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Housing Support and Community-based Regeneration Strategies for Socially Disadvantaged Areas in Seoul

社会的に不利な地域に対する居住支援と地域再生戦略
—韓国、ソウル市を中心として—

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Abstract

Recently there is a growing interest in the concept of social exclusion in urban and social policy. In particular, there is increasingly attention being paid to the concentration of disadvantaged people in the specific areas. In this research, the authors try to analyze the needs for area regeneration aimed at residents living in the most disadvantaged areas in Seoul city.

The purpose of this paper is to clarify the characteristics of exclusion and to suggest a direction for area regeneration by identifying local social resources and the real needs of residents, by means of survey in flophouse areas, called 'Jjogbang areas' in Korean. In Korean 'Jjog' means a half, or a very small thing, and 'bang' means a room. According to various sources, 'Jjogbang' first appeared during the Japanese colonial era. Originally, most of the spaces in this type of housing were used for prostitution but nowadays, the Jjogbang are used as (often illegally) rental hostels for mainly daily laborers and low income people. There are numerous Jjogbang areas throughout the country, but it is difficult to support these areas because 'Jjogbang' has no concrete definition regarding its structural form. On the other hand, researchers have recognized that the typology of Jjogbang in general encompasses two types, being aggregate and scattered types. This study will focus on the aggregate type in Seoul, where there are five of these areas in total. Areas of the scattered type are mostly found in local cities. Jjogbang residents are mainly characterized as single, middle-aged men, most of who are daily laborers, or as social beneficiaries and disabled people. Most of them lack access to social services and health care because they are mobile workers and have no form of social security to depend on. On account of their vulnerability, some of them cannot afford rent and any many suffer from chronic disease and disorder. Furthermore, their medication costs weigh considerably down on their living costs. However, there are some merits to living in a Jjogbang. Before becoming Jjogbang residents, a vast number of them had several experiences with rough sleeping. In this sense, Jjogbang can function as a housing resource to avoid rough sleeping, although the buildings are generally in urgent need of repair and often lack fundamental equipment such as toilet, bath, kitchen etc. The supply of food materials is the service which is mostly required because most of the residents are low-income, single men. Also, the residents are in strong need for job counseling and training in order to obtain decent work because many of them hope to contribute to the regeneration of the area they live in by using their own capabilities, instead of merely receiving cash.

The results of this survey can be summarized as: 1) there is effective support from private sectors, such as Jjogbang counseling centers, but there should be more networking between them and other sectors; 2) some residents prefer to continually live in the same area, while others aspire to move out to formal areas once they have secured a job.

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概要

近年、都市及び社会政策において社会的排除概念への関心が高まっている。その中でもとりわけ特定な地域へ不利な人々が集中している問題が注目を集めつつある。本研究では、ソウル市で最も不利な地域に居住している人々に焦点を当て、当該地域の地域再生に向けたニーズの分析を試みる。

本研究の目的は、社会的排除の特徴を明確にし、当該地域の地域再生の方向性を提案することである。そのため当該地域の社会的資源や居住者のニーズをまず把握する必要がある。本研究の対象地域は、韓国語で「チョッパン地域」と呼ばれているところである。韓国語で「チョッ」は「半分」、または「非常に小さいもの」を、そして「パン」は「部屋」を意味する。チョッパンが最初に現れたのは日本の植民地時代と言う説もある。もともとこのようなタイプの住居は売春のために使われていたが、現在は主として日雇労働者や低所得層向けの（そのほとんどは非合法ではあるが）廉価の宿として使われている。また、ソウルのみならず全国的にも多くのチョッパンが散見される。しかし、それらの地域への支援策を講ずることは非常に難しい。というのは、チョッパンの構造的な形態に関する厳格な定義が未だ定まっていないからである。一方、研究者らは一般にチョッパンを「集住型」と「分散型」という二つのタイプに分類して認知してきた。本研究は、ソウル市内の集住型の地域に着目しているが、同市内には同様の地域が5ヶ所分布している。分散型地域は、そのほとんどが地方都市に存在する。チョッパン居住者は、主として中年の単身男性が多いが、彼らのほとんどは日雇労働者、または国民基礎生活保障制度の受給者、そして障がい者である。そのほとんどが移動性の高い労働形態をとっているため、社会的サービスやヘルスケアへのアクセスを欠いており、頼るべき社会的保障に包摂されていない。非常に脆弱な立場に置かれていることから一部の人々には家賃を払える余裕がなく、慢性的な疾患や障がいに苦しんでいる場合も多い。その上医療費が居住者の家計負担として重くのしかかっている。ところで、チョッパンに居住することにはいくつかのメリットもある。チョッパンに辿り着く前までは、野宿生活を経験したことがある人が多い。その意味でチョッパンは、たとえその建物が緊急に修理を必要とし、バス・トイレやキッチンなどのような基本的な設備を欠いているとしても野宿を回避するための居住資源として機能していると言えるのである。また、食事に関するサービスは、ほとんどの居住者が低所得の単身男性ということもあり、多くから求められているサービスである。なお、居住者たちの中では適切な仕事を得るための仕事紹介や職業訓練に対するニーズが高い。多くの居住者は、単なる金銭的な援助ではなく、彼ら自身のケイパビリティを活かした、たとえば当該地域の再生に資するような仕事に携わることなどを強く希望している。この点は注目に値する。

本研究の結果を要約すると以下の通りである。

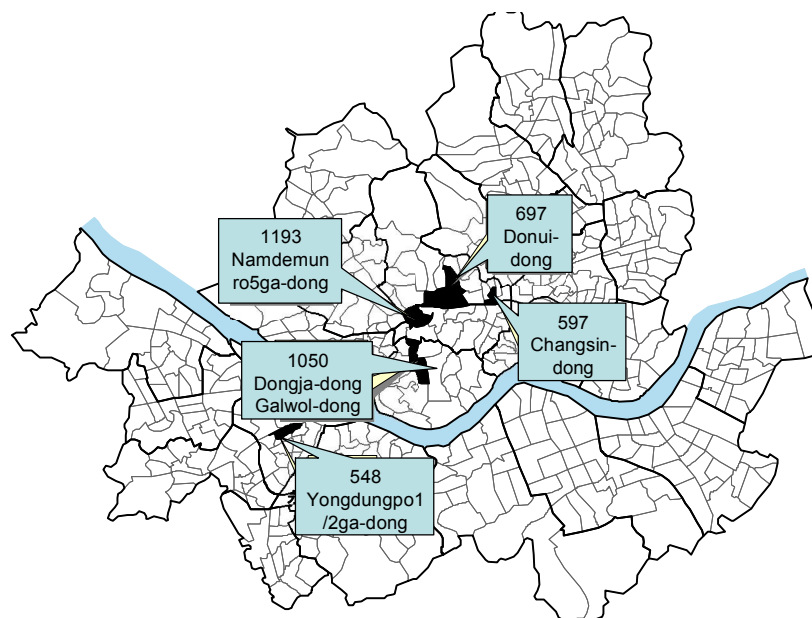
- 一、 チョッパン相談所のような民間部門による支援サービスは、居住者にとって大いに歓迎されているが、より効果的な支援のため民間団体同士や異なる部門間のネットワークをさらに図っていく必要がある。
- 二、 安定的な仕事を得て一般地域に移りたいと願っている人もいるが、他方一部の居住者は、他の地域に移ることなくこれまでの住み慣れた地域で引き続き生活したいというニーズを持っている。

I . Introduction

While there has been increasing academic interest in the widening social gap as well as the increasing poverty in urban areas, most of the residents living in concentrated, deprived areas are still disadvantaged by the mechanisms of social exclusion. Above all, this means that the households living in these areas suffer from many kinds of discrimination and deprivation in terms of employment, health, education, housing etc. On the other hand it is striking that these areas also possess positive social networking as the homogeneous character of residents provides mutual security and thus can function as a terminal resort for each other.

For this study, socially disadvantaged areas are defined as legally unauthorized aggregated flophouse areas, characterized by a decrepit living environment in which many daily laborers and social welfare beneficiaries reside. These areas are commonly known as “Jjogbang” areas in Korean, of which five exist in the Seoul Metropolitan City (see FigureI-1 & TableI-1).

FigureI-1: Location of Flophouse Areas in Seoul



Jjokbang are characterized by their very small rooms, having floor spaces of less than one pyong (about 3.3 m²). In addition, all the facilities are shared and most importantly, the material structure of these buildings is utmost vulnerable to disaster because of its various construction defects.

From 1998 onwards, South Korea (hereafter Korea) experienced the negative effects caused by the Asian Financial Crisis. At the same time, new unprecedented social phenomena occurred, such as the emergence of the new economic homeless who suddenly lost their job and remained unemployed. Starting from 1999, a large number of people suddenly gathered in the Seoul station square and simultaneously they represented these

new social issues in a way that the Korean society had never experienced before. This urged the government to respond promptly by developing emergency programs, also eventually providing service aid to the homeless, by means of establishing the “Jayu-ui-jip (freedom house)”, of which homeless could make use of for free at any time. At first the government prepared rooms for several hundreds of homeless individuals, but once established, more than thousands applied to this institution. Not all of them were rough sleepers, because at the time some of them were living in Jjogbang.

The term Jjogbang is a composition of the words ‘Jjog’ meaning a half, or a very small thing, and ‘bang’ meaning a room. According to various sources, ‘Jjogbang’ first appeared during the Japanese colonial era. Originally, most of the spaces in this type of housing were used for prostitution but nowadays, the Jjogbang are used as (often illegal) rental hostels for mainly daily laborers and low income people.

Table I-1: Figures of Jjogbang areas which have a Jjogbang Support Center³⁾

Area			Building (block nr.)	Jjogbang (room)	Resident (person)	Beneficiary (person)
Aggregated Areas	Seoul	Jongno-ku Donui-dong	93	697	571	87
		Jongno-ku Changsin-dong	51	597	426	85
		Jung-ku Namdemunro5ga-d ong	57	1,193	997	180
		Yongsan-ku Dongja-dong •Galwon-dong	45	1,050	1,003	287
		Yongdungpo-ku Yongdungpo 1, 2ga-dong, Munre1g a-dong (2003.1)	153	548	433	218
		Total	399	4,085	3,430	857
	Daegu		190	1,760	1,000	174
	Daejeon	Dong-ku	—	1,459	513	236
Scattered Areas	Busan (2001.7)	Dong-ku	28	396	307	72
		Jin-ku	—	501	460	53
	Incheon	Bupyong-ku, Keyang-ku	—	454	670	63
		Dong-ku, Nam-ku, Namdong-ku	—	375	165	57
	Suwon	Kwonson-ku, Seryu-dong etc.	—	200	—	—
Total			617	9,230	6,545	1,512

Sources: MOHW(2003.12) cited by KOCER(2005), Yongdungpo Jjogbang Support Center Material (2003.1), SDI(2002 : 10), Daegu Jjogbang Support Center Survey Material (2003.2-3 full-resident surveyed), Busan Dong-ku Jjogbang Support Center (2001.7), Busan Jin-ku Jjogbang Support Center (2001.7), MOHW•Seoul Metropolitan City (2000).

As a result, the residents of Jjogbang were publicly recognized as hidden homeless, as the government was not able to provide adequate service for these special areas in order to prevent them from falling into homelessness⁴⁾. As a response to these governmental

efforts, Jjogbang Counseling Centers were established in aggregated and scattered Jjogbang areas, amounting to eleven centers nationwide, of which five located in Seoul. These centers provide the residents with counseling and living services. However, these areas were not yet recognized by society as some were demolished by the local government to make way for a soundproofed zone near the railroad tracks ²⁾.

1. Objective and Research Methodologies

Based on these situations and by examining the characteristics of the concentration of deprivation in the socially disadvantage areas of Seoul metropolitan city, the author's aim is to bring forward regeneration strategies for these areas. The objectives of this study are as follows:

First, this study searches for a model of area regeneration based on the residents' opinions based on an examination of Jjogbang as a resource of housing welfare. Recently, small rooms and affordable housing have decreased as result of different kinds of urban development, and this is one of the reasons why low income families are increasingly facing instable tenure. At the same time, the Jjogbang, which houses the socially most vulnerable people, are known for its high correlation with homelessness. Therefore positive recognition of the Jjogbang can contribute to the secure tenure of its residents.

Second, this study aims to suggest a model of on-site regeneration based on the residents' needs. Most of the governmental policies for homeless people have mainly concentrated on group shelters or similar institutions. Just recently, a new policy which provides single flophouse residents with public rental housing by using private stocks, has just been initiated but neither this conforms as an on-site response.

It therefore seems opportune to suggest a regeneration model based on an in-depth survey of the residents and area research because there are many elderly and disabled people who on the one hand partly wish to move to another area, and on the other hand partly wish to continue living in the same area because they have lived there for a long time.

The methodologies for this study were implemented as follows:

- 1) A survey of policy involvement mainly focusing on flophouse areas and local resources (public and private).
- 2) Participatory research of the stakeholders and a participatory observation survey of short-term residence in flophouses.
- 3) A survey of the needs of residents regarding area regeneration and also an architectural survey.

II. Government Measures, Private Support and Survey Area Outline

1. Development of government measures for Jjogbang areas

As mentioned above, Jjogbang areas gained a lot of social interest since the Asian Financial Crisis. Simultaneously, the sudden increase of homelessness required government measures as this controversial condition was the result of government response failure in the first place. The Freedom House (jayu-ui-jip in Korean), a large-scale assessment shelter, was founded by the Seoul Metropolitan government as an emergency measure. However,

on its opening day, unexpectedly a wide range of individuals applied to be accommodated. They weren't all rough sleepers because most of them were living in Jjogbang. After this situation became clear, a governmental survey was held in order to grasp the actual situation of the aggregated areas and on-site measures were implemented. It was against this background that the Jjokbang Counseling Centers were established nationwide. At first, three Jjogbang Counseling Centers were established as a pilot project and its management functions were entrusted to private sector organizations in Seoul and Pusan Metropolitan city. However, these approached the Jjogbang residents as hidden homeless and didn't exceed the scope the scope of the before-mentioned emergency measures. Consequently, support content remained very basic, as no interest or effort was being paid to the Jjogbang stock in function of social housing and a living space for the socially most vulnerable.

Since 2000, the 'National Basic Life Security Law (NBLSL)', a new social security system was given effect, but most of the Jjogbang residents weren't entitled to receive benefits because they lack resident registration or were taken off their addresses on account of their mobile job condition. On Feb., 2001, the Government announced the 'Special Measures of NBLSL', thereby easing former eligibility criteria and recognizing those who were living in unstable housing conditions. Therefore, eligibility for benefits was extended to those who living in Jjogbang, Manhwabang (manga cafes), vinyl houses (squatter shacks), flophouses, social welfare institutions, shelters and so on. By this means, residents of insecure housing could register their addresses to where they were living momentarily, making them eligible for NBLSL benefits and, importantly, also for medical benefits. In other words, by being rendered eligible for such benefits, these residents gained access to the social security system, meaning they could also take up public jobs (workfare).

After the pilot program, 6 new Jjogbang counseling centers were established in Seoul, Daegu, Incheon, Daejeon and Pusan (Dong-gu and Jin-gu) in 2001 and 2002, making a total of 11 centers nationwide. On the other hand, some of the local governments have created 'District Plans' to dissolve Jjogbang areas, but in the case of Seoul city government, in 2002 they provided the homeless with rent to stay in Jjogbang because they recognize the Jjogbang as a temporally housing resource. (see Table II -1).

Table II -1: Development of supporting measures for the Jjogbang

year	Measures by the Central Government	Notes
1999	* Jjogbang identified as part of the homelessness problem * Survey on the actual living conditions in Seoul City	* Actual condition survey in Jung-gu, Jongno-gu, Yondungpo-gu in Seoul
2000	* Establishment of 3 counseling center in Seoul (Jongno/Jung-gu) and Pusan * Providing utility facilities in Jjogbang areas. * Inspection of electricity and fire safety * Cooperation with Foodbank * Area survey	
2001	* Establishment of an additional 10 counseling centers * Announcement of the 'Special Measures of NBLSL'	

2002	* A total of 11 counseling center operating nationwide: Seoul (5), Incheon (2), Pusan (2), Daejeon (1), Daegu (1)	* Providing homeless people with the rent to stay in Jjogbang during the end of the year (Seoul city government)
2003	* Deliberation on providing transitory 'frame houses' for Jjogbang residents (Ministry of Construction and Transportation)	
2004	* Establishment of the Public Health Service Program in Pusan (Jin-gu) / Daegu / Daejeon Jjogbang counseling centers.	

Sources: KOCER(2005:93) revised

The public support program for this survey area provides work-fare programs or social benefits and also free meal services for the single elderly.

Pertaining to the fire safety, the Jongno fire station has repeatedly conducted fire drills and has also inspected gas and electric facilities. The Seoul City Government on his part has provided this area with free-of-charge fire extinguishers.

2. Support from the private sector

Related support services by the private sector have almost all focused on the homeless; therefore most of the Jjogbang residents make use of the same services. Until now, many of the typical support programs included medical, food and housing support.

The 'Association of Physicians for Humanism' offers the most representative support program. They visit the homeless who live in the Seoul subway stations and Jjogbang areas for medical examination and treatment. The 'St. Joseph Medical Office' is broadly known by their voluntary medical support program in the Yongdungpo Jjogbang area since 1987 as well. This medical office is treats 100 persons per day. The 'St. Cross Welfare Hospital', which is being managed by the Korean Catholic Church, is free of charge, and usually used by the homeless and Jjogbang residents. In case of the free meals support, there are many voluntary emergency food groups working around railway and subway stations. In regard to housing support, the most typical support is through outreach to the Jjogbang residents, conducted by the 'Human Rights for the Homeless Action Group (Sil-Cheon-Dan)', which visits Jjogbang residents to check their health and provide job counseling on a weekly basis. They cooperate with various lawyer groups because Jjogbang residents are easily drawn into crime or frauds. Last but not least, the two homeless support groups 'Council of Religion and Citizen's Movement for the Homeless (Jeon-Sil-No-Hyup)' and 'Korean Support Center for the Homeless (No-Da-Ji)', are engaged in the transfer program into Jjogbang as a housing support program for the homeless.

Other private support programs in the Donui-dong area are explained below.

2-1. Support by 'Public-Private Partnership'

1) The Jongno Jjogbang Counseling Center 'Donui-dong Sarang ui Simto (Shelter of Love)' is the most typical one. Established in 2000, they basically operate to meet the needs of Jjogbang residents. Their content of service consist out of counseling and administration services (for instance offering support to re-obtain resident registration and apply for NBLSL), medical and health services, job counseling services, free meal services (a packed lunches and Kim'chi), providing daily necessities, housing transfer program service

(securing housing in outer areas by funding deposit money for 2 years), area needs survey, protection act against disasters and so on.

2) There is one more residential support service which combined laundry services with job training (called 'Hankazok Palrebang (HP)' in Korean) run by the 'Jjongno Self-Sufficiency Promotion Agency'. The 'Self-Sufficiency Promotion Agency' promotes self-reliance by providing work-fare programs for able-bodied NBLSL beneficiaries. The HP program supports the single disabled, the blind, and other serious cases that cannot wash their clothes in Jongno-gu. That's why they regularly visit their clients to collect and return their laundry, taking the opportunity to check up on their health condition. The clients have responded enthusiastically to this program because the space in Donui-dong is very narrow and lacks laundry facilities. The laundry is collected every Wednesday and returned upon completion.

2-2. Original Private Support '

1) Medical Support from the Private Sector

'Korean Health Professionals for Action' conducts medical examination and simple treatment of Jjogbang residents by visiting the area twice a month. Usually 40 to 50 persons make use of their medical examinations, and they also conduct in-home care for patients who cannot leave their houses on their own. Before, only the 'Red Cross College of Nursing' did similar work in this area by preventing illness by means of blood inspection once a month.

2) Housing Transfer Support Program by the Private Sector

The 'Beautiful Shop ('Arumdaun Kage' in Korean), Anguk branch' is located in the direct vicinity and their activities consist exists mainly in the form of rent support and support for living and medical expenses. Funding comes from the sale of recycled goods things twice a year. 'Kwang Hyun Church Voluntary Group' also donates full guaranty money for the Housing Transfer Support Program, implementing by the Jongno Jjogbang Counseling Center. In addition they regularly visit residents in order to monitor their living conditions.

3) Other

Some of the religious groups and private enterprises donate rice, noodles, Kim'chi and other survival provisions to this area on an irregular basis.

3. The Profile of Donui-dong

Donui-dong, the survey area of this research, is located in Jongno-gu and is the most closely located area to Seoul's city center. There are lots of Jjogbang in Donui-dong, while there are also many cultural facilities such as Jongmyo Park in the eastern side, and Tapgol Park, Piccadilly Theater and Danseongsa Theater in the western side. The area is very accessible by public transport because Donui-dong is located near Jongno-3ga station, where the subway lines no. 1, 3 and 5 intersect. Crucially, there are some difficulties in finding the area because Donui-dong is surrounded by lots of commercial multistoried buildings and is difficult to reach due to the many winding pathways leading into there. Therefore this area was broadly unknown to the public for a long time, and this seems to

affect its incrementing spatially isolated character.

4. Architectural Type of Jjogbang in the Donui-dong Area

The Jjogbang are classified into two structural types: one is a building built out of wood and the other is out of brick. The brick buildings can further be divided into old and new brick buildings. Although more precise inspection is needed, one can also notice that some buildings are reconstructed by the use of steel reinforced concrete.

Most of the wooden buildings are two-storied, which is the oldest Jjogbang form, and some of these have been used as prostitution facilities until 1960s. Two/three-story brick buildings might have been former wooden buildings reinforced by bricks ten or more years ago. Most interesting is that the higher the story is, the more floor space it has. The two/three/four-story new brick buildings are usually constructed after 1995, but it remains necessary to inspect more accurately whether these types of building have been rebuilt or not.



[picture I-1]
Wooden Type Jjogbang



[picture I-2]
Old Brick Type Jjogbang



[picture I-3]
New Brick Type Jjogbang

III. The Reality of Donui-dong through the Eyes of the Residents

The survey on the needs of the residents who live in Donui-dong was conducted from Oct. to Nov., 2006 for 6 weeks (156 valid responses). The survey team members included researchers, homeless support staffs and residents as well. A questionnaire survey using interview methods was used, and 156 responses were subjected to analysis. Whenever possible, we simultaneously surveyed the respondents' life stories.

1. Residents' Characteristics

Most of the residents are single households (91.7%) and 87.8% (137 persons) are male. Only 12.2% (19 persons) are female single households. The average age of the households is 53.2 and in case of female single households the average age is 62.6. More than 50% are unemployed (52.6%, 82 persons), and about 80% are submitted to insecure working conditions. Consequently, about 50% of the residents receive governmental social benefits according to the National Basic Life Security Act.

2. Household Economy Status

1) Household Income

The average monthly income of residents in the most recent three month span was close

to 470,000 won (approximately US\$303). As the residents become older, their income declines (see table II-1). So regarding income, in particular households in their 30's and 40's gain more income from jobs in comparison to households in their 50's and 60's, who depend more on public or private transferred funds.

Table II-1: General Average Income per Month by Age (Won)

	30's	40's	50's	60's	70's
job income	39.58	40.63	27.65	14.88	4.29
social benefits	16.31	14.44	13.83	15.06	26.46
public transfer income	.00	.64	.16	.69	.91
donations	.00	.67	.00	1.72	.85
income from other relatives	.00	.00	1.02	1.55	1.54
social insurance	.00	1.12	.82	.00	3.36
other	.00	.20	.00	.00	.00
general average income per month	55.89	58.02	42.67	33.41	37.23
household	12	51	49	29	14

2) Housing Affordability

Jjokbangs charge daily or monthly rent. Usually the monthly rent is set around 214,000 won, and the daily rent around 7,000 won. However, as I have noted before, these rent costs weigh down heavily on the income of the residents, because most of them are daily laborers or unemployed persons.

“It’s very difficult to pay my rent regularly... If I pay my rent, then I can’t buy anything else but my food...” (N, age 73, male)

As often is the case, some residents are behind in rent payment because it is difficult to pay rent regularly due to their insecure job conditions. 30.1% of all households have had experience with overdue payments. Actually, non-public beneficiaries (37.3%) are more often due than those receiving public assistance (22.7%). We can therefore assume that non-public beneficiaries have more difficulties in paying the rent needed to live in this area.

Generally in Korea, when a household is spending over 30% of their monthly income on rent, they are considered to be residing in housing poverty. In fact, the burden on housing affordability increases as the householder becomes older (see Table II -2).

Table II-2: Housing Affordability per Age (person / %)

Rent to Income	30's		40's		50's		60's		70's	
	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%
less than 30%	4	36.4	13	26.0	8	17.4	1	3.8	-	-
30% to 50%	2	18.2	14	28.0	9	19.6	8	30.8	6	42.9
50% to 70%	4	36.4	14	28.0	25	54.3	11	42.3	6	42.9
70% to 100%	1	9.1	8	16.0	2	4.3	3	11.5	-	-
over 100%	-	-	1	2.0	2	4.3	3	11.5	2	14.3
Total	11	100	50	100	46	100	26	100	14	100

3. Health and Social Service

According to the respondents, there are many difficulties regarding health problems.

This is understood from the fact that more than half of them suffer from physical disabilities (28.8%) and chronic diseases (65.4%). Especially the elderly are inflicted with a high disease compared to the younger, whereas those suffering chronic disease are in need of constant treatment. It is therefore safe to suppose that most residents are in high need of medical services, but there are crucial problems regarding access to these kinds of services since they cannot move freely.

“I have to see the doctor but I cannot go to clinic without somebody assisting me. It is really problematic that no volunteers visit these areas.” (X, age 53, male).

Thus, it is obvious that medical expenses are one of the factors which weigh down on the family budget.

“I need money for many things. I have to buy bandages, medicines, cotton, etc. In order to buy like these, I have to pay 250,000 won per month. If I do so, I will be using up half of my income ... When I couldn't pay my rent before, I was instructed to vacate my room.” (B, age 42, male).

Because of their economic insecurity, whenever they get sick they usually go to the drugstore (24.2%) or a free-of-charge clinic (18.1%). From these data, we can suppose that most of the residents don't have access to formal medical services.

Jjogbang counseling centers however play important roles for the residents as they offer various social services to the area. Pertaining to this, more than half of the residents (57.3%) have responded that they have been using the center's services.

The service they use most is free meals (49.5%) because many of the Jjokbang residents are single elderly man.

“It is too much troublesome for me to make a meal every day.” (M, age 69, male).

In regard to the responds regarding service needs, free meals (25.2%) were the highest, followed by job counseling (12.9%) and medical examination (10.8%).

The average low incomes of the residents seem to be very problematic because the Jjokbang rents have become more expensive, resulting in the fact that they cannot purchase anything else after rent payment. The high need for medical services might therefore also be a result of their low income.

The poor networking with outer resources has a negative effect on job counseling although the residents are in need of such more specialized job introduction. As some of the residents pointed out, they don't just merely want to receive financial aid but also want to work so they can contribute to the community as much as possible.

“Do you think that if the government would just provide us some money that the decline of this area will be solved? I have to admit that I also have to receive social benefits ... but ... if we would have the chance to join a skill training program to get jobs, we would rather do this so we can be self-reliant and also contribute to this area's development.” (S, age 47, male).

Furthermore, they also insist that it devise to be contributed for their area through the work.

“The government should provide us training so we can work by ourselves, rather than handing out only money. By providing us work, we will be able to appreciate the value of money. We can imagine various kinds of work that would fit us, such as cleaning jobs focusing on this area and construction jobs in the renewal projects for this area, which should be based on a contract with the local government. If this would be realized, we

could have pride in living this area when the development of this area turns out to be successful.” (H, age 51, male).

Other responses are: support for the living costs, support for personal belongings and also a partner or counselor to discuss about the aspects of daily life’.

4. Work Life

Only half of the households (49.4%) responded that they haven’t worked within the last three months. Regarding age, residents in their 40’s (58.8%) and 50’s (62.0%) are working. The average monthly income of households is approximately 280,000 won (in 2007, the national average monthly earned income was 3,443,000 won).

In spite of the high level of job participation and the will to work, the residents always remain on a low income. That means that they are part of the working poor and this might explain why they aren’t very much inclined to take on a job.

In addition, the reasons not to work were recently also because of physical disability, health problems (68.4%) and age (20.3%).

“When I was living in my home town, I was able to find a job regardless of age. In Seoul, however, if I go to a private employment introduction agency, the first thing they asked me was about my age. I think this is the reason why there are so much people unemployed in Seoul.” (U, age 57, male).

5. Housing Life

The average period of residing in a Jjokbang is 8.42 years. This means that the residents have been living in such areas relatively for a long time. Furthermore, the former housing type of residence are monthly rental apartments without deposit (17.6%), sleeping rough (11.8%), welfare institutions and shelters (11.1%), monthly tenures with deposit (10.5%), owned housing and hostels (each 9.8%).

It is striking that monthly rented apartments without deposit and rough sleeping are the most common type of housing before moving into a Jjogbang. In other words, the Jjogbang both fulfill the role of preventing vulnerable people from more decrepit housing and falling into homelessness. Considering the fact that 52.3% of the respondents have ever experienced rough sleeping, it is clear that the Jjogbang can prevent vulnerable people to become rough sleepers.

“I am relieved to have found a roof over my head. Now I can also have a cleaner appearance in public.” (M, age 69, male).

Inadequate shared facilities such as toilets, kitchens, and showers might be of the most inconveniences to the residents (Figure II-1). Most residents pointed out the lack of personal facilities (22.8%). It is very problematic for the residents to use the shared facilities because on average there is but one facility set up in a single building.

“I have no shower room and also no kitchen, therefore I must cook my food in my room but it is too small. ... Only by laying down diagonally I can sleep in a normal position. I guess my floor space is about 0.7 pyong” (X, age 65, male).

The tiny floor spaces are also one factor of which the residents feel inconvenient of. Generally speaking, the floor space is very narrow, and there is no common space in the building. In order to access their room, they have to go through the narrow corridors and steeply slanting stairs. This forms a big barrier for the elderly and disabled people.

Fighting and shouting between residents (48.6%) was raised as the most inconvenient problem (see Figure II-2). The voices of the residents are not that noisy in the entire area but rather concentrated in a small district near the off-license store. Second is the problem of garbage stench (15.2%) and third is discrimination by others (14.7%). Others problems are related to the shortage of recreational facilities (7.6%), welfare institutions (5.4%) and lack of security (4.4%).

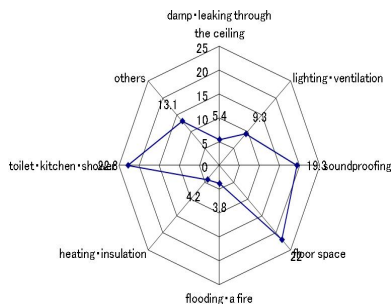
When questioning about the most satisfying factor of living in a Jjogbang, the most common responds were: being able to escape rough sleeping (17.5%) and ‘nothing’.

“We are living in a substandard hostel, but thanks to this we don’t have to sleep rough anymore ... Because here in this Jjogbang, we live as it is our own home” (Q, age 59, female).

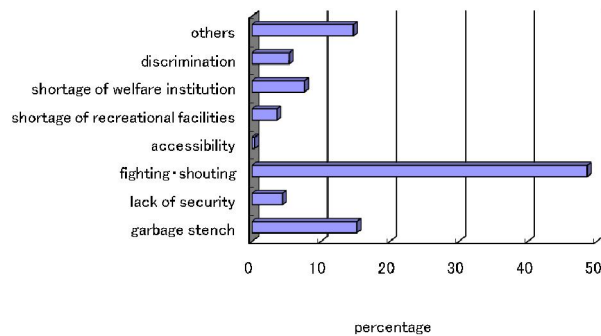
Next was the low rent (15.3%). Obviously there are lots of problems, especially relating to housing and the living environment, but the Jjogbang are the most affordable housing for the residents considering their income, and moreover, it might also prevent them from falling into further extreme housing conditions, thereby functioning as a sort of housing safety-net.

Finally, when questioning about future living, the Jjogbang residents were divided

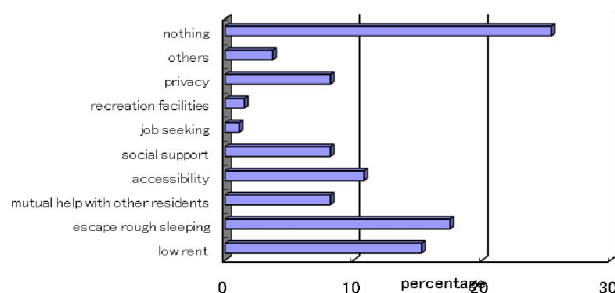
into two groups: It seems that the Jjogbang fulfill the function of an affordable housing stock for the residents. From Table II-3, we can understand that the elder residents prefer to continue living in their present Jjogbang, in comparison to the younger age groups who would rather like to move out. Despite experiencing many difficulties when living in a Jjogbang, the elderly and disabled who have many social needs can get access to various social resources and services by living in this area. There are but few merits to move to another area for them because they have been living in the same place for a long time. Considering this troublesome task to move other place it is naturally for them to remain living continuously in the same place.



[Figure II-1]
Most Inconvenient Facilities



[Figure II-2]
Most Inconveniences Regarding Housing



[Figure II-3]
Most Satisfying Factors

Table II-3: Resident's Preference to Continue Living in current Jjogbang per Age Group

	30's		40's		50's		60's		Total	
	Persons	%	Persons	%	Persons	%	Persons	%	Persons	%
Yes	3	25	21	41.2	24	48	28	65.1	76	48.7
No	9	75	30	58.8	26	52	15	34.9	80	51.3
Total	12	100	51	100	50	100	43	100	156	100

IV. Conclusion: The Direction of Area Regeneration in the Socially Disadvantaged Areas

It is necessary to respond to social exclusion caused by the concentration of social disadvantages. The social exclusion approach means not only a lack of disposable income in monetary terms as a result, but also focuses on the character in which relations and processes are centered. It is also important to adequately distinguish the differences between discrimination and exclusion caused by the local concentration of those who are socially disadvantaged, and the deprivation caused by the restricted accessibility to markets and services. Notwithstanding, we should also pay attention to the positive functions that provide the residents a secure living in this same area, because they are a socially homogeneous group.

Table III-1: Area Effects (+/- Factors)

Disadvantages Relating to the Concentration of Socially Disadvantaged Households	Advantages Relating the Low Costs of Rental hostels and Homogeneity of Residents
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • alcohol consumption and fighting between residents (lack of role models) • limited social services (e.g.: soup kitchen and other material aids) • social discrimination and isolation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • homogeneity of living experiences • a last resort for destitute households • first step to escape rough sleeping • easy access to social services

As such, we can distinguish two factors, which are plus and minus factors related to area effects. In case of the relatively younger age groups, these are dismayed because they don't

have any opportunities to participate in the formal society and thus are not able to envision or plan their future while living in this area. It is possibly therefore that their anti-social behavior escalates in ways of heavy drinking, fighting and shouting to each other. To build a support system for this area, the residents pointed out that a status quo should be maintained but that there should be more positive support to escape their present conditions.

On the other hand, the elderly, disabled and diseased people strongly hope to live with some forms of relief as many of them think Jjogbang area are the last resort for them.

“It is impossible for me to move to another place. Even if I could move to elsewhere, I don’t think there would be any other place like this one... It might be required to pay over 2,000,000 won as deposit when I find a decent house for me. I will not be able to live like I do now.” (B, age 55, male)

Because of the low rent costs, most of the residents are able to live in this area. Therefore the Jjogbang can serve as a way to escape homelessness as quasi-housing since most residents have experienced rough sleeping before.

Based on the results from this survey, the author would like suggest a hypothetical direction for the regeneration of socially disadvantaged areas like the Jjogbang ones.

First, there is effective support from private sectors, such as Jjogbang counseling centers but there should be more networking between them and with other sectors in order to contribute to the area regeneration.

Second, some residents prefer to live continuously in the same area. Therefore, the area regeneration should be implemented by a ‘community care approach’, because some residents, most of who are elderly, disabled and diseased people, prefer to live continuously in this area. Further integration should be acquired by not just providing donations but by also carrying out community-based comprehensive services. As for their health needs, they would like remain living here because they can get forms of relief. The Jjogbang play an important role for the residents as a last resort functioning as quasi-housing.

Third, others aspire to move out to formal areas once they have secured a job. It is crucial that the residents are not just provided with cash but also can have means to find a job so they can contribute to the improvement of their living environment. For instance, if they are able to obtain a contract at the local construction sites, introduced by the local government, they could have an income and engage in the improvement of their area environment. This constitutes a second direction for area regeneration, being an ‘area regeneration approach for the area’s self-reliance’.

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