoting cultural commercialisation. Yet, in the HCA seminars, cultural intermediaries from the HCAC, the representative of the CCA and external experts discussed how to bring in economic success through *Hong-dae* culture. It is a huge change from the previous argument of the HCAC as it interpreted *Hong-dae* culture as an aesthetic attitude.

Throughout the experience of policy participation, it seems that the local cultural workers and artists came to locate *Hong-dae* culture in broader social contexts by linking it into economic and political changes. As the CCA representative emphasised, the changing economic conditions led the local actors to re-consider the position of the cultural sector and the relationship between culture and economy. Also, the political change that governmental apparatuses have positioned themselves as entrepreneurs in the cultural district project has prompted the local actors to position themselves as business partners and to engage themselves in public issues with their own voices and interests.

The first *Hong-dae* generation who disapproved the idea that *Hong-dae* culture should be a system to connect culture and market and regarded cultural policy as governmental intervention to cultural activities did not and could not participate in the HCA. Instead, the new generation claimed the economic success of *Hong-dae* culture and active participation in public issues increased their influential power within the HCAC and started cooperating with the CCA and external experts. These people met in seminars and talks offered by the HCA and claimed the evolution of *Hong-dae* culture.

HCA as a Local Cultural Elite Group

Although the HCA is a part of the project for the promotion of *Hong-dae* culture, it can be seen as the outcome of the reconciliation among the local cultural workers, who experienced conflicts under the policy project. At first, the policy project triggered the establishment of the HCAC and the CCA. These two organisations represent the local 'conflict' which resulted from the policy project. However, I suggest that the HCA should illustrate the local 'negotiation' resulted from the policy project. I propose that the launch of the HCA can be seen as a new condition for social relations among the local actors who can negotiate on defining *Hong-dae* culture.

Through policy talk, the local cultural workers and artists felt a necessity for a new system which could generate profit to maintain the *Hong-dae* scene. In particular, these people tend to be cultural intermediaries and confront with the first generation of *Hong-dae* people regarding the issue of the identity of *Hong-dae* culture. Cultural intermediaries in the HCAC gained influential power while presenting the future visions of the *Hong-dae* cultural district and having policy talk with the corresponding authorities. They agreed to the claim of the CCA that *Hong-dae* culture should be changed to fit changing social and economic conditions and local artists should find a way to make profit in markets. Therefore the HCA has become a forum that the new

Hong-dae generation, the dance club people and external experts meet and envision *Hong-dae* culture.

Rado (1987), in his study on cultural elites and institutionalisation of brain death, shows an interesting observation that an emergent social structure, which elites from various disciplines constituted through forming certain committees and social networks, exercised a great influence on sharpening the meaning of brain death. He argues that redefining death was accelerated by the emergent organisation of elites, who wielded their power to institutionalise practices, meanings and values. His remark is insightful to comprehend the significance of the HCA as a group of the local cultural elites with similar influence on deciding the meaning of *Hong-dae* culture.

I regard the HCA as engendering a new network of cultural intermediaries and cultural elites in the *Hong-dae* area and the formation of the HCAC as being stimulated by the policy project. When the policy project was just announced, the local cultural workers formed different organisations and confronted each other over the representation of *Hong-dae* culture. However, as the policy project evolved, cultural intermediaries, who were more capable in mobilising social networks and cultural discourses, actively participated in the policy project, while individual cultural workers and artists were dropped out of it. To a certain extent, the HCA can be seen as a network of these active cultural intermediaries, whose jobs are linking people together through their social networks. The HCA is an outcome of the *Hong-dae* cultural district project but also a new condition for local social change.

7.3   Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I have examined the *Hong-dae Culture Academy* (HCA) as negotiation which resulted from the power struggle among the local actors concerning how to re-construct *Hong-dae* culture in the course of the policy implementation attempt. The launch of the HCA is interpreted as providing a new network of the local cultural elites, who are engaged in cultural mediation and claim a great need of a new system to sustain the *Hong-dae* scene. The scrutiny of seminars and lectures of the HCA has demonstrated a great influence of cultural intermediaries in the representation of the local culture and cultural discourses.

Conflicts among the local actors over defining meanings of *Hong-dae* culture resulted in the emergence of a multidisciplinary elite group in the *Hong-dae* area. The first *Hong-dae* generation who asserted creativity and originality of *Hong-dae* culture, left or lost power within HCAC. Cultural intermediaries in the HCAC and the CCA consented to construct a new *Hong-dae* culture and started communicating with each other through seminars and lectures provided by the HCA. The HCA indicates the generation change within the HCAC and the emergence of a local cultural elite group which possesses influential power to organise collective local opinions and to produce new visions of *Hong-dae* culture.

This chapter has shown that conflicts in meaning-making can be performative by re-constellating local social relations and mobilisng a new social group which will re-define *Hong-dae* culture. The HCA may be able to challenge other cultural issues beyond *Hong-dae* culture. This aspect, in fact, was already observed from the content of the HCA lectures and seminars, which addressed culture, market and political engagement. Yet, as shown in this chapter, individual artists and cultural workers were not able to represent their own voices and interests because cultural intermediaries have translated them into collective voices. There is a possibility that the HCA could be dominant in representing local opinions.

Chapter 8

Conclusion: Construction of a Cultural Place

In the previous chapters, by examining the *Hong-dae* cultural district, I have investigated how various actors have implicitly and explicitly pursued their own interests by claiming certain values and meanings and discussed the extent to which such efforts are related to institutionalising the *Hong-dae* culture. Is the transformation of the *Hong-dae* area into a 'cultural district' the result of urban-environmental changes and the emergence of new cultural forms or an epistemological turn in defining 'the cultural'? The *Hong-dae* area can be seen as one of the most vibrant quarters in Korea, where shops and entertainment places attract people. Such a district does not exist only in Seoul. There are similar places in many cities in the world, where municipal authorities try to boost cultural consumption and tourism. What, then, makes the *Hong-dae* area a cultural place?

Hong-dae Area, Culture and World City

The great impact of creative industries to the national economy in the construction of a particular brand image has been substantial to initiate the cultural district in the *Hong-dae* area. Since the 2000s, Korean cultural products, called 'Korean Wave', such as films, games, music and TV dramas gained increasing popularity throughout Asia. These consumers also began to visit the filming sites of such Korean movies and dramas, thereby transforming them into new tourist sites. Consequently, Korean culture has received more recognition and the national image has acquired a positive reputation. In other words, popular culture has, to a great extent, contributed to strengthening the brand image of Korea. In this regard, the Korean government has been promoting Korea as a nation of lively cultures and high-tech industries under the catch phrase of 'Dynamic Korea'.

Given that there was much national zeal for developing creative industries, the Seoul city government has been eager to transform Seoul from a mega city towards a world city teeming with culture and advanced industries. The *World Cup* soccer tournament in 2002 provided the city government with a timely opportunity to

advance its world city status. As Seoul has been the capital city of Korea for more than 600 years, it also served as a showcase for 'Dynamic Korea' to the world. In particular, culture has been employed to develop a new image of Seoul and Korea. In this respect, the city government planned to develop the *Hong-dae* area as a 'happening' and vibrant cultural place.

Yet, a great interest in the *Hong-dae* area would not have been possible without an active engagement from the cultural intermediaries in the local dance clubs. They re-packaged the dance clubs as a site of a unique Korean culture and lobbied for the implementation of the cultural district in the *Hong-dae* area. They succeeded in calling attention to the contribution of the dance clubs to city tourism and economy. Their activities, however, resulted in the politicisation of the *Hong-dae* culture to realise a political and economic idea. These intermediaries thought that the dance clubs could lead to the formation of an economically self-sufficient community. 'Club culture', through the eyes of these intermediaries, was an example to demonstrate their belief in a system for social progress. This was one of the crucial reasons that the local artists turned their backs to these cultural intermediaries, rejected the dance clubs as a cultural place and claimed the priority of arts in the policy project.

The local conflict concerning the issue of how to develop the *Hong-dae* culture illustrates the way in which culture has been perceived in the Korean society. The cultural intermediaries from the dance clubs, who have gone through a labour movement in the 1980s and a community-making 1990s, saw culture as a part of a social system, which should lead to social progress. Such an approach seems to originate from the mixture of a political economy-oriented outlook on social progress, which prevailed in the 1980s and an increased recognition of culture in understanding society, which emerged in the 1990s. They updated their political creed and approached the dance clubs as a field to test a possibility for generating social progress out of culture. Their position towards culture, however, was too rigid to be accepted by other artists and musicians. Most of them, who took part in and were beneficiaries of a cultural movement in the 1990s basically argued for the autonomy of culture.

The viewpoints of these two groups were, however, difficult to be incorporated into the policy project. The city government mainly sought to boost tourism through the cultural district. The idea of constructing a self-sufficient community via the *Hong-dae* cultural district was laden with a political thought. On the other hand, a position that regarded creativity as antagonistic to the economy did not fit the initiative of the project. In this respect, the *Hong-dae Culture Forum* (HCA), which some local cultural workers launched in 2006, argued against the politicisation and romanticisation of *Hong-dae* culture and instead fostered it towards market

success. Now culture is perceived as an autonomous sector, which is not to be undermined by other sectors and at the same time a sphere, which can be integrated with other spheres such as economy. Currently, such a stance provides a backdrop for cultural policy in Korea.

The reasons why the *Hong-dae* area suddenly became an object of the policy are the result of various factors: the local cultural movement, the municipal vision of a world city and the national enthusiasm for the knowledge-based economies. In addition, social and political changes, such as the emergence of civic movements and the elevated status of popular culture in the Korean society should be seriously taken into consideration for the culturalisation of the *Hong-dae* area under the auspices of a world city. It should be, however, noted that culture under the visions of a world city tends to be discursive and, to some extent, imagined in order to envisage a glorious past or ambitious future. Cultural projects repackage various cultural activities and sites, collective memories, built-environments, life-styles and emotions into cultural and tourism products while certain cultural phenomena that do not fit the visions of world cities are often given less attention.

Through the construction of the cultural district, the Seoul city government attempted to represent unique and traditional cultures and animated urban cultures simultaneously. The city government turned its attention to accentuate the historicity of Seoul, distinguishing it from other 'western' cities and selling 'Korean Wave' products in the Asian region. Under such circumstances, the *Hong-dae* cultural district project was postponed. Although the city authorities conceded that the definition of culture in the provision was too narrow to apply to contemporary city culture, they saw the revision as a complicated and tedious process. Their main interest was not in policy revision, but rather in seeking out distinctive cultural images that could be branded as themed places. This incident renders one to consider whether a cultural project under the auspices of a world city does actually enhance the cultural life of citizens.

Based on the *Hong-dae* cultural district project, it should be further discussed what Asian cities gain from the tight competition in their attempt to attain a world city status. Recently, an 'Asian' community has emerged, which shares the experience of condensed modernisation processes and the desire of consuming cultural products made out of their own experiences and sensibilities. Scholars, however, point out a tendency that Asia has become a mere marketplace to generate profits and a political field for cultural dominance (Cho 2005; Iwabuchi 2005; Yeoh 2005). What is at stake is that the emerging feeling of geographical, historical and cultural intimacy may be manipulated to sell cultural products under the notion of a world city.

Hong-dae Cultural District Project and Negotiating 'the Cultural'

Throughout this research, I have demonstrated how the incorporation of a cultural policy into a world city project is related to the emergence of cultural politics in a locality and social changes such as transformations in social relations and meanings. For that, I have looked at the *Hong-dae* cultural district project as a nexus which connects micro-dynamics with broad social structures and as an arena of cultural politics in which social actors struggle over meaning-making and strategically pursue their interests.

Firstly, the process of the *Hong-dae* cultural district project clearly shows that a cultural policy project ignites the formation of a micro-political field, in which heterogeneous actors compete for new opportunities and resources. Yet, the actors engaged in the *Hong-dae* cultural district project implicitly pursued their economic interests, while explicitly asserting certain cultural meanings such as the originality of *Hong-dae* culture, the origin of Korean club culture and the cradle of independent arts. Competition over meanings in a cultural policy project entails the allocation of various resources such as money, space, institutional acknowledgement and social network. In particular, the administrative plan appearing in the feasibility study on the *Hong-dae* cultural district distinctively reveals that a meaning-making process is tightly connected to economic interests.

Secondly, the *Hong-dae* cultural district project displays various forces which have affected cultural policy implementation processes and consequent unpredictable and ongoing social change. In so doing, it highlights that policy analysis should account for a particular set of social contexts and micro-dynamics and connectivity between micro levels and broader social structures. The *Hong-dae* cultural district project has been significantly influenced by the municipal vision of a world-class cultural city. This vision has consequently affected the strategic actions of the local actors. The policy project has become interwoven with the existing power relation among the local cultural workers, who have been struggling with the dominance over the brand name '*Hong-dae*'. The local actors actively articulated the municipal vision of a world-class cultural city, which seeks cultural authenticity in order to become globally successful cultural products, into their own visions.

Thirdly, the *Hong-dae* cultural district project underlines a close relationship between social organisations and meaning-making processes. In other words, the policy project resulted in the formation of agencies, which produced new meanings of *Hong-dae* culture and moreover 'the cultural'. The *Hong-dae* cultural district project generated a concrete occasion for "the clash of ideas, institutional struggles and power relations in the production and circulation of symbolic meanings" (McGuigan 1996: 1).

Based on these findings, the *Hong-dae* cultural district project explains how a place turns into a 'cultural' place. The transformation of *Hong-dae* towards the cultural *Hong-dae* is inseparable from the trend of the integration of economic and cultural productions, the formation of a micro-political field by the policy project and consequent new epistemological approaches towards defining 'the cultural'. This epistemological shift in interpreting 'the cultural' evolving around a cultural policy project is crucial in the (re)construction of cultural environments in city spaces. A cultural policy always involves a dialectical interaction between policy implementation (actions) and policy rationales (meanings).

Cultural Policy and Social Change

I will now suggest how the findings of this research could be applied to cultural policy studies in relation to social change. This research has shown that cultural policy tends to be utilised as a means to achieve various goals such as democratic society, social inclusion, urban regeneration and the promotion of the culture and tourism industries. In a similar vein, the visions of the *Hong-dae* cultural district project articulated by the corresponding authorities and the local actors show that *Hong-dae* culture and the policy project were framed through various contexts such as the construction of a world-class city, the legalisation of the dance club business, network-building for cultural workers and the creation of a sustainable cultural and economic system. In short, it is observed that 'culture' and 'cultural policy' are, a great extent, applied to achieve various objectives in diverse social spheres.

Yet, an inquiry as to whether cultural policy can contribute to social transformation still remains insubstantially answered. Bennett (2006) pointedly argues that cultural policy, which does not concern fundamental questions of industrial capitalism and economic systems but dwells only on promoting particular aesthetics and values, cannot conceive alternative economic systems. A cultural policy that asserts the transformation of society is likely to threaten the legitimacy of the cultural policy itself. A cultural policy that seeks for the convergence of cultural and economic productions tends to be subsumed under the auspice of an economic policy.

On the other hand, Long (1999) sees that a policy project reveals varying cultural interpretation, values and knowledge and they are mediated, perpetuated and transformed into everyday practices, identities and interests of individuals and various institutional domains through policy implementation processes. In this regard, he argues that a planned intervention should entail ongoing processes of social transformation. I have adopted this notion of social transformation which

encompasses changes not only in practices and materiality but also in meanings and values. I regard social changes as taking place at two different levels; a change generated by actions of people and an epistemological change how people define the changed reality. Accordingly, the epistemological change will affect the way people decide what and how to construct 'the cultural'.

Therefore, I approach that a cultural policy, which always entails policy rationales (meanings) and policy implementation (actions), involves in social transformation by leading to a dialectical interaction between actions and meanings. This research has clearly shown that the construction of a new 'cultural district' in Seoul involves in an epistemological change in interpreting 'the cultural'. Yet, this is greatly affected by how actors come to terms with social changes, namely a conversion of economic and cultural production, and how they interpret them and translate them into their own knowledge and interests. My research has illustrated that the *Hong-dae* cultural district project has triggered the emergence of new social groups and consequent changes in power relations in a locality. The policy project has also stimulated a process towards a re-institutionalisation of meanings as local actors asserted the amendment of the policy provisions and related laws.

In this regard, the *Hong-dae* cultural district project draws attention to the idea that cultural policy should comprehend not only fundamental inquiries on the modes of economic and cultural productions but also includes attention to be paid on social agency and power relations. The *Hong-dae* cultural district project has interconnected social actors, diverse social spheres and conditions and power relations into an arena of cultural politics. It has clearly shown how meaning-making processes take place in the middle ground between agency, culture and structure. Therefore, further studies on cultural policy studies should take into account these three issues in order to comprehend the relationship between cultural policy and social change more effectively.

Appendix

A 1.   A Questionnaire for a Survey during Field Research & Its Result

A Questionnaire for Visitors

1.   홍대앞을 방문하시는 목적은 주로 무엇 때문입니까?
    ①! 사교목적으로 음주나 식사 ② 클럽 방문 ③ 쇼핑 ④ 이색 체험 ⑤ 거리나
    사람들 구경 ⑥ 학업
    기타: (직접 써주십시오)

2.   홍대앞 명소는 무엇이라고 생각하십니까? (여러 개를 고르셔도 됩니다.)
    ①! 홍익대학교 ② 거리 상점 ③ 카페 ④ 미술학원 ⑤ 라이브공연장 ⑥ 클럽 ⑦
    갤러리
    기타: (직접 써주십시오)

3.   홍대앞이 유명하게 된 것은 무엇 때문이라고 생각하십니까? (여러 개를 고르셔도
    됩니다.)
    ①! 예술 및 예술가 ② 스트리트 패션 ③카페나 음식점 ④ 클럽과 클럽데이 행사
    ⑤ 거리상인 ⑥ 프린지 페스티벌 ⑦ 인디음악 및 인디밴드
    기타: (직접 써주십시오)

4.   홍대앞에 올 때 주의하시는 점이 있으십니까? (여러 개를 고르셔도 됩니다.)
    ①! 교통편 (주차문제나 버스나 지하철 연계문제) ② 복장이나 메이크업 ③ 같이
    오는 사람들
    ④ 지출비용 ⑤ 귀가 시간
    기타: (직접 써주십시오)

5.   홍대앞 문화란 말을 들어본 적이 있다면 주로 무엇을 통해서 입니까?
    ①! 신문이나 잡지등 인쇄매체와 TV ② 인터넷 ③ 친구나 아는 사람들을 통해
    직접
    ④ 홍대앞 행사에 관한 홍보물 ⑤ 직접 홍대에 나와서 ⑥ 들어본 적 없다

6.   홍대앞은 어떤 문화의 영향을 가장 많이 받았다고 생각하십니까? (여러 개를
    고르셔도 됩니다)
    ①! 서구(미국) 대중문화 ② 일본 대중문화 ③ 한국의 대중문화 ④ 홍대주변의
    예술가들
    ⑤ 앞의 것 모두 ⑥ 특별히 영향받은 것 없다
    기타: (직접 써주십시오)

7.   홍대앞이 한국의 대중 문화에 어떤 영향을 주고있다고 생각하십니까? (여러 개를
    고르셔도 됩니다)
    ①! 새로운 유행을 도입하고 유통시킴 ② 인디음악 등 비주류 문화의 터 ③
    일탈문화 생성 ④ 소비풍조 및 유흥문화 확산 ⑤ 클럽문화정착 ⑥ 관습이나
    제약으로부터 자유

기타: (직접 써주십시오)

8. ①'홍대앞'이란 말을 들었을 때 연상되는 것은 무엇입니까? 생각나는 대로 적어주십시오.

② '홍대앞 문화'란 말을 들었을 때 연상되는 것은 무엇입니까? 생각나는 대로 적어주십시오.

9. 앞으로 홍대앞에서 더욱 발전시켜야 한다고 생각하는 것은 무엇이며, 없애야 한다고 생각하는 것은 무엇입니까?

10. 홍대 지역에서 시간을 보낸 후 좋은 점이 있다면 무엇인가요?

11. 귀하의 성별은 무엇입니까?
　①! 남 ② 여

12. 귀하의 연령대는 무엇입니까?
　①! 10대 ② 20대 ③ 30대 ④ 40대 ⑤ 50대 ⑥ 60대 및 그 이상
　참고사항: 귀하의 직업 (　　　　), 귀하의 거주지 (　　시,　　구)

The Result of the Survey

1	홍대앞을 방문하시는 목적은 주로 무엇 때문입니까?						
	학업	음주, 식사	거리, 사람구경	클럽	이색 체험	쇼핑	
	46	27	12	7	4	1	
	기타	집, 일터	예술활동	그냥			
		8	2	1			
2	홍대앞 명소는 무엇이라고 생각하십니까? (여러 개를 고르셔도 됩니다.)						
	클럽	거리 상점	라이브공연장	홍익대	카페	갤러리	미술학원
	48	34	18	17	12	12	6
	기타	프리마켓	거리	도서관			
		3	1	1			
3	홍대앞이 유명하게 된 것은 무엇 때문이라고 생각하십니까? (여러 개를 고르셔도 됩니다.)						
	클럽, 클럽데이	예술, 예술가	스트리트 패션	인디음악, 밴드	거리상인	카페, 음식점	프린지 페스티벌
	55	36	28	22	15	15	6
	기타	프리마켓	미술학원	모름			
		1	1	1			
4	홍대앞에 올 때 주의하시는 점이 있으십니까? (여러 개를 고르셔도 됩니다.)						
	교통	복장, 메이크업	지출 비용	귀가시간	같이 오는 사람		
	33	22	17	11	8		
	기타	없음					
		13					

5	홍대앞 문화란 말을 들어본 적이 있다면 주로 무엇을 통해서 입니까?						
	직접 와서	인쇄매체, TV	친구, 아는 사람	홍보물	들어본 적 없음	인터넷	
	33	30	22	12	9	5	
	기타						
6	홍대앞은 어떤 문화의 영향을 가장 많이 받았다고 생각하십니까? (여러 개를 고르셔도 됩니다)						
	홍대주변예술가	서구(미국) 대중	일본 대중문화	앞의것모두	없음	한국대중문화	
	43	20	17	12	11	9	
	기타	신촌,이대문화	시대의 대세	자연스럽게			
		1	1	1			
7	홍대앞이 한국의 대중 문화에 어떤 영향을 주고있다고 생각하십니까? (여러 개를 고르셔도 됩니다)						
	신유행도입유통	비주류문화의 터	일탈문화생성	소비, 유흥문화	클럽문화정착	관습, 제약 자유	
	23	38	19	17	29	23	
	기타	한국문화와 거리가 멀어짐	예술의 민중화				
		1	1				

8	① '홍대앞'이란 말을 들었을 때 연상되는 것은 무엇입니까? 생각나는 대로 적어주십시오.									
	구체적장소	클럽	학교앞	술집	놀이터	미술학원	피카소거리	노점상	미술학원	노래방	걷고싶은거리
		35	12	10	6	4	4	4	4	2	2
	개념	자유	젊음	개성	일탈	특이	활기	열정	복잡	끼	비주류
		9	6	4	3	3	2	2	1	1	1
	장소느낌	번화	대안공간	물좋음	복합문화공간	물가비쌈	친근함	대안공간			
		2	2	2	1	1	1	1			
	사람	사람	예술가	날나리	양키	흑인					
		3	2	1	1	1					
	문화요소	인디밴드,음악	음악,펑크힙합	거리예술,예술	미술	패션	홍대앞문화				
		7	2,2,1	4,7	3	4	1				
	기타	프리마켓	담배	엑스터시							
		3	1	1							

	② '홍대앞 문화'란 말을 들었을 때 연상되는 것은 무엇입니까? 생각나는 대로 적어주십시오.									
	장소	술집	작은가게								
		2	2								
	개념	자유	개성	특이함	열정	복잡					
		7	4	2	1	1					

	사람	홍대생	양아치	부유한 사람	특이한 사람	예쁜사람				
		2	1	1	1	1				
	문화, 요소	클럽및 클럽문화	인디음악및문화	예술, 거리예술	패션	술	미술, 그래피티	청년문화	홍대앞 문화	비주류 문화	공연
		30	10	9, 3	6	4	3,1	3	3	2	2
		힙합2	문화공간1	노는문화1	유행1	서구문화1	소비지향1	프리마켓3	희망시장1	사운드데이1	
	기타	싸움	잘모름	첨들어봄							
		2	1	1							

9 홍대앞에서 더욱 발전시켜야 한다고 생각하는 것은 무엇이며,

	장소, 편이	청결환경	휴식공간	전시장	교통	주차공간	대안공간	인도	학생공간		
		5	3	3	2	2	1	1	1		
	문화, 행사	클럽문화	예술행사	홍대문화	인디문화	다양한 문화	공연	프리마켓	비주류 문화	거리문화	실험적 문화
		18	6	6	5	5	4	3	3	1	1
	기타	사람1	지식1								

없애야 한다고 생각하는 것은 무엇입니까?

	장소	유흥시설	클럽	술집	미술학원	도로			
		7	7	4	2	1			
	사람	미군,양키	음주행동불량외인	양아치	못생긴 사람	삐끼	노점상	풍기문란연인	
		2,1	1	5	2	1	1	1	
	행위, 요소	음주문화	술주정	상업주의	겉멋	비싼물가	보수적 관점	소비문화	
		5	2	3	1	1	1	1	

10 홍대 지역에서 시간을 보낸 후 좋은 점이 있다면 무엇인가요?

	장소	작고,인테리어좋은가게	깨끗,조용,다양한거리	클럽	카페	다양한 음식점	이색공간
		2	4	1	1	1	1
	사람	재밌는 사람만남	다양한 사람만남	젊은사람과하나	친목		
		7	3	1	1		
	편이	교통	집,학교와 가까움	귀가시간제약무	미술작품쉽게접함		
		2	3	1	1		
	느낌 개념	자유	편함	기분좋음	젊음	재미	

	행위	7	6	5	5	4					
		볼거리	일상,관념탈출	노점쇼핑	스트레스해소	이색경험	생활활력				
		4	3	2	2	1	1				
	요소	다양한문화	다른곳과틀린문화	열려있는문화	좋은음악						
		7	2	1	2						
	기타	없음									
		1									

11	성별										
	남						여				
	49						42				

12	연령대										
	10대			20대			30대				
	11			78			6				
	직업										
		학생	직장인	자유업	방송작가	서비스	의류업	바매니저	문화활동	사업가	프그래머
		57	5	3	1	2	2	1	1	1	1
		교사	백수	PD							
		1	1	1							
	거주지	서울강북	서울강남	경기도							
		53	6	19							

A 2.   The Clause concerning Cultural District in *Culture and Arts Promotion Law*

문화예술진흥법 10조의 2 (문화지구의 지정•관리 등)

① 시•도지사는 다음 각호의 1에 해당하는 지역을 도시계획법에 따라 조례에 의하여 문화지구로 지정할 수 있다.

문화시설과 민속공예품점•골동품점 등 대통령이 정하는 영업시설 (이하 "문화시설등"이라 한다)이 밀집되어 있거나 이를 계획적으로 조성하고자 하는 지역

문화예술행사•축제 등 문화예술활동이 지속적으로 이루어지는 지역

기타 국민의 문화적 삶의 질 향상을 위하여 문화지구로 지정함이 특히 필요하다고 인정되는 지역으로서 대통령이 정하는 지역

② 제1항의 규정에 위하여 지정된 문화지구를 관할하는 시장•군수•구청장(자치구의 구청장을 말한다)은 대통령이 정하는 바에 따라 문화지구관리계획을 작성하여 시•도지사의 승인을 얻어야 한다. 대통령령이 정하는 사항을 정하고자 하는 경우에도 또한 같다.

③ 제 2항의 규정에 의하여 지정된 문화지구관리계획에는 당해문화지구 안에 설치 또는 운영이 권장되는 문화시설등의 종류가 명시되어야 한다.

④ 시•도지사는 문화지구의 유지•보존 및 활성화를 위하여 문화지구안에서 다음 각호의 1에 해당하는 영업 또는 시설의 설치를 금지하거나 제한할 수 있다. (신설 2002.1.26)

사행행위등규제 및 처벌특례법에 의한 사행행위영업

식품위행법에 의한 식품접객업 중 대통령령이 정하는 것

그 밖에 문화지구의 지정목적을 저해할 우려가 있는 영업 또는 시설로서 대통령령이 정하는 바에 따라 시•도 조례가 정하는 것

⑤ 국가와 지방자치단체는 제3항의 규정에 의하여 설치 또는 운영이 권장되는 문화시설등에 대하여 관계법령이 정하는 바에 따라 조세 및 부담금을 감면할 수 있다.

Culture and Arts Promotion Law (designation and administration of a cultural district)

① A mayor and a governor can appoint the following numbered areas respectively as a cultural district according to the acts of City Planning Law

> A place where the forms of businesses, such as folk craft shops, antique shops among others, which a decree by president authorises (from now on it will be stated as "cultural facilities") are clustered or are planned to be formed
>
> A place where sustains culture and arts activities, such as events and festivals
>
> A place where a decree by president authorises as a cultural district with an acknowledgement of its contribution to the quality of cultural life

② According to the rules shown ①, a city headman, a country headman and a chief of ward should submit a cultural district administration plan based upon the sets which president has provided. The administration plan should be proven by a mayor and a governor. The same procedure should be applied to a case to decide a decree of

present.

③ The administration plan which is guided by the rules of ②, should specify the types of recommended cultural facilities to be formed and operated within a corresponding cultural district.

④ A mayor and a governor can ban or restrict the following businesses or facilities within a cultural district in order to keep, preserve and revitalise the district (newly provided 26 January 2002).

> Commercial businesses specified in the Restriction on Commercial Business and Special Exemption Law
>
> Food and service businesses specified in the Foods and Public Health Law which a decree by president appoints
>
> Other businesses and facilities which might hinder the aims of the cultural district which municipal ordinances regulate according to the rules and decree by president

⑤ Based upon related laws, the state and governments can reduce tax and impost for facilities and businesses which are specified in ③.

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