

A Longitudinal Study on the Causes of Artist Outflow and Network Characteristics in Market Revitalization Projects Connecting Culture and Art: Focusing on the Gwangju Daein ArtMarket in Korea

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Abstract

The Gwangju Daein Art Market, once declared as a declined market, was regarded as a success after an inflow of artists. However, the number of resident artists decreased from 100 at the end of 2015 to 39, to 9 in 2018, and to 6 in 2021. The project site showed signs of decline toward the completion of the project, leading to a Longitudinal study on the project's sustainability. The purpose of this study is to investigate the causes of outflow of artists and the network characteristics of the remaining artists from a sustainability perspective and thereby draw policy implications. As an analysis method, in-depth interviews and surveys were conducted. After that, we checked the remaining artists in 2018 and 2021 and identified the network characteristics.

Based on the interview results, the causes of outflow were classified into programmatic, physical, and other factors. The results of a comparison showed that the levels of understanding, satisfaction, and frequency of exchange decreased. The study also provides policy implications. First, a sustainable, long-term program for the artists must involve the improvement of physical space. Second, participation in the market should be encouraged by working with artists on program composition or business progress. Third, programs for supporting exchange among artists should be further strengthened.

Keywords: Urban regeneration, Sustainability, Causes of artist outflow, Artist Network

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and Purpose of the Study

The Gwangju Daein Art Market was an obsolete market located in the original downtown area. Since Gwanju Daein Art Market had an inflow of artists during a small-scale art exhibition project (Real Estate Agency Project or Bokdeokbang Project) in 2008, a market revitalization project, utilizing culture and art, was initiated there in 2009. In 2015, the market became recognized as successful after winning the award for the best local cultural brand. However, around 100 artists who flowed into the market between 2008 and 2009 gradually departed, leaving only nine artists as of 2018 and only six as of 2021; this is causing the disappearance of its distinction as a culture and art market.

Existing studies focused on the market that became vitalized at the beginning of the project [1, 2], and most identified commercialization and rent increase as the causes of the outflow of artists. However, at the end of

the project, there is a lack of research that actually verifies the cause of the departure of artists from the declining market.

This study analyzes the causes of the outflow of artists of the Gwang-ju Daein Art Market, which had been evaluated as a success, and conducts longitudinal research on the characteristics of artists that remained in the market in 2018 and 2021, when the survey was conducted. First, this study aims to derive the causes of the outflow of artists by conducting in-depth interviews with those who departed and those who remained. Second, this study verifies the network characteristics of the remaining artists as of 2018 and 2021, by connecting with the 2015 network analysis.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL DISCUSSION

2.1 Activities of Artists and Market Revitalization Project

The interest in the importance and role of artist activities is receiving increasing interest in culture and art projects [3-6]. Art activities enhance discovery; the perception of a community directly strengthens social relationships and can help restore and revitalize disconnected social relationships. Public art created by artists promotes not only a sense of community but also community solidarity by influencing the formation of networks and interpersonal relationships [7, 8]. The social capital created by culture and art, and the growth of the local economy act as attractive factors that can attract the public, triggering a new sense of place to be formed in the region [9-11]. Examples of regions vitalized based on the activities of artists include Soho, Little Italy, and Chinatown in New York. These regions formed artist communities, which led to positive effects on regional growth and income generation [12].

The effects of artist activities are integrated with the development of the market. The Meatpacking District of New York was transformed into a fashion scene and market as poor artists from Soho gathered there; similarly, Chelsea Market was reborn through art and market integration. The Anyang Seoksu Market Project in Korea is an example of emphasizing community communication and the public nature of art. This project aimed to create an international residence and exhibition space within the market, combining the market with art and culture from a cultural perspective. Similarly, various markets have attempted to combine art and culture, including Suwon Motgol Market, Jeonju Nambu Market, Seokgwon Golden Market, Daejeon Jungang Market, and Wonju Jungang Market. As such, traditional markets are becoming the focal point of local communities creating new cultures [13, 14]. Additionally, the ideology and practice of combining art with traditional markets have led to an improvement and expansion of opportunities for artistic enjoyment. Such projects can be used by the government and local authorities to improve the urban environment and citizens' quality of life [15].

2.2 Research on Outflow and Sustained Activities of Artists

Studies on the departure or outflow of artists are mainly conducted through gentrification studies, that generally identify rent increase due to commercialization as the cause of the outflow. As such, Ley argues that a correlation exists between the number of local artists and the progress of gentrification, claiming that "not absolutely but in many cases," culture and art activities produce gentrification [16].

Similar studies are also underway in Korea concerning the outflow of artists. Kim (2015) argues although cultural and artistic activities produce positive effects, a paradox occurs, wherein the local residents and artists leave the area due to developers [17]. In a study on the migration of artists being similar to the outflow of artists, it was found that among the various factors that influence artist migration, economic factors have a greater impact than socio-cultural factors [18]. Moreover, the importance of the physical environment was emphasized, concluding that artists migrate to spaces with small performance halls or old studio buildings [12].

In the study of artist's continuous activity, state the necessity of a network and exchange, voluntary participation, and securing physical space for the continuity of activities of artists. In the cultural cluster model, which pursues long-term coexistence between artists and the local community, a community-based cultural cluster is formed when the active participation of artists extends to the local community [2, 19, 20]. When a

cultural cluster is formed, a higher level of regional and local citizen participation is achieved; further, population and economic impacts increase, and poverty rate reduces [19, 20]. Thus, social roles, such as exchange among artists, are receiving increased attention [21, 22]. Research on physical space argues that a studio and a living space for artists must be prepared for their continuous activities, through which artists must be integrated with the local community or residents [23, 24].

In sum, most studies identify the departure of artists as being caused by local economic factors, and argue that the outflow is triggered by excessive commercialization or a continuous decrease in support for cultural and artistic activities in market projects, where there is no rapid rent increase. Accordingly, this study aims to verify the causes for the outflow of artists in the Daein Art Market.

3. STATUS OF THE TARGET LOCATION AND METHODS OF ANALYSIS

3.1 Status of the Target Location

The Gwangju Daein Art Market is a public market located in the old city center and was the second-largest market in Gwangju for over 40 years since 1959. However, it became a gradually declining market due to the relocation of the Gwangju Public Bus Terminal and the development of housing districts and sub-centers.

As of 2008, about half of the 350 stores in the market were empty. With the Gwangju Biennale, however, local artists gathered to start the Bokdeokbang (real estate agency) Project, causing the voluntary inflow of over 100 artists into the market.

Thereafter, in 2009, the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, and Gwangju Metropolitan City initiated the Asian Culture and Arts Vitalization Hub Program to create cultural and artistic hubs around the National Asian Culture Center. The project was conducted for 10 years from 2009 to 2018, and it included the development of the Daein Art Market, aiming to provide a space for consumption and the exchange of arts and culture around the National Asian Culture Center, which was to be completed in 2015. The project has been extended for 5 years since 2018, and the project is still ongoing.

The programs carried out in the Daein Art Market can be categorized into six stages. The first phase (2009) marked the period during which the groundwork was laid for the conversion of the market, art, and culture. Minari—the Media Space, an artist community, led the project, and during this period, about 100 artists gathered. Afterward, the Daein Art Market Artists Association, Daesokuri, was established. As the artist community operated the project, artist-centered programs, such as the artist residence project, were organized. The market gradually transitioned into an art and culture market with the emergence of artistic store signboards and murals being painted on the market's walls.

During the second phase (2010-2011), the marketplace and arts and culture community worked together to create a specialized market, focusing on the participation and communication of artists, merchants, and citizens [25]. In 2011, the night market program, where artists were the mainstay, was underway as a pilot project. Artists, merchants, and citizens alike could participate in a program, selling artworks and handmade goods during the nighttime (7:30-12:00 pm), when the market is usually closed. Since then, it has become a representative program in the Daein Art Market.

The third phase (2012-2014) marked a period in which artists continuously participated in the Daein Art Market. The Hanpyeong Gallery, an exhibition space for artists, was created, as was a program for selling artworks. Additionally, events for artists and citizens were formed. Artists' associations were also established through artist residencies, such as Dada. The night market program was held approximately six to seven times. Gradually, the market became increasingly popular, witnessing an average of 4,000 visitors every day.

The fourth phase (2015-2016) was a period when extremely popular night market-oriented projects were in progress; however, the artists started to leave rapidly. The night market was held twice a week and 19 times a year, witnessing 8,000 visitors every day. The night market allowed the Daein Art Market to be selected as the best regional culture brand in 2015. However, the Art Market itself was transitioning. The kinds of products sold in the night market underwent a gradual transition, from hand-made products by artists and citizens to food and ready-made products; pop-up stores started to open only once or twice a week, exclusively for nighttime sales. However, at the end of 2015, the number of artists decreased from around 100 to 39, and the gatherings of artists—Minari, Daesokuri, and 'Dada—vanished. There were relatively fewer programs and

exhibition spaces for artists. Rent also increased during this period. Compared to the beginning of the project, the rent only increased to reflect the inflation rate, while still being leased at a lower market price than the surrounding area [26]. Nevertheless, it was a burden for the artists to afford.

The fifth phase (2017-2018) was a period in which the Daein market gradually declined as an art market. As of 2018, only nine artists were remaining in the market. With the departure of artists, the number of programs related to them decreased further; it is generally believed that creativity and diversity have faded. Although the Daein Market has become famous as a night market, there are not many visitors during the daytime. The merchants stated that despite the project being operated for about 10 years, there was no significant change in sales, except for merchants who participated in the night market. In addition, as three night markets are opened in Dong-gu, Gwangju, within 5 km from the Daein Market, resulting in the Daein night market losing its competitiveness, and in a decreasing number of visitors.

The sixth (2019-2021) can be seen as a period of reorganization of the in-person art market. The number of artists residing in 2018 is about 6 in 2021. Most of the remaining artists have studios in the market and do not participate in market programs. Also, the night market is not active in the aftermath of COVID-19. As a result, Vacancy in the market is also increasing. However, attempts are being made to secure the identity as an art market again by recruiting artists through artist residences and bringing in external artists. By creating a complex cultural space, a network of artists, citizens, and merchants can be created, and we are trying to create a collaborative program. In addition, it intends to take another leap forward as an existing art market by carrying out a project to improve the aging market environment.

3.2 Methods of Analysis

1) In-Depth Interview

In-depth interviews were conducted in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd rounds. The first in-depth interview was conducted for 7 days (from April 11 to 17, 2018), and the second in-depth interview was conducted for 7 days (from May 24 to 30, 2018). The 3rd interview was conducted non-face-to-face (March and September 2021) due to COVID-19. Finally, in-depth interviews were conducted with a total of 25 artists and the results were analyzed. The interview and survey contents include the artist's defection factors, program understanding and satisfaction, personal characteristics (name, gender, art field, duration of activity in the market, contents of activity in the interpersonal art market), and attractive factors that must be maintained in the interpersonal art market.

2) Network Characteristics Analysis

Based on existing studies, it was confirmed that exchange and network are important factors that influence the sustained activities of artists. As such, this study examined the characteristics within the network of artists remaining in the market. The network figures (degree centrality and betweenness centrality) were confirmed based on the research that investigated the network characteristics of 39 artists in 2015. After that, the remaining artists in 2018 and 2021 were identified.

Representative methods of network analysis include degree centrality and betweenness centrality. Degree centrality is an analysis that examines how much or how directly one actor in a group is connected to another in the network. A highly connected actor indicates that the person is a major actor who is greatly active in the network. Betweenness centrality indicates that one actor acts as a bridge (intermediary) that connects other actors, referring to an actor with potential control over communication and resources [27].

4. RESULTS

4.1 In-Depth Interview on Outflow Factors

As a result of in-depth interviews with 25 artists, the outflow factors can be divided into: programmatic, physical, and other factors. First, in programmatic factors, the artists responded that they were leaving due to the commercialization of the night market, reduction of artist programs, exhausting and one-time support

projects, and support projects for artists in other places (Table 1).

Table 1. Interview Details of Artist Outflow

	Category	Interview Details
Programmatic factor	Commercialization of the night market	- As the night market became popularized (higher number of visitors, increased public interest), artists became marginalized. - Change from art market to commercialized market
	Decrease in support programs	- Reduced programs for artists - Relative increase in programs for sellers, merchants, and visitors
	Short term support	- Artist support and residency programs are consumable and one-time in nature
	Artist support projects in other places	- Increased support projects for artists in other places (Yangnim-dong, Namgwangju Market) - Artists migrated to find other places with support
Physical factor	Poor workplace	- Decrepit spaces not suitable for use as workspace due to aging, tiny size, or lack of toilet, among other factors.
	Poor market environment	- Aging of the overall environment; too noisy - Poor physical environment as an art market (murals, lights, signboards, etc.)
	Lack of space	- Lack of space to support artists, such as space for an event, exhibition, or incubation
Other factors	Decrease in exchanges among artists	- Accelerated outflow as exchange opportunities decreased due to a decrease in the number of artists - Decreased network opportunities due to lack of programs, etc.
	Rent increase	- Gentrification (rent increase)
	Lack of competency of the planner	- Lack of passionate and competent planners - Absence of planners who understand the site well

Artist L stated, “As the night market started to become popular, most of the projects began to revolve around the same. So, there were fewer artist programs. Also, the early night market had a structure of selling handmade products, but as food and wholesale and retail products gradually came in, the market turned commercial. As a result, artists gradually participated less. In the early days, the Daein Market was a space with a special place where traditional market and art harmonized. Now, the distinctive nature as an art market is vanishing.”

Artist Y identified the reduction in support programs and short-term support projects as the factors of the outflow: “There are no long-term projects for artists in the market. Most programs are short-term and one-off. Still, in the early days, there were numerous things that artists could do in the market, such as painting murals here and there, and repairing market signs. However, now there are none.”

Artist K talked about the outflow due to artist support projects in other places: “There are many cultural arts support projects near the Daein Art Market. After all, there are only a few artists left in the market, and it seems

that there is nothing that artists can do to help, in the market. So, I went looking for another support project.”

Second, physical factors included physical aging of the market, poor internal environment, and lack of exhibition space. Artist K said, “The market space is being used as a work or living space, and there are often no toilets inside. To go to the toilet, you must use the market’s public restroom. Also, because the work studio in the market is small, it is difficult to work on large artworks.”

Similarly, Artist P pointed out the problem of physical space as an outflow factor: “Due to nature of the market, there are limitations to the exhibition and creative space where you can engage in art activities. As the empty stores disappeared, the space for exhibitions and creations was further shrunk. Since there is no exhibition space, it has become difficult to be active.”

Third, as other factors, the artists mentioned reduced opportunities for exchange among artists, increase in rent, lack of competency of planners, and support projects for artists in other places. Artist J commented on the problem of exchange and rent increase, saying, “In many cases, artists who came to the market were friends or colleagues who knew each other before. At first, there was a synergy effect because we were all together. However, as we started to leave, the outflow accelerated. And as the rent also rose, I thought it would be better to find a studio elsewhere. So, I left.”

Artist L said, “When I came here, the space [I lived in] was almost collapsing. Yet, [after] I renovated it so well, now the landlord asks for an additional 600,000 won a year in rent. I am still residing here but it makes me upset.”

Next, interviews with the remaining and departed artists were conducted, regarding the attractive factors that the Daein Art Market must have, that would get them to return and stay. Most of the artists stated that as a market where culture and art coexist with artists and merchants for the attractive elements of the Daein Art Market and responded that it is unfortunate that many artists have left that the attractive elements are disappearing.

4.2 Characteristics of the Network of Remaining Artists

Before examining the characteristics of the artists remaining in the market, the level of understanding and satisfaction with the programs in the market as well as the degree of exchange between artists were studied. The result of the survey showed that the overall level of understanding of the program was 3.77 while the level of satisfaction was 2.17 at the end of 2015. However, in 2018, the level of understanding fell to 2.88 and the program satisfaction to 1.75 (Table 2). Six Artists Had Little Participation in Market Programs in 2021.

The results of the survey regarding the number of exchanges among artists showed that the number of meetings among them significantly reduced in 2018 to 1 or 2 times per month, by 75%, despite the fact that they were acquaintances. This decrease was from 2015, when 50% the respondents answered that they met each other 1 to 4 times per week (Table 3). It was found that of the artists have studios in the market, but there is little interaction with the artists in the market in 2021. The foregoing results show not only the significant reduction in the level of interest and participation in the Gwangju Daein Art Market but also the alarming decrease in the opportunities for exchange among artists.

Table 2. Program understanding and satisfaction levels in 2015 and 2018

Category	2015(n=30)		2018(n=8)	
	Average	Standard deviation	Average	Standard deviation
Overall program understanding level	3.77	1.073	2.88	1.642
Overall program satisfaction level	2.17	1.085	1.75	0.886

Table 3. Number of exchanges among artists in 2015 and 2018

Category	2015(n=30)	2018(n=8)
	Frequency (percentage %)	Frequency (percentage %)
Almost everyday	2(6.6)	1(12.5)
3-4 times a week	10(33.0)	1(12.5)
1-2 times a week	6(20.0)	0(0.0)
1-2 times a month	6(20.2)	6(75.0)
No exchange	6(20.0)	0(0.0)
Total	30(100)	8(100)

In order to examine the characteristics of artists with sustained activity, the results of the network analysis at the end of 2015 were examined (Table 4). In the 2015 artist network analysis, in-degree centrality and betweenness centrality were analyzed. First, this study investigated the result of the artist network analysis (degree centrality and betweenness centrality) as of the end of 2015.

At the end of 2015, the artists with high in-degree centrality were in the order of A05, A19, A22, A03, A06, and A18. The artists with a high degree of betweenness centrality were A05, A03, A06, A22, and A19 [Figure 5]. Among them, artist A05 was found to be the most important, with 0.526 in-degree centrality and 0.152 betweenness centrality. In other words, artist A05 was the most centrally located actor in the network and the most active mediator who delivered information [28].

Table 4. Artist network values (in-degree centrality and betweenness centrality) for 2015

Rank	In-degree centrality		(node) Betweenness centrality	
	ID	Figure	ID	Figure
1	A05	0.526	A05	0.152
2	A19	0.289	A03	0.097
3	A22	0.263	A06	0.083
4	A03, A06, A18	0.158	A22	0.072
5	A02, A07, A09, A23, A25, A26	0.132	A19	0.066

Source: Park & Koo(2017)

Based on the artists surveyed at the end of 2015, we surveyed artists who were resident in the market in 2018 and 2021 and continued to work. The remaining artists in 2018 were A05, A19, A22, A06, A07, A09, A02, A13, and A21 in total. The remaining artists are A05, A19, A22, A09, A13, and A21 in total, 6 in 2021. The remaining artists in 2018 and 2021 were identified by dividing the group into the top 30% group and the bottom 70% in the network analysis figure.

The top 30% group for in-degree centrality network included artists A05, A19, A22, A06, A09, A07, and A02. The top 30% for betweenness centrality networks included artists A05, A06, A22, A19, A02, A13, A21, and A07. Artists A13 and A21, who were not included in the top 30% group in terms of in-degree centrality were included in the top 30% group of betweenness centrality. Artist A09, who was a part of the top 30% of the betweenness centrality network, was included in the top 30% of in-degree centrality. In conclusion, it can be found that the artists in the top 30% of the network in terms of in-degree centrality and betweenness centrality continued to remain active in the Gwangju Daein Art Market (Table 5).

[Figure in table 5] shows the remaining artists in the in-degree centrality and betweenness centrality network. The more inside the circle the artist is, the stronger the in-degree centrality of that artist with the network and the more important actor that artist is.

It can thus be observed that artists with a high network value—that is, artists who are at the center of the network or act as mediators of information—are more likely to remain in the market for an extended period

and that the artist networks can influence continuity.

Table 5. Artists remaining in the network in 2018 and 2021

Category		Artists remaining in the network in 2018 and 2021	
In-Degree Centrality	Top 30% (n=12)	A05, A19, A22 , A18, A03, A06, A26, A09** , A23, A07, A02 , A25, A30, A12	
	Bottom 70% (n=27)	A29, A27, A10, A04, A16, A24, A14, A08, A11, A13* , A36, A35, A20, A33, A34, A17, A21* , A38, A32, A31, A15, A37, A01, A39, A28	
Node Betweenness centrality	Top 30% (n=12)	A05 , A03, A06, A22, A19, A02, A25, A13* , A17, A21* , A07 , A12	
	Bottom 70% (n=27)	A11, A23, A30, A08, A34, A16, A26, A27, A33, A28, A29, A39, A09** , A01, A18, A37, A14, A24, A15, A31, A32, A04, A10, A38, A20, A35, A36	

— : Artists remaining until 2018, ■ : Artists remaining until 2021

* Artists A13 and A21 who belong to the in-degree centrality bottom 70% are included in the top 30% of betweenness centrality

** Artist A09 who belongs to the betweenness centrality bottom 70% is included in the top 30% of the in-degree centrality

As a result of examining the characteristics of the artists remaining in the market, A05, an artist who remained until 2021, was an artist who operated a store collaborating with a merchant in the market, and was the artist at the center of the network in 2015. A19 and A22 were artists who operated Dada and Daora, an artist group, and artists A09, A13, and A21 were artists who stayed in the market for a long time with 8 to 12 years of residency. Artists A07, who remained until 2018, were found to have led the group of artists, and artists A06 and A02 appeared to be artists who have lived in the market for more than 8 years.

5. CONCLUSION

The Gwangju Daein Art Market attracted over 100 artists, starting with the Bokdeokbang (real estate agent) project in a declining market, and acquired the reputation of a successful market. However, the number of resident artists decreased to 39 at the end of 2015, leaving only 9 in 2018 and 6 in 2021.

Since the target site, which was successfully evaluated based on the culture and arts support project, was showing a significant decline toward the end of the project, it was necessary to conduct a longitudinal study on the sustainability of the project. Therefore, in this study, the cause of the outflow of artists in the market and the network characteristics of the remaining artists were investigated through a Longitudinal Study.

The results of the analysis of the causes of the outflow based on in-depth interviews could be categorized

into programmatic, physical, and other factors. First, with regard to programmatic factors, artists who left and those who remained responded that the reduction of artist programs, the castoff of artists due to night market-oriented projects, and wasteful and one-time support projects were the causes.

Second, with regard to physical factors, the physical deterioration of the market, poor internal environment, and the lack of exhibition space were identified as the causes of the outflow. Other factors identified were a reduction of opportunities for exchange among artists, rising rents, insufficient capability of planners, and support projects for artists available elsewhere.

Third, with regard to other factors, artists began to leave based on a combined effect of both programmatic and physical factors, resulting in an accelerated outflow due to the constantly decreasing opportunities for exchange among artists. The responses by planners indicated the causes to be physical factors, personal dispositions of the artists, the trend at the time, and the difficulty in using the budget, rather than programmatic factors.

The results of the comparative analysis based on questionnaires on the degree of understanding and satisfaction on the program, and the level of exchange of the artists with sustained activity showed that, first, program understanding and satisfaction were 3.77 and 2.17, respectively, in 2015, but fell to 2.88 and 1.75, respectively, in 2018. In 2021, most of the artists were not participating in the program. Second, in the case of the number of exchanges among artists, while about 50% of the artists met around 1 to 4 times a week at the end of 2015, the frequency decreased by more than a half as most artists met only 1 to 2 times a month in 2018. In 2021, it was found that there were few exchanges due to having a studio in the market. Lastly, as a result of analyzing the network characteristics of artists who are continuously active in the market in 2018 and 2021, it was found that the artists who are in the top 30% of network connection centrality and intercentricity remain in the market continuously.

The policy implications derived from the above results are as follows. First, interviews with artists show that short-term or expendable program compositions do not significantly help sustainable activities. Thus, a sustainable long-term program should be created, along with securing exhibition space and improving physical space.

Second, when the level of program understanding and satisfaction of artists decreases, participation in the market also decreases. Thus, participation in Gwangju Daein Art Market should be encouraged by constantly listening to and collaborating with artists when constructing programs or proceeding with projects. Additionally, since discrepant perceptions of project teams (planners) and artists could be found, continuous communication between the two is critical and should be encouraged.

Third, the examination of the network characteristics of artists with sustained activities shows that artists with stronger networks were more likely to remain in the market. Accordingly, programs that support exchange among artists, such as collaboration programs and artist groups, must be further strengthened

Fortunately, the program that started in 2019 recruit artists and is running a program for them. In addition, the project is being carried out in the direction of strengthening the network between major players. Improvement of the physical space of the market is also progressing, which is positive.

This study is limited since the network characteristics were analyzed based on 2015 data, meaning that only changes since 2015 were analyzed and only about 40% of the 30 artists who left were tracked and analyzed. On the other hand, the significance of this study is it conducted a longitudinal study in connection with the previous analysis on sustained activities at the point of completion of the project, as opposed to existing research on network analysis which covers the time of activation only.

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