

URBAN HERITAGE PRODUCTION IN SOUTH KOREA:

A TALE OF TWO CITIES

by

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ABSTRACT

The study addresses the production of urban heritage in South Korea by focusing on the historic cities of Jeonju and Gyeongju. Previous studies of South Korean heritage conservation have pointed out that development needs were frequently prioritised over conservation concerns. In a country characterised by rapid economic development and urbanisation this is not surprising however, the two case study cities have largely, successfully maintained their heritage resources, unlike the other cities in South Korea, based on the government-led conservation schemes.

Using strong government initiatives, Gyeongju and Jeonju, through a process of heritage commodification, have gained popularity amongst domestic and international tourists, but they have also experienced negative impacts as both heritage sites and tourist attractions. This thesis examines the range of impacts and issues that infiltrate the everyday lives of local communities in the two historic centres, which has included de-population, social discontent, economic challenges and a loss in community vitality and sense of place, that plays amongst locals and tourists.

To address these issues, I explore the discrepancy that exists among the key stakeholders in the case cities, particularly the national and city-based authorities, heritage professionals and the local communities. I investigate how the communities recognise their local heritage in the process of construction, reconstruction, and negotiation of 'place'. The authorised heritage and its firm narratives can be seen to marginalise communities, but I demonstrate that what

remains important are the more intangible practices and traditions of non-authorised heritage. These aspects of heritage are more closely attached to peoples' everyday life and enhance the communities' connection to place. Though a substantive body of literature advocates community involvement in heritage production, my work in both of the case sites, demonstrates that there is still an evident asymmetry in power relations at work. By using grounded theory, semi-structured, in-depth interviews and observational work, I examine the dialogues of the heritage production and management processes and identify how notions of community voice and empowerment still manage to surface and negotiate these processes. The thesis synthesises implications and attempts to seek improved ways to employ community empowerment approaches to the heritage management building on the idea that heritage is a medium for progressive social and economic change.

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

The purpose of the GLOSSARY OF TERMS is to provide the reader with short working definitions of the key terminologies used in this thesis. These definitions are based on state-of-the-art literature reviewed for this thesis.

Urban Heritage

three main categories:

- 1) Monumental heritage of exceptional cultural value;
- 2) Non-exceptional heritage elements but present in a coherent way with a relative abundance;
- 3) New urban elements to be considered (for instance): The urban built form; The open space (streets, public open spaces), Urban infrastructures (material networks and mechanism)

Urban Heritage Management

It refers to the practices undertaken with the aim to conserve the continuity of heritage and quality of life in urban environments.

Integrated Heritage Management

It combines stakeholders' interests (i.e. local, federal, state (regional) levels) for the continuity of the management process.

Sustainable Heritage Management

It is the process of achieving continuous improvement in the planning, preservation and conservation of heritage assets for the benefit of current and future generations.

True History

Rather than expressing one 'true' conception of the past, true history comprises a broad social approach to the past defined by the ability of the historical environment to facilitate and stimulate innovative thought, thus, generate a social platform for collaboration.

Community

Any group sharing cultural or social characteristics, interests, and perceived continuity through time, and which distinguishes itself in some respect from other groups.

The term 'community' is not merely a group of people living in the same area. Rather, a sense of community that includes the process of social and affective bonding among neighbourhood is an integral element of the definition of community.

Heritagisation

It refers to the transformation of objects, places and practices into cultural heritage as values are attached to them, essentially describing heritage as a process

Authenticity as Material Value

Heritage asset that is materially original or genuine as it was constructed and as it has aged and weathered in time.

Authenticity as Communal Value

A culturally contingent quality associated with a heritage place, practice, or object that conveys cultural value; is recognised as a meaningful expression of an evolving cultural tradition; and/or evokes among individuals the social and emotional resonance of group identity.

Heritage Construction (or Production)

Heritage does not exist per se but is invented or created "through metacultural operations that extend museological values and methods (collection, documentation, preservation, presentation, evaluation and interpretation) to living persons, their knowledge, practices, artefacts, social worlds and life styles. This process of invention or creation of cultural heritage is what is referred as heritage making / construction / or production.

Heritage Valorisation

Heritage valorisation seeks to create cultural and economic benefits from heritage elements.

Authorised Heritage

Heritage which is recognised officially by expertise or official discourse developing its material content through the sheer quantum of the environment incorporated as legally-defined heritage.

Un-authorised Heritage

expressed in personal, emotional and various forms of perceived or interpretative approaches in reality or an 'authentic' past of marginalised people

Intangible Heritage

Intangible cultural heritage is the practices, expressions, knowledge and skills that communities, groups and sometimes individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage. Also called living cultural heritage, it is usually expressed in one of the following forms: oral traditions; performing arts; social practices, rituals and festive events; knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; and traditional craftsmanship.

Stakeholder

Person or organisation that can affect, be affected by, or perceive themselves to be affected by a decision or activity.

*Note: A decision maker can be a stakeholder.

Tangible Heritage

Tangible heritage includes buildings and historic places, monuments, artefacts, etc., which are considered worthy of preservation for the future. These include objects significant to the archaeology, architecture, science or technology of a specific culture.

TITLE OF ACRONYMS

<u>CHA</u>	Cultural Heritage Association
<u>MCST</u>	Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism
<u>KTO</u>	Korean Tourism Organisation

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

I grew up in a traditional Korean-style house (referred to as Hanok) in Gyeongju city, where my family had lived for more than a century. Our Hanok was built by my great grandparents, and most of its original structure and details are intact to date. Since the abrupt modernisation of Korean society in the mid 20th century, the lifestyles of Koreans and their preferences in residential and housing environment have been altered drastically. Specifically, a significant number of people who used to live in Hanok moved into contemporary high-rise apartments that symbolise modernisation, and many small pockets of neighbourhoods adjacent to mega cities have been immersed as a part of a gigantic metropolis. As a result of this rapid socioeconomic change and subsequent city reconstruction, few historic urban settlements were conserved in their original form in South Korea.

However, I feel very fortunate to have spent my childhood in Gyeongju, which was full of built heritage that connected with my childhood memories. Even though my family's Hanok was demolished for the construction of a gigantic multiple-use residential complex, my affectionate memories with the Hanok building are vehemently alive.

The profound impression from my childhood memories, strongly tied to Gyeongju, has sparked my interest and passion to understand the implications of conservation and management processes of urban heritage in South Korea using two historic cities, Gyeongju and Jeonju, as examples. Considering the mutually dependent relationship between heritage and people, the present study focused on the perspectives of the various stakeholders who are involved in the construction, negotiation, performance, and consumption of heritage sites to analyse their interaction patterns with heritage and underlying motivations. Also, the association between urban heritage and community identity was examined with emphasis on the viable processes of identity construction, based on the bottom-up and top-down approaches to heritage policy making and planning.

Europe has played a central role in the inception and evolution of the concept of heritage (Winter, 2014). The Venice Charter in 1964 initially took the concept of heritage as predominantly relating to famous monuments and ensembles or sites possessing inherent qualities as great works of art (Jacques, 1995: p 91; Taylor *et al.*, p 537). In this approach, heritage values were solely identified and appraised through objective scientific evaluation process and humans were marginalised and perceived as passive receptors (Jacques, 1995: p 92).

Since the 1990s, the concept of heritage has been broadened considerably in a way to emphasise its subjectivity and dependence upon public history, cultural inheritance, and idealised conceptions (Rössler, 2003: p 208). This trend was accompanied by the introduction of the ‘place’ concept in the Burra Charter in 1979

which incorporated the extended notion of spatial implications (Claval, 2007: p 88). An anthropological interpretation of heritage has evolved from the protection of monumental property to recognition of the living heritage of indigenous people and the spiritual wealth of humankind, underscoring the relationships with the settings (Rössler, 2003). This advancement in the heritage concept was based on professional and philosophical discourse and has facilitated interdisciplinary approaches encompassing archaeology, geology, anthropology, and heritage management (Lennon, 2011: p 46). This reflects what Carman and Sorenson (2009) have argued, that heritage can be thought of as a way of interacting with the world drawing upon different values and associations.

Harvey (2008, p 21) raises questions about who is doing and creating heritage? His argument is drawn from an understanding of ‘official’ heritage politics in British society but importantly it raises the issue of the ownership of heritage. Furthermore, it invokes the notion of memory and the idea of Geary (1994, p 12) that ‘all memory is memory for something.’ This political dimension of heritage has resonance everywhere; ‘east’ as well as ‘west’ and reflects what Harvey (2008, p 2) terms the “obsession over site, heritage production and consumption, display and enjoyable heritage, and educational benefits, community leadership, social cohesion, and economic regeneration.”

In Korea, despite cultural difference and socio-political histories, we can see how the evolved western understandings of heritage have similarly been adopted. The western view of the heritage concept, theory, and management system emerged under Japanese colonialism (1910 -1945) and continued to develop after World War II (Pai, 2013). Based on industrial ties between Germany and Japan in early 20th

century, Japan adopted the western concept of heritage and it is reflected by the Japanese word 文化財 that is the direct translation of German word 'Kulturguter' indicating 'heritage asset' (Jung, 2015).

For instance, in 1907, Manabu Miyoshi (1861-1939) who studied in Germany from 1891 to 1895 became a professor of the Japanese Imperial University and established a legal framework for the protection of the cultural and natural heritage in Japan. Following the Japanese enactment of the 1919 Preservation Act, Korea, which was colonised by Japan at that time, was directly affected by the Act. As a result, the perspective of viewing monuments, historic sites, or any relics that deserve protection as cultural property, had been in place in Korea by Japan (Jung 2015).

The application of Western heritage theory to the Korean heritage by Japan was mainly exploitative and it served as the basis of so-called 'elginism' (the taking of cultural treasures, often from one country to another, usually to a wealthier one). Heritage in Korea was treated as an economic asset, or even trophy property, and western concepts of heritage were utilised to justify the assessment system. Specifically, the heritage classification system introduced by Japan aimed to rank 'Korean' heritage properties based on appraised value and a ranking of national treasures. Although it is a contentious issue in South Korea, its hierarchical heritage classification system inherited some attributes of the Japanese heritage management system and process for its 'treasure hunting' in the early twentieth century. Given that western notions of heritage were applied by Japan in their colonial imposition of Korea and during their own period of westernisation / Europeanisation, it became

inevitable for researchers and administrators inherit this hierarchical heritage system. The 'state-led' and 'regulation-oriented' cultural heritage management system imposed on Korea by Japan and operating, if still evolving today, sees the concept of cultural heritage as national property and as part of the nation-building project. This essentially western view of heritage is nonetheless a relevant and useful perspective through which to interpret my two case study cities.

Like many East Asian countries, South Korea has experienced an unprecedented rapid economic development and urbanisation process that has caused suboptimal treatment of many urban heritage sites over the past five decades. One of the early systematic attempts to conserve the country's heritage sites began in the 1980s nearing major international events hosted by the country such as the Asian Games in 1986 and the Olympics in 1988 (both held in Seoul, the capital city of South Korea). Additionally, another major international event, the World Cup in 2002, jointly hosted by South Korea and Japan, stimulated efforts to conserve the urban heritage sites. Specifically, several pilot conservation projects were initiated in the locations with tangible built heritage. While every major city in South Korea started to conserve its historic sites, Gyeongju and Jeonju historic centres became some of the most representative areas where large-scale pilot projects were initiated.

Gyeongju historic city, located 360 km southeast of Seoul, was the capital of the ancient kingdom of Silla (57 BC – 935 AD) which ruled the Korean Peninsula. The city is well known for being at the centre of 1,000 years of Silla history and multitudes of heritage, such as 35 royal tombs and 155 tumuli in central part of the city and a vast number of archaeological sites in the outskirts of the city. The city

is a major heritage tourism destination in South Korea for both domestic and international tourists, attracting more than 6 million tourists per year (Tourism Knowledge and Information System, 2017: p 35). Among major heritage sites in the outskirts of the city, Seokguram grotto, Bulguksa temple, and Gyeongju Historic Areas have been listed as UNESCO World Heritage Sites (WHS) in 1995, 1995, and 2000, respectively (Korea National Commission for UNESCO 2014). Gyeongju is a medium-sized city with a population around 270 thousand, where heritage tourism has been the major economic driver, along with manufacturing and agriculture industries.

Jeonju is a city located 220 km south of Seoul and has been a historic urban settlement over one thousand years. It was a historically important regional centre for centuries because it was the origin of Yi royal family, who founded Joseon Dynasty (1392 – 1897, the last Dynasty before the establishment of the Republic of Korea). The Kim family who has been ruling over North Korea also originated in Jeonju city. The city boasts diverse dimensions of intangible heritage such as culinary traditions, craft art with Korean traditional paper *Hanj*, and *Pansori* which is a genre of musical storytelling listed in UNESCO's representative list of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2003 (Korea National Commission for UNESCO, 2014).

Today, Jeonju Hanok Village, the largest Hanok (traditional Korean house) cluster in South Korea, enjoys its status as the city's most popular tourist attraction. Currently, there are 550 Hanoks among 700 buildings in the village. In 2013, five million people visited the village and 2.8% of them (144 thousand) were international tourists (Tourism Knowledge and Information System, 2017: p 42-45).

The village provides a variety of ways to experience traditional Korean culture, in addition to the historic landscape with a large cluster of well-conserved Korean traditional houses. Opportunities to gain hands-on experience in traditional activities like papermaking and winemaking are available in museums and exhibition centres. Moreover, the village has become a centre for the study of a variety of traditional disciplines including Confucian philosophy, traditional Korean folk music, and home cooking.

While the two cities began to gain popularity amongst domestic and international tourists, negative impacts of their development as heritage sites and tourist attractions were also identified. First, a growing number of local people have been leaving the cities. In the case of Gyeongju, various heritage policies and restrictions from the central and the municipal government were implemented to conserve the heritage assets. These approaches, however, were often so stringent that they ended up incapacitating not only the heritage sites but also the everyday life of the nearby community. The restrictions on numerous conservation and development agendas, such as a renovation of obsolete houses and creation of new buildings like public hospitals and entertainment facilities in the central part of the city, compromised the locals' quality of life and fuelled their motivation to leave the historic centre.

This depopulation led to serious problems, beyond the loss of tax revenues. Young generations left the city to seek better education and job opportunities, and as a result, Gyeongju University, which is one of the major higher education institutes located in the city, has been at risk of shutting down since 2020 (YoungNam maeil, 2014). This also led to a decrease in the city's vitality, which

ironically enhanced the city's reliance on the heritage tourism industry as a primary sector of its economy. Decreased population and loss of the young generations made it difficult to revitalise the economy and caused the loss of momentum loss in industry growth that could have prevented a tourism monopoly in the city. As a result, the museumification process was accelerated and the heritage sites were 'conserved' without the local people.

On the other hand, the municipal government of Jeonju developed the Jeonju Hanok Village to be one of the most visited heritage tourism destinations. The government registered all the Hanok in the village and gave the residents subsidies for renovation. Also, while establishing a zoning plan to maintain the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) to ensure that new construction areas would comply with the *Hanok* style, the government simplified the process of land use change from residential to commercial purpose, as a means of compensating the residents' inconveniences due to the tourism development (Song, 2012).

Nonetheless, the two cities encountered a series of challenges during the heritage making processes in recent years. First, many approaches adopted to help local people did not work as intended while a number of side effects were detected. For example, vitality of the place and interaction between the local people and the tourists have been undermined. Specifically, some residents who expected economic benefits from the re-development sold their properties to developers, and this contributed to the sharp increase in real-estate values in the area, resulting in gentrification and relocation of the local population. Additionally, the developers placed more emphasis on the commercial aspects of the cultural heritage sites to maximise return on investments. In order to accommodate the visitors' demands,

more commercial facilities such as cafes, restaurants, souvenir shops, and lodges were developed near the village's residential area and these processes substantially altered the sense of place in the village (Moon, 2008).

The two historic centres in Gyeongju and Jeonju have some common socio-cultural concerns regarding heritage management. Although some efforts have been made to understand general shortcomings in heritage management practices, there is a lack of such research pertaining to the unique socio-economic and cultural context of South Korea, which is characterised by the relatively young history of democracy and recent growth of interest in developing its heritage for public uses and tourism. The present study attempts to address this gap by adopting an integrated approach to understand and analyse the problems.

1.2 Research Objectives and Methodology

The conceptualisation of heritage has evolved from 'the legacy of the past' (Lowenthal, 1998) to 'a social process' (Byrne, 2003; Smith, 2006). Heritage, according to constructionists, is 'selective use of the past for contemporary purposes' (Graham & Howard, 2016; McDowell, 2008), thus, the needs of the current society determine and identify the necessity of heritage. Therefore, heritage is constructed based on a 'highly politicised process' and 'subject to construction, reconstruction, and deconstruction of memory and identity' (Whelan, 2005). Regarding the theories, the present study proposes a question on how heritage functions to address a national agenda.

The present study did not attempt to generalise the specific findings from the two study sites to other locations. Rather, it attempted to explore and analyse the relationship between local communities and the process of urban heritage construction in the two South Korean cities based on the principle of analytical generalisation (Yin, 2013).

The objectives of the research questions and the literature review were to derive the most pertinent themes and theoretical frameworks for the present study, which seeks to understand the principal factors influencing the practice and process of urban heritage production in South Korea. Primary keywords for the research questions included: urban heritage, community, and identity.

The guiding research questions focus on how urban heritage has been constructed in the two South Korean cities, specifically:

1) Construction of heritage in urban context

Which social, political, and economic factors affect decisions to construct heritage in the urban context? How is heritage being constructed, and what is the process like? Which circumstances contribute to the construction of heritage in urban context? What are the main impetuses that makes and shapes heritage especially in the urban context?

2) Community

What is the nature of community involvement in the processes of the production of heritage in the urban context? How communities are engaged in such processes and

how do they encounter and conceptualise the ways in which heritage is constructed and utilised? How do local communities perceive their cultural heritage? What is the communities' role, and what are their responses to the development of the current production of heritage?

3) Identity

What kind of identity does the government of South Korea seek to promote with officially recognised heritage in policy and practice? Does the government of South Korea try to preserve community identity while constructing urban heritage sites? Do residents (local communities) have an opportunity to affect heritage-related issues to protect the identities of their community? How is the process like for the re-negotiation of identities in the context of these heritage cities?

These questions were analysed to understand the current process of urban heritage development in South Korea, and to elucidate the impact of related policy and practice on specific historic sites and communities. There are three interdependent entities in the context of urban heritage conservation, namely urban heritage, community, and identity. There have been numerous theoretical definitions of each of these entities, and yet the dynamic and complex relationships between them have not been adequately examined.

Meanwhile, it is worth noting that populations have been more concentrated in urban areas, globally. This suggests greater likelihood of diverse needs, concerns, and expectations of stakeholders in urban areas. It also makes the identification,

coordination, and alignment of the comprehensive range of stakeholders' interests difficult for urban heritage conservation. Many heritage professionals insist on the urgency of conservation in urban areas; however, particularly in developing countries, this is often neglected due to the prioritisation of economic developments and urbanisation processes. Preservation of identity issues might be the prime rationale to conserve urban heritage at a local or a national level. However, this brings up numerous questions such as; how to define, verify, and appraise the identity which is non-tangible and based on subjective perceptions. In the present study, the relationships among these three principal entities - urban heritage, community, and identity - were explored with reference to the research literature in order to understand the current phenomena in urban heritage production and practice.

Additionally, the present study discussed the need to account for the South Korean socio-economic and politico-cultural context and unique challenges and opportunities in the given context. Unfortunately, there has been a lack of research which focuses on the factors contributing to the process of urban heritage production in South Korea. To properly calibrate the scope of the present study for the research questions, the present study adopted an integrative framework to comprehensively explore various entities including urban heritage, community, and identity.

Research was conducted based on interpretivism theory to understand the meanings of collecting data regarding social phenomena, a grounded theory-guided observations and semi-structured interviews were conducted. Grounded theory is known to be a useful framework when there is only limited understanding of the

phenomena under investigation (Creswell, 2009). Detailed information of the research methodologies and corresponding analytic procedures are provided in Chapter 4.

Along with the observations and in-depth interviews, archival documents, photographs, policy publications such as white papers and periodicals pertaining to the culture and history of the research sites, as well as social media were all utilised as supplementary materials. Interviews were conducted not only with experts (e.g., central government and local authorities, and heritage professionals), but also with non-experts who represent the community (e.g., local residents, merchants, and non-governmental organisations) from each of the two study locations.

1.3 Original Contributions

A key originality of the present study lies in the locations of the case studies, Gyeongju and Jeonju, which share overarching historical and socio-economic backgrounds as both cities belong to South Korea. Also, consideration of the unique contexts of the two cities in terms of the types of heritages, roles of central and municipal governments, outcomes of heritage production and management processes, attitudes of local residents and communities, and disproportionate economic advancement adds value to the originality of the present study. Furthermore, collection of the study data from a comprehensive range of multiple stakeholders including government officials, heritage experts, journalists, local residents, and tourists ensured the adequacy of the study's scope and neutrality.

The research offers an insightful snapshot revealing the patterns of

interrelations among the multiple stakeholders in the two cities in the given political context. It would be useful diagnostic information which can facilitate revisiting the roles of various entities in heritage management processes and improving the procedures and practices of government authorities. Generic themes extracted from the present study can serve as practical guidelines for a comprehensive heritage discourse and may be applicable to the designing improved heritage management systems for sustainable heritage management. Moreover, the present study can be a useful reference for scholars who are interested in heritage production, particularly in South Korean context.

1.4 The Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is comprised of seven chapters. Chapter 1 is an Introduction providing the background information and problem statement for the present study. This chapter highlights the need and overall objectives of the study along with brief information regarding the research methodology. This chapter also deals with the uniqueness and contribution of the study.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of previous research and key theoretical frameworks that are related to the urban heritage, community engagement, and identity issues. Various academic disciplines related to heritage studies like tourism, sociology, anthropology, and cultural geography were taken into account for this chapter. This is because the interdisciplinary dialogues in heritage studies are essential given that heritage management processes affect and are influenced by a broad range of socio-economic and politico-cultural factors. In fact, many studies

on urban heritage have revealed the tension between urban development and heritage conservation. Chapter 2 starts with an exploration of theories and practices for urban heritage management process, as well as the review of heritage policies for the management of international, national, and local heritage. While examining a wide range of elements in relation to urban heritage conservation, the concept of sense of place (which maintains the meaning of the site), and a political environment which affects the heritage decision making process were also reviewed. The second part of the chapter deals with the community issues, such as community identification, citizen and community participation, and heritage ownership, which are deeply embedded in social interactions. The final part of the chapter offers a review of previous studies regarding heritage identity issues and the role of heritage as a medium to engender national and collective identities.

Chapter 3 provides the background information of the case study areas, cities of Gyeongju and Jeonju in South Korea, in terms of major socio-economic and other heritage related attributes. Introduction of South Korean history, overview of the heritage management policies evolutions in South Korea, and analysis of the characteristics of key heritage decision makers and governance structure were provided. The two study areas, Gyeongju and Jeonju are indeed important and representative cases of heritage management in South Korea. The heritage management projects in Gyeongju and Jeonju were successful and government support and leadership were some of the noteworthy contributing factors to the success. However, some side effects were also noted. It is very important to understand the heterogeneous motivations behind the heritage projects across the two cities. Modern history of South Korea had been dynamic and some

major historical milestones including Japanese colonisation (1910-1945), Korean War (1950-53), and military dictatorship (1960-79) had greatly affected the development of heritage field with an attempt to restore national pride and legitimacy of the regime. However, the unidirectional top-down approaches in heritage management have been questioned for their effectiveness and fairness since democratic consolidation and demand for alternative approaches has been on the rise. The first part of Chapter 3 outlines the brief history of South Korea as well as its impact on local societies in both study areas, particularly in relation to the development processes of the areas as heritage tourism destinations. The second half of the chapter focuses on the political attributes of heritage management, such as nationalism and identity building, as well as the impact of the government-appointed experts. Also, focus was placed on the role of local community members in the heritage management processes.

Chapter 4 elaborates the methodologies for the present study and the approaches that correspond to the theoretical frameworks. The chapter begins with a discussion of the suitability of qualitative research design and the alignment of ontology, epistemology, and methodology for the exploration and analysis of the heritage phenomenon of the two study sites. Based on the interpretivism, the needs for qualitative study approaches to extract meanings from the field data were discussed to justify the interviews, observations, and supplementary documentation analyses as the three major methods for the present study. Detailed procedures for these methods were introduced and their relevance to the grounded theory approach was elaborated. Also, adequacy of these methods and approaches to different groups of study participants from public / government entities, private entities, and

local community members was extensively discussed. Concrete information about the breadth of study participants was provided as well. Advantages and potential limitations of the utilised methods and approaches were introduced while the procedures to meet ethical guidelines for field research with human subjects were discussed.

Chapter 5 focuses on the production of heritage cities in the cases of Gyeongju and Jeonju, as the representative heritage management cases in South Korea. While mainly addressing the research questions, the first half of the chapter elucidated the mechanisms of constructing each heritage site. A nationalist agenda as an antithesis to the oppressive Japanese colonialism was examined to explore the unique attitudes toward local heritage across heritage experts and non-experts from local communities. Relationships between local heritage and its appreciator were focused on, especially centring in on the heritage related stories, memories, and attachment building processes. Perceptual discrepancies across the experts and non-experts in regard to the local heritage was analysed as well. Unique patterns of valorising the heritages were focused on. The second half of the chapter portrays community's reaction to the national / local authorities and nationally appointed experts with an aim of illustrating the current heritage management related issues in each study area, such as deliberate negligence to old buildings, and depopulation of the historic city centres. Community members' sentiment of their local heritage and heritage management issues were explored as an attempt to identify strategies for sustainable heritage management.

While Chapter 5 focuses on government authorities, experts, and community members' dialogues regarding heritage production process in each

study area, Chapter 6 examines local community members' and visitors' experiences, perceptions, and reactions to the current heritage management system. For instance, analyses of the inputs from interviewees regarding particular heritage restoration / reconstruction works in Gyeongju city demonstrated the unique process of valorisation, appreciation, and experience of heritage for community members and visitors. Even though materialised and authorised heritage has been the major target of protection by the national and municipal government and heritage professionals, the city's top-down attitude towards local community members made it hard to gauge their understanding and appraisal of the heritage sites. Based on related themes, discussions were made to provide explanations for the detected conflicts and dissenting voices regarding heritage management processes across community members and other entities. The final part of the chapter made a line of discussions to identify the potential contributing factors in local people's engagement in heritage management issues by addressing their attachment to their local heritage and the meaning making of non-authorised heritage inherent in their everyday lives. The chapter concludes by introducing a pilot project in Jeonju city as an example of a heritage management process incorporating community members' collective memories in a respectful manner, which can induce voluntary and proactive engagement from the community members.

Chapter 7 draws a conclusion by synthesising the previous chapters and provides an overall evaluation of the findings identified by the present study. First, it deals with the role of heritage in society: a medium of social change / transformation with its democratic values. Under the three major themes of the

research objectives—urban heritage construction, community empowerment, and identity issues, it was assessed that the authorised heritage in both study areas may have limited lasting impact on the local practice. Rather, local community members seem to find value in their local heritage based on associated subjective values in their everyday lives. Indeed, unauthorised heritage turned out to function as an instrument for promoting community attachment and sense of belonging. However, the prevailing attitude of government and experts turned out to be a major barrier that excludes local community members from the heritage management processes while compromising social cohesion. It was also noted that strengthening democratic values, commemorative values, and sense of belonging to heritage should be the first step to co-construct heritage through the enhanced community ties. The chapter ends with a discussion on potential limitations of the study and directions for future research in heritage studies.

CHAPTER 2

HERITAGE PRODUCTION, COMMUNITY AND IDENTITY

2.1 Introduction

In city management, urban development and conservation of cultural and historic urban heritage are often approached with contradicting viewpoints, though they are like two sides of a coin (Araoz, 2013; Van Oers & Pereira Roders, 2014). Specifically, it is not uncommon that urban heritage is regarded as an obstacle to urban development or renewal projects. Meanwhile, demands for urban development or renewal are regarded as major threats for the conservation of urban heritage resources (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012; Getty Conservation Institute, 2010). This dynamic tension between conservation and development is not new, however, the complex nature of urban conflicts and diverse interests complicates stakeholders', like local residents and business owners, understanding of the urban context as a venue for organically intertwined and mutually dependent social relations (Brenner & Schmid, 2014).

Cities are the heart of culture, economy, and social events, and extensively represent numerous attributes of urban culture as they are grounded upon various

layers of history (Soja, 2003; 2011). This aspect was summarised by UNESCO in 2013:

Urban heritage is of vital importance for our cities—now and in the future. Tangible and intangible urban heritage are sources of social cohesion, factors of diversity and drivers of creativity, innovation and urban regeneration (UNESCO, 2013b).

People influence places through construction, maintenance, and demolition. Also, they live, work, and gain socio-economic and psychological experience in urban places. Breadth and depth of cultural landscape in historic centres commensurate with history. As Hayden contended (1997), such places are repositories of communities with their social history. Therefore, urban areas need to be understood in the context of historic dynamics of social and cultural interactions unique to the regions (Bettencourt, 2013; Ortman *et al.*, 2014).

After the second half of the 19th century, rapid urbanisation, urban growth, and urban renewal projects were initiated in large parts of the world. Sassen (2011) argued that cities were reflective of the political shifts of the early stage of the new global era, which subsequently increased the desire to rejuvenate entire urban centres to prepare them to be platforms of socioeconomic and cultural advancement for the new era in the 1980s (De Jong *et al.*, 2015).

Urbanisation processes often entail or compel the sacrifices of heritage resources. However, the presence of culture and heritage strengthens the attraction of an urban area and engenders the historic distinctiveness of the area. Things change over time. That being said, it is worth noting that some elements of urban

heritage contribute to the continuity of the unique identity and values of the urban area. Besides the ensemble of the physical structures, the *genius loci* (which means the spirit of the place) has been gaining attention in cutting edge heritage discourse (Markeviciene, 2012). The *genius loci* is often described as an intangible manifestation or associated values that are embedded in the material sites. The *genius loci* of the sites are shaped gradually with the mutual influence of nature, human interaction, and the past while they jointly assure and protect the continuity of the site's identity and values.

This premise has been made clear in the ICOMOS Quebec Declaration on the Preservation of the Spirit of Place (ICOMOS, 2008). The Declaration noted the importance of social interactions as the core processes of transmission and sustainment of a local spirit. "Recognising that spirit of place is transmitted essentially by people, and that transmission is an important part of its conservation, we declare that it is through interactive communication and the participation of the concerned communities that the spirit of place is most efficiently safeguarded, used, and enhanced. Communication is the best tool for keeping the spirit of place alive" (ibid no page numbers on the book).

Even though the meaning of the *genius loci* may need adjustment, considering the unique cultural and historical contexts of particular sites, it generally means that the spirit of place is continuously reconstructed through the processes of responding to continuity of communities and the social needs for change (ibid). Also, its meaning can vary across cultures because the means, practices, and procedures of capturing and sharing memories are different across

heterogeneous cultures. Nevertheless, the concept of genius loci regards a scope of conservation that emphasises the unique sociocultural factors of a given local community, encompassing intangible elements such as local values and traditions as well as physical elements such as buildings and civil infrastructure systems associated with the ‘authenticity’ of the site (ibid).

As of June 2020, 193 of the 195 countries recognised by the UN are members of UNESCO and they have ratified the World Heritage Convention. Most of the world has legal protective measures to conserve heritage through various management schemes. While international institutions such as UNESCO or ICOMOS have been busy fostering the development of declarations and recommendations to build frameworks, each state and locality has been required to make a tailored approach to find the most feasible and suitable way to ensure the its heritage conservation while conforming to international guidelines (Logan, 2001: p 54).

The following chapter summarises the review of the body of literature that is related to urban heritage and the community identity preservation.

2.2 Understanding Urban Heritage and Urbanisation

An unprecedented growth in the number of people living in urban areas is a global phenomenon which has caused growing interest in urban conservation. UNESCO notes that there was an explosion of urban populations; more than half of the world’s most populous cities are in urban regions. Globally, there were more people

living in cities than in rural areas in 2007, and it is expected that the proportion who live in urban areas will rise to around 70% in 2050 (UNESCO, 2008: p 4-5). The urban concentration is prominent particularly in Asia, where 13 of the 28 global megacities are located as of 2014 (UN, 2015). The urban area is expected to host 22 of the 41 megacities in the region of China and India by 2030 due to current trends in immigration and urban growth (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2014).

The urban concentration and massive urbanisation process, particularly in Asia, could directly affect urban heritage and its conservation because there is a good chance that the urban centres with higher population density have greater concentrations of urban heritage sites, often in the old historic centres (Al-Houdalieh, 2009). The high population density and the limited availability of land in old historic centres can cause the destruction of extant urban heritage sites for new developments, re-zoning land uses, and degradation from the adjacent developments. In fact, many countries have been facing the conflict between urbanisation and conservation of heritage properties – though this issue is more critical in Asian developing countries, where the urbanisation process is rapidly occurring (Logan, 2012).

Bolay and Rabinovich (2000) offered an insightful analysis on the contradicting issues regarding the urbanisation process. Specifically, they presented two main causes that propel urbanisation: maximisation of return on investment of property owners, which doesn't necessarily reflect the overall needs of growing local population; and the needs for modern civil infrastructure such as

transportation, water, and sanitation with the spatial expansion of urban areas for new residents. Thus, meeting two different types of needs such as economic growth and modern standard of living can accelerate redevelopment of historic cities, which in turn will raise the value of land in the region and vicinity.

Concentration on new physical development in urban areas spurs economic growth and revitalisation of historic cores. However, it also displaces local people who must move to city outskirts and creates informal settlements (Solinger, 2006). Bromley (1998: p 68) argues that “because of the demand from their low-income inhabitants and because of their centrality,” informal settlements have especially emerged in many of the developing world’s urban areas centres. It is not surprising that the old historic centres which contain poorly maintained houses also have urban poor who are vulnerable to economic changes. Often, they are informal settlers in urban areas because they cannot afford formal residences due to the inflated land values associated with rampant redevelopments or new developments (Solinger, 2002).

In 2001, in response to the global urban development, UNESCO promoted the concept of Historic Urban Landscapes (HUL), aiming to reconcile urban development and conservation of urban heritage (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012; Jokilehto, 2010; Van Oers & Roders, 2013). This concept is not new, but it has culminated in the Recommendation of the Conservation of HUL. This shows the great concern for urban heritage destruction against the urbanisation processes across the world. Indeed, since WWII, the theory of integrated approaches to conservation of urban heritage has emerged in a more comprehensive way to

embrace development pressures in conserving heritage landscapes. The theory holds that an integrated approach is central to sustainable development. There has been a movement claiming that the urban heritage management framework should be based on a long-term strategic orientation and extensive strategies like the HUL (Landorf, 2009).

The HUL paradigm embraces the dynamic concepts and meanings related to layers of human settlements. Indeed, HUL underscores the integrated approaches of multiple stakeholders like residents, property owners, civil engineers/labourers, and state or local government when it comes to the planning, designing, and executing urban development considering how layered cultural heritage experiences impact urban landscape and why this is relevant in the outcomes of urban renewal. It is premature to comprehensively evaluate the effectiveness of this new approach at this point; however, it is clear that the social ties and economic development with urban heritage resources can function as an engine to promote socio-economic development because cities are dynamic organisms (UNESCO, 2013a).

2.2.1 Urban Heritage Theory and Practice

Lowenthal emphasises heritage protection and valorisation as “Western in origin, language, and leadership” (Lowenthal, 2004: p 22). Urban heritage conservation efforts initially grew out in the Post War period in Europe from the professional and academic bodies tasked with reconstructing buildings, districts, and neighbourhoods that were destroyed or damaged because of WWII. Protection

plans and strategies for the extant historic urban fabrics regarding conservation techniques, materials, and reconstruction forms grew out of this concern. Consequently, in 1964, the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (the Venice Charter) was made, and adopted in 1965 (ICOMOS, 1965). It was the first international Charter on conservation of the built heritage to establish conservation guidelines to the built heritage to serve a “more restrictive and scientific approach” (Meurs, 2007: p 53). Nonetheless, the Venice Charter was designed primarily to conserve the original physical elements, with a proposition that the authenticity of sociocultural value is implied by original materials.

Consensus has been reached among many countries on the significance of urban heritage conservation after WWII. The principle of conservation of urban heritage has evolved around the world initially to recover from devastation of war and later to incorporate changes of social norms and policies in recent decades, such that conservation does not merely refer to the preservation of architectural monuments but involves augmentation of multifaceted historical and cultural values. While urban expansion and development pressures have been on the rise across the world, an alternative and comprehensive angle is required to conserve urban heritage in a more sustainable and culture/environment-friendly manner. For instance, it is worth noting that the focus of conservation has been expanded from the physical material of buildings and monuments to the groups of buildings as a whole, as well as landscapes, which refer to the interplay between the buildings and environment. Originated from the concept of *conservazione integrata* by Piero Gazzola (1975), the concept of an integrated approach was introduced. The urban

heritage conservation concept shifted from the protection of individual buildings or monuments to the significance and the meaning of heritage (Van Oers 2007). Developed in the 1976, Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas, the operational definition of “historic areas” made a notable influence on shaping the concept of historic urban landscape, and the challenges of balancing preservation and development within historic cities. The 1976 Recommendation stated:

Every historic area and its surroundings should be considered in their totality as a coherent whole whose balance and specific nature depend on the fusion of the parts of which it is composed and which include human activities as much as the buildings, the spatial organisation and the surroundings (UNESCO 1976: p 21).

As stated by Feilden, one of the most significant figures in conservation theory, heritage conservation is “the dynamic management of changes in order to reduce as much as possible the pace of decay” (Feilden, 1986: p 87). Further, all types of heritage should be considered as an independent component contributing to the different aspects of the heritage while minimising the intervention, including any impeding future research and conservation. Feilden concludes that “conservation requires comprehensive socio-economic, legal and cultural actions, integrated at all levels” (ibid).

This paradigm shift and its concepts were also noted in the Burra Charter (1979), officially known as the Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance (Ahmad 2006). The Charter emphasises the significance of the urban built heritage at an integrated level, not individually, while identifying the intrinsic

sociocultural values in the physical urban fabric in Australia and the rest of the world. Thus, the Charter addresses the issue of value assessment in both physical and sociocultural aspects. The Charter promotes “a management of places of cultural significance to the assessment of cultural values and the preparation of a statement of significance” (Taylor, 2004: p 59). This paradigm serves as a set of standards for the conservation of heritage and management. The emphasis on original materials, authenticity, and integrity is influenced especially by the Western-oriented concepts of heritage (Jokilehto, 2006).

The term “Sustainable Integrated Conservation” was commonly used in the recent dialogue by UNESCO (2015: p 6). Regardless of subtle differences in meaning depending on context, this refers to a method of conservation which aims to balance the preservation of historical and cultural heritage as well as the municipality economically (i.e., by creating jobs and increasing the market value), culturally (i.e., by consolidating the cultural identity), and environmentally (i.e., by reusing the existing buildings and preventing the damages to building materials) (Van Oers 2007). Now with World Heritage Sites and numerous unlisted historic cities, understanding of heritage is in constant evolution from a focus on individual monuments and sites to a protection of cultural landscapes (Van Oers & Pereira 2014). The integrated approach which is manifested in UNESCO’s 2011 recommendation on HUL is one such comprehensive effort.

Nonetheless, in practice, these theoretical approaches and international frameworks have both strengths and weaknesses. The urban heritage theories explore how conservation and development come to a ‘balance’ and this concept

often becomes the main objective of numerous planning projects. Yet, in fact, the contemporary heritage practice has been bedevilled by the concept of the ‘balance’, which is one of the prime conundrums in urban planning and management fields (Labadi, 2015). Historic cities are under pressure to implement modern standards for infrastructure conditions for municipal economic activities while maintaining urban heritage in either tangible and intangible forms.

Also, there are contradictions within international guidelines and a lack of consensus. Too often, urban heritage is destroyed to achieve modernity and revitalise old historic centres against local communities’ wishes. This can be attributed to excluding local people from discussions on what to do with the historical and cultural heritage (Serageldin, 2001). According to the Burra Charter, the assessment of the relocation venue for heritage should discover overlapping and associative values of different stakeholders with the intent of conserving and interpreting them (Habermas, 1984). Habermas contended that this process requires the voices from multiple parties of stakeholders to adequately ensure the continuity. This approach is, however, particularly challenging in many developing countries because of the restricted levels of participation, with limited community involvement or participatory opportunities for non-governmental organisations that barely ensure local stakeholders’ participation in decision-making processes. Also, a lack of expertise and efficient communication channels, fear of retribution, or high rates of illiteracy place significant barriers between decision makers and stakeholders (Wallstam *et al.*, 2020).

Apart from the discrepancy between urban heritage theory and practice, difficulties lie in the fact that heritage conservation relies on political environment.

Since the 1972 World Heritage Convention, the idea of heritage has notably expanded (Blake, 2015). Specifically, the understanding of heritage has been transformed; from the notion that heritage is something to be celebrated for its presence and historicity, and the authenticity and value thereof, to the notion that heritage is something to be appreciated as a process that uses the past as a resource to construct meaning in the present (Smith, 2006; Harvey, 2001).

The change influences the decision-making process for which buildings or historic layers deserve conservation efforts. This process is a form of political action which is privileged by interpretation and protection as Hayden's (1997) place memories or de Certeau's (1984) stories. The concept of heritage has been expanded such that it refers not only to property but also place, product, performance, project, and process of the mutual influence between people and heritage. In other words, it has shifted from protection to interpretation. Logan mentioned that heritage is a result of a 'selection process', thus heritage values are not merely inherent but attributed (Logan, 2012; see also Smith, 2006). Therefore, in the selection process, minority groups or marginalised layers of associate meanings are often neglected. Based on the officially sanctioned interpretation, designated historic districts or singular monuments are protected according to the privileged history. This further exacerbates the limitedness of access and use of a place, disenfranchising communities and individuals with their own previously unhindered association to the place in question. Conservation, thus, intrinsically has the possibility to exclude some stakeholders through the interpretation and the selection processes.

2.2.2 Heritage Policy and Favourable Heritage

Western elitists consolidate their positions in the heritage practice and management fields (Winter, 2007: p 41). McCarthy (2012) suggested that the Western culture-oriented elitisms imply further issues in heritage assessment and management stages because “current built heritage protection strategies privilege the values of a small part of the community because these strategies do not reflect the ways most people perceive risks and make decisions” (p 633). It echoes the view of Harrison (2013) that the ‘experts’ who produce statistics and data critical for risk/benefit analysis are the ones who define and evaluate heritage management schemes.

On the one hand, this approach causes a discrepancy between international charters and national and local heritage policy. The former serves as methodological and philosophical references and the latter provides a regulatory framework to protect and manage designated areas. In addition to the discrepancy, a poorly established governance structure and unstable political environment due to ever-changing regimes, which is common in developing countries, also provide the inadequacy of identification of their historic resources and lack of systemic motivation for the protection of urban heritage.

On the other hand, much of the literature reveals that the elitist approach is also linked with heritage politics and with the processes of selecting the targets of heritage preservation or development (Smith *et al.*, 2008: p xii). Thus, close scrutiny is essential for the unbiased and balanced assessment of the sociocultural and economic utility and cost of the heritage preservation or development.

As Foucault argues, the selection process aims to perpetuate cultural power dynamics represented by the concept of “governmentality- a portmanteau of government and mentality” (Foucault, 1991: p 96). Foucault’s concept explains that the government(s) employ(s) experts such as historians, archaeologists, architects, etc., who are involved not as mere stakeholders but in shaping / creating the meaning of heritage (Smith, 2006). For instance, archaeology is used as a tool to control sociocultural conflicts and promote particular political agendas (Smith, 2004). Moreover, archaeologists and other professionals in the heritage field take responsibility in producing heritage and culture which is closely intertwined with the process of establishing national and sub-groups’ identities (Kohl, 1998; Meskell, 2005).

As described by Bleyon, the heritage policy requires several political and economic prerequisites from governments. In this network of various interests and demands, the governance structures will inevitably need a dedicated entity to oversee historic resources while possessing authority to designate conservation areas, regulate private owners’ action, and manage to harmonise with local communities (Bleyon, 1980).

This kind of “cultural hegemony” (Gramsci, 2009: p 87) helps to make a sanitised version of history (Smith, 2009; Hollinshead, 1997; Waitt, 2000), and “staged authenticity” (MacCannell, 2008: p 335); and produce “favourable heritage experience” (Urry, 1990: p 93). Whether the process is promoted by expertise or by governments, Meskell argued that creation of heritage is intrinsically political, which is a culturally generative act. She mentioned that heritage expertise can be

said to invent culture and constitute heritage (Meskell *et al.*, 2015: p 427). Therefore, in line with Certeau's argument (1984: p 171), all the types of conservation such as study, documentation, and discovery serve to institute a "sanctioned story" of a place. Also, he argued that "official canonical texts interpose a frontier between the text and its readers that can be crossed only if one has a passport delivered by official interpreters" (*ibid.*). Thus, the governance bodies, authorities, and scholarly elites are responsible for the official values and definitions of significance privileged by these processes.

Heritage tourism is used as another type of social control tool to perpetuate the privilege of expertise in governments and experts through 'cultural hegemony' (Hewison, 1987; Hollinshead, 1999; Coleman & Crang, 2002). The unbalanced utilisation of heritage as socioeconomic resource can engender negative impacts on the municipal lives of historic cities. According to Yenez, it is also worth noting the complexity of these issues in Barcelona, Spain, where the residents struggle with the side effects of heritage tourism. Since the city held the 1992 Olympic Games, mass heritage tourism has overwritten the unique identity and value of the place, as well as compromised the tranquillity of the residents (e.g., noise, traffic, increased cost of living). While the city focuses on the economic gains from the tourism, they welcome big tourist corporations such as a luxury hotel chain that have altered the cityscape remarkably (Yenez, 2011).

In addition, the dislocation of the original residents has been continuously occurring in the historic centres of Spain. Groups of tenants who cannot afford the skyrocketing rental fees were compelled to move to the outskirts of the city in

Madrid and Barcelona because the property owners sell their buildings and houses to developers who seek financial gains from tourism business. No particular remedy is available for those who were forced to move from the historic centres. This exemplifies one of the shortcomings of an urban heritage management system that views and treats heritage with a business or utilitarian perspective.

This tendency is not unique to Spain. The heritage tourism is used as a means of generating economic revenues irrespective of its historical and cultural significance or representativeness at the global level. As Wilkinson showed, in Moscow, the vast majority of new developments in the historic centre cater to rich people by converting the most charming areas to super-gentrified ghettos for the rich (Wilkinson, 2009). This can lead to the loss of historical and cultural identity, authenticity, and the sociocultural values of the historic centres. Moreover, the extreme gentrification forces the long-term residents' dislocation because they no longer afford to stay in the areas they used to reside in as these places are taken over to suit the interests of the wealthy (ibid).

As Serageldin (1999) noted, there is a wide range of elements to be considered for urban heritage conservation. He stated that goals of urban heritage conservation include accommodation of ecologically sensitive architecture and urbanism, promotion of municipal finances, provision of incentives for the private sector, incorporation of apprehension for the poor, and encouragement of community involvement and participation (Serageldin, 1999). He also identified many stakeholders who can be involved in the processes for the heritage conservation such as national and local governments, residents, domestic and

international tourists, international organisations, and private property development firms. The resident group can be most vulnerable to the changes caused by heritage conservation or development because of their limited ability to influence the real estate market. Meanwhile, governments tend to have the paramount role in key decision makings.

Therefore, comprehensive analysis of the needs and concerns of these multiple stakeholders and alignment of goals are integral to the effective and sustainable heritage conservation or development planning. However, there tends to be fundamental incompatibility of the goals for urban renewal and conservation of heritage. Dix (1999) proposed an applicable solution for the challenges due to the conflict between urban renewal and conservation of heritage. Conservation of a city's physical fabric is necessary to maintain the originality of the historic urban fabric while the communities' needs should be taken into account. While Serageldin (1999) noted the difficulty in evaluating all the socioeconomic factors related to urban heritage and its conservation/development, he spoke for the importance of analysing costs and benefits of all stakeholders who are involved in the process of urban heritage protection and development. Serageldin viewed heritage as a public good and considered the relationship between heritage and heritage tourism. He also elaborated on the intricate association between heritage and tourism, focusing on the two sides of the coin: economic benefits and threats to historic resources and communities (Serageldin, 1999; Nasser, 2003; Hampton, 2005). Put differently, conservation of historic sites can be beneficial to gaining public attention and collecting funds for site maintenance. However, it can also threaten the quality of everyday life of the municipality which in turn can undermine the values of heritage.

Overall, a lack of consideration for urban heritage resources compromises the irreplaceable historical and cultural values inherent to heritage assets in urban areas, while the governments tend to put emphasis on city development to meet the modern socioeconomic standards (Najimi, 2011). Nonetheless, the conservation of urban heritage is not a panacea to maintain urban heritage resources. D'eraimo (2014) invented the term “UNESCOcide,” and it titled an article which revealed that the sense of place and authenticity are sacrificed when heritage sites are listed amongst UNESCO’s World Heritage Sites. He argued that when the governments conserve the listed sites while promoting heritage tourism, the sites are forced to sell the “local specialities”, thus, they may lose their original vibrancy (D’eraimo, 2014: p 47). This phenomenon is observed in many different countries, particularly in the developing countries which become ‘all of the same place’ due to monotonous industrial strategies for marketing and loss of the original residents and uniqueness (ibid).

Indeed, there are many heritage properties that have lost their original municipal community which had created and maintained properties over the many years. The community has cultural links to the heritage, and there must be a clear understanding of the meaning of the community involvement. However, the link between the heritage sites is not straightforward due to the complexity of the urban areas and the community groups. Moreover, even though the community involvements in the management of the heritage sites have been emphasized, there are no specific guidelines that can be followed to ensure appropriate and effective involvement. Therefore, in the following, the community issues such as the identification as well as citizenship and ownership issues are reviewed.

2.3 Identification of Community

The concept of heritage has been extended to embrace the focus on community involvements over the past few decades. Vaughan (2016: p 10) stated that researchers commonly refer to community as “a group of people living in the same locality” which includes a notion of habitat.

Geographical location, along with organisations or social institutions and proximity determined by geographic location can facilitate communication among residents and function as the pedestal of another element of community: Communication itself regarding shared interests among residents (MacQueen *et al.*, 2001; Mancoske, 2011). Thus, a community consists of a group of people who hold the sense of belonging to a shared locality and have a common set of interests for their living. Their participation in common activities is necessary to engender a sense of identity for a common purpose (*ibid*).

It is important to note that the concept of community itself is not unproblematic. In modern heritage, the concept of heritage involvement is well posed with the tendency to illustrate communities as homogeneous groups from the past with a consistent identity. In 2005, for instance, Article 2 of the Faro Convention claimed that cultural heritage “is a group of resources inherited from the past which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge, and tradition. It includes all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time” (ed. Porsdam, 2015: p 45).

Nonetheless, if communities are considered as “ongoing projects of democracy” (Moore, 2008: p 258) in which identity is “explored and recreated” (Collins, 2017: p 58), associated values, identity issues, and even authenticity issues become fluid, most likely contested in the community itself. This view on communities reveals a limited role of the heritage experts because community involvement is not a means of social control, where the dominant experts are used to wield powers to buttress the legitimacy of the heritage governance (UNESCO *et al.*, 2013).

Furthermore, heritage and the heritage pedagogy greatly contribute to legitimate state power that creates cultural hegemony over the whole society. Conventionally, they act as subtle hegemonic tools for information, knowledge, and belonging in public representation (Ashley, 2006: p 639).

2.3.1 Citizenship and Community Participation

While the concept of community is defined as a group of people whose relationships are tied to a common locale, the concept of participation requires playing a(n) (pro)active role in decision making processes that affect their everyday life (Rowe *et al.*, 2004). Participation can be conceptualised in two ways: instrumental participation and transformational participation (Nelson and Wright, 1995). When it is interpreted as a means (instrumental participation), the involvement process is not sustainable since it tends to focus on the achievement of predetermined common

social goals and the participation is contingent upon these goals (Lizarralde & Massyn, 2007; Hostovsky *et al.*, 2010).

This type of participation is observed on many occasions and does not necessarily help to promote individuals' intrinsically motivated participation. On the contrary, transformational participation refers to the volitional, proactive involvement of people that strengthens their efficacy and effectiveness while contributing to the sustainability of participation. This type of participation promotes achieving social goals such as equity and democracy because it incorporates the community members as active contributors in decision-making processes and empowers them to protect and enact their own rights (Hostovsky *et al.*, 2010).

Furthermore, Arnstein (1969: p 216) contended that significant social reform is achievable through community (citizen) participation:

The redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, is to be deliberately included in the future. It is the strategy by which the have-nots join in determining how information is shared, goals and policies are set, tax resources are allocated, and programs are operated. In short, it is the means by which they can induce significant social reform which enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society.

Indeed, community or citizen participation has become a common practice across the field of Urban Heritage Conservation (Koorosh, 2015). While Gramsci argued that the citizenship is a part of an "historical bloc" (Gramsci, 2001: p 46), Rasmussen *et al.* noted that citizenship has predominantly been defined in

relationship to a state, a community or the economy, thus it is seen as neither agent nor structure, but a “process of struggle” (Rasmussen & Brown, 2002: p 182 – 183).

The interesting aspect of Gramsci’s thinking is that the dominant ideologies become a foundation of a society which will be taken for granted by people. Subsequently, this would form norms and common sense inherent to the civil society (Hobden & Wyn Jones, 2001: p 210). Therefore, the state needs the cultural hegemony that is produced within civil society. Gramsci described the state using the following formula: State = Political Society + Civil Society (Gramsci, 2009).

Regarding citizenship, Habermas has introduced the idea of the public sphere as a place for reasonable debate where people communicate face to face regarding public interests. His theory is useful in conceptualising communicative processes regarding representation, exchange of ideas, identification of agreement or disagreement, and negotiation. Frameworks for and approaches to heritage management have emphasised communication through the eyes of locals, while Habermas’ argument about the public sphere serves as the foundation, as it prioritises the critical analysis of public opinion, the public interest, democracy, and citizenship over economic considerations (Mosco, 1996).

A fundamental question in the discussion about the public sphere regards participation and access (Fraser, 1993; Ku, 2000). Meanwhile questions can be aroused such as whose ideas are placed and reflected in this participation process, and to what extent the principal cultural ideas monopolise the public conversation. State, civil, and market actors are all major contributors who infuse public

knowledge to the public domain. Civil society is a source of public knowledge and an arena of conflict (Ku, 2000).

The public sphere is not only the abstract place but also the sociocultural process for the reproduction and presentation of dominant ideology. For instance, meanings are (re)produced and reflected to the public sphere. Then they are ‘experienced, accepted, and passed’ on by society members (Ashley, 2006). Indeed, acceptance and (re)production of public knowledge are critical parts that make ideologies survive. Thus, the control of production while limiting the available public knowledge is an effort to ensure the survival of dominant social ideologies. The reproduction is the other way, which restricts critical thinking or oppositional interpretations to buttress dominant social ideologies (ibid).

Since the 1960s in Europe, community involvement has become a part of the planning framework officially, contributing to the establishment of democratising place-based policies (Cullingworth & Nadinm, 2002; Sandercock, 2005). As experience of participatory practice grows, however, concerns have also been aroused (Agger, 2012). According to Haumann, due to the paradigm shift in practice in the 1960s and 1970s, the temporal participatory practice is shown to be inadequate, and variability of community participation in different localities needed to be addressed (Haumann, 2011).

In the 1800s, urban historians identified the inflation of civic pride to be primarily based on the competitiveness among cities, and noted that it was manifested throughout the physical fabrics of cities (Beckett, 2005).

Furthermore, Levine (2003) argued that aside from the relationship between historic buildings and associated civic pride, there is an interest that stresses locality. He stated, “Belonging to the locality was to be in possession of an identity and of a genealogy, and to explore and uncover the past of the county was to enrich that genealogy” (p 61).

Therefore, the concerns toward heritage, related local history, and distinctive local identity have played a significant role in shaping the physical development of cities or towns and it has served as primary references in making political activities. Given the growing attention over the past decades, there are movements to encourage the community participation under the name of “community building” (Balen, 2015: p 98). This is also known as ‘community architecture’ (Wates & Knevitt, 1987), ‘community participation’ (Nicholson & Schreiner, 1973), ‘community empowerment’ (Craig and Mayo, 1995), or ‘progressive community planning’ (Angotti, 2008).

The renowned architect Jane Jacobs emphasised the significance of community involvements particularly in urban areas. She pointed out that all developing economic life depends on city economies and all expanding economic life depends on working links within cities (Jacobs, 1985). Cities’ productivity enhances their functionality, particularly via economic diversity and knowledge. Subsequently, knowledge spillover across sectors becomes significant to building a long-term economic resilience, which is part of a product of economic diversity (Jacobs, 1985).

Jacobs (1985) viewed cities as ‘problems in organised complexity’ and urban systems are required to closely observe a wide range of economic, social, and cultural processes to thrive. Her observation of New York City augmented her basic idea that cultural diversity contributes to economic diversity, and that it may help to engender knowledge spillover across sectors in urban areas. She also argued that cities can facilitate innovation through recombination of existing products and ideas into new forms. Conversely, the minority ethnic groups may be isolated, and have limited opportunities for knowledge spillover and interaction with other communities (Zenou, 2011). Both ideas are based upon the notion of amplifying effect of areas, which can be in either positive or negative direction.

Jacobs suggested that “big cities are natural generators of diversity and prolific incubators of new enterprises and ideas of all kinds” (Jacobs, 1961: p 145), because they encompass concentrations of people with different “taste, skills, needs, supplies, and bees in their bonnets” (Jacobs, 1961: p 147). And yet, she also argued that cities cannot automatically create diversity. Rather, small businesses in cities are intertwined with a wide variety of other businesses, resulting in economic networks (1961: p 145-148).

2.3.2 Heritage Ownership and Community

Heritage refers to something that has been inherited, but there is an arguable question on who owns the heritage or to whom it belongs, because the concepts of ownership and inheritance are different. While ownership can refer to being the guardian of heritage, inheritance can refer to tangible or intangible resources that have been passed down. The ownership matters are particularly significant in determining who is responsible for the management of heritage resources. Swarbrooke classified three sectors regarding heritage ownership: public, private, and voluntary (Swarbrooke, 1995: p 10). According to him, the public and voluntary sectors are mainly concerned with heritage conservation and education. On the contrary, the private sector tends to view heritage as a lucrative market and a recreation ground.

Timothy and Boyd (2006) argued that the public ownership of heritage is operated by government bodies while the private ownership is managed either by individuals or companies. Before the legislation, individuals or companies purchase the properties, or they can be passed down from ancestors. The voluntary sector's prime goal tends to be conserving and maintaining the continuity of the property and earning sufficient revenue. Certain heritage properties, for instance museums, can partner with public sectors and voluntary organisations. Therefore, the types of ownership can vary by each site; however, the motivations of different owners are important to understand because these affect heritage management schemes in advance (Howard, 2003).

According to Dicks, the relations of local political governance and ownership is particularly important because heritage production is deeply embedded in social relations. It is also intertwined with identity issues because every heritage management practice implies the selection and evaluation process that is indicative of representative groups or societies (Atkinson, 2014: p 101). In this discourse, the historic authenticity issues are of less importance, because the purposeful falsehoods are considered legitimate so long as the created stories are symbolic and meaningful enough to add cultural values. To construct a plausible national identity, various speculations, imaginations, and exaggerations regarding its origin or ancestry jointly lead to creation of a national myth with some deliberate historical falsehoods. It does not seem to be important whether the story is based on the truth (Lowenthal, 1998: p 5-9).

Further, the instrumental process is governed by the dominance of political elite groups who strive to construct identities and to create social cohesion to maintain their power and maintain their control over the society. Heritage professions can operate as instrumental assistants for this purpose (Rodenberg, 2012). For example, in the 19 – 20th century archaeologists and historians contributed substantially to creating national identities to discover and emphasise the distinctiveness of monuments and sites in the historic homeland of nations (Smith, 2006). The expert discourse has dominated for a long time in the management of heritage in the Western Hemisphere. During the 19 – 20th century, it became institutionalised through conventions, organisations, legislation, and charters both at the national and international level. They focus on buildings and

sites where much emphasis is placed on historic authenticity and uniqueness ‘as found’, while engraving the role of the heritage experts (Smith, 2006: p 19).

Alteration or adaptive reuse of historic buildings or sites are held to reduce their values; thus, they should be protected as they stand. Ruskin’s emblematic statement showed the role of heritage experts vividly. He stated “We have no right whatever to touch them. They are not ours.” (Rosenberg 1963: p 137). In his argument, even the expert groups seem to have no right to intervene in heritage resources as there is no room for the local people to participate. However, until today, the issues of authenticity including physical fabrics and associated values are still debatable in the heritage discourse.

Nonetheless, over the recent decades, a growing emphasis upon community participation has been discussed extensively regarding the heritage management and emphasis was also placed on local people’s responsibilities to manage the sites. Even though community participation entails substantial time, expertise and financial resources, the commitment and participation of local people engender a sense of belonging, and this contributes to the continuity of the sites. It is because a community whose relationships are tied to a locale with shared values and interests creates a strong bonding with the sites (Labadi, 2010).

Ironically, a demolition of significant landmarks under urban renewal projects often causes a sense of loss to the local people and brings community’s attentions to the heritage, leading to their participation in the heritage management. Because of threats such as community displacement, weakening of local identity, or loss of momentum for a local economic development, community participation

in various heritage management related decision-making processes has been investigated (Craig & Mayo, 1995). As mentioned earlier, a 'community' is not merely a group of people living in the same area. Rather, a sense of community that includes the process of social and affective bonding among neighbourhood is integral to the definition of community. Thus, Craig and Mayo viewed that building a community is a process to construct a sense of community among community members. Through the revival and development of community histories and cultures, communities can reshape their relations. Processes of active engagements result in community re-articulation of local place and history, which reinforces a sense of community and psychological attachment.

There is still a question, however, of how to integrate communities' equivocal perspectives and interests. Moreover, as stated above, there is no consensus on the best way of prioritizing an idea of an individual or entity over others in the decision-making process, and so is the case for the best way of integrating communities' different needs and desires. Moreover, the relationships between 'place' and 'people' are not always clear, because both are loosely defined collective entities. Dicks argued that both concepts are hard to grasp because they are theoretically constructed.

According to Haque (2004), in many countries, the city planning is extremely centralised at a national level and is under the direct control of authorities who are the leading agents involved in the heritage management decision-making processes. This is partially due to local governments' insufficient financial and technical resources for performing and developing projects transferred from the central

government (Haque *et al.*, 2010). Central governments tend to ignore significant local architecture, whether vernacular or grand in style, in the process. The ignorance of the associated value identified as ‘site of memory’ hinders the bonding of the members in local communities because the collective memories function to make their place meaningful and construct a sense of community (Nora, 1989). Also, collective memory helps communities identify themselves with common experiences and interests that engender a sense of belonging. Thus, there is an argument that the community identity is not merely inherited but created during heritage production (Toque & Nishimura, 2007).

Although central authorities might attempt to depoliticise such processes without respecting communities’ spirit and associated values, the attempted policies are hard to achieve. This point is illustrated in a case study of Pom Mahakan, Bangkok in Thailand, in which a community-based approach was applied to maintain their district against regional developments (Herzfeld, 2016). Herzfeld described that the resident community had substantial input to maintain their place (*ibid*). Over 50 households sustained over six generations were opposed to central government schemes to make their district an eco-tourism spot, and wanted to preserve the area, which was built in the 1700s. Unfortunately, the Pom Mahakan community was evicted by the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA) by the end of April 2016, so that the area could be turned into a public park. However, as Herzfeld stated, “the case shows that the residents have close affective bonds with the place itself. And this kind of bond is the best guarantee to self-appointed role as guarantors of the site’s conservation and good order always succeed where the authorities fail” (2016: p 201).

The case of Pom Mahakan raises an important question: why did the local community resist moving from the space, even though the government offered relocation places with decent subsidy? The residents have strong local attachment hitherto maintained through ritual traditions, collective memories with spirit shrines, etc. Nonetheless, it is unclear why the heritage sites have such meaningful value and why the local people believe the site is a part of their lives, rather than a physical location or real estate. The identity issues—the relationships between heritage and people, the sense of belonging, and the consumption of identity—need to be discussed to answer this question.

2.4 Heritage and Identity

Recently, there has been a surge of scholarly research in national identities (Brown 2004). Although Smith (1991) refers nationalism as 'the most compelling identity myth in the modern world', a sense of national identity is undoubtedly essential for many groups because it gives them a sense of belonging, distinguishes them from other groups and emphasises the coherence among in-group members. A sense of national identity 'provides a powerful means of defining and locating individual selves in the world' (Smith, 1991: p 17), and connects a group of people to a certain locale (Miller, 1995).

According to Anderson, the definition of the nation is an 'imagined political community', and the concept of national identity is multifaceted and complex, thus, problematic (Anderson, 2006). His concept 'imagined political community' is

accepted widely because the nation consists of people who never met nor know one another; however, they share the same belief that they are affiliated to the same community (Morgan *et al.*, 2003). Likewise, national identities are imagined identities, and suffused with ‘fluid, contextual, and contested discourses’ (Gruffudd, 1995).

As Lowenthal argued (1991), a past, or history, is an essential foundation for national identity because the past becomes the pedestal of the nation’s growth over time and space, and the past is being exploited for creating legends or myths which further enhance the identity of the nation (Smith, 2006). Therefore, it was not coincidence that history acquired substantial political attention when nationalism emerged in the 18th – 19th centuries (Timothy, 2014). Also, when a commonly shared or verified past of a nation was not available, many nations fabricated one. Thus, ‘the invention of tradition’ is common in building a nation (Hobsbawm, 2012). Among the various elements of the past such as ancestry, origins, liberation, decline, etc., people tend to pay selective attention to the idealised ‘golden age’ to showcase their nation’s splendid history and achievements (Smith, 2006).

Since the past is composed of multi-layers, there are possibilities to interpret them in different ways (*ibid*). Graham *et al.* stated that it is hard to build / reach a consensus as to which or whose legends epitomise the nation, and this is likely to exclude marginalised history and groups of people during the selection processes. (Graham *et al.*, 2016). Therefore, a national past is constructed as the concept itself (Gruffudd, 1995).

With the rise of nationalism in nineteenth-century Europe, the tangible vestiges of the past were considered substantially important for forming national identity. This recognition led to the rise of a conservation movement (Lowenthal 1981). Consequently, built heritage and monument have taken on significant importance as national symbols., and their importance was justified for nation-building (Herbert, 2001). Endowed with powerful new meanings, historic buildings and monuments became national monuments (Williams, 1983). Moreover, the archaeology discipline also made an important contribution to the rise of nationalism while strengthening its historical and territorial legitimacy (Kohl, 1998).

Heritage has gained a significant political role in underpinning national identity (Ashworth, 1994). The relationship between heritage and identity has firmly established. Without any sign of warning, nationalism wields one of the dominant powers over the globe, and heritage remains important in reinforcing national identities today (Ashworth, 2013).

Indeed, the relationship between heritage and identity is well demonstrated in an array of literature, and the ‘slippery concept of identity’, which regards the subjective or even arbitrary process of prototyping through generalization versus specialisation, fosters the sense of belonging and continuity (Smith, 2006: p 48). Heritage commonly serves as environmental and psychological cues that form meaning in human origin and existence with the timeless values and ideas and it also forms national identity (Graham *et al.*, 2000: p 41).

Hall argued that “identity is a ‘production’ and [one] which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within representation” (Hall, 2003: p 234).

This implies that identity, whether it is individual or collective, can be produced, performed, and mediated through interactions among individuals, societies, and their interactions. It opposes the view that regards identity as coherent, fixed, and constant. As a product of intricate and dynamic social interactions, identity is multifaceted, and it is shaped through the process of comparison, assurance, and adjustment in the given social, economic, political, and cultural contexts. Indeed, as Hall mentioned, identity can be actively performed, produced, and consumed, rather than being something which people are inherently born with. It is a "process of becoming rather than being: not 'who we are' or 'where we come from', but rather what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves" (Hall, 1996: p 4).

Hall's view is supported and developed by other culture and heritage theorists such as Smith and Dicks. For instance, Smith argued that "heritage is an active cultural process that engages with acts of remembering that work to create ways to understand and engage with the present" (2006: p 44). Likewise, Dicks also pointed out that "rather than representing a retreat from the present, the 'heritage boom' is stimulated by the needs, desires and issues of the present" (2003: p 131). She contended that 'heritage boom' does not come from a nostalgic desire for the past. Rather, it is fuelled by the understanding of the changes between the past and the present while enjoying 'in-betweenness.'

2.4.1 Globalisation, Identity, and Belonging

Globalisation and sense of belonging are closely related to the identity issues. Also, the issues of local belonging in a current global world are further addressed through the lens of the 'elective belonging' concept (Savage, 2005). Since the 1980s, the heritage boom has begun, and it was seen by many as the nostalgic and reactionary drive of the heritage industry. Dicks and others noted heritage sites as the place for cultural communication while mobilising "discourses of local identity, belonging, place, environment and... constructs of people and community" (Dicks, 2000: p 62; see also Dicks, 2003; Bagnall, 2003; Smith, 2006).

Boundaries of nation-states or countries become blurred due to globalization. Thus, nation or country-specific cultural identities become undermined, while many other socioeconomic factors' contributions to identity become enhanced. In response to this trend, there was an attempt to recreate "imaginary, knowable places in the face of the global post-modern which has destroyed the identities of specific places, absorbed them into this postmodern flux of diversity" along with ethnic revivals (Hall, 2003: p 35). Due to processes of globalisation, an alternative approach that focuses on connection and mobility in new forms was suggested, arguing that the globalisation can transform the local, but not transcend it (Castells, 1996; Adkins, 2005).

Currently, localised identities can draw on a diverse range of cultural forms and traditions due to ease of movement of people, information, and goods across the world. Therefore, the local is to be interpreted through the network with its global relationships, and through processes of 'glocalisation', a combination of the

words 'globalisation' and 'localisation.' (Robertson, 1995). The relationship between the global and the local is irreversible and inextricable and they are bound together through a dynamic relationship, as Urry argued (2002: p 84).

Through processes of globalisation, however, the idea of local communities which were rooted historically, has been questioned. With increased easiness and efficiency of mobilisation between towns, regions, provinces, and even nations over the past sixty years, cities over the world have witnessed how "attachment to place is detached from historical communal roots in that place" (Savage *et al.*, 2005: p 52). This means that a sense of belonging is not restricted to a particular place where one was born, rather people experience a sense of belonging through various modes of interpersonal and social connections. Indeed, people can choose where to settle, and they have a sense of 'elective belonging' to the 'elective locale' as Savage *et al* defined (Beck, 2002; Savage *et al.*, 2005). Therefore, a sense of belonging is posed in their ability to tie their personal biographies with the locality in which they choose to live. In this vein, a community is not a fixed entity with closed geographical boundaries and the concept of belonging is also not fixed, but rather fluid and constantly changing (Savage *et al.*, 2005: p 29).

2.4.2 Constructing and Consuming Identity

Heritage sites play a significant role in the process of how diverse personal and collective identities are performed, constructed, and legitimated. It is an active process through which individuals and communities negotiate and construct their

values, identities, and meanings. Authorities selected a particular version of the past, and they conserve and interpret it as a symbol of identity and memory. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996: p 6) noted that “the present selects and inheritance from an imagined past for current use and decides what should be passed on to an imagined future.” Although this poses an array of questions such as ‘whose heritage it is’ or ‘whose past it is’, admittedly that heritage has become the most vulnerable and exploited cash cow of today’s global heritage tourism industry (Ashworth *et al.*, 2014).

In detail, the recent heritage boom is explained by two reasons. First, the cultural shift in the postmodern era has witnessed processes of globalisation, diaspora, and post colonialism. These caused a transformation of social and cultural identities from relatively fixed to increasingly fluid entities (Hall, 1996; Woodward, 2006). The expansion of heritage sites and events is regarded as a response to these changes, representing a desire to revisit and ensure identities based on historical places (Graham *et al.*, 2000: p 76). Moreover, as Pierre Nora claims in the ‘site of memory’ (1989), the emergence of modern technologies in the heritage field and the “veneration of the trace” (Nora, 1989: p 13) are closely related. With the technological advancement, not only did a rupture between the past and present occur, but also a “modern rage to preserve” was aroused due to “an acute sense of loss” (Lowenthal, 2015: p xxiv).

This point of view is aligned with the approach that the growth in heritage sites is seen as an indication of economic and social decline (Hewison, 1988; Lowenthal, 2015). The increasing obsession with the past indicates the possible loss of confidence in the present and may reflect the uncertainty in future. Also, the

growing commodification of the past is perceived as inauthentic because the ‘living history’ techniques over many heritage sites are historically inaccurate (Power, 2016).

Second, the heritage boom can be explained with a perception of heritage as a marketable commodity, thus, as a potential source of income, and economic regeneration and employment (Dicks, 2000). This perception focuses on the role of heritage as a process of cultural production, consumption, and communication and requires a great understanding of the present (Dicks, 2000, 2003; Smith, 2006; Urry, 1995, 2002).

The current hardships give rise to the idealised past with a nostalgic gaze (Hewison, 1987,1988; Lowenthal, 1985). Hewison criticised the role of nostalgia in dealing with heritage for two reasons. He pointed out that the obsession with the past causes the growth of heritage sites and related business across the globe. However, it also makes difficulties in facing the future (1987: p 9). In addition, he argued that nostalgia deliberately filters out the unpleasant features of the past, while creating inaccurate representations of history. In the same way, Wright contended that the heritage boom shows contemporary society’s inability to deal with challenges caused by the rapid social and economic changes (Wright, 1989).

Hewison defined the growth in heritage sites and other types of heritage displays as a ‘heritage industry’. The heritage industry uses the past as an economic resource in the processes of polishing, filtering, and draining of meaning (Hewinson, 1987: p 99). According to him, the processes results in the representation and construction of inauthentic narratives of the past (Hewinson, 1987: p 104).

Similarly, Lowenthal identifies a definitive distinction between history and heritage. History, as he argued, “explores and explains pasts grown ever more opaque over time” while heritage “clarifies pasts so as to infuse them with present purposes” (1998: p xv). This means that it is critical for history to have objective, scholarly, and disinterested attitudes for the conservative or preservative attempt to understand the past. On the contrary, subjective, constructed, inauthentic, and self-serving attitudes can be legitimate for heritage, as it involves exploiting the past to promote particular identity claims.

Furthermore, a third factor - tourism - has changed the relationship between heritage and national identity in recent years. Heritage supports the main economic activity of heritage tourism, in addition to its political role in promoting national cultures (Ashworth, 1994). The built heritage and monument are constantly being justified for both political and economic reasons (national identity) and economic (tourism) purposes (Light, 1994). As Tunbridge argued, serving the two distinct groups raises considerable problems while the dilemma sits in-between ‘identity versus economy’ (Light, 2000; Tunbridge, 1994).

2.5 Conclusion

Heritage is not just a set of objects itself. The vibrancy of the local people shapes the authentic meanings of the sites; the everyday life of communities and their attachment to the places are important in conserving the continuity of the sites. Therefore, if the physical elements of the heritage sites were maintained without an understanding of the everyday life of community groups, the site is merely designed to grasp the tourist dollar or exploited for the political purposes.

Extreme conservation can also hinder or even halt a city's development and progress. However, cities are a part of everyday life. Thus, they cannot be encapsulated in the past or kept as a museum but rather need to continue to adapt to the evolving needs of its community.

In terms of the balance, a critical meaning of the term is the role of collaborative works of multi-stakeholders (Timothy, 2007; McCool & Moisey, 2001). Even though the label of stakeholder can be applied to any individual or group who may influence to related activities, the prevailed top-down approach may not consider each stakeholders' voices, particularly the communities' voice. Hence, the literature argues that the heritage sectors should seek to balance among the private and public sectors, government bodies, informal groups, local communities, and Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) to reflect multi stakeholders' collective voices. (Timothy, 2007; Vernon *et al.*, 2005).

One of the major efforts in the recent conservation field is to find a balance between development and conservation in urban areas so that the physical landscape of the city, as well as its associated values, meanings, even the *genius loci* (the spirit of the place), are not overwhelmed by developments. However, in

reality, it is not that simple because cities are evolving entities, not merely ensembles of buildings (objects).

The issue safeguarding intangible values such as ritual, craftsmanship, practice, and belief remains unanswered. Throughout the body of literature, there seems to be a gap between the reality and the idea. One can rest assured that the adjustment of viewpoints is never easy and ‘the paradigm shifts do not simply happen’ (McManamon & Hatton, 2000: p 2). In this respect, conflict about different interpretation and perception of urban areas, community participations, and identity issues continues.

Nonetheless, as Sullivan (2003) argued, “There is no easy solution to these issues, but my point is that the beginning of solving them is acknowledging all the heritage values and then working towards a resolution.” On the bright side, the recognition is one of the first steps to ‘changes’ in almost all aspects of the heritage issues, then the introduction of new concepts and approaches would be stimulated.

The practice of conserving urban heritage is also necessary to integrate social, cultural, and economic approaches to positively encourage sensitive development and protection regimes. Policy and practice need to not only restrict potentially dangerous activities, but also facilitate appropriate growth and opportunities for revitalisation of the heritage sites. Such goals inevitably require the community and government stakeholders to engage in decision-making processes to encourage successful protection for conserving the continuity of the site while achieving economic vitality.

The relationship among urban heritage sites, community participation, and identity issues is evidently complex and problematic. Indeed, the conservation of

urban heritage is one of the trickiest conundrums of urban development in the 21st century.

The following chapter specifically addresses South Korean governance structure and policy context to delineate the phenomenon of South Korean heritage production. A brief overview of South Korean culture and its historical background is provided at the beginning for a better understanding of the cultural context.

CHAPTER 3

CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

3.1 Introduction

The chapter provides background information of the case study areas, Gyeongju and Jeonju – cities in South Korea, in terms of major socio-economic and other heritage related attributes. Consistent with the study by Yun (2011), the two areas showcase the potential of heritage management and related issues, like community-involvement in decision making processes and maintaining balance between heritage management and everyday life of communities' residents.

This chapter also explores the process of strategic heritage management, specifically in urban areas, and examines the entity who primarily owns decision authority in the heritage selection processes in the two South Korean cities. To this end, policies regarding cultural preservation and development in South Korea were examined from 1960 to up to the present and the contextual role of socio-economic and political issues was investigated.

Despite its sustained economic growth and successful democratic reform, South Korea has yet to fully develop a comprehensive conservation policy regime. It now must regulate and integrate a variety of interests of a wide range of stakeholders in development agendas, and these interests are oftentimes

incompatible. Much research has been conducted regarding South Korea's rapid industrialisation and economic development (Auty, 2000; Park, 2003). Many studies have focused on the national role in the country's transformation from a poverty-stricken former Japanese colony into a modern economic powerhouse (Ryang, 2000; Tudor, 2012). However, relatively little research has been devoted to the structure of governance in South Korea's urbanisation and cultural conservation issues. Thus, this chapter also sheds light on the administrative frameworks and system of governance of heritage related issues in the study areas, Gyeongju and Jeonju, while addressing the issues regarding power dynamics among multiple stakeholders.

3.2 Historical Background of South Korea

There were a number of pre-historic kingdoms in the Korean Peninsula, but the Three Kingdoms (ca. 50 BCE–668 CE), Goguryeo, Baekje, and Silla, had rich historic documents and records showing the emergence, development, and fall of these old Korean countries' governance. Goguryeo (37 BCE–668 CE) was in the northern and central parts of the Korean Peninsula, while Baekje (18 BCE–660 CE) was in the southwest. Silla (57 BCE–667 CE) was a kingdom in the southern and central parts of the peninsula that eventually became the Unified Silla Kingdom (668–935), the first dynasty to rule over the entire Korean Peninsula (Nelson *et al.*, 1995). The city of Gyeongju, one of the two study areas, was the capital city of Silla dynasty from the Three Kingdom to the Unified Silla periods. Later, the Goryeo dynasty ruled the peninsula from the 10th to the 14th century and moved

their capital city further north, with the aim of efficient rule over the whole peninsula. <Figure 3.1> shows the map of South Korea, which had been part of the major territory of these ancient Korean countries.



Figure 3.1: Map of South Korea and the two study areas, Gyeongju and Jeonju (Source: The Author.)

Goryeo dynasty was followed by Joseon dynasty which lasted from 1392 – 1910 and it became the last monarchy in the Korean Peninsula. The emperors of Joseon dynasty came from the Yi's family who rooted from Jeonju city (Park, 2010), the second target study area. Until the latter half of the nineteenth century, the West had little impact on Korea. In the late 19C, many colonial countries such as France, the United States of America, the United Kingdom, and Russia came to Joseon to expand a diplomatic relationship, but they often brought forces, and the meetings turned to armed conflicts. After this 'Western Disturbance', Japan which opened their ports to Western powers during the Meiji period (1868 – 1912) and became an early-modernised nation in East Asia, invaded Joseon dynasty. This was because Japan, an island nation, believed that the Korean Peninsula was a critical route for further invasion to China. As a result of succeeding intrusions and several Japan-Korea Treaties, Japanese colonial rule lasted from 1910 to 1945, beginning with the end of the Joseon dynasty in 1910 and ending with the end of World War II (Park, 2010).

In 1945, Japan's rule over Korea ended with the U.S. and Soviet forces' capture of the Korean Peninsula. Korea returned to self-governance after the defeat and surrender of Japan to the Allied Powers in late World War II, but with two independent governments and economic structures supported by the Soviet Union in the north, and by the United States in the south. The 'cold war' between the Soviet Union and the United States heavily influenced the peninsula right after the Japanese colonial era. In 1948, two separate governments were established: Republic of Korea in Seoul, South Korea, and Democratic People's Republic of Korea in Pyongyang. The Soviets and Americans were unable to achieve an agreement on the united Korean Government.

3.3 Dynamic Context of Heritage Management Policy

The national organisation, the Cultural Heritage Administration (hereafter CHA), is almost solely responsible for establishing and implementing policies as well as allocating its financial resources to protect heritage in South Korea. CHA has belonged to the Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism (MCST) over the past three decades and it has been working closely with the Korean Tourism Organisation (KTO) to promote South Korea's national 'branding.' After the successful staging of the 1988 Seoul Summer Olympics, CHA has taken full responsibility of representing South Korea to the world and promoting every aspect of 'heritage-related' projects such as discovery, registration, conservation, heritage education, collecting experts, running committees, etc. at national level of management.

In 1961, the former body of the current CHA, Cultural Properties Administration (CPA) was established and its roots can be traced back to the Former Royal Properties Administration to the Office, created in 1945 at the beginning of American military rule (Heritage Administration, 2012).

In fact, policies of the Cultural Heritage Association (CHA), were heavily influenced by the patriotic and nationalistic mottos of autocratic presidency during 1960s and the 1980s. Also, it is worth noting that KSMKG adopted the hierarchical organisational structure and property-ranking criteria directly benchmarked the ones from the Japanese's colonial era (Pai, 2014).

President Park has been widely acknowledged as the first president who utilised "heritage and history" as political leverage in a systemic manner (Park,

2010) and one of the study areas, Gyeongju City was reborn as an authentic heritage city under Park's regime.

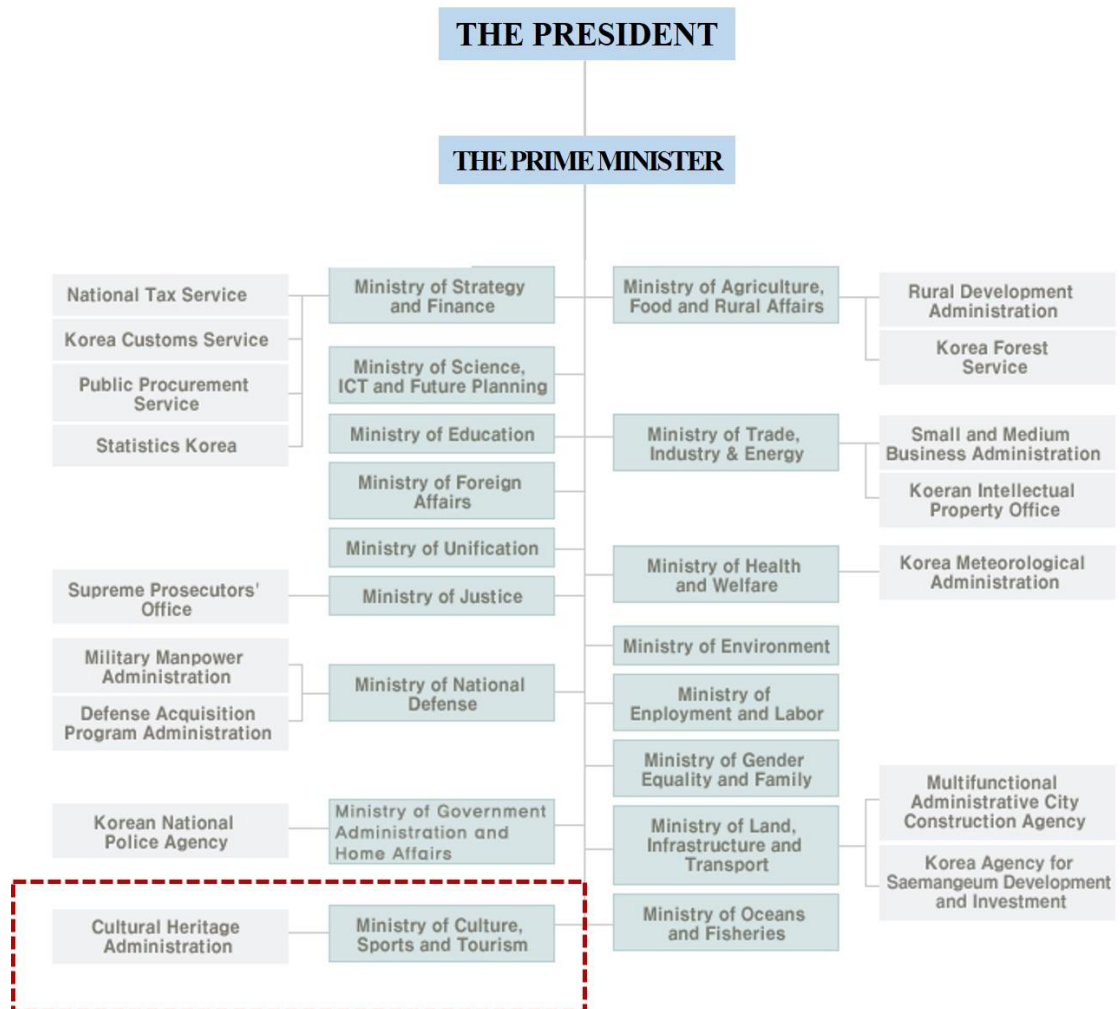


Figure 3.2: The Central Government Organisation in South Korea in 2020 (Source: The Author.)

Several efforts to strengthen a nation's sense of unity and belonging have continued to re-write the national identity, relying on cultural heritage (Pai, 2017; Silberman, 2015). The identification and ownership of heritage represent the symbols of nationhood.

Reflecting a widespread anti-Japanese sentiment, CHA propagated the slogan, “scrape off the rotten vestiges of Japanese Imperialism” and promoted Korea’s original national pride. Also, to reinstate national pride and facilitate patriotism, the top 503 items of heritage which were registered by Japan during the colonial era were reassigned in 1962 by CHA for establishing ‘true Korean values of heritage.’ (KSMKG, 1997a: p 67 - 84).

In 1999, with an aim of accommodating ever-expanding nationwide ‘heritage’ related demands and need for expanded human resources, KSMKG was restructured and renamed as CHA as an independent central government body. In 2008, CHA was placed under the governance of Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism (Figure 3.2), but its independence was retained. Currently, CHA has over 800 working staff who oversee and supervise a broad range of the heritage management related administrative institutes, including affiliated museums, research institutions, experts group, authorizing organisations, etc.

3.4 Heritage Management Policy Making

In the inauguration speech for his seventh presidential term in 1971, Park declared his vision for harnessing South Korea’s cultural heritage to help rebuild the nation ‘branding’ again. Through the Five-Year Plan for the Revival of Culture and Arts from 1974 – 78, the central government came up with a long-term plan to advance culture and arts. It cost nearly a hundred million USD to promote Korean culture and related projects and over 80% of the total expenditure was direct government support, while the remainder was funded by private funding agencies. These resources lead to the creation of heritage related laws, research institutes, and government institutions in 1970s – 80s. During this process, South Korea

experienced difficulties in facilitating private sector engagement in state-driven, public, cultural heritage projects. Moreover, South Korea encountered a number of national security concerns, social unrests, economic recessions, and military tension with North Korea. These factors contributed the emergence of unique governmental attitude which aimed at enhancing its own authority, building a concrete sense of belonging, and sense of unity among citizens through a shared identity based on the enhanced understanding of the original and uniform culture and history. Indeed, the very idea of the ‘Korean-ness’ was a deliberate result of government policy (Park, 1989).

During these autocratic and hierarchical regimes in 1960s – 80s, South Korean government actively created icons of national historic sites and stories of hero / heroine as a patriotic role model who sacrificed themselves for the nation. Also, the 1962 *Cultural Property Protection Law* was the first step to protect South Korean heritage and became the basis for the following heritage related laws. This law was modelled after the Japanese 1950 *Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties*.

In the 1960s, the South Korean government sought to solidify the nation’s cultural identity, especially after the independence from Japanese occupation. Some tangible – but mostly intangible – cultural heritage was lost during the Imperialistic Colonization Era; however, South Korea strived to re-establish a national identity, leading to the development of conservation laws. Even though policies such as the *Cultural Heritage Protection Act* and *Culture and Arts Promotion Act* were enacted in 1962 and 1972 respectively, they were not effective in dealing with tension between conservation and rampant economic development. These two acts were

able to protect a number of major monuments and individual landmarks such as religious buildings, sites related to Confucius, and birthplaces of great figures. However, other forms of heritage were often neglected and not adequately protected from the development agendas (Yim, 2002). During this period, heritage management was based on 'one-size-fits-all' approach which aimed at preserving significant individual national heritages.

In the 1970s, economy was the key national agenda and despite laws for the conservation of heritage, many historic and cultural assets in the country were destroyed due to development-oriented policies. The South Korean government recognised the weaknesses of the *Cultural Heritage Protection Act*, which only specified the conservation of individual cultural properties, neglecting to recognise the importance of monuments' architectural contexts. Moreover, the government overlooked the need for conserving landscape, and subsequently cultural features were compromised. As a remedy, the *Limited Development District* policy was enacted, which introduced the concept of "buffer zones" in national development projects (Yim, 2002). This approach was considered a promising strategy to cope with the conservation of monuments or historic sites in the midst of excessive developments.

Additional clauses were added under the *Cultural Heritage Protection Act* in 1973. The new articles included required approval from the mayor for new construction within 300 meters of registered cultural properties. To compensate for this complication, municipal governments often delayed the registration of cultural heritage site so that developers could undertake projects before the regulation was

in effect. Meanwhile, the market continued to change and efforts for economic development were accelerated. Overall, the policies on heritage management in 1960s and 70s placed greater emphasis on development than conservation, while the concept of conservation was expanded (Yim, 2002).

In the 1980s, major events enhanced exposure to international norms and values. These included the Asian Games in 1986 and the Summer Olympics in 1988. Also, there were several national expos which showcased local cuisine and dances to raise the public interest in authenticity and originality of Korean culture. In response to this trend, the government of South Korea sought to highlight and augment its cultural identity and conservation efforts were nationally underscored.

Specifically, efforts to conserve major religious buildings in the country were enhanced to protect them from the heated real estate development. Important Buddhist temples and Confucian temples were protected under enactment of a new article, *Preservation of Historic Temples*, under the national preservation law, *Cultural Heritage Protection Act*. In the 1960s and 1970s, only 14 temples were registered, but by the 1980s 82 temples were newly registered due to this article, protecting more sites in South Korea (Kim, 2003).

Moreover, in 1984, the *Preservation of Traditional Buildings Act* was added under the national *Cultural Heritage Protection Act*. Historic buildings that were 50 years or older and were not protected by the existing *Cultural Heritage Protection Act* could be protected by the new act (Kim, 2003). In addition, historic buildings that were clustered in a single area could be declared and protected as a historic district for the first time by the law in South Korea. When a historic building

or a historic district was registered, it became mandatory to report significant alterations, destructions, or damages to the national government. Only 21 historic buildings were registered country-wide from 1984 to 1999, and only two historic districts beyond Seoul were protected by this act in 1988. Despite great effort, this declaration encountered strong disapproval from the citizens because they thought the law set barriers to real estate developments and lead to the decrease in land value estimates. Thus, the law was abolished in 1999 in South Korea (Kim, 2003).

In this period, the GDP increased significantly in South Korea; from 6.38 billion in 1980 to 26.3 billion in 1990 (Kim, 2003). In the second half of the 1990s, deregulation and conservation were in conflict in the nascent stage of South Korea's local autonomy. Deregulation was justified for further economic development while economic growth overrode the value of conservation during South Korea's financial crisis between 1997 and 1999. Even in a democratised South Korea in which diverse values are respected, development ambitions – the flipside of deregulation – defeated conservation. South Korea was at risk of national default in 1998, which the Koreans later referred to as the IMF (International Monetary Fund) Crisis.

In response to the economic crisis, economic growth was highly prioritised, despite that fact that both need for and social awareness of heritage conservation had grown. South Korea lifted a number of conservation-related laws and regulations. For example, the *Preservation of Traditional Buildings Act*, which was enacted in 1984 as a national law, was abolished in 1999 (Park, 2010). Also, buildings and districts that were registered to government were no longer subsidised

and some were left unattended or abandoned. Even though the *Preservation of Traditional Buildings Act* was eventually abolished, the top-down approach was proven ineffective in advancing the course of this decade's conservation effort. As a result, many significant heritage sites and monuments in the state were neglected and remained unprotected (Yim, 2002).

The development-oriented, or economic revitalisation, agendas in the 1990s were different from those of the 1960s and 1970s. The 1990s did not see introduction of bills or addition of articles to existing laws and abolished a number of existing clauses related to conservation. However, social awareness of conservation had begun to grow in the 1980s after South Korea hosted several international events. Thus, the heritage conservation in South Korea was not fully ignored in the 1990s. The major difference between the previous decade and 1990s in terms of heritage management approach was the recognition of cultural heritage that represents national identity in this globalised world.

In a sense, economy- or development-friendly policies were effective such that South Korea successfully overcame the economic crisis by repaying the IMF in full in 2001. In 2000, the GDP of South Korea was \$51.2 billion USD, and in 2007, it was \$96.9 billion USD. The GNI was dramatically increased from \$6,147 USD during the 1990s to \$10,841 in 2000, and \$20,045 USD in 2007 (Kim, 2003).

With the improved standard of living and increased level of higher education, the value of heritage conservation has regained public attention. As the host of 2002 Korea-Japan World Cup, the central government used this global event as an opportunity to solidify the cultural identity as it did previously in the 1980s with

Asian Games and Summer Olympics. Moreover, the anti-Japanese sentiment originated from Japanese occupancy in early 20th century and the Korea-Japan rivalry motivated South Korea's pursuit of cultural pride and original identity. Between 1995 and 2018, with government efforts and heightened public interest, thirteen sites in South Korea were listed in UNESCO's World Heritage Sites (UNESCO, 2018).

3.5 Motivation for the Development of Heritage Cities: Two Study Areas, Gyeongju and Jeonju Historic Cities

There is little research regarding South Korea's heritage conservation policy in general. This was the case for Gyeongju and Jeonju cities' heritage development, particularly. The concepts of conservation and urban heritage in South Korea are relatively new, as industrial and economic development has been the predominant focus of the government. Indeed, South Korea's policies and regulations governing heritage management are in favour of development over conservation (Choi et al., 2002).

The thing is that extant policy tools regarding heritage management were not designed to properly address the delicate conservation versus development issues in South Korea; a balanced involvement of public and private sectors has not been a standard element of the heritage management policy. Certain parts of the case study areas are now being viewed as test grounds for conservation of urban heritage, which would maintain their historic continuity by enhancing community engagement. However, there are still few policy tools ensuring their engagement.

Oftentimes, South Korean policymakers rely on a one-way communication approach with local residents and the importance of their proactive engagement to the heritage management processes is overlooked. The policy makers tend to view that a heritage conservation project can be implemented without stakeholders' engagement, but with a series of ordinances. This approach was time and cost effective, at least in short term, during the development era of the 1960s - 80s when the South Korean government was ardently battling with poverty and pursuing speedy economic development. However, many things have been altered since then. Sustainability is an emerging value which has been gaining attention from public and there is little room for authoritarian or secretive decision-making process due to the considerable achievements in economic development and advancement in democratic maturity (Oberdorfer, 2013).

While the government still plays a leading role in heritage conservation efforts in South Korea, no well-established practices or institutional methods are in place to sustainably engage multiple stakeholders in heritage management planning and execution. This is by and large attributable to so-called "institutional inertia". There used to be nothing more important than economic development and a top-down approach used to be the grammar of government work procedure. Little research has been done to identify the optimal mechanism ensuring communication between stakeholders. What makes things worse is the lack of stability in South Korea's heritage conservation policy. In fact, there has commonly been contradiction between old and new heritage management policies, which has caused confusion among all related parties.

One thing that should be noted is the short history of the modern approach to heritage management in South Korea. In the past 60 years or so a number of drastic socio-economic challenges followed WWII and the Korean War (1950-53). The country underwent a major economic transformation from a war-torn former Japanese colony to a regional industrial power. During the dynamic period, especially from 1960s to 80s, economic restoration and growth was persistently pursued as the primary goal of the nation, and this has taken its toll on urban heritage sites.



Figure 3.3: Seoul in 1954 after the Korean War (1950-53)
(Source: Seoul Museum of History)

To keep up with and further accelerate economic growth, the South Korean government initiated a strong urban planning policy focusing on absorbing population influx from rural areas to cities with industries and job opportunities. It aimed at expanding modern residential communities based around the growing needs of homeownership among the rising middle class. Apartment complexes designed to hold multiple household units in modern multi-storied buildings emerged as an ideal form of housing in South Korea to keep up with skyrocketing demand for housing in the limited space near the industries. The result was the swift and widespread development of dense residential communities filled with apartment complexes. Numerous Hanok buildings, South Korean traditional houses characterized by small units on a sprawling patch of land, were demolished to build more apartment complexes.



Figure 3.4: Urbanisation Process in South Korea
(Above: Seoul in c.1950s / Below: Seoul in c.1980s)
(Source: Seoul Museum of History)

This trend of modern housing construction and extensive residential community development was not applied to the case for Gyeongju and Jeonju. The two cities' historic centres are the most visited heritage tourism destinations in South Korea. Both were designated to become heritage tourist destinations by government bodies within a few decades ago. Gyeongju, known as the South Korean open-air museum, has abundant tangible heritage resources based on archaeological sites. Thus, during the past several decades, the central government developed Gyeongju with a sizeable budget.

Jeonju, however, is a historic urban settlement that does not have any prominent tangible heritage. Also, central government did not pay much attention to it because of the lack of significant physical heritage sites. Nonetheless, since the 2000s the local authority planned to rebuild Jeonju Hanok Village based on the collection of shabby old structures which they envisioned to integrate with their intangible heritage resources such as gastronomy, traditional music, and paper craft. A notable difference between the heritage development processes of Gyeongju and Jeonju is developmental leadership. Heritage development in Gyeongju was led by the central government, while it was led by local government in Jeonju. This heterogeneous leadership and motivation for heritage development was associated with the unique approaches and procedures of heritage management across the two cities.

3.5.1 Gyeongju, the Open-Air Museum - Justification of the Park's Regime

Gyeongju is in South Korea's North Gyeongsang Province, in the southeast corner. It has a population of 270 thousand people as of December 2020, and is located 370 km (230 miles) southeast of Seoul, the capital city of South Korea.

Gyeongju was the capital of the ancient kingdom of Silla (57 BC – 935 AD), which ruled over the Korean Peninsula for over a thousand years. Prosperous and wealthy Silla's metropolitan capital, Gyeongju city could maintain a large number of cultural heritage properties and archaeological sites in its territory. Among such heritage resources, there are 297 designated cultural assets across the Gyeongju area: 205 of them are state-designated cultural assets, 51 are local government-designated cultural assets, and 41 are overall cultural assets. Additionally, there are three UNESCO's World Heritage Sites including the Gyeongju Historic Remains Zone, Bulguksa temple, and Seokguram as well as other heritage sites in the vicinity such as Mount Myeongwhal and Yangdong Village. These major historical sites made the city one of the most popular heritage tourism destinations, attracting 6 million visitors including 750,000 foreign tourists every year. In this model, heritage and tourism are the joint driver of economy in Gyeongju, while upscale manufacturing industries have been also developed in adjacent cities like Ulsan and Pohang.

As noted multiple times, due to the nation-wide efforts to erase the traces of Japanese legacy which are at odds with traditional Korean culture and the massive urbanisation process, not many heritage sites were able to survive in South Korea. Considering this, well-protected heritage sites in the city are quite unusual in South Korea. However, as Oh noted (2008), the central government's motivation to

manage heritage sites was by and large political, rather than genuine to the values and meanings of the heritage.

In fact, the majority of the media coverages of the Gyeongju excavation projects conveyed political messages such as the leadership of President Park and his passion for cultural and historic heritages. Even if there are no official records of how many times Park visited Gyeongju excavation sites, it is apparent that he was strongly attached to the city and the sites, judging from much media coverage of the president's visit to the sites. Actually, he was the first President in the country's history to visit an archaeology excavation site in person and he has been regarded as a dictator who used heritage as a useful political tool for propaganda (Shin, 2015). There remains the question of why he was attached to that particular city: Gyeongju.

During 1968 – 1971, when the heritage development in Gyeongju was in the rudimentary phase, there were only a limited number of people in the country with adequate training and experience for heritage discovery, maintenance, restoration, and other related works. Due to the lack of knowledge and experience in general, the excavation and conservation managers referred to Japanese archaeology theories and practices found in the textbooks. Indeed, the overall heritage management in South Korea was in a very nascent stage. Only the limited members with professional background in heritage management and related areas were invited to the Gyeongju's heritage projects.



Figure 3.5: President Park (in the red line) visited often Gyeongju's excavation sites. The photo was taken on 3rd July, 1973
(Source: Kyunghyang Newspaper and photo copied on March, 2018 by author)

They were archaeologists, historians, and art historians from renowned universities in South Korea. This exclusive group provided the guidance to the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) considering the unique cultural context of South Korea and they became the first generation heritage management experts in the country.



Figure 3.6: An Excavation Project in Gyeongju in July 1973.
(Source: Gyeongju National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage archive and photo copied on March, 2018 by author)

3.5.2 Jeonju Becoming a Heritage City after the Decentralisation in 1995

While Gyeongju represents one of powerful ancient kingdoms, Shilla Dynasty, the development of Jeonju began relatively recently. The royal family of the Joseon Dynasty, the last monarchy of the Korean Peninsula, was originally from the city of Jeonju. Thus, the city was regarded as the spiritual capital of the Joseon Dynasty. Currently, the city serves as the capital of North Jeolla Province, and Jeonju, like Gyeongju, is a mid-sized city.

The city has both urban and rural areas and is an important tourist destination famous for Korean food, historic buildings, and innovative festivals. Jeonju has

been a metropolis since the Joseon dynasty, but it had been left behind during the industrialisation of South Korea. Its infrastructure is outdated in general and it does not have manufacturing or heavy industries frequently found in other South Korean major cities. However, today, so called, 'Tour for Korean tradition' become a major industry of Jeonju even though it has none of UNESCO's World Heritage Sites.

Regardless of the absence of physical World Heritage Sites in Jeonju, the city was appointed as the fourth UNESCO's City of Gastronomy in 2012. This was to protect its intangible culinary heritage and promote its local food culture. Traditional local markets and the various food festivals have been attracting both domestic and international tourists to the city.

Also, Jeonju is one of the largest Hanok (Korean traditional housing) districts in South Korea, containing over 800 Hanok buildings. Ironically, the fact that Jeonju fell behind in industrialisation and real estate development contributed the preservation of the Hanok buildings. The city was able to retain its historical traditions while the rest of the country had been industrialised. Also, the city has been considered a sacred place, especially by the residents, because the founding father of the dynasty, Seong-gye Yi, and his ancestors were originally from there. The city had to strive to sustain its political and economic systems with relatively little support from the central government for years/decades. At the same time, the city strived for excellence and creativity in its cultural heritage programmes, to re-evaluate and fully recognize values and roles of its heritage resources and the historic urban settlement. Since 1995, decentralisation, which aims to enhance the municipal-level system and its self-governance role, has been promoted in South Korea. In the 21st century, this process of joint interplay of the socio-economic and

political factors enabled Jeonju to become one of the most prominent cities in Korea with cultural heritage.

It has been less than two decades since Jeonju gained the title of "heritage city." Taking the opportunity of holding 2002 FIFA World Cup, the city's municipal government wanted to take this international event as an opportunity to introduce the city's cultural richness and uniqueness to the world. Specifically, it attempted to attract visitors from across the world, and the most original form of traditional Hanok would be great for lodging. The city actively worked on building "Jeonju Hanok Village." Since 1910, the historic urban settlement stood in this area, and up until the 1970's, most residents were merchants, entrepreneurs, and elites who own and run the business in the area. However, after the 1970's, Jeonju city was still underdeveloped, and the wealthy residents moved out of the area to pursue their business in other, more business-friendly cities. Meanwhile, the historic landscape of the area was changed partially due to the introduction of modern apartment buildings and western-style housing. In an effort to keep the city's heritage, the city designated the area as *Traditional Hanok Conservation Area* in 1977, which was much smaller than the current Village district. However, many local residents were opposed to this conservation oriented plan.

After the designation, the residents had encountered difficulties to live in the area due to stringent restrictions on their properties. Lack of proper compensation and strict control compelled the residents to leave the area. New pieces of the city with modern apartment complexes and housing were built in the vicinity, and some of the residents who could afford to move to the new towns abandoned the buildings

in the Traditional Hanok Conservation Area for a better quality of life. As a result, the area had been forgotten and turned to a shantytown in the 1980s.

In 1987, the city lifted some of the stringent regulation on the village. Furthermore, in 1997, the city delisted the area in the conservation list for five years (from 1996 to 2001) because of residents' harsh protest against the unrealistic regulations. The people who lived in the Village had difficulties renovating their houses after the designation, because they could only renovate their properties with government permission, which entails strenuous administrative work. After designation, the cost of house maintenance also rose because the conservation of Hanok required special materials that were far more expensive than modern factory-manufactured materials. As a result, the residents who lived in the Hanok Conservation Area had to carry the costly burden of repairing their Hanoks until the compensation system was enacted in 2008. However, during the five-year period, the historic landscape of the urban settlement was substantially altered by residents' modern constructs, which lacked proper government oversight. Hence, the historic urban landscape of the city centre was considerably compromised.

The city resumed planning and control in 2001 with an updated compensation policy of up to £37 thousand (GBP) (\$50 thousand USD) to whoever renovated their Hanoks. The city also came up with a set of long-term and short-term conservation schemes to make Jeonju Hanok Village more advanced and organised in managing heritage.

As noted, Jeonju was established as a heritage city relatively recently. Moreover, industrial development in Jeonju or in nearby cities did not meet the expectations

of the central and local governments. Thus, the city had to seek a survival strategy. Focusing on the historic urban settlement, the Jeonju Hanok Village area, the city planned to create its ‘authentic heritage centre’ in the 2000s, and within a decade, it was settled as a representative South Korean built heritage site where the traditional Korean Hanok housing was located. Since the 2010s, this local government driven effort was recognized nationally and a growing number of both domestic and international tourists have been attracted to the city to experience a unique atmosphere of South Korean heritage.

Even though Gyeongju was developed as a heritage city with full support from the central government of Park’s regime, the city of Jeonju had to invent their own, more bottom-up way of becoming a heritage city. To this end, the municipal government attempted to create a coherent scheme of every heritage-related resource inherent in Jeonju. It included intangible heritage such as gastronomy, traditional paper craft, traditional songs, festivals, fashion shows, and movies (Lee, 2018).

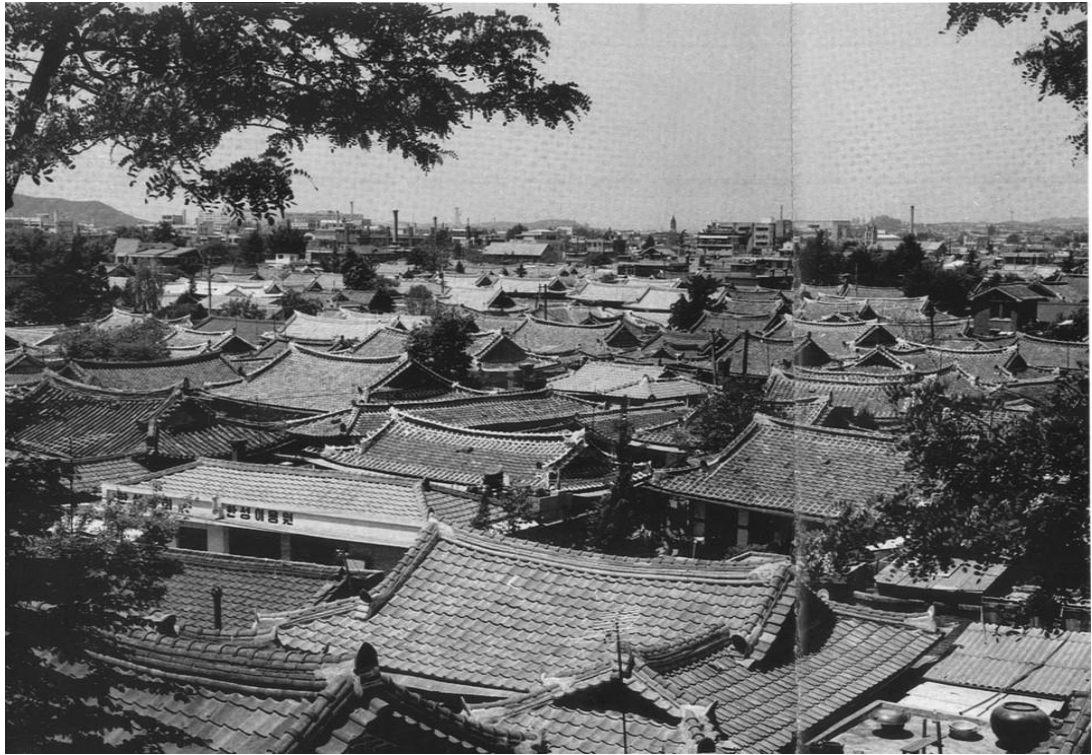


Figure 3.7: (above) Jeonju Hanok Village in c.1960's
(below) at the same spot in 2019
(Source: Jeonju Municipal Archive and photo taken by author in 2019)

The failure of other types of industries was the main driver of municipal government's efforts to develop the heritage centre, and the government was successful in its efforts. Since 2012, the number of visits to Jeonju Hanok Village has increased significantly. Based on large data analysis, over 10 million visited the Village every year between 2016 and 2018. The boom of visitors during the past decade is a clear indication that the city has become a top representative heritage city in South Korea (Lee, 2018).

Today, Jeonju Hanok Village is one of the most visited attractions in the state., and frequently serves as a basecamp for travelling the neighbouring provinces and sometimes across to broader region of the Korea southwest. The village provides a variety of ways to explore traditional Korean society, in addition to a wide cluster of well-conserved traditional housings and streetscapes. Modern paper crafting and rice wine production is taught at museums and exhibition centres. In addition, the village has become a centre for the study of several traditional pursuits, including Confucian philosophy, traditional Korean folk music, and home cooking with local ingredients (ibid).

The area's regular operations are managed by a department of the city's tourism bureau that is solely responsible for problems in the Jeonju Hanok Village area. While it may not be obvious, active involvement of various civic organisations involved in conserving and promoting village's cultural heritage, such as architecture, classical opera, ceramic arts, paper manufacturing, calligraphy, literature, and cuisine, has been one of the most important factors contributing to the village's growth. Nonetheless, the two cities covered in this study, Gyeongju

and Jeonju, have encountered a series of new challenges during the heritage development and management processes.

3.6 Dealing with Nationalist Agenda - Nationalism and Identity Politics

During the 1970s, the country's first and the largest cultural project was executed in Gyeongju city. Under Park's executive order, unprecedented large-scale projects were launched. Almost £8.5 million (GBP) (\$11 million USD) was spent in total on the Gyeongju projects to build the heritage city. It was a substantial investment considering that South Korea was one of the poorest countries in the world around the 1970s, such that its national per capita was lower than £350 (GBP) (\$500 USD) (Pai, 2000).

During the urbanisation process and the development of the economy, the central government made a significant effort to boost the national pride through the heritage projects started in Gyeongju city. The projects had an educational purpose as well. Visiting the project site had been mandatorily included in the educational curriculum of both national and private school systems. With this central government driven effort, the city is ranked at the top of the heritage tourist cities even today (Pai, 2014: p 44-47).

Unfortunately, the heritage development and conservation projects in the 1970s were neither purely scientific nor evidence-based processes. The central government took control over the projects to display what they wanted to showcase. The main purpose of the project was unearthing the glorious and splendid history

of the Shilla dynasty to make it public propaganda, rather than careful scrutiny of the authenticity and integrity of the sites. Over the past years, the South Korean AHD conducted large scale studies to offer justification of the central government's political propaganda for the vision of an economically thriving country. Specifically, they focused on cultural relics representing the forgotten glories of the ancestral country to instil the genuine identity of South Korea and motivate the public towards strong work ethic. Even though there are a number of controversial views in these processes, the reconstructed historical and cultural schemes have not been challenged yet, especially by the local community. This could be attributed to the fact that the current AHD group is comprised of members who are closely connected through acquaintances of the founding members of Gyeongju heritage production. Also, it is worth noting that the local people were the beneficiaries of the government projects.

During the Park's military-autocratic regime, the central government also influenced media through surveillance, censorship, and selective support scheme. The media played a significant role in forming public opinions since there was a limited range of publicly accessible media. The government propagated the great discovery in Gyeongju by producing a series of documentary films and TV shows. For instance, three major royal tombs were discovered in the 1970s. Media assessed them as the most magnificent outcome from the projects. However, in 1993, Hongjun Yu, the director of the Culture and Heritage Administration (2004 – 2008), argued that one of the royal tombs was totally fabricated because there was no evidence to prove its prior existence (Yu, 1993: p 160-165). He supplemented his argument about the royal tomb by claiming that its location in the sea rocks was a

complete fabrication by the collaborative efforts of the media and the central government.

Heritage has played a key role in constructing Korean identity and cultural pride. Thus, the invention, manipulation, and control of heritage is a very sensitive and debatable topic in the politics for the management of hegemonic ideology assuring the sense of unity and offering a futuristic view point.

In this vein, since the 1970s, sensational archaeological findings have been announced on a regular basis in the city of Gyeongju during tomb excavation or major site restoration. The series of discoveries has received a lot of local and national media coverage, which has raised general consciousness about excavation procedures. Aside from this, the budget allocations for large heritage projects has sparked a lot of speculation and controversy. Recently, authoritarian heritage management approaches and practices have been criticised and more efforts have been made to ensure the diverse perspectives inside and outside academy and traditional entities who have been involved in heritage management (Choo, 2015).

3.7 Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) in South Korea

Exclusion of diverse stakeholders in the heritage management process is an important issue. Also, the Treaty of the Cultural Protection Law is ineffective in protecting residents. For instance, an owner of a property must verify the presence of any physical heritage before developing their own property. Also, owners are initially responsible for excavating heritage resources and the associated costs when

they are found on their individual properties. This is a fundamental problem inherent in the extant heritage management policy which can complicate things. For example, individuals who find any heritage in their own property often quit the excavation process and annul the development plan because the cost of excavation can be burdensome and the originally intended development is likely to be unavailable due to the protection policy. This can cause abandonment and poor management of the heritage sites.

To complete the excavation project, the excavation team must ask for government subsidies. A city in charge of the property with the heritage might agree on the necessity of government funding, but might not execute it for over ten years. Then, the project manager would conclude that the site is abandoned in the middle of the project, thus, not eligible for development. Also, the city may not want to purchase the property for the future possible heritage resources.

It is argued that lack of an adequate compensation system has been addressed several times over the past decades, but it is not fully satisfactory yet to multiple stakeholders. With the absence of adequate compensation, the government restrictions are harsher than ever in terms of law violations (such as unearthing buried heritage resources or developing individual sites without permission from government authority).

In this respect, it is noteworthy that only a limited number of experts in South Korea who have been interested in heritage conservation plans are supporters of the notion that local residents, rather than the national government, should be the most

relevant stakeholders. This pattern reveals a disconnect between theory and practice in heritage management in South Korea (Pai, 2000).

It is still common practice that the public is not invited to participate in the heritage management planning process, as it is predominantly led by government and a limited number of relevant professionals. Subsequently, there is a lack of systemic resources to encourage local people to participate, which enhances the closed-ness of the decision-making processes for the heritage management.

Additional challenges due to locals' failure to be involved in heritage management are related to the issues of ownership and identity inherent in the circumstances of the heritage. These aspects include not just the physical condition of a place, but also the local community's attachment and perception to it. However, due to lack of a local participatory mechanism in South Korea, vision, goals, and purposes are often set in a narrow, biased, or generic manner.

One of the major concerns of South Korean heritage management, according to Pai (2014), is the top-down bureaucratic procedure, in which no one can be held responsible for the destruction of heritage or the ignorance of advisory committee. There are no other choices to undo the procedure if government authorities make a decision to reject a recommendation of advisory committees. Pai proposed the formation of a higher-ranking influential committee as a compromise, but it is unlikely to be implemented due to a variety of factors.

The most contentious controversies in Korean studies (and Japanese studies) in the post-colonial era revolve around archaeological, art history, and historical scholarship (Nelson, 1995). Archaeological findings are comprehensively

presented in formal textbooks, museum exhibitions, and news media and they provide important scientific evidence for the origins of Korean ethnicity and identity embedded in heritage. In the past eight decades, those working in the field of Korean heritage studies have concentrated on revisiting some of the historical events, which were regarded as “severely distorted” during the Japanese colonial occupancy which aimed to belittle the ego and pride of South Koreans (Pai, 2000).

Between the independence from Japanese occupancy and division of North and South Korea back in 1940s, the self-justification view was universally advocated by historians, archaeologists, art historians, cultural amateurs, artists, and government agencies such as CHA, which was solely responsible for "rediscovering" Korea's cultural heritage while practically erasing fifty years of Japanese rule. The idealised view of the Koreans who had always had the national pride has spread universally across historical textbooks and educational literature (Shin, 1998).

To legitimise Park’s consecutive regimes above and beyond the constitution, only exclusive members in the Cultural Heritage Administration (hereafter CHA, 1998 – present) devoted to the processes of making up heritages. CHA has played the major role in transforming the cultural heritage landscape of South Korea. CHA committee membership has been reserved for very limited members who had strong social connections and ties with academic and government authorities. Most of them served at least ten years as professors at leading universities, or as curators at national museums.

Over the decades, CHA-appointed experts have expanded to include professionals with a wide range of disciplines, including archaeology, art history, architecture, ancient history, anthropology, ethnomusicology, ethnology, botany, zoology, geology, etc. That is, their expertise has qualified them to evaluate which geological formations, natural species, objects, monuments, talents, and skills should represent the body of “Korean” identity and heritage. Notably, only predominant archaeologists and art historians had the utmost privilege of being appointed the “authentic” speaker of Korea’s past out of the hundreds of academics who have served as committee members over the past six decades (Pai, 2014).

For example, the first director of the National Museum of Korea, Chae-won Kim (directorship, 1945–70), was an art historian and archaeologist who received his degree from the University of Munich. He was succeeded by Eul-lyong Kim (r. 1970–71), another art historian and archaeologist trained at Seoul National University, with graduate degrees from the University College London and New York University. Kim is often referred to as the father of native Korean archaeology because he founded the Department of Art and Archaeology at Seoul National University. Kim was the most influential author of *Introduction to Korean Archaeology*, which has served as the bible for Korean archaeology students since its first edition appeared in 1973. The third director, Su-young Hwang (1972–74), was also an art historian, with degrees from Tokyo University, and is recognised as the preeminent expert on the Buddhist art in the Three Kingdoms period (CHA, 2018).

The fourth director of CHA was Gun-mu Yi (2008–11), another Seoul National University-trained archaeologist of prehistory who earned his degree in archaeology under his mentor, Eul-lyong Kim. Yi also held other positions like the directorship of the Kwangju National Museum and the National Museum of Korea. In 2011, he was succeeded by Kwang-sik Choi (2011–12), another ancient history scholar and former director of the Korea University Museum. As records show, government-appointed academics trained at elite universities with fairly similar disciplines were at the centre of the heritage management. Their influence on the entire process of Korean heritage management such as the determination of the key heritage agenda, allocation of resources for them, and the specific methods for pursuing them had been enormous.

In 1998, due to its rapidly expanding list of nationwide heritage projects, CHA was restructured into an independent organisation. Currently, it hires over eight hundred employees who manage a comprehensive range of heritage management facilities including affiliated museums and research institutions.

There is one main reason that CHA's top-down management style in heritage policies was not challenged. As pointed out earlier, CHA committee's membership was very exclusive. They were comprised of elite university-trained professionals with a limited range of training disciplines. This contributed the closeness of CHA and not many people outside of CHA were aware of their biased inclination to ancient history and their own way of evaluating and interpreting the historical and cultural heritage. Thus, CHA's historical role as the keeper of the authentic Korean heritage and the executor has not been challenged.

CHA's impact was of utmost importance in the decision-making process across all issues regarding heritage resources, whether those resources were authorised or unauthorised, natural or cultural, or tangible or intangible, their decisions were initiated. Meanwhile, municipal authorities needed approval of the management plan through an administrative system along with the members of AHD, a designated national governmental organisation.

A bottom-up approach, which is planned by the municipal authority and approved by the state government, may be a solution to this firm top-down decision-making process. However, in this phase, the national government's influence is unavoidable. As a key member of the team, every department has an advisory board. Any members of the advisory board are traditionally drawn from CHA's Cultural Heritage Committee. Since members of CHA's Cultural Heritage Committee are likely to be familiar with the programme, this seems to increase work effectiveness. On the other hand, this implies that CHA will have an effect on the programme continuously. The approval of CHA is critical for the city authority since the state government provides a significant portion of the funding to the heritage projects with CHA's approval. As a result, the local authority and heritage management committee continued to give more weight to the opinions of CHA in the decision-making process than to local community's voice and concern.

This decision-making process might not be completely top-down in nature. The role of the state government is limited to support project funding. The heritage professionals in AHD who have closely worked in heritage management, on the other hand, are well aware of the national government's power and decision-making procedure. The bottom line is that there is very limited space for incorporating local

voices in the current heritage management-related system in South Korean governance.

Major concerns of the current South Korean approaches to heritage management can be specified as follows:

- 1) Deliberate exclusion of possible stakeholders such as the residents and landlords through land purchase
- 2) Empowering AHD groups to lead the exclusive decision-making process
- 3) Enacting top-down decision-making by empowering the small number of professionals and authorities

Recent studies in the heritage management emphasise the local community's empowerment and 'genuine stakeholders' involvement. For example, stakeholders who own the decision authority have been widened. The important stakeholders are not limited to heritage professionals, but include the lay public. This is the participatory management that has received a lot of attention in recent heritage studies. Admittedly, the participatory approach may not be always feasible and not all stakeholders are willing to be part of the decision making process. Nonetheless, in South Korea, the idea of participatory process has been disregarded for administrative efficiency. As a result, the prevailing exclusive approach is likely to permit AHD's power.

Recently, the notion of heritage has been changed from "something that needs to be protected" to "social resources for public benefit", as has been emphasised in a recent study (Serageldin, 1999: p 57). However, since this planning

proposal did not originate from the local community, it is uncertain if this heritage management plan is really accepted by the community members.

It seems that government bodies, developers, and heritage experts emphasise the interests of and benefits to the public, particularly the local residents. However, there is insufficient opportunity for the public to express their opinions and thoughts directly to the key decision makers. Mostly, there is a good chance that these local people have a negative view of the heritage management plan and the excavation of the heritage sites as their interests clash with those of developers.

Government officials, developers, and heritage experts tend to prioritize the public's needs and benefits, especially those of residents. However, the public may not have enough opportunities to openly share their views and ideas as important decision-makers. Often, the local community is likely to oppose the heritage conservation plans and the excavation projects because their aspirations conflict with those of developers. Residents were concerned with how heritage management, such as the development of heritage sites and public parks near their homes, would affect their quality of life. Absence of a representative who can effectively convey the opinions of the public and reflect their views is another important barrier exacerbating the problems regarding the closed decision-making process. This concern applies not only to the two case study areas, Gyeongju and Jeonju, but also to other places in South Korea.

At an archaeological excavation in Gyeongju, for example, the experts (normally field archaeologists) were the most important stakeholder in the decision-making process, even though they were unlikely to represent the community's

interests. As a result, most decisions are settled based on academic and scientific knowledge of the AHD meetings.

Simply put, the 'for whom' questions will be addressed if expertise and authorities are truly concerned about the community's needs in heritage management. In South Korean practice, however, administrative procedures regarding heritage management, such as the approval of the programme and the distribution of funds to carry it out, are emphasised more. As a result, in South Korea, heritage management plans are usually equal to institutional management plans. It's probably safe to conclude that authority is participating in some way, and in this context, the local authority is a primary stakeholder in the management plans because they are legally and practically responsible for conserving heritage resources, since most management plans have been funded by government bodies.

3.8 Democracy and Obscured Voices

The two study areas – historic centres of Gyeongju and Jeonju – showcase different directions of government policies and the local stakeholders' voices. Both show discrepancy among major stakeholders particularly between the authorities, local residents, and business owners. Nonetheless, Gyeongju and Jeonju take unique directions in terms of this discrepancy. These directions are discussed in the following section.

The City of Gyeongju

Gyeongju historic centre was established in 1970s when the country was controlled by the powerful central government. The city received heritage funding from the central government based on the Heritage Protection Law which was ratified in 1962. Gyeongju had full support as the heart of national heritage area until the state's decentralisation began in 1995, with massive government funding regardless of its low profitability compared to other industrial investment.

In an effort to create a heritage city and protect the national heart of heritage centre, the city has used the 'museumification strategy' which barely considers local residents – especially those who lived in the historic centre – and their everyday life. However, public discourse and news media deliberately did not consider this issue for decades. The majority of the press focused on the bright sides of the development, such as Gyeongju being in UNESCO's World Heritage List and successive heritage projects, with some visible progress emphasised by the central and local authorities.

In most cases, the local people were not accounted for in the eviction decision in Gyeongju, and they were often forced to leave their homes for the sake of the heritage development of the area. However, these cases were not fairly addressed because public tended to acquiesce with the Heritage Protection Law set and approved by the authorities believed to have the right to evict the residents. Interestingly, financial compensation for the evicted was the justification for eviction. Authorities led decisions regarding the destruction or conservation of whatever was left in the properties. They wanted to demonstrate authentic "Korean-ness" by renewing the area, which hosted the most splendid and proudest Korean

history for over one thousand years, as a national heritage centre (Manginis, 2008: p 67).

During the military regime, the central government owned control over the media and only allowed publication of the government-led heritage projects' positive attributes. Thus, media was silent on the issue of many residents leaving their properties against their wills during heritage development in the 1970s and 1980s.

Heritage resource protection had potential to create positive development, but policy-centred authorities were indifferent to the residents or impractical to the city. The historic centre in the city has dozens of massive excavation locations which look like abandoned lands. Incompleteness or uncertainty inherent to these "got stuck" states created negative impressions that fuelled the exodus of young generations to different places for a better quality of life. This is also linked to one of most serious and immediate social concerns in Gyeongju: population decline.

The city became a renowned heritage city, but this was at the residents' expense; forced evictions, displacement, demolition of their original homes, loss of security and attachment to their hometown are only some issues that residents faced. Since the 1970s, the authorities have imposed heavy restrictions on the historic centre of the city to protect possible heritage resources buried underground. These include building height restrictions and a ban on renovations without authority permission.

Additionally, it must be noted that the majority of original residents could not afford the new or renovated residential structures located in the historic centre. Thus,

their only accommodation option was old, shabby housing of little historical or cultural value with a compromised quality of life.

Economic independence and sustainability were issues for Gyeongju as well. Although historic city conservation scheme cost-effectiveness was emphasised, it has been challenging to obtain adequate funding from the central government, especially after government decentralisation since 1995. Gyeongju could no longer receive sufficient tax revenues from the heritage and tourism business sectors of the central government, and the financial independence rate ranking plunged to one of the lowest in the country (Fig 3.8). Thus, the city and CHA sought for breakthroughs to augment revenues from the central government even though the city had expanded the region of developmental restriction.

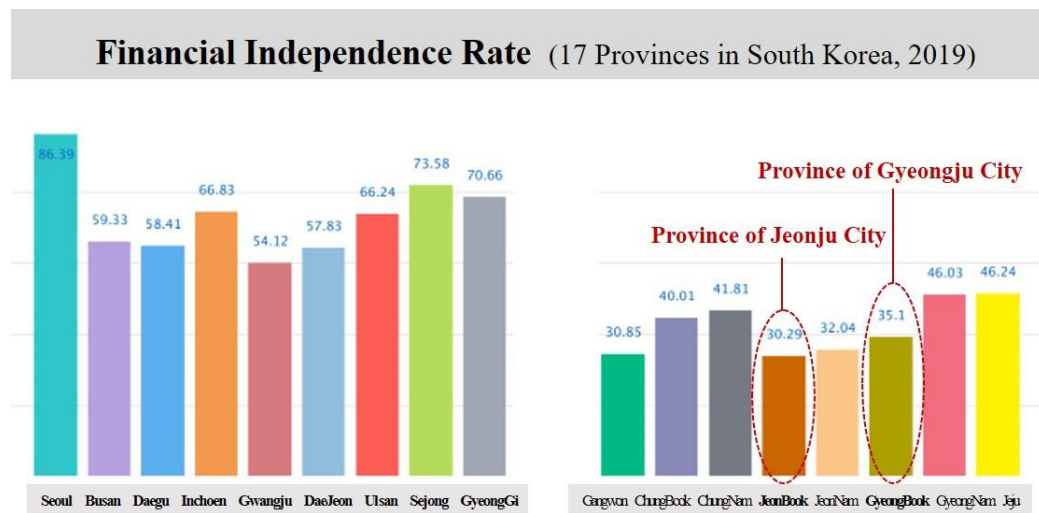


Figure 3.8: Financial Independence Rate in 2019
Gyeongju and Jeonju ranked at the bottom of the list (Source: The Author.)

Historic Centre in Jeonju City

Jeonju city strived to incorporate local voice in order to enhance the vitality of the heritage site. In January 2019, local community members in Jeonju Hanok Village formed a new community group called *BiBim* (indicating “mixture”, which is taken from *BiBimBab*, a famous traditional Korean dish characterised by the diversity of ingredients and their harmony), which was supported by the municipal government.

However, this effort was not without problems. First, there were already twelve community organisations in the village with a limited number of residents only (as of 2020, 2,200 number of residents), and they pursued different interests and objectives; it was highly likely that locals would question the true utility and purpose of an additional community organisation. The major motivation to consider local voices was the decrease in tourism since 2016. Specifically, municipal government was concerned with the gradual decline in the number of re-visits to the city due to suboptimal tourism experience. In fact, the unfriendly and unwelcoming attitude of the locals and too much city commercialisation were identified as factors contributing to tourist dissatisfaction. Also, the city did not provide an atmosphere in which visitors could savour the authentic sense of the traditional village.

Individual Hanok homeowners have received financial assistance from the government since 2002, with grants of up to £31 thousand (GBP) (\$42 thousand USD) for renovations and up to £62 thousand (GBP) (\$84 thousand USD) for new Hanok constructions to maintain the historic urban landscape (HUL). The uniformity of the architectural style was further improved by financial support from

the municipal government. At the same time, the local Hanok Review Committee, which included government officials and Hanok consultants, reviewed all new construction and renovation work to ensure the consistency in the construction designs.

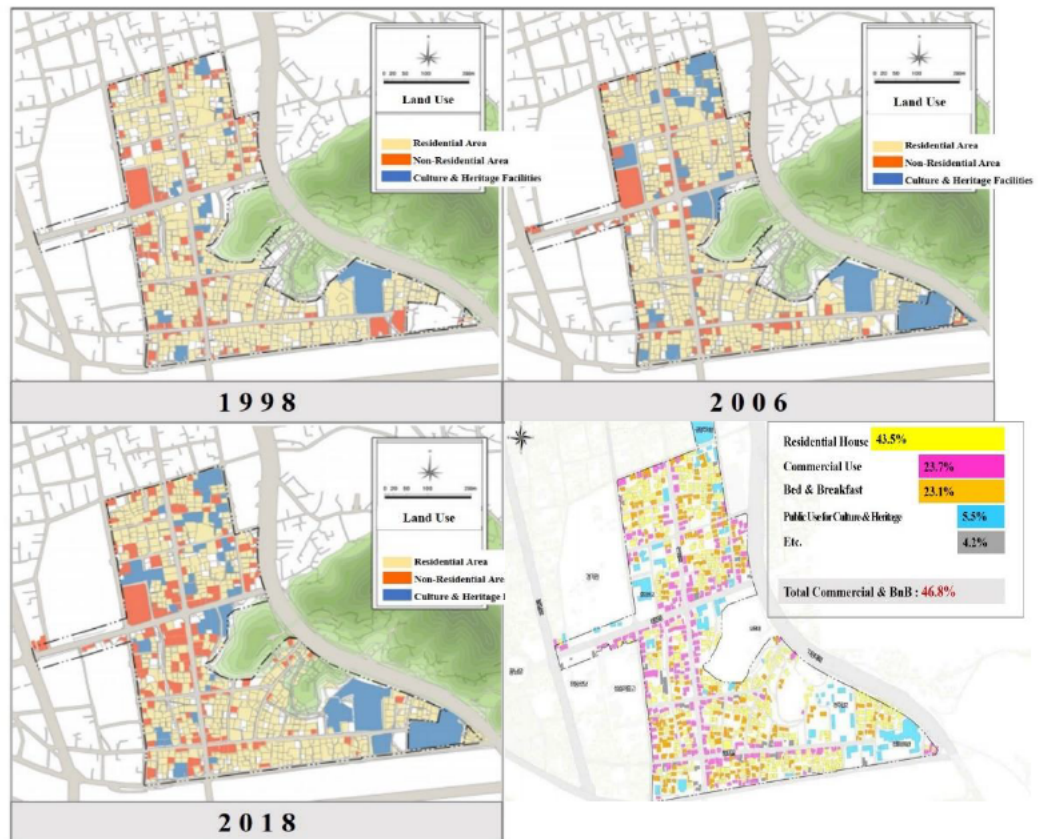


Figure 3.9: Land Use Change in Jeonju Hanok Village during 1998 – 2018

(Source: The Author.)

Nonetheless, Jeonju Hanok Village’s land use changed drastically during the past two decades. In 1998, of 779 buildings, 689 (85%) buildings were for residential use, 35 buildings (4.5%) were for commercial use, and 28 (3.6%) were for mixed

residential and commercial use. However, as indicated by the maps, the residential use of buildings reduced from 689 to 508 while the commercial and mixed uses increased rapidly from 1998 to 2018 (Fig 3.9). This trend is also associated with the decrease in locals in the village, which turned out to be one of the contributing factors to the declining tourist re-visit rate (Fig 3.10).

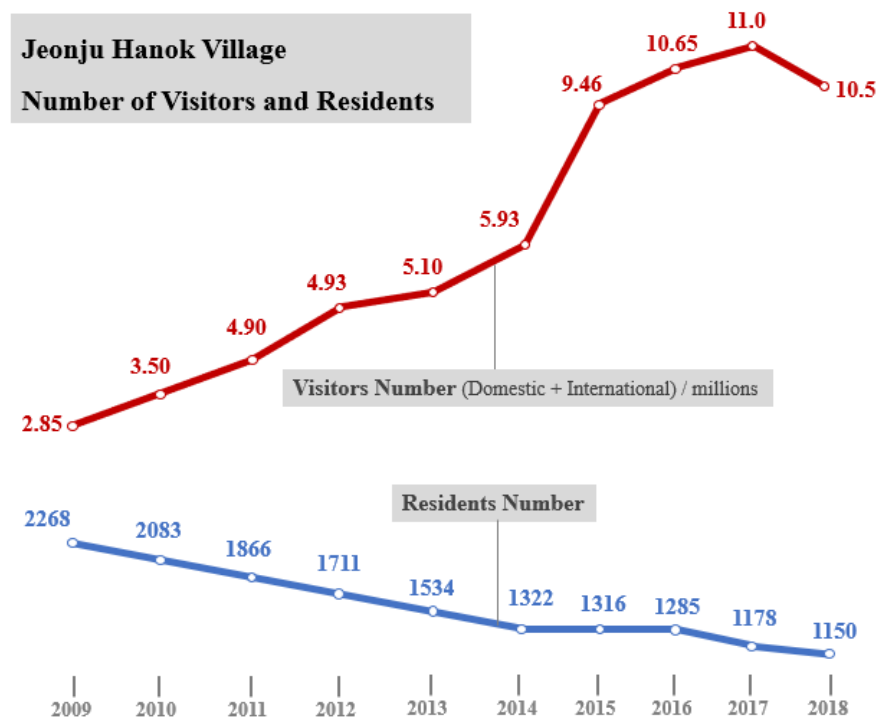


Figure 3.10: Number of Visitors and Residents in Jeonju Hanok Village during 2009 – 2018 (Source: The Author.)

3.9 Conclusion

CHA led South Korea's heritage management, achieving important and meaningful goals since the 1980s, including the enlistment of multiple heritage sites in World Heritage Site by UNESCO. Nonetheless, the process of its heritage management, which ruled out the opportunity to involve multiple stakeholders including local people, was concerning.

Particularly concerning was government attitude justifying sacrifice of local residents while pursuing the national patriotic agendas during heritage management. In both study areas, local residents led a series of protests when heritage projects breached their property rights without adequate information and compensation. Nonetheless, central and local authorities forced residents to relocate during the project without providing a transparent and fair system for their participation. Also, the residents have witnessed and experienced additional long-term effects from the one-way heritage management process caused by altered environment and everyday life.

Second, the governance system lacked outreach programs. This created a series of issues regarding heritage management. The Heritage Protection Law was ratified in 1962 with successive articles, but they were inadequately developed based on democratic processes of the past six decades. The governance system barely embraced stakeholders' engagement while its exclusiveness and top-down approaches were in effect.

Since the Republic of Korea government was established in 1948, the country has had a highly centralised system of governance, though there have been some significant changes such as advancement in democracy and localisation of governance. There were related pros and cons: government efficiency was high, but, this engendered a lack of diversity which contributed to the development of modern cities with a monotonous industrial structure and developmental planning approach. Urban heritage needs to be carefully analysed and it must consider the people's dynamic circumstances and unique cultural and physical presence. However, this has not been the case, as showcased in the two cities examined in the current study. The lessons learned in the cases of Gyeongju and Jeonju can be generalized to other cities.

Nationalism's hegemonic agenda played a significant in the government developing the Gyeongju heritage city. Construction of heritage sites with nationalistic and political viewpoints may not be a serious defect, per se. However, too much emphasis on a nationalism or chauvinism-driven approach may engender serious problems. This is especially the case with younger generations because their understanding of the past can be biased, and they may lose the opportunity to learn the truth of their own history and culture. While it was necessary to restore the national system for industry, economy, politics, education, and culture after over 30 years of colonisation and exhaustive political and military tension between North and South Korea, this does not justify the defective heritage management that occurs under an inflated emphasis on nationalism.

Moreover, issues of Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) were noted. In the historical context of South Korea, which prioritised nationalism and discouraged challenging the authority of the central government, the first generation of the AHD was comprised of a few elite archaeologists who were mostly trained in Japan and Europe. Since the 1960s, they determined the direction of the 'authentic Korea-ness' and constructed it through a series of heritage management projects supported by CHA. This elite group's views became the golden standard for heritage management projects and information. It is unclear how many heritage sites and objects regarded as less valuable and having less utility were neglected, abandoned, or even destroyed due to this standard. Furthermore, the second and third generations of AHD who were strongly attached to the first generation, are still influential in the South Korean heritage management. Members usually work for national museums, top-ranked universities, and central government bodies, and partake in important decision makings.

The AHD's exclusiveness and unidirectional effort process to artificially create an 'authentic Korean identity' raises a series of concerns; first, the ownership problem. It is not surprising state-appointed experts regard themselves as genuine custodians of local heritage. In general, experts have a sense of ownership similar to that of government authorities in heritage management (see also Fouseki, 2010). A sense of ownership can be beneficial because it usually creates greater involvement and personal appreciation for the objects (O'driscoll *et al.*, 2006). Thus, it can benefit the overall process of heritage management, as heritage experts' extensive knowledge and skills can synergistically interact with a strong sense of duty and affection, based upon their sense of heritage ownership. Nevertheless, the

fact that experts who work for government are the exclusive authority, coupled with their control over the heritage resources without consideration of alternative perspectives, can be detrimental. One specific example is overemphasis on the conservation and materialistic protection of heritage and neglect of non-materialistic issues regarding heritage.

Additionally, AHD's strong sense of ownership can be negatively associated with the local people's sense of ownership due to lack of opportunity to partake in the heritage management planning and execution process. No participatory approach can completely integrate and perfectly address the multiple stakeholders' wide range of interests. The same is true for heritage planning and management processes. Clearly, current governance system barely embraces local voices during the processes, and this needs improvement. Furthermore, local involvement can positively influence transparent, fair, and responsible use of government resources by diversifying the recipients of the subsidies and supports.

Consideration of local community's voice during the planning and the management process is also related to human rights and social justice issues. Heritage sites generate national pride and profitable revenues to government, but the locations are still people's homes, and this must not be forgotten. Regardless of how long people have resided in the location, the sense of belonging and attachment to the area are essential in maintaining the vitality and uniqueness of the places. If local voices are not reflected in heritage management, the sites will likely gradually lose their authenticity and vibrancy and will become another of the thousands of

“jaded” tourists’ destinations. This will adversely affect sustainability, the heritage sites’ integrity, and the locals’ quality of life.

In the next chapter, I introduce the theoretical and conceptual background for the research design schemes and interpretive model for the study with the delineation of common philosophical norms. The next chapter also covers details of the study's research methodologies, including data collection, analytic procedures, limitations, and ethical considerations.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

Chapters 1, 2 and 3 elaborate the main issues the study seeks to address and specify the research framework. The prime research objectives are as follows: to understand heritage construction and its production process in South Korea; to identify local communities' perceptions on their heritage and their responses towards heritage development processes; and to understand the national identity that the South Korean government seeks to promote through the national heritage management projects. To conduct valid research, it is essential to understand philosophical propositions of the available method(s) to identify the most suitable approach for a study.

This chapter focuses on the theoretical and conceptual principles for the research design schemes for the present study. The interpretive model for the study follows the review of common philosophical norms. The chapter also covers details of the study's research methodologies, including data collection, analytic procedures, limitation, and ethical consideration.

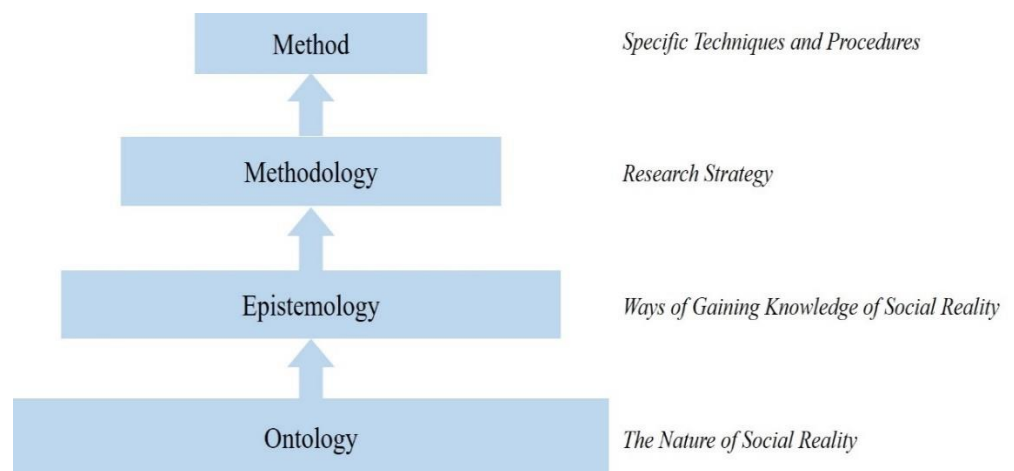


Figure 4.1: The Research Process (Source: The Author.)

Ontology, epistemology, and methodology are the three major dimensions of the research mechanism (Antwi & Hamza, 2015). A research paradigm encompasses all the frameworks of interconnected practices and ideas that operationalize the essence of inquiry (Fig 4.1). Ontology is concerned with social realities in terms of form and nature. Objectivism and constructivism are two dominant ontological positions. According to objectivism, social phenomena occur independent of social actors. Meanwhile, constructivism suggests that social phenomena are dynamically influenced by social actors (Bryman, 2004). Heritage, from an objectivist viewpoint, can be seen as a repository of ideas and values which people have embraced and absorbed.

On the other hand, from a constructivist perspective, heritage can be interpreted as a result of social interaction and a living and dynamic entity which can be continuously modified, negotiated, and chosen. This study proposes that

heritage is a social phenomenon and heritage construction is a dynamic and interactive process. This non-static, reciprocal, and iterative social process is complex. As a result, studies frequently focus on only limited facets or dimensions of a focal social phenomenon. Moreover, selection of the viewpoint, approach, and interpretation of the results are inherently susceptible to subjectivity and the conclusions extracted from the results cannot be definitive. This speaks to the need for a constructivist viewpoint. Ontological and epistemological elements are concerned with a person's cognitive scheme and mental model, which significantly affect how various types of objects and phenomenon are viewed. Objectivist and constructivist worldviews are two complementary approaches (Table 4.1).

Objectivist Viewpoint (Positivism, Empiricism)	Subjectivist Viewpoint (Constructivism, Interpretivism, Idealism)
Quantitative	Qualitative
Single reality	Multiple realities
Reality exists independent of the observer (subject-object split)	Realities are symbolically constructed and meaning is observer dependent.
Reality is experienced through the senses, catalogue by the mind, and measurable either direct or indirectly.	Social reality is engaged through cognition and organised in memory.
Researcher may engage the world in a value-neutral manner (ie, objectively).	Researcher engages the world in a value-laden manner (ie, subjectively).
Knowledge may be built cumulatively following scientific canons emphasising observation,	Understanding is possible by dint of people's ability to exercise empathy.

reliability in measurement and analysis, and confirming or refuting hypotheses logically derived from theory. Theory is cumulative. It embodies the explanatory principles, empirical laws on how classes of events and processes work across time and space (universals). It allows us to predict how reality works.	Knowledge is based on observation. Theory is situationally and historically specific to a given social context A statement describes how an event or process works (particularistic).
Emphasis is on explanation and control.	Emphasis is on discovery.
Internal or external to research subjects.	Internal to research subjects.

Table 4.1: Comparing the application of Objectivist and Subjectivist Viewpoints
(Source: Hastings, 2004)

These diverse perspectives on the world have ramifications in almost every academic discipline; however, neither of these perspectives is considered superior to the other. Both can be suitable for certain research questions and have their own limitations, such as being overly conceptual or narrow-scoped. A person's viewpoint can also vary depending on the given circumstances – which facets he/she is focusing on and what kind of psychological experiences are associated with them. This study attempts to integrate different attributes of both objectivism and constructionism viewpoints in a complementary manner. At the same time, it adopts interpretivism and uses a mixed method approach, as discussed in the following section.

4.2 Research Approach

Interpretivism

Interpretive theorists conclude that reality is comprised of people's different perspectives on the universe, encouraging us to follow an inter-subjective epistemology and the ontological assumption that reality is socially constructed. Interpretivists, according to Willis (1995), are anti-foundationalists who feel there is no single road to meaning. According to Walsham (1993), there are no 'correct' or 'incorrect' ideas. Instead, there are only the levels of 'interesting' which should be determined by researchers in the similar fields. They try to extract the most pertinent pieces of information from the field by studying the phenomena in detail. Interpretivists claim that offering information regarding something and extracting meaning from something are the matters of interpretation, since there is no objective knowledge that is not affected by human thought and logic (Walsham, 1993).

According to Schlegel (2015), interpretive researchers' hypothesis is that the only way to access truth is the identification of shared meanings. Aikenhead also argued that observation and interpretation practices reinforce the interpretive paradigm; observation is to gather information about events, while interpretation is to make meaning out of it (Aikenhead, 1997). It tries to make sense of phenomena by observing at the meanings that people give to them (Deetz, 1996).

The "interpretivist" model, according to Reeves and Hedberg (2003: p 32), emphasises the importance of contextual analysis. The interpretive framework is concerned with comprehending the world through the lens of individuals' subjective experiences. They employ meaning-oriented methodologies that rely on a

personalised or idiosyncratic relationship between the researcher and the subjects, such as interviews or participant observation. Interpretive analysis does not describe dependent or independent variables, but instead focuses on the full scope of human sense-making as it occurs (Chowdhury, 2014).

The interpretive approach attempts to clarify the subjective motives and interpretations that drive social behaviour. Interpretivists are more interested in judging, evaluating, and refining interpretive theories than in developing new theories. There are three types of interpretive case studies, according to Walsham (1995): theory as a case study result, a method for iterative data collection and analysis, and as a method for leading the design of data collection. The second method was used in this research for data collection and interpretation.

Despite the fact that the present study is not purely phenomenological, some of its components are based on phenomenological principles, which are concerned with findings of a phenomenon as they are. The study of "phenomena" is known as phenomenology or the manifestations of objects in our experiences, or the ways people perceive, as well as the meanings in our lives (Stanford Encyclopedia, 2008).

According to Creswell (2003), a phenomenological analysis attempts to explain the significance of many individuals' experiences about a target concept or phenomenon of interest (1998: p 51). As Lester stated, this typically entails gathering "deep" information through inductive qualitative methods such as observation, interview, and focus group as well as subsequent qualitative evaluations, and then representing the data and impressions via the eyes of the research participants (Lester, 1999). In phenomenologies, observation and

interview are the primary data collection methods (Aspers, 2004). Phenomenological techniques are especially successful in bringing forth individual experiences and expectations from their own viewpoints, questioning systemic or normative assumptions in the process (ibid).

The core aspects of this approach are participation, coordination, and engagement (Henning van Rensburg & Smit, 2004). In the interpretive approach, the researcher serves as a passive spectator (Hara, 1995), participating in events and identifying the meanings of acts as they are communicated within given social contexts.

Grounded Theory

The grounded theory approach is one of the investigation techniques used in qualitative analysis. The method was introduced by Glaser and Strauss in 1967, who discussed it in their book *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (Cooney, 2010). It has focused on a sociological theory. The aim of grounded theory is to come up with a hypothesis. The term ‘theory’ in grounded theory refers to both a ‘methodology to help in the creation of an explanatory model grounded in empirical evidence’ (Walker & Myrick, 2006) and an ‘explanatory scheme that systematically incorporates various concepts through statements of relationships’ (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: p 25).

Charmaz (2006) argues that the grounded theory method is a practical option for investigating social dynamics because it is a flexible and realistic approach

appropriate for the dynamics of social phenomena. This diverged from Glaser's approach which was more concerned with the overall emergence of theory, with the primary objective of grounded theory being exploration and discovery, accompanied by verification experiments.

According to Glaser (1992), grounded theory methodology necessitates a high level of intellectual capacity. Meanwhile, the aim of grounded theory, according to Strauss and Corbin (1998), is to generate and verify hypotheses. The Straussian method also predicts potential influences on behaviour. Charmaz's integration of a constructivist framework to these grounded theory approaches is worth noting. He stated 'grounded theory is a set of principles and practices instead of a set of rigid methods and frameworks' (Charmaz, 2006: p 9).

The present study adopts the Straussian approach to grounded theory, which employs an emergent method, uses social and cultural meanings as problem-solving practices, and applies grounded theory to an open-ended analysis (Charmaz, 2006). Because of the rigidity of the coding instructions, this thesis used a flexible coding technique similar to that used in classic grounded theory. This would not jeopardise the Straussian method's legitimacy, as Strauss and Corbin (1998) argued that coding and analysis should be compatible.

4.3 Research Design

Many researchers including Crotty (2020) and Creswell (2003) concur that research design is a combination of theoretical frameworks and practical steps. It is critical to have a systemic and strategic research design in order to meet the goals of the researchers and answer the research questions (De Vaus, 2005). It has been suggested that methodology can be seen as a methodological structure for every component of a study encompassing from philosophical background to concrete results (Cresswell & Plano Clark, 2007).

Creswell (2003) proposes a research design model based on Crotty's (1998) work, which includes three key components to guide the design process. These include the proposed research's knowledge claims, the inquiry strategies required to answer the questions, and the specific data collection and analysis methods. Identification of these key elements aids the researcher in selecting necessary approaches, which in turn helps to determine the specific research steps. This study was guided by three sets of categories, which were further elaborated in research (sub) questions, particularly using Creswell's second step as an overarching framework for the research design (See Fig 4.2).

1) Construction of heritage in urban context

Which social, political, and economic factors affect decisions to construct heritage in the urban context? How is heritage being constructed, and what is the process like? Which circumstances contribute to the construction of heritage in urban

context? What are the main impetuses that makes and shapes heritage especially in the urban context?

2) Community

What is the nature of community involvement in the processes of the production of heritage in the urban context? How communities are engaged in such processes and how do they encounter and conceptualise the ways in which heritage is constructed and utilised? How do local communities perceive their cultural heritage? What is the communities' role, and what are their responses to the development of the current production of heritage?

3) Identity

What kind of identity does the government of South Korea seek to promote with officially recognised heritage in policy and practice? Does the government of South Korea try to preserve community identity while constructing urban heritage sites? Do residents (local communities) have an opportunity to affect heritage-related issues to protect the identities of their community? How is the process like for the re-negotiation of identities in the context of these heritage cities?

The three major factors are intertwined with its context while each of these factors influences the heritage construction process. Thus, the research questions were designed to answer their dynamic influences on the heritage discourse.

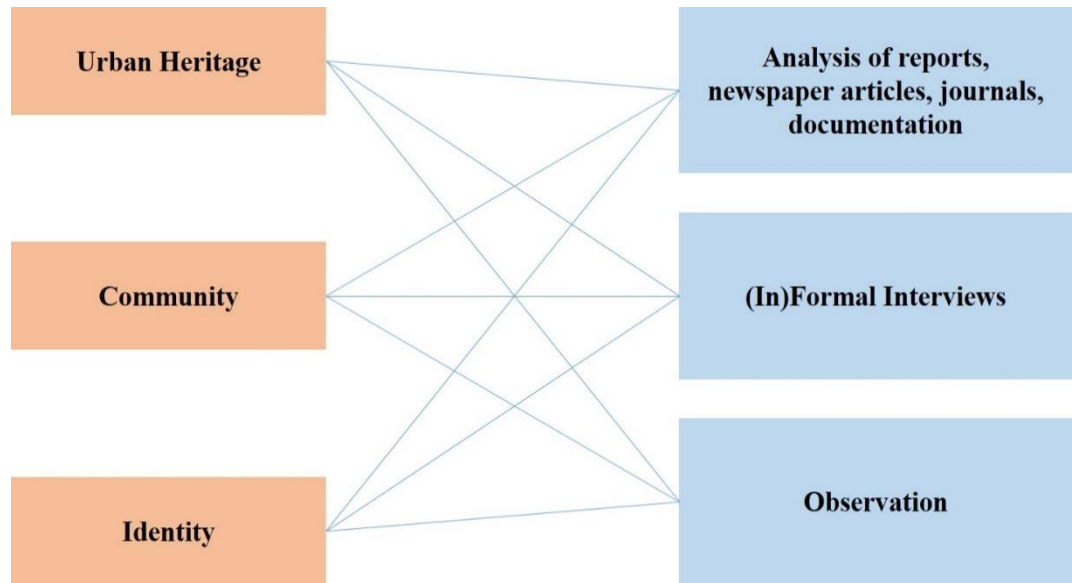


Figure 4.2: Research Themes and Data Collection Methods

(Source: The Author.)

Strategic approaches are needed to identify social, political, and economic factors which influence the heritage production processes (Creswell, 2003). Accordingly, the data collection for the present study was based on the combined strategies for gathering data on group perspectives and behaviour (social factors), government mechanisms and approaches (political factors), and market-driven pressures and constraints (economic factors) to highlight particular politico-cultural and economic circumstances. By comparing the selected two cases, qualitative information regarding the interaction among these contributing factors as well as the results of the heritage manufacturing processes were collected.

Also, the applicability of the study results must be ensured. The validity of a research program bolsters the development of correct and trustworthy information, and the applicability of that knowledge makes it useful as a method for

understanding the topics being studied. According to Creswell (2003), a mixed methods strategy might be a suitable option for the present study. Multiple data collection approaches in consideration of various data sources were used to compile the data needed to address the study questions. In turn, specific data collection techniques were considered to efficiently and accurately integrate the information from multiple sources using both qualitative and quantitative approaches. The triangulation of data from various sources also allowed the authentication of the evidence (Jonsen & Jehn, 2009; Merriam & Grenier, 2019).

Particularly, when I collect different data sets, using textual data analysis seems practical. The textual analysis approach is useful in the heritage field because the collected data provides insight into social meanings, contexts, mutual influences, group communications, and local cultures. It may provide evidence of changing local people's dynamics over time, attitudes, or solidarities. However, triangulating complex phenomena, that are based on the interplay among social, economic, political, and cultural elements, is the common thread in text analysis studies. For instance, Kern (2018) combined text, survey, and interview data for the analysis of the political power and the preferred political power of traditional leaders in Uganda and Tanzania for triangulation. Also, Enomoto and Bair (1999) conducted a case study to examine the role of the school in the assimilation of immigrant children and sought for triangulation utilising the data from multiple sources, such as observations and formal interviews with key stakeholders.

As stated, textual data analysis is particularly well suited to mixed-methods research in the heritage field, where problems are explored in part through a large collection of printed research materials. Despite this, without interpretations

supported by experts, there is no frame of reference for these results. It is required that heritage professionals assist in the development of contextual references, critical frameworks, and back up the findings of text data analysis (Aiello & Simeone, 2019). In fact, Potter and Wetherell (1994: p 48) contended that researchers should examine "texts as social practices." The study of Udeaja *et al.* (2020), "Urban Heritage Conservation and Rapid Urbanization: Insights from Surat, India", adopted approaches similar to the present study. Specifically, it was based on a series of qualitative data which includes semi-structured interviews and focus groups with local residents and multiple other stakeholders like policy makers, planners, and heritage experts. The analysis of the qualitative data was triangulated by notes taken from their direct observations and a photo-survey of two historic sites with a range of printed sources, such as policy documents, legal frameworks and historical documents. Also, Soligo and Abarbanel (2020) analysed the concepts of experience regarding the authenticity at The Venetian Hotel and Casino in Las Vegas. They explored tangible and intangible heritage in the resort in design and marketing strategies and applied a triangulation process with the data from a content analysis of site observations, and different forms of texts from marketing material and historical documents.

Drawing inspiration from such approaches, in this study, I have found it useful to combine expert interviews with semi-structured interviews with local residents and local business / tourism sectors and archival research, because this allowed me to have an useful insight to ensure a more expansive look at the Korean heritage field.

Using expert interviews, such as heritage professionals and levels of government bodies were important in this study because they were privileged and decision-making groups in the South Korean heritage field. However, at the same time, their perspectives may be inaccurate or biased. Hence, the use of triangulation in this study was crucial by comparing and cross-checking data sets to extend and validate the findings from the field work.

In sum, as a first step, I collected various data sources, such as interviews with key-stakeholders including experts' groups, observations, archival research, taking photographs, etc. A desk review was also included in this step. Second, after the data has been collected, key findings were extracted by using summary sheets and categorising with themes according to the evaluation objectives. Particularly in this study, interview data was categorised and grouped into the following categories: (1) The Heritage and Related Policies; (2) Participation / Engagement; (3) Practice and Heritage Conservation; (4) Management; (5) Potentials and Constraints; (6) Social Dimensions; (7) Economic Dimensions and Local Economy; (8) Development Mechanisms and Development Finance.

After the identification of the key findings, the triangulation process was started. The key findings that were comparable across all data sources could be more easily discovered. The key findings could then be divided into two categories: those that were supported by additional data sources and those that stood alone. For instance, the feedback from the expert interviews could be compared to determine areas of agreement as well as areas of divergence. At this stage, I was able to see “a more detailed and balanced picture” (Cohen *et al.*, 2000: p 117) of the South Korean

heritage production phenomena than the data collection or identification stage (See Fig 4.3).

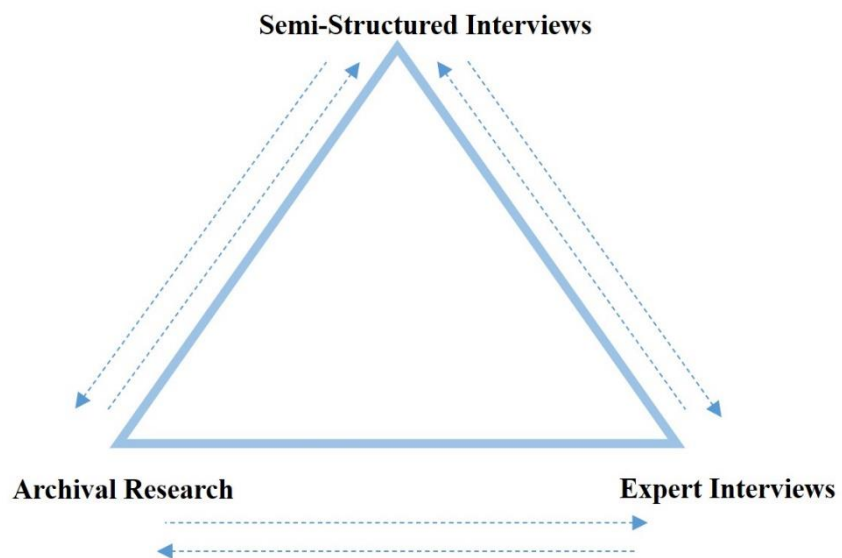
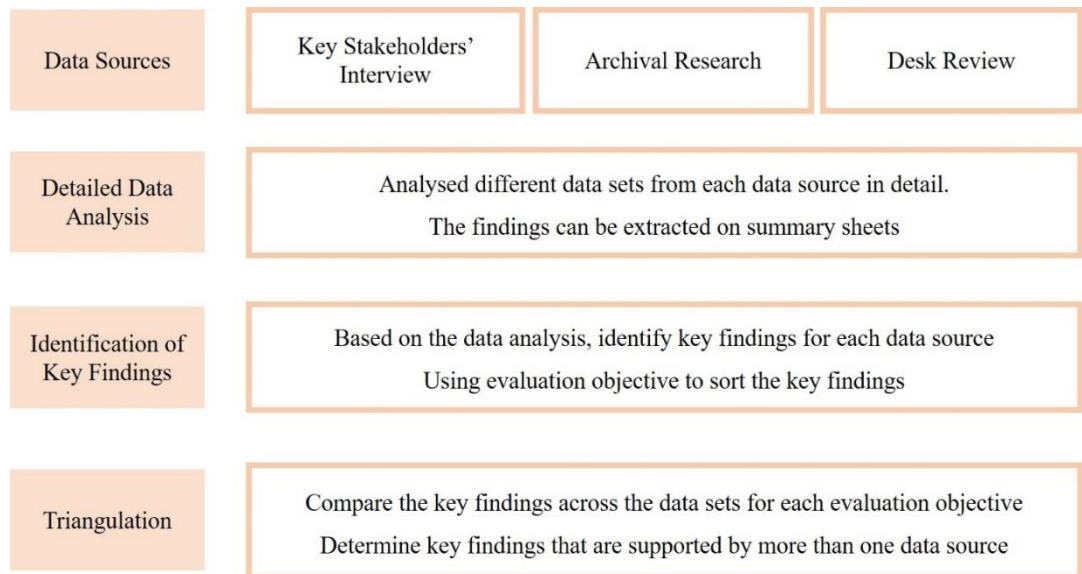


Figure 4.3: Steps from Data Sources to Triangulation

(Source: The Author.)

4.4 Case Study Method

A case study normally involves a comprehensive in-depth analysis of a single case. Multiple cases can be considered for a comparison purpose. When the context of the phenomena and its limits are uncertain and various sources of data are available, the case study approach is suitable (Stake, 2013). A case analysis is concerned with the examination of the problems inherent in particular settings of the case in question (ibid).

Nonetheless, a case study may not be the most suitable study design for statistical analyses which can be useful for hypothesis testing (Gerring, 2007). There have been equivocal views regarding the benefits and drawbacks of the case study approach. Despite the fact that case studies have shaped much of what people know about scientific advancement, and it accounts for a large portion of work undertaken by social science disciplines, the case study methodology remains underappreciated.

A case study is an in-depth examination of a selected case for the purpose of extracting lessons or principles generalisable to other cases. To enhance the generalisability, multiple cases can be included in a case report. However, this may not be feasible in some occasions (Gerring, 2007). As the focus of an analysis shifts from a particular context of a case to other cases, it can be referred to as cross-case research. Clearly, the boundary of a (cross) case study is murky. Smaller numbers of cases in a study are associated with deeper level of analysis.

When a researcher conducts in-depth research of one or more phenomena, the case study approach can be useful for the integrated analysis of the contexts and their impacts, which are related to dynamic social factors such as socio-political impetus, economic motivation, and cultural effects. Flyvbjerg also stressed the significance of context: “in the study of human affairs, there appears to exist only context dependent knowledge, which, thus, presently rules out the possibility of epistemic theoretical construction” (2006: p 221). He claimed that in all social science research, context appraisal is essential to understanding the true meanings of social phenomena.

The two study areas for the present study, Gyeongju and Jeonju, functioned as lenses to understand the impacts of the heritage production processes. This approach collected primary data from interviews, both formal and informal, with recognised stakeholders, and from observations of each locale; these sources were complemented by technical reports and documents including various information on demographic, socio-economic, and political factors of the two cities (cf. Stake, 2005). Questionnaire surveys can be used to supplement the investigation of the phenomena in the given context, but their capability to fully explore the broad range of context is significantly limited due to the complexity of the heritage production processes (Yin, 2013). Thus, the study did not consider surveys.

According to Yin (2009), the case study method is appropriate when there are more factors to consider than data points available; when use of many sources of information is necessary to ensure data convergence through triangulation or mixed methods approach. In fact, use of multi-source data can be critical for the

holistic understanding of the interested phenomenon. Archival documents, notes, direct observation, interviews, physical artefacts, and participant observation are six types of evidence defined by Yin (2009) as widely used in case studies. To obtain a broad range of these types of evidence, case studies often take a qualitative approach to examine a phenomenon intensively and comprehensively (Bryman, 2004).

When conducting a field observation, taking notes to capture feelings, emotions, and non-verbal messages (body languages) of the participants of an event, plus key contextual cues, is useful to holistically record and understand the circumstances of interest. Focus was placed on the process of events that were taking place in the environment by taking comprehensive and detailed notes based on the observations (Charmaz, 2006). One caveat is that note-taking behaviour may be so intrusive that it interferes with naturalistic information gathering in certain situations by altering the self-awareness, social desirability, and responsiveness of people in the field.

Field observations for the present study, both participatory and non-participatory, were conducted in both study sites, as well as their surroundings, and documented through notetaking. To supplement notetaking which heavily relies on verbal inputs, I also photographed the study locations and milieus to produce visual aids which, together, meticulously record the events that occurred during fieldwork.

Observations were made based on both planned and unforeseen incidents. For example, I did not originally plan to attend a community gathering in Jeonju city, but the event happened to be held while I was visiting the city. In this unexpected encounter of an opportunity that is highly pertinent to the purpose of

the present study, it was judged that this would be a good event for field observation. Over the course of the community gathering event which was organised by community members and municipal governments, I made minimal interaction with the members and observed the meeting in an unintrusive manner.

Additionally, notetaking was a useful means of keeping track of my anthropological, cultural, and historical speculations specific to the given contexts. One challenge was to warrant the information's comprehensiveness as much as possible. To attain complementary views of the study sites and to ensure the trustworthiness of the information from fieldwork, I applied two types of observation – participant and non-participant observations.

- Observation as a participant

Participant observation entails observing a situation or an activity from the inside by becoming a member of the group being observed. Mitchell states that “Goode and Hatt define participant observation as the procedure used when the investigator can go disguise himself as to be accepted as a member of the group. So in this case the observer has to stay inside of the group (2006, p 34). I participated freely with the participants, partaking in numerous group activities and becoming engaged and absorbed in the observed group's way of life while witnessing their actions. For example, I went on guided tours in both study areas to learn the background information and stories the tour guide delivered to people and how the tourists reacted and valorised. In this case, I was an observer as well as a member of the tourist groups.

- Observation as a non-participant

To take a role as a non-participant observer in this study, I did not interact with any of the event participants nor discuss with them. However, purely non-participant observation is extremely difficult. Nonetheless, there are advantages of the non-participant observation such as neutrality, careful analysis, and freedom from groupism (Choudury, 2016). I only observed from a distance, not attempting to participate in, or influence, their attitudes, behaviours, or feelings. For several community-based meetings in both study areas, I maintained the role as a neutral bystander and a non-participant observer, attentively watching and truthfully recording the information of interest.

4.4.1 The Selection of the Case Study Areas

The two case study areas, Gyeongju and Jeonju historic cities, were chosen as a comparative case study not only because of their representativeness as the leading heritage cities, but also their unique local geographical settings, socio-economic contexts, development status, and political / cultural backgrounds within an overarching context of South Korea.

Gyeongju, the heart of tangible heritage sites including three of UNESCO's World Heritage sites out of thirteen in South Korea, has been influenced by the intricately related political and economic factors. The city started heritage conservation works for the first time in the country from 1970s, and became the most popular destination during 1970s – 90s. However, in 1994, the devolution

process started over the country and it created challenges to the city due to the drastic loss of financial support from the central government. During the devolution process, power was delegated from the central to the local government, and the local authorities wanted to pursue a number of heritage management and development projects without proper compensation, hoping to revive its tourism business. These continuing efforts for heritage management of the city set norms for heritage production process to maintain local economy.

The historic centre of Jeonju, on the other hand, was largely neglected until 1990. The city attempted to adopt many different development strategies to enhance its economy, but was unsuccessful. However, the city became an ‘authentic heritage destination’ after the devolution in 1994 when it realised the values and potentials of the city’s inherent heritage. Through combining intangible heritage assets with newly renovated or even newly built traditional Korean houses (Hanok) in the centre of the city, this Hanok cluster, named Jeonju Hanok Village, has become one of the most popular tourist destinations in South Korea since 2010. Surprisingly, the city had no UNESCO’s World Heritage sites, but recently the visitors have outnumbered Gyeongju with the advent of large-scale tourism since 2010.

Both cities seized heritage as major economic resources, however, the processes were notably different. The choice of two study areas from South Korea provided the opportunity to consider an overarching political and cultural background that influenced the heritage production process in a tumultuous modern history of rapid industrialisation and political decentralisation. This allowed for focus mainly on local characteristics and distinctions, thus, the research design

avoided the pitfall of comparing two historically, politically, and culturally distinct cities (e.g., Gyeongju and Venice) and instead enabled fair comparison of the two cities' heritage management processes after controlling for the dramatic changes within South Korea. Given that the research sought to understand the heritage production processes in South Korea, it was deemed most appropriate to choose two contrasting urban contexts, seeking to authenticate the “hypothesised contrast” on one hand, and identify points of commonality across distinctions on the other (Yin, 2013: p 61).

Therefore, the present study mainly focused on the heritage production processes through the lenses of the two cities. In the city of Gyeongju, the focus of the study was the old historic centre neighbourhood within the north-eastern quadrant of the city, which included a mixture of historic resources, new constructions, and commercial facilities. This neighbourhood was selected for the study for a number of its characteristics that were highly relevant to the research questions. First, the area was part of a municipal-level historic neighbourhood designation that obtained its status as a conserved historic build environment subject to specialised municipal policies and regulations against (re)development, renovation, and zoning.

The study area was also a part of UNESCO's World Heritage city and, therefore, was under the influence of national heritage protection efforts, although most managerial decision making occurred at the municipal authority-level. The area included ancient royal tombs, traditional houses, and small alleys. It was often called “historic centre of Gyeongju” or “authentic Gyeongju.” There were also

several municipal- and district-level heritage sites scattered throughout the neighbourhood which served as historic landmarks of the area, though many of them were inaccessible to the general public due to on-going or tentative conservation works.

Another compelling reason to choose this area for the present study was the dearth of study regarding the heritage production process in this particular area. There is literature regarding effective approaches to maintain and manage heritages. Although the city of Gyeongju was once a hotbed of heritage tourism and it still is well known for its tourism industry, there has been no research focusing on local residents and their relationships with the neighbourhood as a part of larger municipal / provincial / state-levels of heritage production processes. This study, therefore, could contribute to better understanding heritage production processes and implications in Gyeongju.

For Jeonju, the present study focused on the south-west quadrant of the city, which included Jeonju Hanok Village and the old historic centre. The area was chosen because of the similar reasons and themes as the Gyeongju study area. However, there were some unique reasons as well. The neighbourhood is located in its centre and it was a place of unprecedented economic dynamism and growth, with thriving businesses in developing commercialism. At the same time, the area was a densely populated residential quarter with a mix of private and public housings, mostly low-rise buildings. Jeonju Hanok Village was located in the centre of this residential area. Thus, the neighbourhood became a mixture of small businesses, residential areas, and a few storefronts on the major thoroughfares.

Unlike the Gyeongju study area, the Jeonju neighbourhood was not economically stagnant. As a result, the neighbourhood experienced few physical changes driven by economic opportunity. Nevertheless, the influx of people from outside Jeonju for businesses in the area increased the cost of living and forced the original local people to leave the neighbourhood.

Given Jeonju's new status as a heritage city since the 2000s, the city was the subject of a fair amount of study by Korean scholars during the past decades. Nonetheless, much of the literature focused on Jeonju Hanok Village's success and its strategies as a world-class historic city. Only few recent studies covered the impact of heritage status and tourism on local communities centring on the issue of gentrification. However, none of the previous studies provided resident perceptions on tourism regarding the city's heritage policy and practice in the heritage production process considering the historical context of South Korea. Moreover, little attention has been paid thus far to the relatively short history of the Jeonju Hanok Village, which started with some obsolete Hanoks.

Lastly, the author of the present study served as an observer of the residents and the large number of tourists throughout the low and high seasons in both areas. This opportunity to observe residents close-up, as well as access to reliable data, previous studies, information on conservation status, and unique challenges of the two locations enabled a comparative case study to answer the research questions.

<Table 4.2> showed the characteristics of each of the chosen study areas. Although there were some common aspects, specific profiles across the case study areas were distinctive, for instance in terms of the initiator of conservation /

protection (i.e., national level vs. local level) and the extent of heritage conservation. Both sites were approached with identical methods to clarify the similarities and differences across the study areas.

	Gyeongju city	Jeonju city
Heritage Designation and Inclusion	Three of UNESCO's WHS in the study area, a number of nationally designated heritage sites	None of UNESCO's WHS, but one of UNESCO's intangible heritage (Pansori; traditional musical storytelling) directly related to the area
Physical characteristics	Mix of old and new -Historic sites largely intact and under conservation work	Little historic architecture intact The Hanok cluster (Jeonju Hanok Village) was almost newly built after 2000 as a part of rejuvenation project
Tourism	Once the most frequented tourism destination during 1970s - 80s, but the number of tourists in gradual decline Tourism crucial to local economy	An emerging tourist destination after 2010 Domestic and Foreign tourism integration Tourism crucial to local economy

<p>Previous Research</p>	<p>Many focused on World class heritage in the city and tourism</p> <p>No study directly examined the heritage production process</p> <p>No study directly examined the impacts of heritage production on residents and their perspectives</p>	<p>A few dealt with heritage assets and its potential to become world class heritage city</p> <p>Few study examined the city's heritage production process</p>
<p>Researcher Relationship</p>	<p>Access to local and Korean-language data sources</p>	<p>Access to local and Korean-language data sources</p>

Table 4.2: Characteristics of selected study areas

4.5 Research Strategy

The fieldwork for the present study included site visits (specifically the historic city centres in two cities where long-term residents resided), observation, related data collection (from local archives, heritage conservation and planning authorities), and semi-structured interviews with various stakeholders. The observation included documentation and recording of the cities' physical or structural changes, tourism and commercial activities, and patterns and contents of social interactions within or across the multiple stakeholders. The semi-structured interview guidelines were designed for three primary groups of interviewees; government authorities, business stakeholders, and local communities in both study areas. Particularly, their perceptions on conservation policies and decision-making processes as well as their outcomes were the main target of data collection.

Site Visits and Observation

The data collection began with visiting each historic city centre and observation. Main heritage site observations and photographic documentation of the sites were made with an aim of creating a record of the social and physical characteristics of the study areas while recording 'local voices' of the neighbourhoods as important local context of the research. Also, they provide concrete references for the interview data.

Observation involves the use of one's senses to study people in the non-manipulated natural environment. In observation, there are four types of degrees from complete observer to complete participant. For the present study, multiple

observational positions were taken to ensure a balanced and comprehensive spectrum of observation. In the field, two types of observational positions were adopted: observation as a participant and non-participant. In the case of observation as a participant, the investigator of the present study joined site excursions to observe tourists' behaviours and reactions. Also, the descriptive narratives from tour guides were used to understand how the public consumed formal historic or cultural information.

On occasions when no particular interactions or discourses were made, the investigator of the present study took the position of non-participant observer. For this, a deliberate distancing was taken to minimise the researcher's influence on heritage tourism, such as the interference of ordinary tourist-commerce interactions or manipulation of their attitudes or feelings. Several local festivals and events were attended for audio recording and photographic documentation. Important elements of heritage resources which were cherished by local people, physical conditions of the built heritages, and general living conditions of residential buildings were the major objects of the recording. Photographs were labelled by address and served as reference for data recording. Moreover, photographs were used as an informative supplement or situational cue in interview facilitation, whenever necessary and available.

These informal naturalistic observations were planned to familiarise the investigator with the existing settings, local economic activities, and the relationships between local communities and visitors. Observation of the residents' everyday lives provided multi-layered data that could be integrated as auxiliary or

confirmatory research. The site visits and observations were conducted during fieldwork from January to September in 2018, including both high and low seasons.

Data Collection – Mixed Methods

To better understand the meaning of each case study, the methods of qualitative and quantitative research were merged. Combining different techniques, such as interviews and involvement with community-based stakeholders, enabled the broader data acquisition and in-depth data regarding the target phenomenon. The local communities' participation in the research brought in bottom-up insights through a series of in-depth interviews. Additionally, document research based on archives, libraries, national / provincial / municipal museums, and information from news was carried out mostly in the early stage of the fieldwork from January to April in 2018.

Data was obtained from a variety of documents to gain comprehensive and detailed understanding of the study areas and they included historical documents, archival records, catalogues, postcards, historic photographs, and maps of the two cities' historic centres. These materials were available in municipal archives, museums, heritage offices in city halls, university libraries, and local media. Local communities' private collections, such as old photos and movie clips, were also accessed.

Specifically, documents regarding Gyeongju included the review of heritage sector reporting and conference proceedings from 1987 to 2000. These materials

included information on heritage policy and strategy from central government departments such as Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism and Cultural Heritage Administration. Also, there was information regarding the provincial and municipal levels of revenues and expenditure reports (1987 – 2012), plus the South Korean Tourism reports (1989 – 2018) were also obtained from municipal archive.

Document research processes for Jeonju were not equal to those for Gyeongju. While the central government archive data was similar, many of municipal and provincial data were obtained via official websites. The provincial government offered various statistics such as population change, ages, category of revenues, etc. through their website for the convenience of researchers, policy makers, or any interested parties.

Semi-Structured In-depth Interviews

One of advantages of the in-depth interview over the mass survey is that it records more fully how subjects arrive at their opinions. While we cannot actually observe the underlying mental process that gives rise to their responses, we can witness many of its outward manifestations. The way subjects ramble, hesitate, stumble, and meander as they formulate their answers tips us off to how they are thinking and reasoning through political issues (Gerring, 2007: p 45).

A fully standardised or structured interview makes a deep dive into a specific topic or issue difficult because it is not allowed to add or adapt a pre-established set of

inquiries. In contrast, a semi-structured interview has an overall structure which helps to preserve the interview scope and direction set at the planning stage, yet allows minor to moderate inquiry variation or addition, for an in-depth investigation or exploration of the relevant topic or issue. Also, interviewees had opportunities to clarify their answers and include more in-depth details if necessary over the course of the semi-structured interview (Brewerton & Millward, 2001).

The interviewer would also be in a better position to determine the respondent's trustworthiness. Depending on the type of evidence used to answer the research questions and the tools available, several different types of interview approaches can be taken. To gather qualitative data, in-depth interviews were conducted with key stakeholders including: public entities (e.g., national, provincial, and municipal government agencies), private entities (e.g., business, media), and local community members. In general, information regarding the on-going issues in the heritage sites, primary motivations behind particular attitudes or behaviours, as well as origins of the social conflicts / issues in the heritage sites were sought after.

Among the multiple stakeholders who participated in the present study, the local community members were particularly important in understanding the barriers to their involvement in heritage management related decision-making processes. To ensure the representativeness of local people, they were categorised by age, gender, and length of residence for the present study.

Information about Sampling

In Gyeongju, three specific entities from the public sector were approached for data collection and selected according to administrative categories: The *Cultural Heritage Administration* (CHA) and the *Gyeongju National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage* in the national government category, *Culture, Sports, & Tourism department* and *Urban Planning department* in the provincial government, and *Culture & Tourism department* and *Urban Planning department* in the municipal government. From the private sector, representatives from tourism & business agencies were interviewed: *Cheon-ma & Geum-A Tour and Transportation*, the private tour companies, *Gyeongju Lodging Association* (aka *Bulguksa Lodging Association*), and *Top Real Estate Agency*. *Gyeongju Shin-Moon*, the local media, was interviewed via phone as well. In the local community sector, *Gyeongju Elderly Meeting*, comprised of long-term residents was chosen as a suitable social forum from which to recruit knowledgeable and trustworthy interviewees (for a detailed and contextualised list of interviewees, see Appendix E).

In Jeonju, UNESCO's ICHCAP (International Information and Networking Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region under the auspices of UNESCO) stakeholder(s) of the centre was/were interviewed and classified as representative voice(s) of the supranational government sector. In the government sector, three levels of government structure were considered in the case of Gyeongju. The stakeholder(s) of the *Cultural Heritage Administration* (CHA) and the *National Intangible Heritage Centre* (NIHC) were interviewed and classified as representative voice(s) of the national level. At the provincial level,

Culture, Sports, & Tourism department, Urban Planning department, and JeonBook Research Institute (JRI) were selected as interviewees. In the municipal government, there were two groups: *Culture, Sports, & Tourism department* and *Eco City department*. In the private sector, spokespersons of the *Jeonju East Gate Shopping District Association*, the *Jeonju Small Business Promotion Foundation*, and the *Matching Real Estate* were selected as interviewees. Also, a representative of the local newspaper, *Jeonju Shin-Moon*, was interviewed as a part of the private sector. In the local community sector, long-term residents of the *Jeonju Hanok Village Conservation Association* were interviewed (see Appendix E).

Government official participants in the study were approached beforehand via email and phone calls (if necessary) with research-brief introduction letters. The levels of specific government departments in the super-national, national, provincial, and municipal authorities in each historic city were recruited in order to understand the process of decision making in the heritage conservation field.

Diverse business groups including tourism, real estate, transport, accommodation, and local business associations were recruited via email and phone calls (if necessary) based upon their relevance in the heritage field. They were also informed about the research via a research brief and introduction letters so that they could grasp the research before interviews.

For local community recruitment, a couple groups of the local community were contacted before data collection, because it was difficult to identify which groups had significance in their community before the fieldwork. Thus, for

recruiting qualified local people, snowball sampling was considered the most appropriate and targeted approach in the research.

Representatives of the local media —JeonJu and GyeongJu local newspapers – were recruited with the research brief introduction letters via email. The reporters who were conversant with heritage and social issues in each locale were recruited for the research.

Inclusion of diverse groups of participants for the interview was essential for the comprehensiveness and richness of the interview data. Also, it allowed for further analysis on which individual and organisational stakeholders need enhanced empowerment for participatory decision-making processes. Based on these diverse groups of participants, a total of 34 semi-structured interviews were initially arranged, but five additional interviewees were included to augment the diversity of the participants' perspectives and reliability within each stakeholder group. Therefore, a total of 39 in-depth interviews were conducted. Interviews were coded in accordance with the key themes and categorised by the domains of concepts that emerged during the interview. These codes were tallied within and across interviews to determine the most commonly mentioned and underscored concerns and suggestions.

To gain a vivid representation of the multi-faceted local heritage issues, interviewees were deliberately selected to be both males and females and from different age groups, all over 18 years old. Probing questions were used in the interviews to facilitate the provision of in-depth insights from interviewees regarding heritage policies, traditions, and heritage-related effects, as well as their

relationship with the place and their willingness toward involvement. Moreover, semi-structured interview guidelines were prepared for each type of sector, such that three different types of semi-structured interview guidelines were used for public entities, private entities, and local community members, respectively.

Interviews began with questions about the respondent's demographics, job or job title, and connection to each study region. These warm-up questions aided in determining the interviewees' attachment to the place and motivation behind their decision to reside in the place. In the second part of the interview, interviewees received exploratory questions about their ethnicity and related historical, political, and economic contexts. Interview data allowed the identification and organisation of the key information into meaningful sets of themes (Denzin, 2008).

The third part of the interviews centred on heritage, specifically regarding perceptions of heritage conservation or development and their community's growth potential. Data offered useful insights regarding the interviewees' unique attitudes to the local heritage and probable causes of major gaps between the government agencies and local people regarding the heritage production process. Additionally, information was obtained regarding the inter-stakeholder relationships and subjective feelings or attitudes about the involvement of various stakeholders in the heritage production process.

Appendix A presents sample interview questions. However, it must be noted that the specific contents and directions of the interviews were influenced by the natural flow of dialogue, given the semi-structured nature of the interviews. All verbal discourse involves complexities such as different conversation styles, unique

encoding / decoding strategies, and subjectivity in object perception. This made the on-going adjustment of some interview structures (i.e., sequence of giving probing questions, frequency of reiteration of some key concepts, recap of the remarks) inevitable throughout the interviews. Nevertheless, all the key research questions were asked within the pre-established interview framework. Face-to-face interviews were performed in both study areas, normally at the interviewees' offices. Community members were interviewed in an open environment, such as a community centre. The interviews took place in both cities from April to September 2018. The interviews lasted on average 40-45 minutes, but a few interviews spanned more than two hours. Each interview was conducted and recorded in Korean and later translated to English by the principal investigator of the present study.

4.6 Data Analysis

Comparative Analysis

Political scientists often argue that analogy is a valuable method for cross-national and cross-local information transfer because it provides a sense of scale (Alterman 2010). Despite the calls for more comparative study, single-case analyses have been dominant in the field of qualitative study. Researchers may use single-case research to contextualise their observations and findings about the relationships between multiple variables. Some critics, however, contend that “reliance on a single case does not allow the analyst to assess how robust the findings are (. . .) cross-sectional

survey data, on the other hand, allows for testing relationships across widely divergent settings” (Goetz *et al.*, 1993: p 201). Furthermore, the case study process based on a single case review has been criticised for its limitation in external validity (Mukhija, 2010)

Comparative study, as opposed to a single-case analysis, can offer greater insights, especially when analysing a broader group of objects. As a result, analogy will provide a logical guidance for classifying strategies, processes, and issues (Weiss 1997). It may accomplish these objectives by elucidating the standards for determining similarities and differences, as well as by using standard references. It can be particularly useful in evaluating the effectiveness of government policies either in a normative or substantive manner (DiGaetano, 1999).

Several researchers have pointed out the severe lack of comparative research regarding the conservation of built heritage. Prudon, for example, stated that there is a dearth of scientific information about heritage conservation, owing to a lack of comparative research. He argued “nettlesome questions include what and why to conserve. Despite the lack of specific criteria, it is clear that further comparative research is required (Prudon, 2008: p X). Hitchcock *et al.* echoed this view, adding that there is no comparative mechanism in the heritage management strategies across regions and globally (Hitchcock, 2010: p 266). One possible reason for the lack of comparative heritage studies is the heterogeneity issue, which regards “apples to apples” versus “apples to oranges” comparison. The heterogeneity issue can arise due to numerous reasons, including variation in geography, history, socio-economic and socio-cultural compositions (Howe, 2001).

Recognising the value of comparative heritage studies begins by emphasising the nature and epistemological possibilities of comparative study, as well as the various characteristics, forms, and components of comparative studies. Comparison, for example, offers a comprehensive viewpoint on the meaning, motives, and socio-cultural dimensions of heritage conservation, which varies across jurisdictions (both national and local). Comparison, through a cross-jurisdictional transfer of expertise, can assist policymakers and practitioners in designing better policies, preventing past mistakes, or facing challenges (UNESCO, 2016). Comparative analysis is therefore important for designing well-informed strategies that can enhance historic site conservation efforts' effectiveness and sustainability. As a result, the economic, social, environmental, and cultural sustainability can also be augmented. Lastly, comparative knowledge is crucial for the heritage management which is constantly criticised for being elitist, arbitrary, unsustainable, and even destructive to societies (Mualam, 2018). Therefore, a comparative outlook of heritage studies can optimally accommodate important questions like 'why conserve', 'how to conserve', and 'how to do it in a sustainable manner'.

Lowenthal noted the importance of comparative studies in practice because they promote an integrative perspective which helps 'heritage disputes seem less disconnected' (Lowenthal, 1998). Comparison is dependent on socio-political variables like public interest in conservation planning and management, which are often linked to the various efforts to maintain historic sites. Lowenthal also pointed out that "every legacy is distinctive, to be sure. But realising our heritage problems are not unique, makes them more bearable, even soluble if we see how time or effort resolved them elsewhere" (Lowenthal, 1998: p 249). Based on Lowenthal's

argument, Murphy noted, “the message is clear: stay alert, proceed with caution, profit from the experience of others in other countries” (Murphy, 1995: p 376).

Moreover, Avrami added a relevant point that study which explains the role of conservation in society, how economic, cultural and social factors influence it and how it affects society in turn, is needed. She highlighted the potential contribution of this type of comparative study in advancing heritage management practices by integrating the conservation of heritage environments, education for participatory decision-making processes, and promoting ties with related academic and social disciplines, which can jointly facilitate the adaptive approaches by conservation practitioners and institutions (Avrami, 2000: p 6).

The present study was based on the comparative analysis of two study areas, and this strategy showed both commonality and uniqueness. Initially, the comparative analysis was conducted based on published materials relating to the heritage production processes’ economic and social impact. Specifically, various types of heritage and tourism-related publications from government agencies, such as periodicals and white reports, plus local newspapers covering heritage and tourism related topics and issues were scrutinised.

All in-depth semi-structured interviews made for the present study were recorded and then transcribed both in Korean and English, but the transcription was made with an emphasis of the recurring topics and themes. Subsequently, the interviews were divided into three categories depending on the classification of the interviewees: public entities; private entities; and community members from the area. A thematic interpretation approach was adopted to analyse the evolution

pattern of heritage issues in the study areas. A customised coding frame was developed to aid the analysis and specifically, interview data was categorised into the following categories as textual analysis coding frame: (1) The Heritage and Related Policies; (2) Participation / Engagement; (3) Practice and Heritage Conservation; (4) Management; (5) Potentials and Constraints; (6) Social Dimensions; (7) Economic Dimensions and Local Economy; (8) Development Mechanisms and Development Finance. The principal investigator of the present study organised the data in multiple formats including written texts, figures, and tables.

The in-depth interviews were conducted with different types of stakeholders in Gyeongju and Jeonju historic cities, including a number of residents, for a comprehensive understanding of these stakeholders' attitudes, views, perceptions, and assessments regarding the heritage production process in their old historic centres. The major utility local residents' input lies in the information regarding the concerns of sustainable heritage management and projected living conditions in the heritage cities based on an inhabitant viewpoint.

Qualitative Analysis

In-depth qualitative interviews can pose a challenge to efficient integration of the rich information through multiple communication modes. Observing interviewees' non-verbal expressions such as body language, facial expression, and voice tones, can also be useful in interpreting their true intentions while evaluating the conveyed

verbal messages, which are the key elements of interview data. Therefore, data analysis and interpretation inevitably involve qualitative judgement and evaluation processes, and quantitative approaches might not be feasible. Although field observation reports might contain some numeric information, this was not the primary object of analysis in the present study.

The raw data for the present study were interview transcripts. Speech recordings and interview notes were used to create the complete transcripts. Based on the transcripts, the interviews were coded to extract core topics and themes. These codes were tallied within and across the interviews to evaluate their relative importance.

Furthermore, interview transcripts and notes served as references to particular legislation, and authorities. This information also supplemented the analysis of interview results, conclusions, and other data gathered during fieldwork, as well as the study of policy documents and related literature. Utilising additional visual information from the study sites, a spatial data management approach was also considered to map the main interview data to specific regions in the study sites to explore the interviewees' relationship with the communities.

4.7 Research Limitations

Findings generated through a comparative research design are not without challenges. Often, equivalent context or data format is not ensured, and it can

undermine the comparison's fairness (Geddes, 2003). However, it can be practically inefficient to perfectly align the context and format of data across the cases due to time and cost constraints. More importantly, full alignment might be simply unviable for the qualitative study, which focuses on inherently naturalistic phenomenon. Thus, the present study applied the comparative approach with an emphasis on the interrelations among key concepts of the heritage management process, rather than comparing the specific concepts per se, to minimise the potential limitation of a comparative research design.

The present study's mixed method approach utilised the comparative and qualitative analysis approaches in a supplemental manner as both have benefits and limitations. According to Punch (2005), qualitative data processing and interpretation are subject to the researcher's personal judgments. Nonetheless, an interview can be very useful for extracting fundamental assumptions, meanings, and orientations by deconstructing the comprehensive set of verbally-represented cognitive and affective schemes in relation to cultural heritage.

Ideally, every detail of the data needs to be scrutinized for data analysis, but this is not feasible. Basically, no scientific approach can fully utilise the data while some data inputs are noise. Also, some details are missing or cannot be captured by the data collection process due to many practical limitations. For instance, no researcher can gain perfect control over the study environment and this is more so in qualitative study contexts. For example, the principal investigator of the present study had no authority or ability to manipulate study sites. In addition, interviews with visitors were not easy because of their lacking familiarity with in-depth

interviews with a researcher and inefficient communication, especially due to a superficial understanding of cultural heritage related issues. Although the principal investigator of the present study was able to interact with visitors for reasonable amount of time for an in-depth interview, this was relatively uncommon and visitors' responses were often quite brief, not containing a comprehensive range of information to answer all the research questions.

In the interview with a private entity, it was also impossible to interview a wide range of stakeholders. The present study approached all companies and organizations running heritage tourism-related businesses in the study areas. This was generally favourably regarded and the principal investigator was able to interview at least one person from each relevant industry, including a local tourism runner, cafe owner, and souvenir shop owner who had worked for a different private sector. Within-sector breadth was ensured by including multiple entities within each of the government sector, private sector, and local resident group. However, recruiting multiple interviewees from an individual organisation or group was not always possible because of time and cost constraints.

Last, the present study focused on the two heritage cities in South Korea and it allowed a multi-layered investigation of how local people in the two different areas are engaged with the various aspects of heritage management issues. However, the differences between the two study areas such as their populations, size of the cities, types and amount of heritage resources, and the role of national government created some limitations for a perfectly controlled comparison across the two cities.

4.8 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations are crucial in conducting research, particularly when human subjects are involved. They involve establishing boundaries between what is acceptable and what is not, and also contribute to the credibility of the study because non-voluntary study participation suggests an implicit or explicit pressure to the participants, compromising the validity of their input. Multiple components are required, such as informed consent, permission for withdrawal, anonymity of participant responses, and confidentiality. Except for private sites or buildings with fixed business hours, the study was carried out in a public space in which auditory privacy was adequately protected. Before the semi-structured interviews, participants were given the full information sheet regarding the study background and asked to thoroughly read it before signing a consent document.

All participants were informed about the scope of the activities and the aims of the research, and they were assured that their data would be handled confidentially and anonymously. In addition, all study subjects were kept anonymous in accordance with the *Data Protection Act* (1988). In order to ensure participants' privacy, their names were replaced with pseudonyms throughout the data analyses.

Interviewees were informed that they could choose to leave the study at any point within two weeks of the interview, either verbally or in writing. If any participant wanted to withdraw participation, his/her data were completely removed from archives/database. Participants were not exposed to any known risks and their participation was voluntary with no compensation. Finally, the identity of the

principal investigator who administered the interviews and observations for the data collection was clearly revealed and no deception was used throughout the study process.

4.9 Conclusion

The research aimed at investigating the heritage production process in the context of South Korea utilising the two historic centres in Gyeongju and Jeonju cities as exemplar. Socio-economic and political issues considerably influence the heritage management process and quality in urban heritage areas. However, there is a lack of studies that adequately address the unique attributes of the concerns, challenges, and opportunities for heritage management in a South Korean context. Although much Korean government-led research has focused on the success of heritage industries in both sites, it failed to consider the various perspectives of multiple stakeholders and mutually dependent relationships between the local residents' everyday lives and heritage management processes. Thus, the present study would be a good starting point to understand heritage production phenomena as a part of urbanisation processes and their impact on multiple stakeholders through using the two study sites as exemplar.

To this end, the present study employed a mixed methods design consistently with an interpretative epistemological framework which emphasises the importance of integrated multi-source data analysis. The mixed methods design facilitated documentation of the comprehensive characteristics of the study sites'

neighbourhoods and their contributing factors. Both comparative and qualitative methods were applied in each of the two study sites, chosen because they share important national-level socio-cultural and political history. On the one hand, there were meaningful differences across the historic centres of these two cities in terms of socio-economic political, and cultural background at the municipal-level. Therefore, the present study made a meaningful comparison of the two cities in regard to heritage management processes and strategies, while controlling for some important upstream influence, which in turn yielded a set of principles and insights that can be applicable to different heritage management contexts.

Major data collection was based on a series of in-depth interviews with public entities (e.g., government officials), private entities (e.g., business owners), and local residents. Interviews of the diverse stakeholders were ensured diversity of perspectives on the heritage management-related decision-making processes and policy tools. Observation of the neighbourhood and document review were also carried out to supplement the interviews. Neighbourhood investigation and documentation provided useful information for a better understanding of the social characteristics of the study areas.

Overall, the present study aims to understand the key internal and external contributing factors to and influences from heritage construction processes within the given cultural and socio-political contexts. Thus, the findings of the present study would have important practical implications for government authorities and key policy / decision makers. Moreover, the study would have academic contributions to future research regarding heritage production phenomena in terms

of research design, analytic approaches, and theories regarding heritage management.

The following two chapters are based on the data analyses. Specifically, Chapter 5 offers an analysis on how heritage is constructed under the nationalism agenda based on interviews, supplemented by observations and document review. Chapter 6 sheds light on the heritage experience dimension by analysing the ways that local community members and visitors view the heritage products and processes, supplemented by observations and document review.

CHAPTER 5

UNDERSTANDING HERITAGE PRODUCTION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter and the following analyse a series of fieldworks based on the methodological approaches described in Chapter 4. The current chapter discusses heritage production processes in the context of South Korea by investigating historic cities, Gyeongju and Jeonju, through semi-structured interviews with the authorities, local community residents, business owners, and visitors. The findings and discussions in Chapters 5 and 6 will be presented in a manner to elucidate the perceptions of heritage production and the pertinent heritage experience through the lens of the two study areas.

The cases of Gyeongju and Jeonju were examined because they are representative heritage cities in South Korea, having the highest and second highest number of domestic and international heritage tourists in the country (Yu, 1993). This chapter presents answers to key research questions listed below by extracting, refining, and systematically organising the information from the interviews:

1) Construction of heritage in urban context

Which social, political, and economic factors affect decisions to construct heritage in the urban context? How is heritage being constructed, and what is the process like? Which circumstances contribute to the construction of heritage in urban context? What are the main impetuses that makes and shapes heritage especially in the urban context?

2) Community

What is the nature of community involvement in the process of heritage production in an urban context? How are communities engaged in such processes and how do they encounter and conceptualise how heritage is constructed and utilised? How do local communities perceive their cultural heritage? What is the communities' role, and what are their responses to the development of the current production of heritage?

3) Identity

What kind of identity does the government of South Korea seek to promote with officially recognised heritage in policy and practice? Does the government of South Korea try to preserve community identity while constructing urban heritage sites? Do residents (local communities) have an opportunity to affect heritage-related issues to protect the identities of their community? What is the process for the re-negotiation of identities in the context of these heritage cities?

Furthermore, focuses were placed on the voices and roles of community members, particularly those who live in the historic centres, in order to examine their responses on the development of the current production of heritage.

Again, the primary data was obtained through a series of in-depth interviews. In Chapter 5, a semi-structured interview was conducted with two main types of interviewees: members from authorities and local communities. A follow-up interview was administered to the local residents to see if there were any local problems that had not been adequately discussed in the initial interview dialogue. This individualistic supplemental approach aimed to provide an opportunity to briefly recap the main interview discourse and obtain all available and relevant input regarding experiences with heritage management and involvement (see Chapter 4, Research Methodology). Interviews with government agencies were conducted in a variety of locations, including the interviewees' personal offices or on heritage sites. The interviews were conducted from April to October of 2018 and interview times were determined based on the interviewees' availability.

The chapter starts with a short analytic overview of how the two cities were developed as heritage cities by government agencies from the interviewees' viewpoints. The two major overarching themes—nationalism and the community's voice—were examined.

5.2 Heritage Production in the Context of a Nationalist Agenda

After Japanese colonialism, which lasted over 30 years, South Korea gained the status of an independent country and sought to establish national identity on the continuum of true Korean history. The representation of postcolonial identity entails the formation of an original, unique identity. This historical context offered the city of Gyeongju an important opportunity to become one of the representative cultural and historical reminding Koreans of the nation's glorious past before colonialism (Yu, 1993).

The main goal of establishing a new national identity was two-fold: First, overwriting the Japanese colonial legacy, and second, enhancing the historical and cultural originality of historic cities, like Gyeongju. Those processes were associated with interviewees' mixed feelings about heritage management processes in Gyeongju.

One archaeology excavation director in Gyeongju (interview Academy_1) pointed out that "Japanese reign contributed to the making Gyeongju one of the most notable heritage cities while eagerly advertising the city as a 'treasure of Joseon heritage', related to the Korean dynasty which ruled in 1392-1897. Newspapers and magazines at that time all cited Gyeongju as a must-visit place (see Figure 5.1). Japanese imperialism played an important role in developing Gyeongju as a tourist attraction." He continued that "Japan might have a mission, as an economically advanced and modernised country, who wished to give a favour to the barbaric colony of Joseon in a condescending manner."



Figure 5.1: Gyeongju Excavation Project in 1926 under the Japanese Rule
 (Source: Gyeongju Municipal Archive and photo copied by the author in 2018)

Indeed, Japan used several tactics to demonstrate colonial control, the first of which was the reorganisation of cities including Gyeongju, followed by the construction of large-scale Japanese-style buildings in the city (Kim, 2019). After Japanese colonialism, the South Korean government deliberately attempted to remove the Japanese legacy in the city, and the public showed negative attitudes toward the

remains of the oppressive colonial power (Park, 2016). Japanese rule, however, left significant imprints in Gyeongju, including city planning and Japanese architectures. Ironically, the postcolonial process of the national identity building process was partly based on pre-existing, Japanese colonialism-based efforts of heritage management.

One trace of Japanese colonialism is the SeoGyeong shrine, built in 1932 in Gyeongju (see Figure 5.2). It was initially designed and constructed as a place of worship and located in the city centre. Temple building was a big business during the colonial period because the shrine worshiped the Japanese emperor and souls of fallen Japanese soldiers, and Korean people under oppressive colonial rule were obligated to venerate Japan in this shrine.



Figure 5.2: SeoGyeong shrine (built in 1932) in Gyeongju city
(Source: Gyeongju Municipal Archive (left) and photo taken by the author (right)
in 2018)

Currently, the shrine is a small museum and a bookshop run by the municipal government. A permanent exhibition entitled ‘Gyeongju Story – a history of Gyeongju’ was visited in August 2018, during the study period. The museum,

however, was neither for-profit, nor open to the public. It was minimally managed for a while and merely displayed some historic photos and books.

Little Japanese built heritage was inherited or intact in the city due to the central government's effort to intentionally overwrite the traces of Japanese occupancy. In fact, many buildings built or influenced by Japanese colonialism had been demolished. Locals' perceptions of the shrine and how they have been interacting or communicating with it in their daily lives were examined, with focus on the dynamic attribute of heritage representing numerous layers of political and social changes. Few interviewees commented on how differences in Japanese and Korean architectural styles gave the building a unique and conspicuous look, compared to most other buildings in the city. In Gyeongju, it seemed that other Japanese colonial structures were not of significant public interest either. In fact, the local people made no unprompted statements in the interviews regarding colonial architecture. Presumably, the built colonial heritage in Gyeongju is a somewhat symbolic signifier of the colonial rule by the local communities, which is like "rubbing salt into the wound."

Reviving cultural identities by eradicating the influence of Japanese colonisation has been an important part of South Korean heritage policy since its independence in 1945 (The Ministry of Culture and Information, 1979). This antithetic attitude toward coercive Japanese influence has resulted in hostility toward Japanese culture as a whole, and is still prevalent in South Korea. Nonetheless, interviews with local residents revealed that colonial heritage is also viewed as a repository of nostalgia, bolstering people's sense of belonging based on the acceptance of both dark and bright sides of the past.

For instance, in a brief quotation from an interviewee (interview Community_9) who spent her youth in Gyeongju, she expressed how colonial-era buildings triggered nostalgia to her. “These buildings bring me back to my youth” she added, “I’m not sure how to express but I miss my youth.” Life under Japanese occupancy in her childhood seems to have turned into personal remembrance and in this case, the old Japanese style buildings are cues which remind her of her youth.

On the other hand, some interviewees noted the influence of colonial heritage in bolstering the sense of continuity of the dynamic history, consistent with the concept of “place-referent continuity,” where ‘a sense of continuity’ is ‘created by place-dependent memories’ (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996: p 207). Colonial buildings were inextricably connected with the perceptions and memories of senior interviewees associated particular places or buildings with their personal lives. These old Japanese-style buildings and structures turned out to be emotionally meaningful to them. For example, the SeoGyeong shrine sits in one interviewee’s memory as follows:

It was my hiding space. We always played hide and seek there after school. Once a bee came from the window and we all yelled and run [...] along with my friends.

Interviewee Community_5

It appears the SeoGyeong shrine functions as reminiscence of youth for the interviewee (interview Community_5) and her affective memories are associated with the colonial legacy. This interviewee must not associate the building with the

historical context of Japanese occupancy because she did not feel she need to neglect or suppress her memories regarding the building.

Milligan's book, *Interactional past and potential* (1998) suggests that human interactions with a certain location generate emotional experiences and this affective association can last many years. In this vein, the experiences and memories bound to a specific site or a place is called "associated value" of heritage (Avrami *et al.*, 2018). Another long-term local resident (interview Community_4) stated that, "The old railroad station in Gyeongju [built in November, 1936] is a very special place to me because my father had worked for there and I grew up in the vicinity." The railroad station, which was built during the Japanese occupancy, had sentimental value for this interviewee (see Figure 5.6), and the station is a personalised reminder of his childhood and his family, rather than a symbol of Japanese colonialism. This provides evidence that local residents, particularly those who live nearby heritage sites, are indeed uniquely emotionally bonded to them.

Multiple interviewees mentioned childhood and youth memories in relation to cultural or historic sites found in the study area (i.e., interview Community_5, interview Community_9, interview Community_11, interview Community_16). Architectural or environmental components of heritage are not neutral, as they were part of the interviewees' personal and familial memories. This showcases one specific way that continuity emerges through cognitive or psychological processes, based on the enduring meaning of heritage object(s) or site(s). The interviewer continued his remarks:

I miss my father whenever I see the railroad station, I remember him. Once he bought me a camera when I was young which was very precious. I took a lot of photos of the station and my father. See? Here are some.

Interviewee Community_4

His remarks about his relationship with the place were primarily based on personal nostalgia. This demonstrates how individuals can significantly perceive and interpret the meaning of Gyeongju's colonial buildings. As an artifact of Japanese colonialism, the building could represent colonial oppression, because the main purpose of the railroad station was to facilitate looting of the city's historic resources. However, the interviews clearly showed that individual-level meaning-making process takes precedence over the objective historical context. That is, city's locals place meaning on an object or site based on how it relates to them. This is also echoed in Jørgensen's (2013) argument that "Being built by a colonial power doesn't mean that a building has only, or primarily, colonial connotations to later times."

Thus, pleasant personal memories might be more salient to an individual than the fact that a building was constructed in a venue for their everyday life during Japanese oppression. This would be the case particularly for the long-term residents who were too young to fully recognise the historical context. Thus, their subjective appraisal of the colonial buildings is part of "old good memories" and is more likely to evoke some positive memories of childhood or youth, as well as memories of their family. Abrupt disturbances to the emotionally attached place, such as

demolition or renovation, can negatively impact an individuals' sense of continuity since colonial heritages serve as memory anchors.

In this regard, another local resident (Interviewee Community_16) expressed concern and disappointment towards the city government's hastened manner of demolishing buildings and re-developing the sites that where were created during the Japanese occupancy. The interviewee said:

I lived with five sisters and two brothers in the house. Inside, along with the stairs there was a small attic, because Japanese style housing commonly has a hiding spot like this attic where I and my sisters used to play in. But they were all demolished. I usually portrayed the house to my own kids, but the town was all suddenly changed.'

Interviewee Community_16



Figure 5.3: Gyeongju Railroad Station (built in 1936)
 one of the Japanese colonial architectural legacy that remains left in Gyeongju City
 (Source: Gyeongju Municipal Archive and photo taken by the author in 2018).

She continued to comment on the house's demolition during Gyeongju city's rejuvenation process. The spatial mnemonics that shaped her identity became unavailable due to the city's urbanisation process. It should be noted that this kind of "rapid change" is not restricted to the city of Gyeongju, but occurs in almost every city in South Korea. For this interviewee, this heritage development process created a feeling of disorientation and isolation. Remarks from two interviewees (Community_4 and Community_16) are consistent with social and environmental

psychology claims that the disappearance of tangible and physical sites that represented symbolic values will result in discontinuity of one's identity (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996; Speller *et al.*, 2002). It also affects their life-long history, as well as their sense of identity (Lalli, 1988).

5.2.1 Nationalism and Negative Self-Evaluation

Following South Korea's independence from Japanese occupancy in 1945, there have been national attempts to rebuild a nation-state, which necessitates the development of a coherent national identity that represents the "Korean." This process of social-identity augmentation was evident in Jeonju too. The central government attempted to remove the legacy of Japanese occupancy in every city in the country while re-constructing 'authentically Korean' historic cities.

As mentioned earlier, some interviewees believed the Japanese buildings and sites have meaning outside the 'colonial connotations' (Jørgensen, 2013) at the national level. At the personal-level, the legacy can be an important environmental cue for the personalised affective experiences which contribute to the sense of belonging and continuity of their lives. Compared to the communities' perceptions, interviewees who worked for government sectors did not agree with local residents because their focus was on the national historic context of oppression during Japanese colonialism.

For example, an interviewee said, "I don't think there is any convincing reason to keep the Japanese legacy particularly in Jeonju. It shows a part of

shameful past of us. [People can] Read it in history textbooks. Here we are in Jeonju where the King Taejo [founder of Joseon Dynasty] was born” (interviewee Government_6). Another interviewee from a government entity also stated, “It was a painful memory and history. It would be better to obliterate such a negative past as much as we can to move on. Who want to keep the memory of the Japanese Rule? I believe it is not our own” (interviewee Government_3). This collection of government interviewees’ comments shows how they perceive the colonial heritage.

From these comments, strong demands for originality, uniqueness, and authenticity of own culture and heritage were noted. In fact, the principal investigator of the present study perceived that the city's residents feel a strong sense of belonging; they are proud of their roots, spaces, and cultures, all of which contribute to how they view the city of Jeonju as one of the most renowned historic cities in the country.

One finding from the interviews was a negative attitude towards the general approach of South Korean heritage management. Specifically, an interviewee contended that “This is not a matter of the colonial legacy, but the matter or how we deal with this. I am ashamed of the pervasive hostile attitude to Japanese legacy which is also in our past.” He continued his remarks saying, “Koreans love a rapid change. It also applies to the legacy. We never let them be” (interview Community_13). This is echoed by another interviewee’s speculation: “It is so true that Koreans are too quick to change everything. Whatever the reason, Koreans dispose of historical artifacts without hesitation.” (interviewee Community_11).

A critical view on the prevalent nationalistic interpretation of colonial buildings was identified when an interviewee was prompted regarding the demolition of colonial buildings in South Korean cities, including the study areas. The interviewee perceived this practice of “cultural de-colonisation” as lacking public legitimacy:

It is a shame. By obliterating the colonial buildings, we expose our sense of inferiority. I was wondering who really owns the right to choose which one should be demolished or not. If my kids ask, I would feel embarrassed to tell them it was the city’s decision to destroy the buildings just because they were built during the Japanese Rule.

Interviewee Community_6

He implied that colonial heritage demolition is a type of self-stigmatisation that contributes to a negative image of one’s own ethnic group, especially regarding their past. His remarks are in line with Pai's (2014) statement that attempts to restore national identity by bulldozing colonial legacy may be due to lack of self-esteem. In this sense, nationalistic understandings of the past may demarcate members in the same group depending on their perceptions and interpretations of the past.

The existing body of literature supports the relationship between heritage and building identity (Palmer 2003, 2005; Waterton, 2010). However, as noted in the interviews, individuals’ value systems are not fully understood in this manner. Hence, ‘place identity’ has been approached with an alternative focus recently to demonstrate communities’ attachment to the place (Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2012). This

is consistent with Jorgensen and Stedman's (2001) findings, which showed that heritage places can be meaningful contextual elements because anything people consider their own can be truly special and important.

This implies that colonial heritage found in the study areas is not merely a legacy reflecting Japanese dominance and colonialism, especially within a personal framework of beliefs, values, experiences, memories, and feelings. An attitude of acceptance and progress, instead of annulment of past experiences indicates self-esteem, and contributes to optimistic self-evaluation and mature social identity. Individuals were inextricably linked to colonial heritage because it was the context of their personal and familial memories as well as the scene of their everyday lives. Colonial heritage can function as a conduit of personal identity over time, independent of its historic and political implications.

5.2.2 Negotiation between Intrinsic and Commemorative Values

In *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, Harrison (2011) made a distinction between 'official' and 'unofficial' heritage. While official heritage refers to heritage formally recognised and protected by the government, unofficial heritage is appreciated by marginalised individuals or groups as a part of their everyday lives. The present study focuses on the Harrison's notion of tangible heritage, historic sites and monuments that "objectify the past" (Hamilakis, 2007: p 101), as this is

under heritage protection law and therefore protected by national authority, CHA (Cultural Heritage Administration) and local governments.

A country has ownership of officially recognised heritage, and it also takes responsibility of its protection and management. This is not the case for intangible heritage, such as community traditions, customs, and rituals; they are not subject to heritage regulations and a country does not have the responsibility for their protection (Fairclough, 2008).

The process of heritage selection or prioritising preservation or development can be tricky when coupled with the issue of heritage ownership. It has been reported that experts are in charge of protecting heritage from any immediate or future challenges. In the case of the Gyeongju historic centre, authorities have the right to ban any unauthorised activities in or around the buffer zone (interviewee Government_4).

An interviewee who worked for the municipal authority in Gyeongju stated that "All scholars in East Asia came here for research" (interviewee, Government_4). As evidenced, experts were under pressure to 'protect heritage for the future generation thus, have to conserve them as they are' (interviewee, Government_4). This statement revealed the custodian-like role of experts, which requires strong sense of ownership regarding official heritage. For them, academic research must be justified for conservation. Furthermore, the assumption that heritage must be conserved "for future generations" suggests that experts are the primary custodians who have the responsibility to inherit heritage ownership. As Smith (2006) pointed out, the intrinsic value of heritage encourages them to focus

more on the tangible and physical elements of heritage. Thus, the concept of intrinsic value and the emphasis on the physical material is directly linked (Harrison, 2010).

In the heritage management, this power imbalance systematically influences the relationship between the country, experts, and local community. As a result, it's possible that experts' custodial role in the conservation of tangible heritage can inadvertently set barriers to the connection between communities and authorised heritage. This is showcased in Gyeongju heritage sites. Under the *Heritage Protection Law* enacted by the country and the municipal authorities, general public and the local community members were prohibited to visit some of the heritage sites, such as certain royal tombs of Shilla dynasty (interviewees Community_3; Government_1; Government_4; Tourism_3; Tourism_5). This may interfere with constructive interplay among the different entities and stakeholders. Royal tombs and monuments in Gyeongju stay locked to the public even after restoration work is completed, while few portable artifacts such as crowns, cups, and vessels are left in place for security reasons.

Consequently, some community members feel that experts have too much power over heritage property management. One local resident pointed out: “I tried to take a photo of tombs. But the excavation team prohibited it without a reasonable explanation. I'm just not allowed to do it!” (interviewee Community_16). This implies that the custodian role of experts and externally imposed sense of ownership can make the heritage management processes exclusive and hinders a participatory approach. Justification for their stewardship attitude may include preventing misappropriation or even vandalism (interviewee Government_4). While they

agree that the majority of people value heritage, they also need to consider members of the public with inadequate heritage appreciation.

Public access to historic sites is conditional or only allowed with continued surveillance, which is unrealistic due to limited resources. An interviewee stated 'There were so many damages inside of the royal tombs so they had to be closed to the public. Also, it is hard to guarantee that general public would not make any further damage on it' (Interviewee Government_4).

This implies that intrinsic values of tangible heritage and its conservation outweigh the 'commemorative value' of heritage, meaning that heritage is also a medium for utilitarian service to society members (Riegl, 1982). Additionally, non-experts can also have strong attachment to their local heritage, but this is often overlooked. For example, an interviewee who was a member of local community associations asked for the city's permission to host cultural events near the royal tombs' buffer zone (interviewee Community_2). While this appeal was not turned down, it was also not welcomed by the government. According to experts, it would be much more effective if the municipal government simply placed restrictions on parking in the area to protect the sites from further damage. It is fair to assume that experts' mistrust towards non-experts can be exacerbated by gaps in their perception and understanding of heritage.

According to Waterton and Smith (2010), heritage experts usually exclude engagement from other groups. For example, they believe local community members lack knowledge and experience to properly deal with heritage. This mindset can lead to the monopoly of heritage management by experts.

As long as the local people respect the royal tombs in an adequate manner, we would like to open the site to the public. But, conditionally.

Interviewee Government_4

Honestly, it is challenging. Indeed, it is a simple task to engage local community in the heritage management procedure. However, I am not sure whether they have a sufficiently respectful attitude and are willing to take the responsibility.

Interviewee Academy_2

Not surprisingly, the interviews exemplified the gap between heritage practitioners and local community members. Current heritage conservation projects and authority-executed policies will reinforce the disconnection between professionals and community members. Also, a top-down approach to heritage conservation and management strategies, plus limited efforts to share heritage resources with the public can jointly exacerbate the mutual distrust and frustration with public engagement.

Interviews showed that both residents and tourists were poorly informed about the nature and quality of excavation projects which were conducted in their neighbourhoods or heritage tourism sites. Also, these interviews expressed concerns regarding a bureaucratic approach in heritage management and its return on investment. (interviewees Community_1; Community_2; Community_11; Tourism_3; Tourism_6).

I have lived here for 24 years. The restoration work started before I moved in. I don't know how much they spent and what they achieved so far. The only thing I know is that they discovered a golden crown at the site. Then, it was moved to the National Museum of Korea in Seoul [the capital city of South Korea]

Interviewee Tourism_6

The conservation projects are controlled by CHA. The roles of city council and municipal authority are only supplementary. While performing the projects, there are no efforts to improve our daily life even though our privacy and rights have been compromised in the process. Because of the restriction to the heritage sites and nearby areas, I have not been able to use the shortcut for years

Interviewee Tourism_3

This reveals that some community members thought that experts were exhausted with bureaucratic practices and institutional procedures which led to unsuccessful outcomes in heritage projects. Even though the projects had a long-term effect on the locals' lives (in some cases, over decades), there has been a lack of effort to engage community stakeholders in the education, academics, and tourism sectors in the conservation projects.

5.3 Community Reaction -A Dialogue between Experts and Non-Experts

During the interview, the stakeholders who criticised heritage professionals and bureaucracy were active community members who were genuinely concerned with their local heritage. Their commitment to heritage was exemplified in their enduring

association and involvement with the local heritage sector. For example, the interviewees worked for the heritage tourism sector or grassroots institutions, such as NGOs or NPOs (interviewees Community_1; Community_11; Tourism_2; Tourism_3). A noteworthy example of grassroots advocacy observed during field research was residents' intervention to prevent demolition of Japanese-style residential buildings located in Gyeongju's historic centre (also known as *Jeoksan Gaok*).

The Japanese-style housing was built in early 20th century and has been the venue for community meetings, social events, flea markets, and soup kitchens since the original owner donated the house to the city council. Unfortunately, city council of Gyeongju ultimately agreed to demolish and replace it with a new building.

Authorities decided to demolish the house despite lacking consensus from community members. The community members then filed an appeal and proposed an alternative way to use and restore the colonial house (interviewee Tourism_3). Local media also amplified the community's wish to conserve the house by suggesting similar cases of restoration and adaptive reuse.

They want to demolish the house partially because it is a colonial legacy. But there is a lack of rationale. Even though it was built by Japanese during the Japanese occupancy, it is still a part of Gyeongju history.

Interviewee Community_3

Gyeongju does not only maintain the history of Shilla dynasty. The demolition of the house could be another cultural mistake. Later, maybe 5 decades or more, nobody disagrees this being a part of Gyeongju's heritage and history.

IntervieweeCommunity_16

There are community members who deeply care about their local heritage. This enthusiastic and proactive attitude is recognised by experts, who actually appreciate residents' optimistic attitudes toward colonial history (interviewee Academy_3) and interests in conserving colonial heritage (interviewee Government_1; Government_3).

Interestingly, a grassroots effort led by community members did not conform to the AHD's (Authorised Heritage Discourse) rigid and conservative views, which claim that Gyeongju is a "sacred" place. This community-driven effort eventually helped to conserve their local built heritage and has a great potential to be listed in the future authorised heritage.

Another issue that is indirectly associated with heritage management, but has huge potential to impact residents, regards private residency in the heritage cities. Many private residential buildings are only minimally managed and in very poor shape these days due to developmental regulation. Since the 1970s, the historic centre of the city has been under heavy restrictions because of its proximity to authorised heritage sites. Strict developmental restriction, including building height restriction and ban on the renovation without permission, and subsequent poor quality of life was a main reason for outflow of locals (Community_2; Community_14; Tourism_7). The residents have longed for improved living conditions through the legislative process, but the issue remains at an impasse.

There are also intentionally neglected buildings in the city centre. The authority does not have a legal power to intervene in the issue – the private owners intentionally do this (Community_2; Community_14; Tourism_7). Particularly, an

array of government restrictions has been imposed to the private properties of those who live inside of the historic city centre in Gyeongju and Jeonju Hanok Village (see Chapter 3).

Please do not enter the house. The roof can collapse anytime. The owners deliberately make them obsolete and decay. Once, he [the owner] tried to renovate the house with modern types of kitchen and toilet. However, the city procrastinated their decision for two years. Under the numerous restrictions applied to the historic city centre, people hardly renovate their own house.

Interviewee Tourism_7

Since population decline has become a serious social issue, especially in small and medium sized cities in South Korea, both Gyeongju and Jeonju experience increased outflow of community members who find it difficult to bear with restrictions on their private properties (interviewee Government_5). Also, a growing number of unoccupied or abandoned houses are making the “broken window theory” real. Factors like the top-down approach of authority have caused the deterioration of the cities’ vibrancy. This approach is exemplified in the decision to demolish Japanese-style housing amidst outcry from the community and the rigid expertise view on the heritage site as a non-touchable “scared” place where the locals’ intervention is forbidden.

As noted, built heritage, including Japanese-style housings and obsolete houses, may become ‘authorised’ built heritage which add to Gyeongju’s historic urban landscape (HUL). In Gyeongju, the country's long-standing dominance of the

historic centre has prevented the local residents from developing positive and vibrant interactions with the place, leading to a weakened attachment and compromised sense of belonging.

The current heritage management processes, which have been exclusive and closed, need improvement. An interviewee stated, 'No one expects that every detail of the heritage management processes can be or should be open to the public. It is simply not feasible for every lay person is being asked to consider the government's approach to heritage' (interviewee Academy_4).

However, his statement does not indicate that the current heritage management system is ideal. Also, he stressed the necessity of an inclusive process in the heritage management system, which would specify and ensure local community members' roles and their access to the physical heritage sites and monuments.

In sum, it is witnessed that the relationships between experts and non-experts have been suboptimal. Due to the exclusive nature of the expertise group in the heritage management field, mutual distrust prevails. This does not mean that the current role of expertise as a custodian of authorised heritage should be denied and completely rejected. However, as Fouseki (2010) argued, the privilege of their knowledge over the heritage dialogue can cause the discrepancy between the government bodies and local community groups. Reluctance to participate can stem from frustration with the lack of community ownership and this can exacerbate mistrust. Furthermore, the unconstructive and broken relationships among the multiple stakeholders not only hinder future collective management, but can also

lead to the misuse or abuse of their local heritage resources. Hence, rather than immediately engaging the local community in the current heritage management system, developing mutually beneficial partnership and building trust mechanisms would be the first step in maintaining the vibrancy of historic cities

In Jeonju, interviewees of all ages expressed a deep sense of belonging to their town (interviewees Community_7; Community_8; Tourism_1). Although the old historic centres have been developmentally lagging and their residents have poor living conditions compared to the other parts of the city, the residents who live in the old historic centre demonstrate positive emotional bonding to the place. 'I had been a farmer here,' an owner of souvenir shop stated. 'I and my friends used to spend our summer vacations in school studying how to grow white peach seeds' (Interviewee Tourism_4). Furthermore, a local resident said that he wanted to be a farmer "simply because there are lots of plants everywhere in Jeonju." The entire area used to be a major farmland, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s' (interviewee Community_8).

Unexpectedly, these interviewees regarded farming as an intangible heritage in a subconscious manner, because the neighbourhood's previously major industry had been the pedestal of family economy and youthful memories. Before the city became a renowned heritage city in the country, farming (particularly agriculture and white peach farming) was a major industry that significantly affected their cultural identity.

Interviewees were demarcated into two categories depending on desired lifestyle (interviewees Community_6; Community_7; Community_8; Academy_3).

One group of interviewees criticised the past, which had been dominated by the lucrative agriculture industry. This might be associated with a lack of interest in non-agricultural fields, such as education or culture and agricultural business-oriented development planning. The lucrative agricultural industry was prioritized, as stated below:

Farming used to be the most desired job for people in Jeonju because it was able to bring economic wealth to family. Only a few people participated in culture or education sectors in the 1970s and 1980s.

Interviewee Community_12

I never expected that the city would become one of the top heritage tourism places in the country I wish the farming continued to be the leading industry so that I could gain profits from my farmland like old days.

Interviewee Community_17

The interviews revealed that some local people miss the heyday of the past, before the economic downturn. When farming was prioritized as the major industry, cultural and natural heritage resources were relatively neglected and only few people worked for these sectors. For instance, in the 1970s and 1980s, the traditional houses in Jeonju Hanok Village were still there but abandoned because of the city's indifference; no one lived there for decades (Interviewee Community_12). Few recognised that these obsolete structures could become invaluable heritage resources which significantly contribute to the local economy, even today.

Since the 2000s, Jeonju has been attempting to redefine their identity by distinguishing from the past. As seen in chapter 3, heritage is an essential resource for the heritage and tourism business. Thus, the vernacular attributes of the city, particularly the built heritages, have been promoted and underscored in the efforts by municipal government (interviewee Academy_2).

Besides the widely known heritage of Jeonju Hanok Village, natural heritage also contributes to the formation of the local identity. Ajoong Lake in Jeonju city is a good example; it is the place that local people are attached to (interviewees Community_7; Community_8; Community_17; Tourism_1; Academy_2). Even though the lake itself adds little tangible impact to the local economy, the place is invaluable. Indeed, some verbal testimonials showed that it impacted people's feelings and emotions of tranquillity, contributing to their wellbeing.

In the past, like the built heritage in Jeonju Hanok Village, the municipal authority did not pay much attention to Ajoong Lake. The area used to be a dangerous location where social crimes and littering were common (interviewee Academy_2). However, after the city recognised the lake as a natural heritage resource, the lake became one of the most visited areas (interviewees Government_1; Government_3; Community_4). 'Local officials now pay a lot of attention to the restoration of the lake,' as it is articulated by an interviewee (interviewee Academy_2).

In sum, a qualitative piece of evidence was found: local communities valorised local heritage resources even though they lacked national significance and were not authorised by heritage professionals. This is in line with Mydland's (2012)

argument that community's attachment and motivation towards their local heritage is somewhat different from expertise viewpoints, and this maintains the social bond between community members. Last, local heritage is not limited to the realm of authorised, tangible, or recognised heritage. As noted in interviews conducted in the city of Jeonju, non-traditional heritage such as agricultural industry and once-abandoned natural sites can shape the local community's identity.

5.3.1 Community Sentiment to Authorities

Along with mistrust between local residents and heritage professionals, the local community also has a strong discontent toward the government's bureaucratic attitude. For instance, government policy suffers from major inconsistency depending on the ruling party. This is associated with locals' cynicism regarding government heritage policy (interviewees Community_7; Community_10; Community_16; Tourism_1; Tourism_2; Tourism_7; Tourism_8). In many cases, the state and municipal government heritage projects are long term projects which require a sizable amount of tax revenue due to its massive excavation scale and high labour costs. Additionally, community perceptions of politicians as incompetent, corrupt, ignorant, and arbitrary amplify the negative impressions of them.

Furthermore, authorities' had indifferent attitudes toward community issues and complaints regarding the meritocratic approach of the municipal government. This point of view was strongly echoed by the local tourism sector in interviews (interviewees Tourism_1; Tourism_2; Tourism_6).

They were generally identified as lacking knowledge of heritage issues, and having poor management skills to execute a long-term project. Such claims were supported by interviewees' comments. One interviewee illustrated that 'the municipal officials always organise numerous cultural events commemorating Jeonju's culture in a sketchy way. They usually failed to capture the authentic meaning of the local heritage' (interviewees Tourism_4; Tourism_6). Recently, Jeonju held over 200 festivals in 2019. However, many of them were not relevant to the local heritage in the city. For example, as an interviewee pointed out, in 2017, the city held 'Jeonju Queer Culture Festival' and 'LGBT festival' in order to attract visitors to the city (interviewees Tourism_9). It's unclear how these festivals directly relate to the city's identity and its historic resources.

In addition to authorities' inability to organise local events congruently with the meanings inherent to the cultural and historical heritage, the local community was concerned with authorities' political opportunism and possible corruption. The interviewees accused a governor of pursuing his own benefit during some heritage projects (interviewees Community_6; Community_10). There was indication that the mayor of Gyeongju hired his relatives to an excavation project which turned out to be a scam, and embezzled the money (interviewees Community_10). This view is also echoed by the statement below:

There is no one who truly cares about the cultural and historical heritage. They're just interested in winning votes. They [local authority] only pursue their own benefit!

Interviewee Community_15

Many narratives assert that policy makers are not paying attention to local residents' voices. This sentiment shapes another gap between policymakers and the local community, further discouraging local people's engagement and participation. Even though one interviewee filed a number of complaint forms to the city council, he did not receive a single reply (interviewee Communiy_3). Another community member, who runs a small business in Jeonju Hanok Village, expressed a similar discontent, saying, 'nobody listens, there is no progress. Nothing changes' (interviewee Tourism_3).

These data from community members represent a collective sentiment towards the political inclination to the status-quo. This is related to the more fundamental political culture, which over emphasises the work systems governmental ineffectiveness, and indifference to practical matters (Bevir, 2013).

'The term "politician" usually has a negative connotation in South Korea,' as one interviewee stated (Government_1), this implies that community members distrust authorities in general. Moreover, along with government's lack of attention to local issues and thoughts, locals could have adverse or even hostile attitudes towards authorities. Though local people's critical assessment of the management policies is not novel, it has hardly been improved (interviewees Community_1; Community_4; Community_5).

Another interview emphasised the responsibility of political leaders, with the comment "they" must come up with solutions because "they have been elected to do so" (interviewees Community_1). This perspective suggests that elected officials should take responsibility, as they can change and influence pertinent decision

making, unlike the public. Local people's concerns are not likely to be properly addressed since they lack control and power. Community entities will only be able to achieve when they can make a difference in society, as Dietz and Burns (1992) articulated.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter analysed select case study data from Gyeongju and Jeonju cities based on in-depth interviews to portray the reality of local heritage management processes under conflict among dominant political authorities, academic experts, and local community members. Heritage is a medium for constructing local identity and it has important sociocultural implications. Thus, the case studies focused on the subjective meanings of heritage to multiple stakeholders and the stakeholders' perceived roles in sustaining local heritage and local identity.

It was confirmed that South Korea's colonial past is one of the most controversial topics regarding heritage management, since a post-colonial country has been seeking to rebuild a modern national identity. It is premature to conclude which is option is better: destruction, or conserving colonial legacy to augment national identity. Yet, as noted in the interviews, colonial heritage continues to play an important role to the local community because of the personalised experience, memory, and attachment to it. Further discussion requires investigation of more diverse views on this issue and socioeconomic and cultural cost-benefit analysis.

As shown in the case studies, a sense of ownership among community members seems to be one of the most important indices for effective heritage management. This is because the ownership facilitates community member involvement in heritage management processes. This participatory approach is significant in advancing collective understanding of the local site, particularly regarding its informal and non-authorised features of heritage. Hence, locals' active involvement through adequate empowerment would safeguard the local identity and heritage site continuity.

Data from interviews also showed a broad range of community attitudes toward local heritage, ranging from deep empathy to indifference. Even though the government authorities and heritage professionals prided themselves as authentic custodians for authorised tangible heritage, their protection aims interfered with community's involvement and communication across stakeholders. This is partially because AHD (Authorised Heritage Discourse) valorises cultural heritage mainly based on its intrinsic value. Thus, the protection of heritage itself is the ultimate goal. Nonetheless, personalised social value of heritage, specifically the commemorative affective value is also important to local heritage, which is strongly linked to community members' sense of belonging.

As a result, efforts to promote an inclusive heritage management approach would be an important step in resolving the current tensions between experts and non-expert groups. Furthermore, the interviews demonstrated the local population's cynicism toward government authorities, which was represented by general perceptions of insincerity and incompetence in extant and future heritage management in Gyeongju's and Jeonju's. As noted, this negative attitude towards

local political leadership can further discourage involvement and solidify indifferences, or even elicit hostile attitudes to their place.

The two study areas, especially Jeonju city, are no longer as economically affluent than they once were; currently members of these cities are deeply concerned about the enduring effects of economic recession, high unemployment rate, and depopulation of local people. Interviewees also showed a sort of sad, passive acceptance, such that they do not really expect the situation to get better. There seems to be no breakthroughs in optimally harmonising heritage management and sustainable economics (Interviewees Community_6; Community_7; Community_14; Tourism_3). Both cities planned to enhance their uniqueness by developing heritage resources in order to strengthen their local identity and related business in the middle of economic crisis.

The mistrust of bureaucracy, identified in local communities' collective experiences with government authorities, would be a critical barrier for the engagement of local community members. Furthermore, as shown in Waterton and Smith's (2010) study, when heritage expertise embraces community involvement through empowerment, it can often be for self-contentment reasons. In fact, there is concern that the tokenism (Arnstein, 1969) of dominant political and academic practice can be utilised to simply negate local sentiment towards local heritage. It is difficult to make a conclusion on the best engagement strategy for introducing locals to the heritage management process. Perhaps promoting local community members' access to local heritage might enhance their physical and emotional bond with the heritage, and this in turn can intrinsically motivate them to be engaged in the heritage management processes. As shown through the interviews, there has

been a grassroots advocacy for heritage conservation in Gyeongju and this indicates the growth of society-wide collective conscience regarding heritage management. Nonetheless, excluding local people from major heritage management related decision-making process is still a prevailing concern, as noted in both study areas. In fact, the complex nature of the heritage management process is well noted by heritage literature (Graham *et al.*, 2000; Smith, 2006).

CHAPTER 6

READING HERITAGE EXPERIENCE

6.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 examined heritage management processes in Gyeongju and Jeonju, focusing on the multiple stakeholders' perceptions of the cities' unique contextual factors. Findings from this approach can be elaborated by incorporating the communities' and visitors' insights relating their experiences with heritage and its management processes. Chapter 6 will investigate how communities' and visitors' experiences can affect their acceptance or attitude towards heritage sites. The current chapter aims to address the second set of research questions, regarding the nature of community involvement and experience in the processes of heritage production in an urban context, how communities are engaged in such processes, how they encounter and conceptualise the ways in which heritage is constructed and utilised, and how local communities, in turn, perceive their cultural heritage and represent the values of the sites.

Additionally, potential contributors to community engagement and attitudes, as well as their relationships with heritage construction and relevant meaning making are explored. These factors were analysed to understand the current process

of urban heritage development in South Korea, and to elucidate the specific impact of related policy and practice on communities.

The current chapter offers various narratives representing how different stakeholders perceived heritage production processes in the given local heritage sites. This allowed for analysis of various perspectives on valorisation of people's local heritage and subjective appraisals of the extant heritage management practices. Also, the gap between the local community's and government authorities' understanding of heritage (i.e., authorised vs. unauthorised heritage) was identified to offer insights for reconciling bottom-up and top-down approaches to heritage management. To this end, particular focus was placed on study participants' inputs regarding the heritage education programme designed and implemented by tourism and government bodies. Additionally, contents of the interviews regarding the pilot project initiated in Jeonju city were examined and their implications were discussed. Chapter 6 is based on observations and in-depth interviews conducted in Gyeongju and Jeonju.

6.2 The Perspectives on the Reconstruction of Heritage Sites

Gyeongju city has been called an 'Open-Air Museum' of South Korea which suggests that it contains a lot of authorised heritages including monuments, archaeological sites, and buried artefacts. In one of archaeological sites, the Hwangnyongsa Temple, restoration works started back in 1980s and many controversial issues were raised (Lee, 2019).

One of the interviewees stated that ‘we don’t have any information about the revenue and expenditure for the restoration project. We can only assume that it is a costly project because the restoration work has been taking a long time’ (Interviewee Community_7). In fact, restoration work was based on a Westernised perception which underscores the importance of ‘material and monumental forms of tangible heritage, and conservationist ideal aiming at maintaining heritage as an unchanging monument to the past’ (Smith 2006: p 6, 29–34). However, without an adequate historical record and contextual understanding, restoration of the Hwangnyongsa Temple encountered a series of procedural challenges that have slowed down the project in general (Lee, 2019).

The restoration project engendered a notable discrepancy among municipal authority, state-appointed professionals, and local residents regarding the validity of the related restoration work. The reconstruction of the Hwangnyongsa Temple was at the heart of the Gyeongju city’s rejuvenation project (Interviewee Government_7) (Figure 6.1). The state-appointed experts were strongly opposed to the municipal authority’s plan due to a lack of adequate historic records as one interviewee stated:

The project started merely with historical imagination. It cannot be called a restoration work as it is not based on any reliable documentation of the Temple in terms of its layout and design.

Interviewee Academy_3

The site of the restoration work sits inside of UNESCO's World Heritage Site [Gyeongju Historic Areas, listed in 2000]. The municipal authority's plan to reconstruct the Temple should meet the authenticity standards of the WHS.

Interviewee Academy_5

Even though the heritage professionals disagreed on the pursuit of the Temple reconstruction project, the city strongly wished to continue the project. Meanwhile, interviewees questioned or criticised the quality of the project on several occasions, describing it as an example of bureaucratic ineffectiveness (interviewees Community_2; Community_3; Community_4; Tourism_2; Tourism_3). The interview data revealed the local community and local tourism industry held negative attitudes toward the heritage project regarding realisation of the nationalistic agenda. Some even viewed this kind of effort as a waste of tax revenues.

How do we know about the past structures of the Hwangnyongsa Temple?

What we currently have are only several cornerstones at the site. That's it.

Interviewee Community_2



Figure 6.1: The archaeological site of the Hwangnyongsa Temple (above)
The computer graphic of the imaginary Temple (below)
(Source: Kyunghyang Newspaper and photo copied on March, 2018 by author)

The city seems to be primarily concerned with the funds for heritage management from the central government and this project is just an excuse for it. I don't understand what they were doing for decades. No access has been allowed to any of this area and nearby excavation sites. Also, it has caused the serious traffic congestion in the city.

Interviewee Tourism_3

I had lived here [nearby the restoration area] for 30 years and they have been working on this project over 30 years. Currently, I strongly doubt the advantage of the work for us. What does it mean to us?

Interviewee Academy_1

Besides these concerns, it is worth noting that there have been additional extensive construction works at the site to restore stupas and statues. According to heritage professionals' views on authorised heritage, restoration refers to returning a structure to its original state in terms of form, fabric, and material authenticity. A different perspective was also regarded, such that restoration of the Hwangnyongsa Temple is more for restoring the spirit of the site, rather than adding and altering its physical form and fabric (Interviewee Government_2). Specifically, another city authority mentioned that

We admit that there is a lack of knowledge and historical records for the restoration work. However, the authenticity issue cannot be perfectly settled anyway. Given that, what we can do is just focusing on some realistic and feasible goals.

Interviewee Government_7

Nonetheless, the project requires CHA's approval since the site has been in the WHS since 2000. Thus, the disapproval of the central government-appointed expert who works for CHA has brought the project to a stalemate. However, the municipal government has a justification for creating a new temple based on their imaginary blueprint. In 2013, CHA approved restoration of a historic bridge in the city, named

Woljeong Bridge. Like the case of the Hwangnyongsa Temple, the historic bridge had no documentation to refer to for its restoration, but the central government-appointed professionals and CHA approved this project. It took over £32 million (GBP) (\$43 million USD) to construct the bridge and maintain surrounding areas.

Critical interviewee views regarding the project were identified as follows:

It was a non-sense. To create the bridge, the city spent over £32 million (GBP) during the past several years. It was merely based on the imagination or folklore without any solid historical evidence of its own. The reconstruction of the bridge followed the Chinese style.

Interviewee Community_4

The city claimed that the restoration work made a contribution to the rejuvenation and vibrancy of the city because the bridge became an attraction point to the visitors. However, the bridge is located far from the city centre, and no one knows how exactly it contributes to the local economy.

Interviewee Community_6

Reconstruction is not a new concept. Its origin can be traced back to 19th century Western countries, when the notion of historical monuments and historical consciousness emerged due to society's rapid industrialisation and subsequent break from the past. Architects attempted to restore historic monuments by replacing missing components to remind the public of former splendour (Cameron, 2020). Historically, heritage conservationists have been opposed to (re)construction because it has potential to falsify history through fictitious recreations that never existed (Cameron, 2017), However, Nara Document on Authenticity (1994)

suggested that intangible values associated with heritage can justify the variable scope of heritage reconstruction.

As a matter of fact, UNESCO has a guideline for the “reconstruction or not?” question. The Statement of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) strongly emphasises sites or monuments as witnesses of past of local heritage, however it fails to incorporate attributes like community values or architectural craftsmanship, which have intangible forms. The thing is that intangible values associated with a heritage tend to be apparent only after the tangible elements have disappeared (Cameron, 2017).

In the case of Gyeongju, it is important to note that some intangible cultural, moral, and spiritual values of the heritage site have maintained the local identity. Nonetheless, the city’s top-down attitude towards local community members made it hard to gauge their understanding and appraisal of the heritage site. This caused authority to place restrictions on the local community members’ support of the heritage management processes. Restoration of pride and spiritual values intertwined with local people’s religion and values were judged to be more important than physical restoration of their local heritage (interviewees Community_1; Community_2; Community_11).

6.3 Community Understanding and Heritage Education

The results of semi-structured interviews with local government officials are presented in this section. The goal of this approach was to identify authority

perception of the local community's involvement in heritage management related decision-making. Each interviewee held a different job position (see Appendix E), but the majority of them were with upper-level decision-making positions, such as the heritage departments of the central government, regional, and city councils.

The ways in which the interviewees viewed heritage management process were notably heterogeneous. Their perceptions were mutually dependent on their professional and managerial roles. Considering authorities' familiarity with and common use of the term "heritage" (e.g., conservation, preservation, and heritage tourism) in relation their typical tasks and duties, their common understanding and regard of the term was examined.

Heritage, according to the majority of interviewees, is understood as a value which has tangible or intangible forms and a link between the past and the present. Thus, the importance of strategic heritage management or planning is that it ensures the proper inheritance of each city's heritage to future generations (interviewee Government_1; Government_2; Government_3; Government_5). Heritage's implied and explicit value can be determined by specific social and economic frames which provide a set of norms for judging the heritage's utilities. However, the role of heritage in economic regeneration is usually linked to political purposes, and the concern about the true social benefits of heritage management is on the rise (interviewee Government_1; Government_2; Government_4).

Job opportunities and economic vitality are viewed as key advantages of heritage management and heritage tourism. This was demonstrated in the cases of both study areas. One specific interviewee stated that 'Influx of visitors in heritage

tourism economically benefit Jeonju city which can potentially trickle down to the community' (Government_5). He continued his remarks with saying 'we tried to be creative in using the city's resources in order to maximise heritage resources and related business.' For example, the local government has been offering several training programs to community members in order to enhance the community awareness in heritage management in Jeonju. However, according to the interviewees, the local community tends to pay little attention to these opportunities.

We had planned and organised some expository programmes regarding local heritage to encourage local people's understanding. However, not that many people attended the programmes.

Interviewee Government_8

Similar programmes and training workshops were launched to educate the local residents and raise their awareness in local heritage, with an aim of fostering community involvement in heritage conservation. One of the authorities in Jeonju stated that 'In a seminar, we gave an explanation regarding the upcoming plan of additional conservation in Jeonju Hanok Village to the local people. We also addressed how this action would provide further help to related business and how this can help the community' (Interviewee Government_6). On one hand, government made a constructive and proactive gesture, however, the lack of public interest and low participation of the community members discouraged the authorities (Interviewee Government_8).

A lack of adequate compensation and incentives may be one of the major causes of the locals' unenthusiastic attitudes. One officer stated that the local community is aware of how costly heritage conservation work is based on past experience. Despite the fact that 'the local government will partially support the budget for the conservation and restoration works in Jeonju Hanok Village and you can also have tax reduction when you adhere to the restoration guidelines in our management schemes', it was still difficult to gain their agreement. Even though the authority expected these supportive policies to stimulate community involvements, in reality, this did not happen. There has been strong disagreement regarding the proper amount of conservation incentive, as such local people claim 'the incentives for the conservation are small compared with the anticipated profit of the property's renovation' (Interviewee Community_7; Community_8; Community_12; Community_17).

An officer brought up the same issue because property owners put a lot of emphasis on redevelopment, which can yield the immediate economic benefits. He also noted that heritage education might be helpful as it can offer the local community members some important opportunities to enhance their understanding of local heritage meaning and long term benefits of considering a heritage management issue; however, the initial result of such programmes and sessions was far from locals' dedicated engagement (Interviewee Government_8).

This strategy has the multiple impacts in the future: informing visitors about the local heritage, and strengthening the local identity to the local people. Nonetheless, the economic gain from the redevelopment of their own properties made the benefit of the programmes look bad.

Interviewee Government_8

This was echoed by the interviewees who lived in Jeonju Hanok Village. One interviewee stated ‘The support from the local authority for the restoration work was capped at 50% of the whole restoration cost. Considering the burdensome cost of the restoration, their support from government seemed to be insignificant’ (Interviewee Community_7). One of the members articulated that ‘I had lived in the Village for over three decades. After the Village gained its fame as a heritage tourism city, too many commercial buildings replaced the residency. Meanwhile, the rental cost increased considerably along with the influx of commercial facilities’ (Interviewee Community_8). The interview indicated scepticism about the effectiveness of the incentives and education programmes from authority.

6.4 Local Involvement in Non-Authorised Heritage

In case of Gyeongju, the general perception of local communities was that an alternative strategy needs to be considered for heritage site conservation, rather than sticking with a ‘museumification’ strategy. This conventional and nonflexible way of preserving heritage site is like an attempt to ‘freeze’ the site in time to maintain its originality, however, it can also ‘freeze’ the life of the community (Rosilawati *et al.*, 2020). As already discussed, authority in Gyeongju has applied multiple

stringent regulation on community's properties near heritage sites, and this regulatory strategy can lead the depopulation of the historic centre (see Chapter 3 and 5). While community's primary concern is the continuity of their life, they also recognize architectural and cultural significance of a particular heritage (interviewees Community_1; Community_2; Community_11).

Heritage tourism is a major engine of economy in this city. However, there have been a lot of issues in heritage management so far. It was suggested that the active participation of local residents is needed. They are part of the heritage management processes and they have the right to know what is happening in their neighbourhood.

Interviewee Tourism_3

The local tourism sector recommended a conference as part of local people's education in Gyeongju heritage management. Their plan was submitted to the municipality and they hosted it with an education programme. Since the 1980s, almost every major and authorised heritage site was established and storied by the central government and government appointed experts, while CHA took the responsibilities on the project and propagated the government's view via official channels (Pai, 2017). One interviewee made a notable comment regarding non-authorised heritage such that 'non-authorised heritage resources and non-official resources, such as historic town's myths, memories entangled with small alleys, and memories of laymen, were not recognised yet because people did not regard these elements as a source of local heritage' (Tourism_2). Thus, throughout the programmes, the tourism sector wanted to alter the recognition of local heritage,

and would collect non-authorized heritage resources to design their heritage tourism programmes (Tourism_2).

Interviews with local people showed this programme was successful because many of them appreciated the opportunity represent themselves (interviewees Community_1; Community_2; Community_11; Community_13). Their responses were as follows:

I must say that as long as they want me, I want to participate.

interviewees Community_1

Definitely [I/we felt involved], right from the start. The myths of Sogong alley [a small street in Gyeongju historic centre] are all ours, and my grandmother always told the story to me and my brothers.

interviewees Community_11

I find it very nice that my idea about the local heritage is being listened. Many times, other meetings focused on what the city had done for the heritage sites, and what the local people had to know, unlike today's meeting.

interviewees Community_13

The responses from the local community suggest potential effectiveness of a conference plus education type program. In Gyeongju, the government authority overlooked the possibility of community engagement as a part of heritage management (Pai, 2017). However, this particular meeting form gave an

opportunity to many types of stakeholders in the city regarding the local engagement issues. Of course, there still exists a gap among the stakeholders. As Waterton and Watson (2010) argued, authorities commonly assume that local people do not have necessary knowledge about local heritage. This assumption stems from different perspectives on the local heritage, because if authority only focuses on the authorised heritage and the official narratives that were constructed or edited by government-appointed experts, the locals might not be fully aware of them. If the definition of local heritage is expanded to include unauthorised heritage resources such as the local memories, folk tales, and so forth, local people are subject matter experts on their local heritage (Jorgensen, 2013).

There are several more reasons for lacking community involvement in heritage management related decision making. One which is frequently referenced by government employees is the complexity of the administrative framework. For example, some interviewees were sceptical about the community's capacity to fully understand the heritage management processes across different phases. Importantly, they also mentioned that the emphasis on the 'effectiveness' of heritage management related decision making can set a barrier to community participation. Gathering and sorting out multitudes of opinions, thoughts, and beliefs, as well as integrating them in a fair and balanced manner for administrative and management processes can be painstaking and time-consuming. One of the main reasons that they prioritised 'effectiveness' of the policy was the prevailing bureaucrat meritocracy (Government_2; Government_4; Government_5; Government_7).

According to Ashley, literature supports the community empowerment mechanism in heritage management, but there is still a gap in knowledge about how

government authorities and policy makers sit the mechanism in the current policy-making process (Ashley *et al.*, 2015). Even though community empowerment is largely discussed in scholarly works, it takes more time and effort from stakeholders than they expect (Crooke, 2008).

Furthermore, as seen in the interview data, their experience also affected their willingness to participate in the heritage management process. As discussed in Chapter 5, local community's dissatisfaction and feeling of disempowerment in the management system was mentioned in interviews, and this is linked with their discouragement and their willingness to be involved (Interviewee Community_5; Community_10; Community_13; Community_14). Thus, this is also important to consider when the authority designs the participation process in advance.

Interview data showed that over 80% of interviewees demonstrated strong willingness to be involved in decision-making process in their local heritage issue (interviewees Community_1; Community_2; Community_4; Community_5; Community_7; Community_11; Community_12; Community_14; Tourism_2; Tourism_4). However, interviewees who refused to participate listed reasons; lack of time, a lack of knowledge, self-doubt about their contribution, and a lack of interest in local heritage were the four largest themes regarding negative intention.

6.5 Conflict and Dissenting Voice on the Heritage Issue

Interviewees also shared their motivation for participating in heritage management. One interesting finding from the interviews was that economic advantage from

heritage tourism was not the biggest reason for their willingness to be engaged in the heritage management process. This finding is aligned with Mydland and Grahn's (2012) idea that people are mobilised to protect their cultural heritage to consolidate their communal values and connections. Also, the prime motivation for local people's involvement and commitment was indeed their affective attachment to the place, while the physical distance to the heritage site and the duration of residency were also associated with their motivation for participation. Lastly, the local heritage that the interviewees mainly considered for their participation or involvement was not limited to the authorised heritage, but included some unauthorised heritages that were closely related to their everyday lives (interviewees Community_1; Community_2; Community_4; Community_5; Community_7; Community_11; Community_12; Community_14; Tourism_2; Tourism_4).

Although most tourism literature focuses on tangible or monetary incentive as a prime motivator for community involvement (Saufi *et al.*, 2014), the responses from the interviewees showed that economic gain or advantage from heritage tourism did not sufficiently capture their motivation and willingness. Rather, the data revealed that the sense of place and personalised meaning in relation to their local heritage were contributing factors to community engagement (interviewees Community_1; Community_2; Community_4; Community_5; Community_7; Community_11; Community_12; Community_14; Tourism_2; Tourism_4). Thus, consideration of both tangible benefits from the heritage tourism as well as intangible valorisation to their local heritage is critical in facilitating participatory heritage management processes.

Interestingly, the interviews suggested that inherent values of heritage sites motivated heritage experts' participation, while they discouraged non-experts' participation. Commemorative values in heritage turned out to be more important for non-experts' participation, which was closely associated with physical proximity and access to heritage sites. Un-authorized heritage which is attached to community members' everyday lives appeared to be a significant promotor of community identity (interviewees Community_1; Community_2; Community_4; Community_5; Community_7; Community_11; Community_12; Community_14; Tourism_2; Tourism_4). This finding provides an important hint for strategies to reconcile experts and non-experts for collective and synergistic management of local heritage (Dragouni *et al.*, 2018).

Authorized heritage management processes in South Korea that the country and experts have initiated are characterised as being 'formal' and 'dominant'. Even though these processes led to organised efforts for systematic heritage management, non-authorized heritage that is part of community members' ordinary life and routinely appreciated by community members has been not considered in these top-down efforts. The non-authorized heritage is related to 'non-material' or 'intangible' forms of heritage such as rituals, festivals, memories, narratives, and sensory experiences. However, the leading heritage discourse's disproportionately large emphasis on integrity and authenticity of tangible heritage sites such as monuments and buildings represents the experts' interest and values, though they may have minimal sense of place or membership to the heritage sites (see Chapter 5).

During the fieldwork, the principal investigator of the present study attended several community group meetings as an observer to aid the semi-structured in-

depth interviews in each of the two study areas. These experiences offered invaluable opportunities to learn about the overall atmosphere of community discussion and negotiation regarding conflicting heritage agendas. Specifically, insights were gained on the unique perceptual frameworks of community members and decision-making process in the given situation (Lo, 2013).

In the community meetings, the most common topic of debate was regarding the distribution of government subsidies to property owners.

If this conservation plan is so important to all of us, why isn't the central government or the municipal authority funding it adequately? Why are we offered just £20,000 (GBP) for the restoration work? Do you know how much exactly the total cost of the restoration work would be? It can be easily over £50,000 (GBP) at least.

Interviewee Community_5

Will we passively wait for someone else to handle everything or will we actively participate in these processes?

Interviewee Community_9

As these remarks show, adequacy of the subsidy from government entities to property owners was a controversial issue among community members. Particularly, interviews with local people in Jeonju revealed that the issue of insufficient government subsidy for heritage preservation of private property led to some

residents of Jeonju Hanok Village who find the subsidy inadequate selling their properties to real-estate investors. As a result, the historic environment of the whole area has been altered by commercialisation with business facilities like cafes, souvenir shops, restaurants, and Bed and Breakfasts (Interviewee Community_7, Community_8). One of interviewees stated that ‘in 2010, the number of commercial facilities was around 100. Now [in 2019], however, the number increased to almost 400. Considering that there are about 600 buildings in the Village, almost 2/3 of the buildings were converted into commercial properties’ (Interviewee Community_12).

Furthermore, the number of visitors has been on decline since 2018. This is a significant concern to the local authority, because heritage tourism in Jeonju Hanok Village was a prime source of tax revenue (Interviewee Government_17). Interviewees in Jeonju tourism sector argued that ‘People would not revisit the Village. Once they come and learn about its reality, they would be disappointed partially because of too many franchise businesses across the Village which got rid of the local identity of the Village’ (Interviewee Tourism_9). Because the Village used to attract over 10 million of domestic and international visitors per year, the on-going decline of the number of first-time and repeated visitors was a bad omen for the sustainability of heritage tourism.

To increase the number of visitors, Jeonju municipal authority devised a strategy to make Jeonju home to many cultural festivals. In fact, the city initiated gastronomy festivals in 2017 and a fashion show based on traditional paper art craft in 2018. Moreover, they hosted the Korean Queer Culture Festival that introduced LGBT issues to the city for the first time in 2019 (Figure 6.2). One of the

interviewees from the government sector mentioned that the city planned to host many festivals with an attempt to develop new cultural resources (Interviewee Government_6).

Last year [in 2019], the municipal government created Cultural Heritage Resource Department. The department was designed to develop new strategies and programs to attract visitors to the city. We hope that public find the festivals planned by the department enjoyable and the events can attract many visitors.

Interviewee Government_6

The interview made it clear that the major goal of the city hosting a variety of cultural festivals was to increase the number of tourists. However, as one community member stated, this was not always positively perceived: ‘it brings a series of questions such as the relevance of the new festivals to the local heritage, its direct impact on the number of visitors, and their contribution to the local economy and community life’ (Interviewee Community_12). This was also echoed by visitors’ perspectives as follows: ‘It was interesting, but we don’t understand why they opened the Queer Festival in the city’ commented a couple visitors who wished to remain anonymous. The interviewees were puzzled by the incongruent themes of the cultural festivals in Jeonju and did not understand the festivals’ meaning to the local heritage and culture, as well as their economic contribution.



Figure 6.2: Festivals in Jeonju City
 (above: Jeonju International Film Festival / below: Jeonju Queer Festival)
 (Source: Jeonju Municipal Archive, photo copied on March, 2019 by the author)

At the group meeting, another interesting point was learned from the discussion session initiated by a government representative regarding the doubts about the utility and necessity of implementing a restoration work. In reaction, a central

government appointed expert, who was implied as one of the major decision makers regarding the subsidy, raised a question of legitimacy of the subsidy. This example is consistent with Perkin's (2010) argument that heritage organisations tend to take over the primary decision authorities with their expertise and power, which then influence the general public. The group of community representatives showed no active participation since the dialogue was dominated by the authorities and the experts, even though this dialogue directly linked to the community's interests.

6.6 Moving Forward – A Pilot Project, Jeonju Spiritual Forest

Policymakers may regard participatory processes as time-consuming struggles and hassles which make the consensus-reaching process inefficient. Also, they may be sceptical of the quality of collective decisions (Marzuki *et al.*, 2012; Jordan *et al.*, 2013). The body of literature also highlights that group participation is advantageous when diverse perspectives and interests work in a constructive way (Jordan *et al.*, 2013; Waligo *et al.*, 2013)

Jeonju city initiated a pilot project called “Jeonju Spiritual Forest” in 2018, conjointly led by municipal officers and city-appointed experts, to consolidate local memory of specific places in the city into a collective story. This project aimed at enhancing community members' sense of belonging while exploring non-authorised local heritage resources of the city (Interviewee Government_6). At the time the interviews were conducted in 2018, the project was newly launched. The interviewees stated the following:

When I suggested the project [Jeonju Spiritual Forest], I did not expect that City Mayor would be willing to adopt and implement this idea, because I knew it would take a lot of time, money, and labour to collect local's memory while there was no guarantee for the tangible outcomes.

(Interviewee Government_6)

I was born in Jeonju and have lived here for all my life. Nowadays, it is kind of an obsolete idea that a grandmother tells a folk tales to grandkids. However, when I was a kid, I begged her almost every day for a new story. Surprisingly, I learned that my class mate had been told the very similar stories from his own grandmother.

(Interviewee Government_8)

Both interviewees, who worked for the municipal government, were also long term city residents. The stories from their grandmothers were like an oral history which helped them to connect different pieces into a more coherent narrative. This collective memory was greatly cherished and considered important in enhancing local identity. When they initiated the pilot project, the municipal government allocated a relatively small budget, thus the initial aim was limited to collecting local narratives from fifty local residents in the five towns located in the city (Interviewee Government_8).

However, the effort to collect local memory was very successful and community members were highly willing to participate in the project. Most of them were long-term residents who had lived in the city for decades. When they were invited to meet with local authority to share their memories of a particular place in the city, they also brought non-authorised documentary heritage from their homes.

These included old magazines, historic photos, catalogues, and manuscripts regarding history, literature, arts, architecture, music, Korean cuisine, etc. After the government realised that the collection of local memory might help to strengthen the local identity, they expanded the project and formed a committee based on city-appointed experts to systematically collect the documentary heritage and local memory. They owned the responsibilities of exhibiting the collections and creating a comprehensive storytelling framework based on oral history from the local people (Interviewee Government_8). One of the participants stated as follows:

I am very excited to donate these diaries [of his grandfather] for the project. For several years, I kept them in my storage after he passed away. I am very proud these will be kept in the city's archive as a part of the project collection.

(Interviewee Community_8)

His comment, 'I am very proud' suggests that the procedure of collecting memories from the local people can enhance non-tangible values of the heritage such as community pride or aesthetic pleasure (Navrud & Ready, 2002). Also, willingness for active involvement can promote local heritage awareness among the residents and visitors, increase self-esteem and pride of the host community, and motivate the local people to augment their cultural practices (Timothy, 2014; Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009).

Indeed, the experts valued his diaries because they vividly described Jeonju's historic landscapes from over one hundred years ago. Before the government's initiation of this collective procedures for heritage management, the local people

were not aware of the importance of their documentary heritage resources. Along with this, a large number of myths, oral history, legendary stories, tales regarding cuisine, and folklores were collected from the local people. One interviewee stated that:

The project became one of the role models for other cities in the country like Ulsan. Jeonju is planning to exhibit the collection to the broader public and is also considering the multiple forms of presenting the collective memories including visualisation and interactive application.

(Interviewee Government_17)

The project opened a creative route to the community members for an engagement in the heritage management process. Even though this project started as a relatively small-scale effort to record community's oral history from a particular space or time, it became a major step in creating narratives regarding their local heritage in collective manner, though it is still at a nascent stage. The community members voluntarily participated and the collective actions of commemorating the past strengthened the individual and communal association to the local heritage. These processes are in fact the foundation for a sense of belonging and collective identity (Escalera-Reyes, 2020).

6.7 Conclusion

As addressed in Chapter 5, interviews with the local community showed that central government-appointed experts' role as the primary custodians of materialistic and authorised heritage, as well as their influence in determining the distance between monuments and the general public. The findings from both study areas were in line with both Harrison's (2011) concept of demarcation between official (authorised) and non-official (non-authorised) heritage, and Smith's (2006) proposition on Authorised Heritage Discourses (AHD), which regards the operationalization of heritage as tangible and monumentally important historic/ cultural resources are primarily determined by heritage management practice.

This central government-driven approach affected the non-expert community and their perceptions on their local heritage were also influenced by the official narratives. In fact, formal recognition of heritage as world or national heritage is likely to be the reference for the judgement by 'ordinary people' regarding the importance of their city or town heritage. Non-authorised heritage elements, such as Ajoong Lake in Jeonju, local cultural practices, and craftsmanship, were typically excluded from the heritage dialogue. However, the data from non-expert interviewees suggests that these non-authorised heritage elements can play a key role in shaping community's identity and sense of belonging, and heritage can serve as a medium for local community members' bonding.

For the restoration project of the Hwangnyongsa Temple, which cost much tax revenue, community members' were not considered, even though the project has lasted over several decades. Also, without any adequate outreach programs, the

project itself did not yield any meaningful outcomes to the local community. There were some heritage education programmes in both study areas, but the top-down approach of the government and its bureaucratic attitude towards their local people engendered sceptical view of the authority's education programmes' effectiveness.

That being said, analysis of the dynamics, conflicts, and dissenting voices in heritage issues extracted from the interviews demonstrate the local community's willingness to participate in their non-authorised heritage management. For instance, it was argued that heritage management in Gyeongju historic city, which has been emphasising the material conservation while limiting public access and community engagement, has discouraged community's willingness to participate in the heritage management processes. The 'conservation for conservation' approach, in particular, has divided the stakeholders and demotivated community member participation. This ideological assumption of their inherent values and AHD (Smith, 2006; Waterton and Smith, 2010) demarcated the expert and non-expert groups; experts view themselves as 'authentic custodians' to protect authorised heritage and underemphasise the potential contributions from the non-experts local community members. However, instead of the initial intention – to protect heritage – the exclusion of community members may cause the opposite effect on local heritage conservation, especially in the long run.

The pilot project, Jeonju Spiritual Forest, yielded a meaningful outcome because the municipal authority and city-appointed experts worked collaboratively for the embodiment of local's memories into a collective storytelling. Local residents voluntarily participated in the project's process, and generously shared their personal memories, documentary heritages, and oral history, which promoted

local heritage awareness, self-esteem, and motivation to enhance their cultural practices.

In sum, a shift in heritage management process is important in facilitating community's engagement. The uni-directional top-down approach needs to be improved to expand the perceptions of heritage, because non-authorized heritage, which has been conventionally overlooked, and related practices will be integral resources that can secure local heritage management sustainability. To this end, the predominant perceptions of heritage professionals as authentic heritage custodians need to be revisited and continuous efforts need to be made to empower and involve experts and community members in heritage dialogues.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

The overall study aims to address the urban heritage production in South Korea through two case study areas— Gyeongju and Jeonju historic cities. According to previous studies regarding South Korean heritage conservation, greater emphasis was placed on the development needs over the quality of conservation process. Noting that South Korea had experienced very rapid economic development and urbanisation, this is not surprising. Also, some notable successes were achieved in both cities through government-led heritage management efforts underscoring the effectiveness and efficiency. Nevertheless, the procedures and practices' fairness and legitimacy are in question. In South Korea, public perspectives have been dramatically altered since democratic consolidation, and importance of non-economic values has been emphasised more than ever due to significant economic growth. Subsequently, there has been emerging need for revisiting the relationships between public authorities and local residents regarding heritage management. Specific agendas include how to define heritage, how to select heritage for preservation and development, and how to facilitate a participatory approach.

With strong government initiatives, the two cities began to gain popularity amongst domestic and international tourists. However, this study identified

negative impacts of government-led efforts for heritage production and development as tourist attractions. For example, authorities' heavy restrictions on the historic centres in Gyeongju resulted in the decline of local residents in the area due to policies and practices which did not properly account for community members' everyday lives. Subsequently, this depopulation turned out to be associated with additional social problems. Similar issues are addressed in Jeonju historic city which is the home of the largest Hanok (traditional Korean houses) clusters in the country. The municipal authority can unwittingly put the city at risk if it fails to adequately incorporate multiple stakeholders' interests in heritage management process, because this can result in the compromised vitality of the heritage sites and their vicinity. A massive commodification of the heritage can also add a challenge to sustainable and beneficial heritage management.

To address the issues, the discrepancy that exists among authorities, heritage professionals, and local community members were mainly explored in the present study. Local community members recognise and appreciate their local heritage in the process of construction, reconstruction, and negotiation of their local heritage. Authorised heritage and its stubborn narratives turned out to marginalise the community members. On the other hand, intangible practices and traditions of non-authorised heritage turned out to be more closely attached to the local residents' everyday lives and enhanced community's ties to the area. Based on the fieldwork featuring grounded theory, semi-structured in-depth interviews, and observations, the dialogues on community empowerment in the heritage management process were obtained and analysed. Even though a large body of general theoretical literature advocates community involvements, the data from both study areas

demonstrated that there are substantial challenges that must be resolved to make it happen in the context of the South Korean historic cities. Focusing on the construction of heritage in Gyeongju and Jeonju, the present thesis research aimed at proposing a viable strategy to promote community empowerment and engagement with heritage management, harnessing heritage as a medium to facilitate social change in a constructive and sustainable way.

In this study, primary focus was placed on the heritage construction processes in urban contexts of Gyeongju and Jeonju. Discrete layers of heritage value that can be ascribed to heritage sites and their relationship with the authorised narrative and their valorisation were explored. To this end, three research questions were formulated guide the systematic exploration of different aspects of the heritage management process in the case study areas. The first set of research questions was identified to examine the process of the heritage construction in the given urban contexts and circumstantial / systematic factors influencing heritage management process. Unique geographical, historical, socio-economic, and politico-cultural backgrounds of South Korea were considered. Additionally, the nature of community involvement in the processes of heritage production was scrutinised by the second set of research questions based on the perception and conceptualisation of the cultural heritage. This allowed the examination of the unique perspectives on the local heritage, which can affect future attitudes towards local community members' empowerment. Finally, the third set of question addressed the issue of identity in heritage management, specifically regarding the process of identity recognition by government entities while exploring a discrepancy with the community members' perceptions.

Based on a combined set of qualitative research methods, an ethnographic lens was borrowed to examine the politics of nationalism, cultural identity issues, sense of place, power relationships, and the nature of communities. Specifically, this involved the combination of interviews with each major stakeholder, analysis of community's responses and their attachment to the local heritage, participant and non-participant observation, and archival research. All the information from the study areas, Gyeongju and Jeonju historic cities, was integrated for a holistic examination of the strategies to employ community empowerment and engagement approaches to heritage management.

The preceding Chapters 5 and 6 presented and analysed the fieldwork data. The chapters recognised the dynamics of the heritage conservation and managerial issues in two cities. Through this analysis, three overarching themes were identified. The first theme is related to the process of heritage construction and its circumstances/conditions. In both study areas, the political and historical background along with economic needs which are deeply engaged in the national agendas were viewed as the primary underlying motivation for the development and management of heritage cities. It was demonstrated that nationalism has played a key role in the selection of heritage, which can then orient the views of public to a particular past event or historical context in relation to the formation of national identity. In fact, a government-centric approach has been associated with greater support from the central government and it often accelerated the heritage management processes. The second theme regards community involvement in the process of the heritage production. In both study areas, local community has often been excluded in the decision-making process. The central / municipal government

authorities and heritage professionals have downplayed the local community members and assumed that they do not have adequate knowledge on heritage and ability to appreciate their heritage, treating them as potential threats to heritage protection. This view turned out to be associated with a detrimental effect on the heritage dialogue. Fundamental questions regarding whose voices need to be incorporated for the local heritage development, how to define and determine heritage, and how to promote a participatory approach for the heritage management process. The third theme is regarding the valorisation of heritage and the gap between the authorised heritage officially recognised by the government and unauthorised heritage subjectively appreciated by local community members. The authentic role of heritage as a tool / medium to promote desirable social change was also addressed. At the end of this chapter, potential limitations of the study were outlined and possible directions for future research were discussed. Finally, reflections were made regarding the implications of the present study's findings for the current nascent level of community empowerment and engagement in the heritage management process.

7.2 Community Engagement in Heritage Management

This section addresses the major findings of the present study and discusses the implications of the previous chapters to offer some practical suggestions in response to the research questions.

As outlined in Chapters 5 and 6, a particular focus was placed on the local narratives of local heritage and relationships among key stakeholders in the process of heritage management. To properly understand the complex nature of heritage phenomenon, it was essential to approach the heritage phenomena by scrutinising their contexts, such as interviewees' personal and collective memories, affective experiences of building attachment to the area, and individualised perceptions and interpretations of local heritage. To this end, in-depth qualitative interviews were conducted with a comprehensive range of stakeholders and their qualitative inputs were analysed.

According to previous heritage studies (Hall, 2003; Smith, 2008; Mydland & Grahn, 2012), government / expert-driven heritage meaning making and valorisation were limited to encompass local community members' perceptions to their local heritage. As explained earlier in Chapter 3, the privilege of 'authorised discourses on heritage' (Smith 2008) exclusively owned by government officials and experts have influenced key decisions regarding the selection of heritages that deserve particular preservation efforts and designation of the 'authentic custodians' who are believed qualified and responsible for the heritage protection and management. The exclusiveness in prevailing heritage dialogues has engendered a gap between heritage professionals and local communities based on the experts' distrust of community members' ability to understand and appreciate their local heritage, and community members 'learned helplessness' leading to detachments / indifferences to the management process.

As the interview data revealed, local heritage was intertwined with community members' everyday lives, more so for intangible and ordinary heritages

than tangible and ‘monumental’ heritages. Passing down from generation to generation, the local heritage turned out to enhance community members’ ties to their local places, traditions, and rituals. For example, it was detected that interviewees’ memories and emotional experiences can be significantly associated with Japanese colonialism building which has not been adequately recognised by the government entities and professionals, suggesting a potential gap between officially recognised heritage and its discourse. This finding echoes the issue of distinction between official and unofficial heritage (Harrison, 2011), underscoring the importance of revisiting heritage ownership issue (i.e., to whom heritage belongs) and the identity of local heritage (i.e., whose voice matters).

As Ansell & Gash (2008) argued, the disparity in knowledge and resource impacted all stakeholders in the heritage management process, because authorities and heritage professionals justified their exclusive involvement in all processes of heritage management and negligence of the potential contributions from the local community members.

The discouraging impact of the uneven, polarised distribution of heritage decision authority was significant such that it has been a major disturbance for building streamlined and collaborative partnership between authorities and community members. Stereotype threats toward another entity, insufficient channels for open communication, lack of systemic supports, scepticism about the effectiveness of collaboration, and inadequate readiness for participation were suggested as potential barriers to the constructive participatory approach for heritage management.

In fact, data from fieldwork identified that community's willingness to participate had been greatly affected by the interaction among key stakeholders. The current heritage policy making and management system which was not designed to accommodate community engagement needs significant improvement. There are various ways to enhance awareness of heritage management issues among community members and promote their knowledge on those issues as well to achieving parity in exchange of ideas, opinions, and suggestions for the heritage discourse with government officials and experts. Plus, traditionally privileged entities like government officials and heritage professionals need to understand the importance of incorporating multiple perspectives on heritage, especially the views of local community residents, who are in fact part of their local heritage. Community empowerment can be an effective medium for constructive, desired social change or transformation. As noted earlier, the history of democracy is relatively young in South Korea and a top-down approach has been predominant across various sociocultural domains, including heritage management. Even though the economic development has been remarkable following the Korean War, democratic consolidation was achieved only recently and both government systems and the public were not fully ready for participatory approaches. Adequate emphasis on the public and local community residents' roles in overall heritage management processes can contribute to a mature democracy in South Korea.

Furthermore, as noted in Chapter 6, economic gains anticipated from the heritage tourism or other forms of financial incentives might not be sufficient to encourage community participation in the heritage management process. Rather, community members' shared sense of belonging to their local community and sense

of connection with heritage turned out to be significant motivators to engage in the heritage management processes because those psychological experiences, based on attachment, were deeply intertwined with their everyday lives. Thus, heritage management policies and management procedures need to consider local community members' social ties with their community and their heritage. This view is echoed by the argument that people's sense of community (membership) can facilitate their participation (Chhotray & Stoker, 2009).

The authentic value of heritage did not merely lie in its intrinsic value or 'intrinsic quality' (Jokilehto, 2006), but also in the shared sense of belonging among the local community members. In fact, many of the authorised heritages recognised by heritage professionals based upon tangible or materialised information of the heritage, and generic norms of its value appraisal may have little meaning to the majority of local community members (Watkins & Beaver, 2008). Also, these imposed values may not facilitate community members' willingness to be engaged in heritage management processes. How to improve the heritage management system considering the community members' sense of place and belonging to their community is an important question to be answered.

The community-led initiatives foster social growth and community cohesion through heritage as a medium, while they contribute to the sustainability of heritage management by helping community members achieve equitable shares of material resources (Jamal & McDonald, 2011). Also, community members can acquire political skills and valuable social experiences while achieving internal benefits that are less tangible, such as self-efficacy and sense of identity as a community member (Fischer, 2006).

7.3 Community as Partners, from the Planning Stage

Based on a series of efforts to properly understand the dynamic power relationships among various stakeholders, the meanings and implications of empowerment need to be further examined.

The theory of governance suggests that community members' participation can influence contextual aspects, while the community environment can influence both the drivers and actors among stakeholders (Bevir, 2004). This implies a true participatory approach would be based on collective, mutual, and iterative interaction processes and highlights the importance of collecting discourse on heritage issues from multiple stakeholders. Additionally, a review of existing heritage policy, especially its legitimacy, transparency, and responsiveness to community needs, will allow effective identification and resolution of the challenges that hinder the community member engagement.

Second, it should be noted that participation is a voluntary process of social exchange between individuals with their own and collective interests (Emerson, 1987). Thus, the provision of efficient and fair incentives to participate in policy can be a key driver of community engagement and its subsequent outcome. Based on the findings, participatory design should focus on fostering social interactions and giving participants a strong sense of belonging to their local community. This point has an important implication for policy making. In addition, it was revealed that informal heritage values can engender a strong sense of attachment to their local community, which should also be considered for heritage management process. As suggested, a pilot project which proactively utilises community

members' perceptions on their local heritage and its impact on their everyday lives can encourage community involvement and enhance participants' capacities, while it entails the gradual transformation of policy process to streamline the integration of community members' contributions.

Third, provisional plans for encouraging co-constructive actions need to be experimented beforehand. Heritage conservation has frequently been viewed as being incompatible with the personal desire or aspiration of community members such that heritage conservation would not improve their quality of life (Lowenthal, 2015). Furthermore, community members' experiences of dissociation and exclusion are associated with their distrust toward government authorities, serving as an obstacle for the collaborative efforts for heritage management. Therefore, it should be noted that any plans and efforts to involve local community members need to acknowledge that their engagement is an ongoing procedure which can be affected by past experiences and practices (Bevir, 2013).

Despite consensus on the importance of community empowerment in the heritage management process, it can be difficult implement within a culture of bureaucracy and meritocracy that prioritises effectiveness. A lack of practical knowledge and skillset in building a co-constructive partnership with communities adds complexity to the community engagement (Ashley *et al.*, 2015). Multiple stakeholders need to understand that a participatory approach is a painstaking process which pays dividends.

7.4 Research Synthesis and Evaluation

The present study examined a series of topics that are in line with the notions of heritage dissonances, for example, the tension between official and unofficial, dominant and marginalised, and extraordinary and ordinary heritage (Hall, 1997). An overarching implication regarding the importance of trust was discussed as the key for successful and effective collaboration (Lo *et al.*, 2013).

Community involvement in heritage management needs to be viewed as an iterative and ongoing process. Moreover, the democratic, collective, and inclusive process of heritage management might be a breakthrough to the prevailing top-down approaches by authorities, which has several defects and limitations.

7.4.1 Heritage as a Medium for Social Cohesion

Social interpretation, as outlined in Chapter 4, indicates that communities' attitudes are created by their past experiences (Ron, 2016). Also, there is an argument that 'heritage is about shared meaning' (Hall, 2003). As a result, different community groups may produce idiosyncratic sets of collective narratives about what constitutes heritage and its social value. Thus, the differences in heritage valorisation needs to be acknowledged for a smooth collective decision-making process, because the conventional conceptualisations of the value of heritage are disputed and a negotiatory process becomes necessary. Based on this principle, the current study argues that the exploration of heritage narratives across communities

is not an option but a necessity for the advancement of participatory systems for heritage management.

The interviews with local people showed that the heritage experts' positioning as 'authentic custodians' might be a barrier for reconciling the gap between heritages that matter to experts and heritages that matter to the local community. Findings of the present study showed the presence of tensions between "official" and "unofficial" heritage (Harrison, 2011) or "authorised" and "unauthorised" heritage (Smith, 2006). Also, the central and municipal government was found to be influential in the roles and attitudes of non-expert local community members for the heritage management process. For most interviewees, for example, heritages were equitable to authorised heritages such as UNESCO World Heritage Sites (WHA) in Gyeongju city.

Similarly, unauthorised heritages like local people's cultural practices, and community members' individual or collective memories were typically left out of the heritage dialogues in Jeonju. The interview data revealed that these heritage resources can embody their local identity. Thus, it was proposed that informal, unofficial, or non-authorised heritage resources which have not been properly protected by authorities and heritage professionals can contribute to a sense of place – one important facilitator of local identity. The extant heritage management policies, procedures, and practices centring on official / authorised / formal heritages need improvement.

Furthermore, the South Korean system of governance in the heritage management field is also responsible for the exclusive heritage discourse and lack

of community engagement. For instance, it was claimed that the authorities have not been successful in offering realistic amounts of practical support for those wishing to maintain traditional Hanoks. In detail, inadequate economic incentives and the highly bureaucratic and authoritarian attitude of government sectors were associated with a climate of mutual distrust between central / local government entities and the community members in both study areas.

Authorities and government-appointed experts may be responsible for the alienation of community members and visitors in heritage management process. What matters more, though, is that the dissociation can make non-government and non-expert stakeholders' engagement even more difficult, and undermine the vitality of the heritage sites. This is not to say that the local community's alienation is the single root cause of the absence of meaningful community participation; there are other serious issues that impair the participatory approach for heritage conservation and management process; such as a lack of funding, shortage of human resources, and dedicated task forces. However, the issue of alienation and disconnection can certainly worsen the existing challenges in heritage management.

The present study suggests that government-appointed experts and government officials have conventionally distanced themselves from the local community based on the assumptions that the role of local community members in official heritage protection is limited and their involvement in the process can compromise the efficiency. Also, insignificant government efforts for the promotion of public engagement for the heritage management process fuelled this assumption. In fact, the authorities indirectly discouraged community's involvement in local heritage. Examples include a ban of physical access and a

reluctant permission to host community's cultural festivals in or nearby the heritage sites, as illustrated in Chapter 5. As a result, rather than a channel for community members' bonding, heritage inadvertently became a "boundary" segregating stakeholders. Furthermore, it was argued that experts' detachment from the community and the community's detachment from heritage limited the choices and capability of heritage management issues, reducing the odds of collaborative and coordinated problem solving. Therefore, the long-term consequences of excluding local communities, which was initially intended to protect authorised heritage, seem to have unintended adverse effects such as detachment and indifference to their local heritage.

The physical distance between community members and their local heritage set by regulatory systems and psychological distance, determined by community members' detachment to their local heritage, can severely discourage local community members' involvement, commitment, and engagement in heritage management issues. Although social demographic infrastructures have been advanced with various systems like local election and community grouping to voice their concerns and press their demands, there is a long way to go. Heritage management that facilitates the participation of a variety of stakeholders, such as the government, locals, developers, and tourists is critical. Also, the system must be equipped with strategies for orchestrating and integrating those inputs from multiple stakeholders. They are directly associated with the success and sustainability of heritage management.

Limitations of the predominant top-down management process need to be revamped to encourage and incorporate various perspectives and interests. To

ensure feasible community empowerment, a policy change is important. The conventional notion of unofficial / non-authorised heritage needs to be revisited and it should be reflected in heritage management policies. At the same time, awareness of this issue among a wider range of community members needs to be augmented. Moreover, reframing of each stakeholder as an active partner and recognising their potential contributions can be useful (Bevir, 2013).

7.4.2 Rationales for Participation in Heritage Management Process

The interviews in both study areas indicated that people including local residents, small-business owners, and visitors were not familiar with the idea that daily practices of local communities, vernacular buildings, and mundane landscapes can be regarded as heritage. Basically, the concept of unauthorised heritage was very new to public. This lacking awareness seemed to be associated with a suboptimal level of ownership and a sense of belonging to their local heritage. If they do not claim their right to partake in their heritage resource management, the current top-down attitude of authorities is unlikely to change. The lack of a sense of belonging and ownership are deeply related to the process of collective identity formation, since heritage is the product of social construction (Mason, 2006). Shared meanings and social experiences are the building blocks of a community, and community's cultural heritage and attached values construct its collective identity as observed in the interviews. Specifically, local customs and rituals turned out to be the basis of their collective identity.

As mentioned in the beginning of the current chapter, community members hardly viewed their local cultural practices as 'heritage,' but they noted that the practices were critical for the continuity of their lives and sense of belonging (Fouseki & Cassar, 2015). Similarly, interviews conducted in Jeonju showed that a craftsmanship handed down from one generation to another can form the identity of the local community. However, this perception was largely disconnected from the official heritage narratives. One of the major findings of the present study is a significant gap in heritage appreciation across authorities and local community members.

Meanwhile, it is worth noting that community members' collective values attached to their (unofficial) heritage may undermine their intention to be engaged in heritage management process. As Lowenthal contended, group members are very proud of their heritage and may refuse to share it with outsiders including domestic and international tourists to maintain the authenticity of the heritage (Lowenthal, 2015). Community's anxiety or concern regarding heritage tourism may be associated with their wishes to preserve their heritage and this can manifest as the passive attitude toward the engagement in heritage management process (Suntikul & Jachna, 2013).

Thus, the growing heritage tourism can be seen a challenge which can undermine cultural identity and disrupt social cohesion (Nyaupane *et al.*, 2006; Suntikul & Jachna, 2013). This line of reasoning suggests the importance of strategies that can minimise the commodification of local heritage. As seen in the case of Jeonju Hanok Village, the commodification of a local heritage can lead to

detrimental outcomes such as gentrification, decline of the local community, and subsequent loss of local identity (please see Chapter 5).

Attachment to the local heritage and a sense of belonging are related to local community members' voluntary motivation for participation as suggested by Choi and Murray (2010). Also, interviews have shown that the duration of residency was associated with attachment to the place and motivation to be engaged in community activities, such as organising outreach programs and making local associations. This could be attributed to the more personalised meanings of heritage based on enduring interaction and emotional bonding (Brown & Perkins, 1992). Thus, the duration of residency and perception of attachment to the area can be considered for strategic heritage management process.

Interview data analysis of the present study supported this view as well, such that enhanced sense of place was associated with greater willingness to be engaged in various heritage management processes. In addition, literature suggests that community membership enhances understanding of heritage in their value system which increases their willingness to participate in the heritage management efforts. It is also proposed that being a member of a community association can foster collective cooperation through enhanced within-group interactions and cohesion (Theiss-Morse & Hibbing, 2005). Invitation of community associations to the heritage management process can be helpful for promoting a participatory heritage management approach.

Unofficial heritage, or unauthorised heritage, can be used as a leverage to promote engagement of non-experts in the heritage management process. In fact, it

was suggested by the interviews that a pilot project which focuses on community members' shared rituals and practices (unofficial heritage) in their everyday lives can enhance the degree to which local community members perceive their efforts and contributions as significantly advancing their local community and its heritage. To further harness community engagement, building trust in their relationships could be the first step to enhance communal ties and to instigate their co-constructive actions (Ostrom, 1990). Second, even though it may take a significant amount of time or resources to involve a broad range of stakeholders, a culture of inclusion, participation, and acceptance needs to be promoted to address the limitations of the current political culture (Bevir, 2013). Last, the exclusive role of heritage professionals who have been monopolising the determination and management of authorised heritage discourse (AHD) needs to be revisited to ensure the proper protection and management of the wider range of heritage (in this case, unofficial local heritage) and to ensure community engagement in their dialogues.

7.4.3 Heritage is a Medium for Progressive Social Change.

Heritage is 'an empty shell if it fails to meet human needs', and 'understood as a process to adapt changing situations' (Watkins & Beaver, 2008: p 27). This does not underplay the roles of authorities and experts in implementing heritage policies and protection of authorised heritage. However, it underscores the idea that heritage can be a tool for social change through the negotiation process. As Lowenthal contended (2015), the participatory dialogue becomes a tool in a social

development if the stakeholders make a collective answer based on the uses of their heritage.

The major concerns regarding tangible heritage and professionals' exclusive ownership of knowledge over the authorised heritage management suggest that more participatory and inclusive approaches can be considered in the domain of intangible heritage management. Opportunities to make contributions to intangible and vernacular heritage can be offered to community members and this will advance their knowledge and skills required for the construction and management of their local heritage.

Furthermore, positive links between place attachments, heritage values, and community ideals can have significant political consequences. Participation could, for example, begin with developing relationships with formal and informal groups that already have been participating in some type of collective action, such as cultural communities. Then, some of functional organisational frameworks can be benchmarked to facilitate community involvement. Also, strategies can be considered to boost confidence and trust which can directly affect the willingness for community engagement.

As Appadurai (2013) contended, collective actions based on common goals can be useful in overcoming the group's challenge and this process can benefit individual members of the group. Specifically, this helps stakeholders to gain a common understanding of their local issues and decide the best available options to resolve the issues (Anshell & Gash, 2008). This means that stakeholders' participation, including conceptualisation, preparation, execution, and assessment,

can take place at various phases of heritage management process. Specifically, sharing knowledge, resources, and building trust can be a process of collaborative participation (Kreps, 2011). Based on this proposition, the heritage professionals and authorities need to actively share their knowledge and experiences with local community members while continuously attempting to create opportunities for the local community members' engagement in the entire spectrum of heritage management process.

7.5 Limitations, Recommendations and Directions for Future Research

The present study demonstrated the meaningfulness and implication of community participation in the heritage management process by showcasing the existing discrepancy across stakeholders, which can compromise the quality and sustainability of heritage conservation efforts. Also, in-depth qualitative interviews conducted at the two study areas elucidated the issues and limitations of the current heritage policy and their approaches, while clarifying the need for a participatory heritage management system for South Korea as the 'shared development mechanism' (Ron, 2016: p 375). However, the present study has some limitations that need to be addressed in future heritage studies.

First, each location, either a neighbourhood, city, province, state, or country, has its own unique contexts determined by social, cultural, economic, anthropological, religious, and political factors which the effectiveness of certain approaches in promoting community empowerment. As explained, two historical cities in South Korea were selected for the present study in consideration of the

uniqueness in heritage construction and management processes in the state as well as the compatibility of national-level socioeconomic and historical attributes. They helped reach the goals of comparative case studies. However, external validity or generalisability of the present study's findings beyond a Korean context can be limited because of the unique contextual boundaries of the two study sites. For the analytic level of key principle generalisation and suggestions extracted from the present study, the role of governance, a level of democratic maturity, socio-cultural environment, or different perspectives on cultural heritage of the locations must be taken into account.

Second, understanding the motivation behind urban heritage production has been one of the major objectives of the present study. This objective was closely related to the second objective: the exploration of community empowerment and insights into functional participatory mechanism. Thus, the present study attempted to truthfully capture the complexity of heritage production processes in South Korea. However, more specific and generalisable attributes of the heritage management process can be examined in future studies. For instance, political or psychological elements such as sense of belonging, nostalgia, or local pride affecting the process can be explored in relation to the overarching heritage management process. Also, future studies could investigate the role of instrumental and external rewards, for example, the development of grassroots / bottom-up heritage production at various stages of economic and political development of a society. This can facilitate a better understanding of stakeholder motivation based on the self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 2012).

Lastly, in-depth interviews were conducted in the present study to better understand the local community's attitudes, experiences, and understandings of their local heritage and its management system. Similar designs may be used in future studies to develop inclusive and participatory processes, and to identify the various stages of community's involvement in understanding, planning, listing, implementing, and monitoring local heritage in the state. To this end, it is worth considering ethnic factors, historical background, and socio-cultural environment which are associated with heritage management and engagement issues (Bakri, 2018).

7.6 Final Remarks

The cases of the two historic cities share widespread cultural and social issues of heritage management. Nonetheless, this topic has not been adequately examined and, even though there has been a movement to understand current shortcomings in heritage management, there has been a dearth of studies conducted at the integrated level, especially in the context of South Korea. Considering the unique environment of South Korea in terms of rapid economic development, recent democratic consolidation, and dynamically changing views of culture and heritage among public, the present study offered some diagnostic information of extant heritage management processes and insights for an improved heritage management system, based on interviews conducted in the two similar yet distinct heritage cities, Gyeongju and Jeonju. This tale of two cities can thus enhance the awareness of heritage issues across multiple stakeholders in South Korea and its heritage

management process in general. Also, it can be an important lesson for heritage locations experiencing comparable socio-economic and politico-cultural dynamics.

Analysis of the fieldwork data from the Gyeonju case study revealed mixed attitudes towards colonial heritage. It was hard to demarcate the individual's identity as human being attached to a place from the national identity as a Korean. There seemed to be a clear idiosyncrasy in the formation of collective memories across community members.

Notably, there was a tendency for local residents to give greater recognition and appreciation to heritage related to personal memory (i.e. nostalgic locations as the reminder of youth, such as playground, old railroad) than historic facts or cultural objects, in line with Su (2020). Also, the residents often reminisced on their past by projecting their subjective experiences and emotions onto particular built heritage sites in Gyeongju. Sites or buildings were remnants of colonial-era that represent a history of national humiliation, insult, and suffering, but local residents valorised their personal meanings attached to the heritage more (Su, 2020).

The 39 in-depth interviews I conducted may have some limitations, however, they have clearly demonstrated that individuals' collective memories play a central role in determining and shaping national identity, and their collective memories are continuously undergoing adjustment, reformation, and reconstruction.

Therefore, the agenda of the current government against Japanese colonial heritage fails to consider and preserve the community members' collective memories. By adequately conserving the colonial heritage instead of attempting to abolish or silence it, some major benefits are anticipated. For instance, it can be

used as an educational tool that enhances public awareness of colonial history, and distinctive cultural and architectural styles. Meanwhile, protection of un-official / un-authorised narratives of local residents in relation to the heritage can contribute to the perpetuation of individual residents' identity as human beings.

It is hard to deny that every single narrative or piece of memory cannot be fully sustained. Nonetheless, as the fieldwork data revealed, the purposefully "cleansed" past and narrative which were selected by exclusive members of expert groups to disproportionately emphasize the bright side of South Korean history can create disconnection between heritage and residents' personalised experiences.

Moreover, the process of re-creating heritage, as in Hwangnyongsa Temple in Gyeongju city, can be problematic. Without adequate historical records and contextual understanding, attempts for arbitrary re-creation of heritage have been present under the guise of 'restoration' work. I only offer one representative example in Gyeongju, but there have been numerous similar government-initiated heritage re-creation projects.

Lastly, the two case study areas Gyeongju and Jeonju were struggling with a declining number of (re)visitors, and local governments were attempting to promote heritage resources with an aim of attracting more people and revitalising local economy. For the first few decades, these efforts seemed to be successful. However, the rate of re-visit began to significantly decrease. As a result, Jeonju recently held an array of events and festivals which were not congruent with – or even at odds with – its cultural heritage. This resulted not only in puzzlement of visitors who expected the city's well-known unique cultural experience, but also diluted the

authentic historical atmosphere of Jeonju, which has been the very essence of the city. In this case we have witnessed that the re-invention of, and experimentation with heritage for tourism purposes has ‘two sides of a coin’ and is perhaps a risky endeavour because it may lead to a distorted sense of place, urban community, history and heritage.

The government-centred conservation and management of heritage sites in South Korean governance emanated from military dictatorships during mid 20th century. This proposition is bolstered by Zoh (2018). While she introduced a concept ‘Authorised Dictatorial Discourse (ADD)’ emulating the idea of Smith’s Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD), she contended that a political system is closely associated with the unique orientation and practice of managing particular heritage sites. According to Zoh, the dictatorship era in South Korea (1961 – 1988) contributed to the emergence of an authoritarian culture of decision making in the heritage management system because it is a propaganda tool to control people and legitimise military regimes, and the signs of heavy-handed top-down attitude in dealing with heritage still remained in the field.

In May 2021, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) co-hosted a workshop with Italian Ministry of Culture (MiC) and Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation (MAECI). The prime message was that cultural heritage can be an engine for social cohesion because it strengthens local identities and creates a sense of belonging. Thus, heritage management can play an important role in promoting cultural participation and ensuring a sense of coherence; it can also cover up or underplay social and economic marginalisation. Also, during the process, people were able to cultivate

resilience and enhance participation, which led them to feel more included in societies and cohesive (in the workshop, it was called, ‘cultural participation’ (Robertson, 2021: p 175)). The findings of the workshop clearly support such a participatory and socially cohesive approach, and that this should matter for future heritage practice and research globally.

Fieldwork data analysis revealed that there was a significant discrepancy among stakeholders regarding their desires projected on heritage sites. This finding is aligned with prior studies, where AHD, tourists, and local residents’ perspectives towards local heritage were distinct and unique. What especially matters most to local residents is their fulfilment of community life and place identity. To them, the authenticity of original materials was not as important as the meanings and functions of a certain heritage site (or a place) for their everyday enjoyment. The study also revealed that, in comparison to local residents, tourists expected recreational and educational values of certain heritage sites during their experience with the sites (Su, 2020).

This view was echoed by Bakri’s (2018) study. Even though the relationships between tangible and intangible heritage were complex and dynamic, the authorised and official values were usually treated as more important than locally cherished values, as exemplified in her case study area. She continued to argue that even UNESCO’s World Heritage Sites and its management schemes did not adequately account for the ‘authentic sense of a place [locally cherished-values]’ where mixed desires of the local people dwell (Bakri, 2018). Her statements resonate with the findings of this study.

In this vein, Silberman (2015: p 10) recognised that “heritage places can variously or even simultaneously be sites of conflict,” particularly when considering historical colonial heritage power relations as shown in this study. Also, it was noted that the concepts of authenticity and significance that are the basis of a broad range of meanings are the reflections of the self-perceptions of individuals and communities (Silberman, 2015). Similarly, Araoz (2011) redefined heritage place as a “vessel of value” which contains the ever-changing values of humankind. He argued that ‘in the modern heritage conservation movement, there was an assumption that values rested mostly in material forms . . . and the methodological framework and professional protocols for intervening in heritage places are all fixated on the protection of the material vessels that carry the value.’ (Araoz, 2011: p 58).

These jointly corroborate the key premise of the present study: heritage is not merely a physical site or object, but a value-laden entity which exists like a living organism in the on-going interaction between heritage (and its contexts) and appreciator. Hence, for future research and management implication, it is crucial to properly examine heritage; the potential influence of socioeconomic and political attributes of the community and society, as well as its members over time, must be considered for optimal heritage management practice in urban heritage contexts.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

PARTICIPANTS AS THE SUBJECTS OF THE RESEARCH

The participants in the study include major stakeholders in the government bodies, tourism & business sector, local community and the local media. In GyeongJu historic city, Cultural Heritage Administration in South Korea (National level), GyeongBook Provincial government, and municipal government will participate. In JeonJu historic city, the super-national organisation, UNESCO's ICHCAP (International Information and Networking Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region under the auspices of UNESCO), along with national, provincial, and municipal authorities will participate in the research.

Second, in the tourism and business sector stakeholders who are relevant in urban heritage conservation will be selected and interviewed. For example, people who run hotel business in the heritage sites, real estate agencies, tourism and transportation companies will participate.

The local community groups are also involved in the research, and it is particularly important to analyse what kinds of disparity hinders their involvement in decision making processes. Thus, the research will interview local people categorised by age, gender, length of residence, etc. in order to grasp their stances on local heritage development. Over 18 years old groups are selected as respondents in the research.

Last but not least, the local media also participates in the research. They are aware of a variety social issues interconnected with heritage issues, and can help provide a comprehensive overview of social issues at each heritage site.

RECRUITMENT

Government official participants in the study will be approached beforehand via email and phone calls (if necessary) with research brief introduction letters. The levels of specific government departments in the super-national, national, provincial, and municipal authorities in each historic city will be recruited in order to understand the process of decision making in the heritage conservation field.

The diverse business groups including tourism, real estate, transport, accommodation, and local business associations will be recruited beforehand via email and phone calls (if necessary) based upon their relevance in the heritage field. They will be also informed about the research via research brief introduction letters so that they can grasp the research before interviews.

For the local community recruitment, one or two groups of the local community will be contacted beforehand, because it is hard to identify which groups have significance in there community before the fieldwork. Thus, for recruiting qualified local people, snowball sampling will be applied in the research.

The local media—JeonJu and GyeongJu local newspapers will be recruited with the research brief introduction letters via email. The reporters who are conversant with heritage and social issues in each locale will be recruited for the research.

CONSENT

Only people over 18 old will be engaged in the study. Before the face-to-face interviews, it is easy to complete a written consent document via email to the interviewees, and sent them before the actual interviews. For the observation, the informal observation to enhance the familiarity with each case area does not need any consent forms as it will take place in public space and will not target particular individuals. In order to collect secondary data through national / local museums, archives, and libraries, the researcher will follow the procedures of the concerned institutions to gain access.

REQUIRED TO PARTICIPANTS

The study explores the heritage production processes in South Korean context while delving into two case study areas—Jeonju and Gyeongju historic cities. Thus, your experiences and knowledge are invaluable in order to complete my study. I will ask an array of questions that you are familiar with. This will take up to 1 hour. If you want to withdraw from the interview, you are free to do so without giving any reasons, and if you wish to withdraw the information you have provided will be deleted. After the completion of the interview, you can ask to withdraw within one month. The participation is completely voluntary, and you are at liberty to withdraw without prejudice or negative consequences.

CONFIDENTIALITY AND SECURITY OF INFORMATION

In order to enhance the confidentiality of the study, no participants' data (i.e. name, occupation, age, gender, etc.) will be exposed. A pseudonym can be used if necessary. If you allow me to make a record or take notes during the conversation, I will record the interview. All the data is used only for this study, and managed only by me and will be stored up to 10 years.

CONFIRMATION CHECK

I have been informed of and understand the purposes of the study.

I understand I can withdraw without prejudice.

I agree to participate in the study as outlined to me.


APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDELINE for GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES

I am a Post Graduate Research student from the Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage, University of Birmingham, U.K. The interview is a part of my study which investigates concerns and issues of key stakeholders in the heritage sites, and seeks to a better way to empower communities in the decision making process through the lens of GyeongJu and JeonJu historic city.

I would like to ask you questions about your experiences and it may take up to 1 hour. If you want to withdraw from the research, you are free to do it, until 1 month after the interview. All your answers are confidential and will be used only for the research. Last, if you do not require, your pseudonyms can be used in the study.

If you have any further questions or concerns, please contact me.

Hee Joo Kim, Ph.D student, University of Birmingham: 

The Respondent Background

1. Can you please explain and elaborate your job position and job description in your organisation?

Understanding the Current Practice of the Heritage Conservation

1. Describe heritage policies in the city

2. Describe tourism policies in the city
3. Describe heritage tourism policies in the city
4. Can you please explain the current practice of the conservation process that has been undertaken by your organisation?
5. Describe local community involvement in heritage management and tourism activities
6. Opportunities for local community involvement in heritage management and tourism activities
7. What kinds of programs that might contribute for local resident awareness in heritage / heritage management and heritage conservation?
8. In decision making processes, how does community mechanism operate?
9. How do the local community engage in heritage planning processes?
10. What do you think limitations / barriers to community involvement in heritage management?

Potentialities and Constraints

1. What do you think are the most tangible problems in GyeongJu / JeonJu historic city? Could you describe the constraints and potentialities in this area?
2. What problems have been faced by your bodies / institutions in conservation efforts regarding upon local involvements?

3. If any, why conservation works did not receive supports from local community?
4. How can practical solutions to barriers that have arisen in GyeongJu / JeonJu historic city be sought?

Heritage Environment

1. What are the most viable ways to conserve historic buildings in this area?
2. In your opinion, how can the non-historic buildings be conserved that no further degradation could occur over time?
3. What are the ways to maintain the urban fabric in GyeongJu / JeonJu historic city?

Infrastructure

4. How can the main deficiencies within the infrastructure of GyeongJu / JeonJu historic city be conquered?
5. What can be done to improve water, sanitation, and/or solid waste management?
6. How can the parking and congestion problems within GyeongJu / JeonJu historic city be resolved?

Social Dimensions

1. In what ways, how can the deficiencies within the basic social services (educational services, health services ...) be resolved in GyeongJu / JeonJu historic city?

Local Economy

1. In your opinion, what impedes economic development in GyeongJu / JeonJu historic city (c.g. training, loans of economic projects, transportation of goods, etc.)?

2. How can you promote, consolidate and strengthen the local economic development in GyeongJu / JeonJu historic city?

3. Which economic sectors do you think are on a growth trend? Which sectors are on a decline trend?

Development Mechanisms

1. Which stakeholder group interests do you think should be considered as the most important? Why?

2. What do you think is the best method for ensuring that different stakeholder interests are taken into account and acted upon by the local authority?

3. What are the main problems in implementing participation initiatives? How can these limitations be overcome in order to increase the level of community participation in the development process?

Development Finance

1. In what ways can the financial problems for conserving Gyeongju / Jeonju historic city be prevailed over? Is the cooperation between the involved parties and the government for implementing the strategic plan for conservation of this area useful under the current fiscal downturn?

Suggestions / Opinions / Views

1. Please feel free to provide any suggestions/opinions/views regarding this research.

2. Are there others that you could recommend me to take to?


APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW GUIDELINE for BUSINESS STAKEHOLDERS

I am a Post Graduate Research student from the Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage, University of Birmingham, U.K. The interview is a part of my study which investigates concerns and issues of key stakeholders in the heritage sites, and seeks to a better way to empower communities in the decision making process through the lens of GyeongJu and JeonJu historic city.

I would like to ask you questions about your experiences and it may take up to 1 hour. If you want to withdraw from the research, you are free to do it, until 1 month after the interview. All your answers are confidential and will be used only for the research. Last, if you do not require, your pseudonyms can be used in the study.

If you have any further questions or concerns, please contact me.

Hee Joo Kim, Ph.D student, University of Birmingham: 

The Respondent Background

1. Can you please explain and elaborate your job position and job description in your organisation?
2. Does your current income come from day to day / week / monthly domestic work?

Understanding the Current Practice

1. What do you know about heritage in the city / village?

2. What do you know about heritage itself?
3. Can you please explain the current business that has been undertaken by your organisation?
4. How many people visit the city / village a week / month / season / year involved with heritage issues?
5. How many people re-visit / re-use to your business vents when they visit in the city / village?

Potentialities and Constraints

1. What do you think are the most tangible problems in GyeongJu / JeonJu historic city regarding upon your business?
2. Could you describe the constraints and potentialities in this area?
3. How can practical solutions to barriers that have arisen in GyeongJu / JeonJu historic city be sought for your business?

Social Dimensions

1. How can you define the heritage in GyeongJu / JeonJu historic city with your life / you everyday life / your business?
2. Do you believe your business contributes to the local community / to the city / village? If so, how and why?

3. How does the heritage resources contribute to your business in detail?

Economy Dimensions

1. Since the city has been nominated by UNESCO (the case of GyeonJu) or nation (the case of JeonJu), does it affect your current income? And how?

2. Are you satisfied with your current income since the city has been the centre of the heritage sites?

3. Which season / time is the most lucrative in your business, and why?

4. Could you explain the evolvments of your business over time in the city / village?
Any fluctuations with the reason why?

5. In your opinion, what impedes economic development in GyeongJu / JeonJu historic city (c.g. training, loans of economic projects, transportation of goods, etc.)?

6. How can you promote, consolidate and strengthen the local economic development in GyeongJu / JeonJu historic city along with your business?

7. Which economic sectors do you think are on a growth trend? Which sectors are on a decline trend?

Development Mechanisms

1. How do you think the current heritage related policies in the city / village?

2. In your opinion, what are the main benefits that government heritage policies bring to your business? And do you think they are adequate and sustainable?

3. Which stakeholder group interests do you think should be considered as the most important? Why?

4. Do you have any ideas to strengthen the local business in the city / village in advance?

Development Finance

1. By the governments' strategic plans for conservation of this area, do you have any support from government bodies? How much the supports were helpful?

2. Do you think the current government policy regarding heritage / and heritage tourism issues is adequate? If you agree / disagree, could you explain the reason why?

Suggestions / Opinions / Views

1. Please feel free to provide any suggestions/opinions/views regarding this research.

2. Are there others that you could recommend me to take to?


APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW GUIDELINE for LOCAL COMMUNITY

I am a Post Graduate Research student from the Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage, University of Birmingham, U.K. The interview is a part of my study which investigates concerns and issues of key stakeholders in the heritage sites, and seeks to a better way to empower communities in the decision making process through the lens of GyeongJu and JeonJu historic city.

I would like to ask you questions about your experiences and it may take up to 1 hour. If you want to withdraw from the research, you are free to do it, until 1 month after the interview. All your answers are confidential and will be used only for the research. Last, if you do not require, your pseudonyms can be used in the study.

If you have any further questions or concerns, please contact me.

Hee Joo Kim, Ph.D student, University of Birmingham: 

The Respondent Background

1. Can you please explain and elaborate yourself?
2. How long have you lived in the city?
3. Where were you living before, and why did you come to live in the city?
4. What is your main occupation?

Understanding the Current Practice of the Heritage Conservation

1. Do you know about current practice of the conservation processes that has been undertaken by government authorities?
2. What do you know about heritage?
3. What do you know about your local heritage in the city?
4. Would you describe the involvement of local people in heritage management and heritage tourism activities in the city?
5. What opportunities are available if local community involve directly in heritage management and heritage tourism in the city?
6. Describe the involvement of local people in the planning process, particularly in tourism development? How do they engage with it?

Place Attachment

1. Do you like you are born / live in the city / village?
2. Do you feel you belong to the city / village?
3. Does the city environment make you feel comfortable and peaceful?
4. How much the heritage resources contribute to your attachment to the city / village?
5. How does your family feel about the heritage resources in the city / village?

6. Do you encourage your children to live / maintain lives in the city / village?
7. How much the heritage resources contribute to your decision above?
8. Is there any particular heritage sites / resources you might attach? And the reason why?
9. Are there any particular views that you consider it is significant to identify and conserve?
10. Do you have any historical information, such as old photos, or old documents relating to the city / village?
11. Are there any local traditions that can be supported or revived?

Potentialities and Constraints

1. What do you think are the most tangible problems in GyeongJu / JeonJu historic city? Could you describe the constraints and potentialities in this area?
2. What are your personal aspirations / concerns towards developing GyeongJu / JeonJu historic city?
3. How can practical solutions to barriers that have arisen in GyeongJu / JeonJu historic city be sought?

Heritage Environment

1. What particular historic aspects of the city / village do you value?

2. What traditional qualities / aspects of the city / village do you think to be important to conserve?
3. Which buildings are most valued by your community?
4. Do you think any historic aspects of the city / village could be enhanced?
5. What do you think is unique and / or distinctive about your city / village?
6. Do you think any historic parts / built heritage of the city / village should be put to better use?
7. What are the most viable ways to conserve historic buildings in this area?
8. In your opinion, how can the non-historic buildings be conserved that no further degradation could occur over time?
9. What are the ways to maintain the urban fabric in GyeongJu / JeonJu historic city?

Infrastructure

1. How can the main deficiencies within the infrastructure of GyeongJu / JeonJu historic city be conquered?
2. What can be done to improve water, sanitation, and/or solid waste management?
3. How can the parking and congestion problems within GyeongJu / JeonJu historic city be resolved?

Social Dimensions

1. Does it change your social life?
2. Are you proud? And do you think the heritage represents the city's / village's identity properly?
3. Do you think the heritage in the city / village unite your community together?
4. Do you think the heritage in the city / village generate conflicts among your community?
5. Do you experience that most of tourists respect your culture and tradition?
6. Do you think the heritage in the city / village widen your cultural understanding?
7. In what ways, how can the deficiencies within the basic social services (educational services, health services ...) be resolved in GyeongJu / Jeonju historic city?
8. How can you define the heritage in GyeongJu / JeonJu historic city with your life / your everyday life?

Local Economy

1. Does the heritage increase / change your income?
2. Does the heritage create your employment opportunities?
3. In your opinion, what impedes economic development in GyeongJu / JeonJu historic city (c.g. training, loans of economic projects, transportation of goods, etc.)?

4. Which economic sectors do you think are on a growth trend? Which sectors are on a decline trend?

Development Mechanisms

1. In your opinion, what are the main benefits that participation initiatives may bring to your community?

2. Which stakeholder group interests do you think should be considered as the most important? Why?

3. What do you think is the best method for ensuring that different stakeholder interests are taken into account and acted upon by the local authority?

4. What are the obstacles or limitations to community participation in heritage management in the city?

5. Do you have any other ideas about how to overcome the above limitations in order to increase the level of community participation in the planning and management?

Development Finance

1. Do you receive any subsidy from government bodies because you live in the heritage sites?

2. In what ways can the financial problems for conserving GyeongJu / JeonJu historic city be prevailed over? Is the cooperation between the involved parties and the government for implementing the strategic plan for conservation of this area useful under the current fiscal downturn?

Suggestions / Opinions / Views

1. Please feel free to provide any suggestions/opinions/views regarding this research.

2. Are there others that you could recommend me to take to?

APPENDIX E

List of Interviewees – Total (39): Community (17), Government (8), Tourism (9), Academy (5)

Code	Category	Sub-Group	Length of Residency	Age	Gender	Participant Background	Specification
Community_1	Community Member	Resident	4 yrs	33	Male	grassroots institutions in NGOs	Gyeongju
Community_2	Community Member	Resident	10 yrs	54	Female	member of a local community association	Gyeongju
Community_3	Community Member	Resident	12 yrs	47	Male	civic activist	Gyeongju
Community_4	Community Member	Resident	84 yrs	84	Male	Long-term resident in Gyeongju city, and a community leader, and a preservationist of <i>Gyeongju Elderly Meeting</i> [long-term resident meeting]	Gyeongju
Community_5	Community Member	Resident	78 yrs	78	Female	Long-term resident in Gyeongju city and an active member of Gyeongju Trust, an occasional voluntary tour guide	Gyeongju
Community_6	Community Member	Resident	unknown	45	Male	civic activist	Gyeongju
Community_7	Community Member	Resident	65 yrs	65	Male	Participant of Jeonju Spiritual Forest Jeonju Hanok Village Conservation Association	Jeonju
Community_8	Community Member	Resident	71 yrs	71	Male	Jeonju Hanok Village Conservation Association	Jeonju

Community_9	Community Member	Resident	85 yrs	85	Female	keeper of a local bookshop, a member of <i>Gyeongju Elderly Meeting</i> [long-term resident meeting]	Gyeongju
Community_10	Community Member	Resident	N/A	66	Female	Jeonju Hanok Village Conservation Association	Periphery of Jeonju
Community_11	Community Member	Resident	N/A	41	Female	grassroots institutions in NGOs	Periphery of Gyeongju
Community_12	Community Members	Resident	N/A	67	Male	Participant of Jeonju Spiritual Forest [project]	Periphery of Jeonju
Community_13	Community Members	Community Association	3 yrs	35	Male	columnist of <i>Gyeongju Shin-Moon</i> [local newspaper]	Gyeongju
Community_14	Community Member	Community Association	15 yrs	54	Female	member of Top Real Estate Agency	Gyeongju
Community_15	Community Member	Community Association	30 yrs	55	Female	member of Top Real Estate Agency	Gyeongju
Community_16	Community Member	Community Association	73 yrs	73	Female	preservationist of <i>Gyeongju Elderly Meeting</i> [long- term resident meeting]	Gyeongju
Community_17	Community Member	Community Association	65 yrs	65	Male	Participant of Jeonju Spiritual Forest [project]	Jeonju

Code	Category	Sub-Group	Age	Gender	Participant Background	Specification
Government_1	State governance	State Authority	48	Male	Vice-Director of Cultural Heritage Administration	National level agency
Government_2	State governance	State Authority	57	Male	Department Director of Cultural Heritage Administration (CHA)	National level agency
Government_3	State governance	State Authority	61	Female	Department Director of Cultural Heritage Administration (CHA)	National level agency
Government_4	Local governance	Regional Authority	62	Male	City Mayor (Gyeongju)	Gyeongju agency
Government_5	Local governance	Regional Authority	54	Male	City Mayor (Jeonju)	Jeonju agency
Government_6	Local governance	Regional Authority	52	Male	Vice-governor (Jeonju)	Jeonju agency
Government_7	Local governance	City Council	59	Female	Project manager of the Hwangnyongsa Temple reconstruction	Gyeongju agency
Government_8	Local governance	City Council	61	Female	Vice-Mayor (Tourism)	Jeonju agency
Tourism_1	Industry	Heritage Professional	63	Male	director of a private museum	Jeonju
Tourism_2	Industry	Heritage Professional	45	Male	director of a private museum and a member of NGOs	Gyeongju
Tourism_3	Industry	Heritage Professional	46	Male	Instructor of heritage educational programs a member of NGOs	Gyeongju

Tourism_4	Industry	Tourism Professional	71	Female	souvenir shop owner	Jeonju
Tourism_5	Industry	Tourism Professional	36	Male	souvenir shop owner	Gyeongju
Tourism_6	Industry	Tourism Professional	75	Male	Owner of accommodation (Historic centre)	Gyeongju
Tourism_7	Industry	Tourism Professional	68	Male	Owner of restaurant (Historic centre)	Gyeongju
Tourism_8	Industry	Travel Agency	54	Male	Travel Agent	Gyeongju
Tourism_9	Industry	Travel Agency	35	Female	Travel Agent	Jeonju
Acamedy_1	Research / Industry	University/Academic	64	Male	Local researcher of archaeology excavation project in Gyeongju	Gyeongju
Acamedy_2	Research / Industry	University/Academic	55	Female	Researcher of local heritage	Jeonju
Acamedy_3	Research / Industry	University/Academic	59	Male	professor in heritage studies	Gyeongju
Acamedy_4	Research / Industry	University/Academic	65	Male	professor in heritage studies	Jeonju
Acamedy_5	Research / Industry	University/Academic	48	Male	researcher of Urban Planning department in JeonBook Research Institute (JRI)	Jeonju

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