

Living Reality of Jjok-Bang Residents and Aid Measures -In Focus of Bupyeong-gu, Incheon

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to investigate the living reality of jjok-bang residents of Sipjeong-dong, Bupyeong-gu, Incheon, and find measures of community social work to support them. Based on the precedent research on jjok-bang's creation, characteristics, and lifestyle of its residents, this study presents the results of an interview survey addressed to 132 residents living in 216 Sipjeong1-dong, Bupyeong-gu, the largest jjok-bang area in Incheon. The research was conducted by ten members of the "Sunshine" Community Center of Sipjeong-dong with constructed questionnaire. Results indicated that 74.2% of the participants were female, and 56.1% aged over 60. Despite the poor living conditions, 77% of them hoped to reside in jjok-bang continually and the most urgent problems to be resolved were housing environment, economic problems such as unemployment and a shortage of welfare facilities. The study emphasizes jjok-bang as a place of home for the residents and advocating both individual and community efforts to ameliorate the local environment of jjok-bang.

Key words: *jjok-bang, poor, jjok-bang residents, social safety.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Jjok-bang is a form of poor housing that has rapidly increased since the foreign exchange crisis in the 1990s. Nowadays the development of jjok-bang is associated with the increasing number of homeless people and it displays a different form of habitation from that of the past which resembled more of a slum. That is, the jjok-bang has advanced to embrace the socioeconomic problems related with urbanization. A thorough understanding of socioeconomic reality of its residents serve as important references in identifying the seriousness of urban housing problem and setting directions for housing policies.

The present government estimates 9,000 jjok-bangs nationwide. Jjok-bang is the last choice of residence for the desperate poor who are not capable of paying deposit for private rental apartment. Many jjok-bangs locate in downtown areas, which creates an attractive option for the poor households, while, at the same time, confine them to the pressure of the possible redevelopment. Further, growing number of areas which were originally not meant to be used for

development in accords to the ground plan face the risk of being demolished for parks, roads and green belts[1].

Yet, until now, the research on the jjok-bang area has only been conducted in a limited perspective. Korea Center for City and Environment Research investigated the situation of jjok-bang area in Seoul and Ministry of Health & Welfare · Seoul Government to develop housing policies [2],[3]. In 2005, Korea Center for City and Environment Research, also implemented a thorough research on living conditions of jjok-bang residents in major cities nationwide [4].

As the word 'jjok-bang resident' explains, the jjok-bang area is a poor residential district with a number of problems. Previous studies only targeted on providing aid to individual jjok-bang residents with social service and considering ways in replacing the jjok-bang area with a new land by moving out the former residents[5]. Despite the fact that jjok-bang is not a adequate housing condition, its meaning to the residents should be encompassed in research.

The jjok-bang remains as a home town to the residents until they decide or are forced out to migrate and therefore, community social work to improve their living conditions should be accounted. The aim of this study is to investigate the reality of jjok-bang residents of Sipjeong-dong, Bupyeong-gu, Incheon and find measures of regional welfare to support them.

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2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Jjok-bang’s History and Characteristics

Jjok-bang is naturally-occurring slum towns. Historically, homes for the poor have been shanty towns in the 60-70s, vinyl greenhouses in the 80s and since 90s, jjok-bangs, public rental housing, basement rental room and recently added, Gosiwon studios [6]. Jjok-bang area was created as scattered illegal housings gathered together and gradually became ‘slum-sized’ in process of urban development. Some jjok-bangs are constructed of bricks and cement blocks, and some of soil and boards. While buildings permitted for construction such as inns·motels, factories, dormitories, commercial buildings, are made of solid materials such as bricks, the rest are wooden in which the walls are constituted of boards or soil. As more rooms were artificially added for each house as to intrude the alleys, jjok-bang has a trait of having very narrow pathways. Jjok-bang does serve as a place of residence but resembles a form of a temporal lodgment which fails to satisfy the minimum standards of housing[7].

The origin of the word ‘jjok-bang’ is not known but as can be implied literally from the name, it is assumed to have been used to mean dividing one room into pieces or to emphasize the small size of the room. Jjok-bang has begun to gain attention since IMF crisis when the number of homeless rapidly increased and they began to use it to stay for a night [2]. However, the definite concept of jjok-bang has not been officially agreed. It is not only because people have been casually using the word from the past but also because it did not emerge as a matter of political discussions until recently. The reason for vagueness of jjok-bang’s definition can also be attributed to different creations, forms and usages of jjok-bang from region to region. The table below shows this difference of the definition of ‘jjok-bang’ in local and institutional aspects[8].

Table 1. Local-Institutional Definition of Jjok-bang

	Definition	Note
Incheon	Residential facility only for lodgment(without personal toilet, laundry room, kitchen)	Considers residential facility important, including private Housing
Busan	Old inns or rooms paid daily (average 7,000won)/monthly (average 100,000won) without deposit.	-Mainly, inns·motels -Clearly presents occupied forms of housing
Daegu	Cheap residence facility paid either daily or monthly that is used by singles or family whose job requires moving different places times to times.	-Includes physical-economical traits of residents -Includes family units
Daejeon	① For single, a room under 0.5-3 pyeong. For family, a room under 1pyeong per person. ② House priced below daily rent 10,000won, Monthly rent	-Considers socioeconomic traits of residents -Includes leased and private housings -Includes family units

	150,000won, lease 5,000,000won or priced 10,000,000won., ③ Private housing, inns, illegal buildings without subsidiary facilities ④ Housing for minimum wage workers and the unemployed.	
KCCER	Extra facility for lodging other than a house that does not require a lease contract to be paid daily or monthly.	-Does not consider member units, private or leased housing -Includes traits of residential facilities & residents’ socioeconomic status
Ministry of Welfare	Space of 3.3m ² that does not have necessary facilities such as toilet, bathroom, kitchen and an instable form of housing that is paid daily or monthly.	-Emphasizes the physical traits but redefined in a generalized concept.

*Source :

National Jjok-bang Rejuvenation Forum(2007) 「Open Forum for Jjok-bang Residents’ Stable Housing」·Ministry of Welfare (2007) 「Demand Survey on Living Supports for Jjok-bang Residents」 [9][10].

Although jjok-bang does not comply with the minimum standards of housing, its significance to the residents surpasses that of a physical place to sleep a night because the social relations formed around the community has transcend economical values. Moreover, destruction of jjok-bang without specific migration plans would result in decrease of available housing options for the poor households. It is more probable they would be involuntarily moved to more deprived environment and obligated to surrender another necessary for daily life to compensate the housing fee[1]. Therefore, jjok-bang problems should be approached from a long-term perspective.

2.2 Living Reality of Jjok-bang Residents

According to a study by Seong-Gyu Ha of 156 residents in Doni-dong, Jongro-gu, Seoul, 91.7% of the jjok-bang were single households, 48.15% were on welfare and 52.6%, were unemployed The same study also reported that an average monthly income were approximately was 465,000won and 65.4% responded to suffer chronic disease. Average years of residence was approximately 8years. The major complaints on jjok-bang were “loud singing · neighbor fights (48.6%)”, “foul odor · illegal rubbish disposal (15.2%)”, “a lack of welfare facilities (7.6%)” but larger part of residents indicated a cheap housing fee for the satisfactory point. Most cited needs for social services were food aid, employment and regular health examinations respectively [5].

In accords to the report of Korea’s Center for City and Environmental Research, 66.3% of jjok-bang residents hope to live continually in their homes but mention its many drawbacks. The inconveniences pointed out were for summer; humidity, water leak, heat, insufficient ventilation, insects as cockroaches,

bathroom facilities, difficulty in storing food and for winter; heating, insulation, cooking facilities, lowly bathroom facilities, fire risk, weak soundproof system, overexposure of sunlight. Complains regardless of whether were loud singing, illegal rubbish disposal, deficiency of welfare service and general public disorders such as theft. Most mentioned social service needs included medical aid with regular health examinations, job consultation, food aid, improvement on bathroom facilities, connection to financial aids and provision of housing information [4].

Difficulties other than housing, employment and income experienced by jjok-bang residents are marked as unsanitary environment and resulting diseases. The majority of jjok-bang environments are unhygienic and more than half of the residents were observed to suffer from chronic diseases without receiving appropriate medical care. Moreover, the residents were found to show low self-esteem and limited social relations [2],[11]-[13].

According to a study conducted in Daegu, its jjok-bang residents were the low-educated below elementary school the low-income bracket under average monthly earnings of 500,000won, and the elderly aged above 60. Through the interview, it was observed that once moved in, it was difficult for the residents to escape out of jjok-bang and that various factors such as deteriorating health, lack of personal space in family were identified as factors that make the resident to live up to poverty[14].

A report on jjok-bang in Dongja-dong, Seoul revealed that monthly income approximately 460,000won, their average monthly housing expense 180,000won, and thus their net monthly income only 280,000won. For average jjok-bang rooms of 1.8 pyeong size, 75.6% were not furnished with kitchen, 39.6% with proper bathroom facilities, 21.8% with heating systems and only 88.4% equipped public toilets. In regards to their social lives, the relations between neighbors played the greatest part among their limited and shallow social networks [15].

2.3. Residents and Community of Jjok-bang

As urban renewal progresses rapidly, many jjok-bangs have already disappeared and the remaining ones are destined to meet the same fate in the near future. Thanks to this renewal, those slum areas could be erased from the city map, but people who lived there couldn't simply vanish into thin air. They have just moved to another wretched place and made their living in poverty. Therefore, this way of home improvement process based on urban planning does good only for the mainstream society not for the poor people living in jjok-bang[16][17].

It implies that not only the individual support for the residents of jjok-bang but also the welfare support for the whole community is needed. Although most residents of jjok-bang are eager to escape from it seeking a living for themselves in a better place, they must be provided with substantial and effective aid with better living environment until they actually leave the place[18]. Precedent studies have suggested that the chronic problem of jjok-bang is that vacant houses are often used for the juvenile delinquencies causing crimes and even fire.

Besides being used as a residence, jjok-bang is also a place for productive economic activities. For instance, residents of jjok-bang in Mansukdong Incheon earn their livings by shelling oysters near their living quarters [19]. Including establishing a community workroom in 2011 and forming a consultative group for home improvement, various community activities have been initiated[20]. 'Sunshine' community of Sipjeong-dong Incheon has been employing wide range of activities like running a community school and conducting surveys on community issues [21].

3. METHODS

3.1 Participants

The respondents of the present study were recruited from 150 households of the representative jjok-bang city located in Sipjeong1-dong 216, Bupyeong-gu, through a random sampling technique.

3.2 Data collection procedures

Face-to-face interviews took place in each jjok-bang household by 10 trained interviewers who were jjok-bang residents themselves and also were members of the Sipjeong1-dong Community Center "Sunshine" The survey period lasted two months from October 2011 to November 2011.

3.3 Instruments

The survey contained questions on housing · living environment, awareness of local community and other personal affairs. The queries were developed and proofread with the help of the members of "Sunshine" Community Center.

3.4 Data Analysis

Out of 150 surveys, in exception to those that lacked appropriate responses, 132 were used for data analysis. The skill analysis (average, frequency), T-test and correlation analysis were done by SPSS 19.0

4. RESULTS

4.1 Demographic Information

25.8% of the sample were males and 74.2% were females.

Table 2. Sex

Sex	Frequency	Percent
Male	34	25.8
Female	98	74.2
Total	132	100.0

For the age of the sample, the proportion of the elderly is high with 33 subjects in the 60s (25.0%), 31 in the 70s (23.5%), and 30 in the 50s (22.7%). Such result corresponds to the high ratio of the elderly in Incheon jjok-bang area.

Table 3. Age

Age	Frequency	Percent
20s	1	0.8
30s	10	7.6
40s	17	12.9
50s	30	22.7
60s	33	25.0
70s	31	23.5
Above 80s	10	7.6
Total	132	100.0

For the average monthly household income of the group, 'below 500,000won' were the majority with 44 people (34.1%), 'between 500,000won and 1,000,000won' were 40 people (23.3%), making in total, 57.1% of the subjects living under average monthly income below 1,000,000won.

Table 4. Average Monthly Household Income

Income	Frequency	Percent
Below 500,000won	44	34.1
500,000-1,000,000won	30	23.3
1,000,000-1,500,000won	18	14.0
1,500,000-2,000,000won	14	10.9
2,000,000-2,500,000won	12	9.3
2,500,000-3,000,000won	6	4.7
Above 3,000,000won	5	3.9
Total	129	100.0

For the employment status, 'unemployment' with 32 people (24.6%) marked highest, the second rank was 'self-employed' with 29 people (22.3%) and the third was 'daily employee' with 24 people (18.5%).

Table 5. Householders' Job

Job	Frequency	Percent
Regular Employee	18	13.8
Temporary Employee	10	7.7
Daily Employee	24	18.5
Self-Employed	29	22.3
Under Workfare Scheme/ Job-Producing Projects	2	1.5
Unemployed	32	24.6
Others	15	11.5
Total	130	100.0

4.2 Housing and Living Environment

For the years of residence in the current house, 23.5% reported '21-30years' and 73.4% of the sample resided over 10years. An average year of residence was 22.7 years indicating that the majority of residents have been long-term residents of jjok-bang.

Table 6. Residing period in the current house

Years	Frequency	Percent
5yrs below	15	11.4
6-10yrs below	20	15.2
11-20yrs below	26	19.7

21-30yrs below	31	23.5
31-40yrs below	26	19.7
Above 41yrs	14	10.6
Total	132	100.0

96 respondents (72.7%) lived in single/multi-family house and 22 subjects either lived in commercial buildings or in store residences.

Table 7. Housing Form and Environment

Housing Forms	Frequency	Percent
Single/Multi-Family House	96	72.7
Town/Multiplex House	14	10.6
Commercial Buildings/ Store Residences	22	16.7
Total	132	100.0

For the housing ownership, self-possession marked 53.0% with 70 people, lease 29.5% with 39 people and warranted monthly rent 9.1% with 12 people.

Table 8. Housing Tenure Status

Housing Tenure Status	Frequency	Percent
Self-Possession	70	53.0
Lease	39	29.5
Warranted Monthly Rent	12	9.1
Monthly Rent	6	4.5
No Charge	5	3.8
Total	132	100.0

For the area of exclusive use space in current house, the residents inhabiting in a room 'below 15-20pyeong' occupied the most part with 36 people (28.8%) and 'below 10pyeong' with 14 people (11.2%). In exception to Seoul, the area of living space is, in general, comparatively measured as more extensive than actual. Thus, it must be acknowledged that despite the seemingly large-estimated area of the house, the other living conditions are destitute.

Table 9. Area of Exclusive Use Space in Current House

Area	Frequency	Percent
Below 10pyeong	14	11.2
Below 10-15pyeong	19	15.2
Below 15-20pyeong	36	28.8
Below 20-25pyeong	23	18.4
Above 25pyeong	33	26.4
Total	125	100.0

In analysis of the responses on internal facilities in currently residing houses, it was found out that cases in which there were no living rooms were 7.7%, shared usage were 2.3%, no kitchen were 1.6%, shared usage was 0.8%, and 8.9% were still operated in a traditional system.

For toilets, 4.8% were shared usage cases, none was 0.8%, and traditional methods were used by 24 people (19.2%). Cases in which there were no bathroom facilities were 22.0%, shared usage was 0.8% and non-heating system was 21.7%.

Entrance doors were mostly exclusively used but 5.6% of the respondents indicated shared use. For the heating systems, oil-operated were used by 2/3 of residents (88people, 69.8%), briquettes by 19 people (15.1%), city gas by 15 people (11.9%) and lastly, the gas by 4 people (3.2%).

Table 10. Internal Facilities and Kinds in the Current House

Facility	Category	Response	Total
Living Room	Form	Single-used (117/90.0%)	130/ 100.0%
		Shared (3/2.3%)	
		None (10/7.7%)	
Kitchen	Form	Single-used (126/97.7%)	129/ 100.0%
		Shared (1/0.8%)	
		None (2/1.6%)	
	Kind	Stand-up (112/91.1%)	123/ 100.0%
		Traditional (11/8.9%)	
Toilet	Form	Single-used (118/94.4%)	125/ 100.0%
		Shared (6/4.8%)	
		None (1/0.8%)	
	Kind	Flushing Toilet (101/80.8%)	125/ 100.0%
		Traditional (24/19.2%)	
Bathroom Facilities	Form	Single-used (98/77.2%)	127/ 100.0%
		Shared (1/0.8%)	
		None (28/22.0%)	
	Kind	Heating (90/78.3%)	115/ 100.0%
		Non-heating (25/21.7%)	
Entrance	Form	Single-used (118/94.4%)	125/ 100.0%
		Shared (7/5.6%)	
Heating System	Form	Briquette (19/15.1%)	126/ 100.0%
		Oil (88/69.8%)	
		Gas (4/3.2%)	
		City Gas (15/11.9%)	

The primary improvements needed in the house were firstly, installation of city gas(37.0%), secondly, amelioration of living environment in worry of the collapse of ceilings(25.0%), thirdly, rain leak problem(11.1%) and fourthly, slopes, narrow pathways, road destructions(10.2%). The installation of city gas chosen as the most urgent issue despite the heavy burden of heating bills the residents have to bear, is explained for the high proportion of usage of oil-fired boiler. Such interpretation implies that high effective-low cost energy should above all be affordable to the low-income group.

Table 11. Primary Improvements to be Done in Current House

Improvements	Frequency	Percent
Installation of City Gas	40	37.0
Rain Leak	12	11.1
Ameliorating Living Environment (Collapse of ceiling, house...)	27	25.0
Local Environment (Narrow Alleys, Slopes, Roads)	11	10.2
Reconstruction of Toilet	7	6.5
Water and Sewage	5	4.6
Others	6	5.5

Total	108	100.0

4.3 Awareness of Local Community

For the reasons of living in jjok-bang, the cheap housing price ranked first, as answered by 57 people (43.8%) and the second was due to job (22.3%).

Table 12. Reasons for Living in Jjok-Bang

Reasons	Frequency	Percent
Hometown	4	3.1
Job	29	22.3
Good Living Conditions	4	3.1
Cheap Housing Price	57	43.8
Convenient Transportation	2	1.5
Relatives/Neighbors	9	6.9
Others	25	19.3
Total	130	100.0

For the question on the intention to live continually in the currently residing house, 'yes' was stated by 76 people (57.6%) and 'very much yes' by 26people (19.7%). In total, 77% of the residents expressed their hope to stay in jjok-bang.

Table 13. Intention to Live Continually

Response	Frequency	Percent
Very Much Yes	26	19.7
Yes	76	57.6
So-So	8	6.1
No	10	7.6
Very Much No	12	9.1
Total	132	100.0

The neighborhood problems of the jjok-bang area cited by the respondents were first, housing and living environment (4.52/5); secondly economic problems such as unemployment, low-income (4.48/5); and thirdly, a lack of welfare facilities (4.12/5).

Table 14. Awareness of Community Issues

Issues	N	Min	Max	Mean	S.D.
Lack of Welfare Facilities	132	2.00	5.00	4.12	.84
Lack of Healthcare Facilities	132	2.00	5.00	3.87	1.02
Economic Problems (Unemployment · Low Income)	132	2.00	5.00	4.48	.73
Environment · Pollution (rubbish disposal, smog)	132	2.00	5.00	3.75	1.01
Low-quality Education	132	1.00	5.00	3.23	.88
Public Orders(theft)	132	2.00	5.00	3.84	.91
School Violence, Juvenile	132	2.00	5.00	3.28	.74

Delinquents					
Harmful Environment for the Adolescence	132	2.00	5.00	3.57	.87
Housing · Living Environment	132	2.00	5.00	4.52	.69
The issue on the gap between the rich & the poor	132	1.00	5.00	3.90	1.12

*5 score scale; 1: Very Good, 2: Good, 3: Normal, 4: Serious, 5: Very Serious; A higher score indicates greater perceived seriousness.

For the inconveniences of the community and improvements needed to be done, 34 people (31.5%) pointed out the branching of adolescents' crime-ridden districts due to a number of unoccupied houses, 19 people (17.6%) responded for improvements on community environments such as installing street-lights and widening roads, 18 people (16.7%) expressed concerns for possible collapse of old buildings and 17 people (15.7%) on other public issues such as theft in vacant homes. As seen in Table 15, adolescents' crime-ridden district and public orders (=47.2%), the high proportion of empty homes is manifested as the illustrative problem of jjok-bang.

Table 15. Inconveniences of the Community · Improvements Need to be Done.

Inconveniences/Improvements	Frequency	Percent
Adolescents' Crime-Ridden Districts	34	31.5
Public Disorders(theft)	17	15.7
Redevelopment	3	2.8
Rubbish Disposal	3	2.8
Collapse of Old Buildings	18	16.7
Transportation	1	0.9
Lack of Amenities	5	4.6
Improving Community Environment	19	17.6
Improving Water Supply·Sewerage	2	1.9
Parking	4	3.7
Others	2	1.9
Total	108	100.0

Local issues in summer were 1) water leak responded by 39 people (36.1%), 2) concern on collapse of ceiling by 28 people (25.9%) and 3), foul odor due to rubbish disposal by 15 people (13.9%).

Table 16. Local Issues in Summer

Issues	Frequency	Percent
Collapse(House, Embankment)	28	25.9
Drainage System (water supply, sewerage)	11	10.2
Rain leak	39	36.1
Insects · Diseases	9	8.3
Rubbish · Foul Odor	15	13.9
Heat (Ventilation) Issue	4	3.7
Others	2	1.9
Total	108	100.0

Local issues in winter were 1) regional · environmental problems such as slippery and iced roads responded by 48 people(40.7%), 2) overpriced heating bill due to expensive oil fee by 42 people(35.6%) and 3) concerns with coldness such as draft in old buildings by 16 people(13.6%).

Table 17. Local Issues in Winter

Issues	Frequency	Percent
Heating Bill (Expensive Oil Fee)	42	35.6
Water Pipe Freeze	5	4.2
Local Environment (Slippery, iced uphill)	48	40.7
Coldness(Old buildings, draft)	16	13.6
Collapse of Ceiling due to snow	5	4.2
Vacant House(arson)	2	1.7
Total	118	100.0

In spite of these numerous problems, the biggest reason in favor of jjok-bang was found out to be "jeong(a special affection)" among neighbors as responded by 61 people(71.8%).

Table 18. Reason for Liking the Jjok-Bang

Reasons	Frequency	Percent
Jeong among the neighbors	61	71.8
Quiet and Comfortable	7	8.2
Cheap House Price	5	5.9
Convenient Transportation	4	4.7
Deep Attachment to the District	3	3.5
Closeness to Local Amenities (Park, Mountain, Church)	2	2.4
Hopeful Redevelopment	3	3.5
Total	85	100.0

On the other side, reasons for disliking the jjok-bang have been 1)old houses as answered by 12 people(25.0%), 2)incomplete local environment such as uphill, narrow alleys, steep stairways by 10 people(20.8%) and 3)public disorders such as theft, juvenile delinquency by 9 people(18.8%).

Table 19. Reason for Disliking the Jjok-bang

Reasons	Frequency	Percent
Old House	12	25.0
Financial Difficulties	6	12.5
Lack of Amenities (Physical Leisure)	2	4.2
Incomplete Local Environment (Uphill, Stairway, Alley)	10	20.8
Expensive Oil Price	2	4.2
Public Disorder (Theft, Juvenile Delinquency)	9	18.8
Foul odor · Rubbish disposal	7	14.6
Total	48	100.0

4.4 Attachment and Contentment Measurement

Resident's attachment to the community has been measured on a scale of 0 to 10. "0" means no attachment and "10" means

strong attachment to the community. The average level of attachment turned out to be 5.71.

T-test was employed using level of attachment as a dependent variable and gender, home ownership, opinion on urban renewal as independent variables.

Respondent's gender was statistically irrelevant to the attachment.

Home ownership showed meaningful implication on the attachment. Those who own a house marked 4.90 and those who don't 5.90. That means people without home ownership are more attached to the community.

On the issue of urban renewal, people who opposes to it (6.85) seem to feel stronger attachment to the community than the others (5.47).

Table 20. Attachment Measurement

Variables	Group	N	Mean	S.D.	T value
Gender	Male	34	5.47	2.16	.73
	Female	98	5.85	2.71	
Home Ownership	Landlord	70	4.90	1.86	2.06*
	Tenant	62	5.90	2.67	
Opinion on Urban Renewal	Pro	105	5.47	2.31	2.09*
	Con	27	6.85	3.24	

* P< .05 **P<.01

The average level of contentment to the community was 2.81 on Lickertis scale of 1 to 5. "1" means low contentment and "5" high contentment with the community.

T-test was implemented using the level of contentment as a dependent variable and gender, home ownership, opinion on urban renewal as independent variables.

According to the result, female respondents (3.01) showed higher contentment than the male ones (2.59).

On the issue of urban renewal, people who opposes to it (3.67) showed higher contentment with the community than the others (2.70).

But, ownership of the house was statistically irrelevant to the satisfaction to the community.

Table 21. Contentment Measurement

Variables	Group	N	Mean	S.D.	T value
Gender	Male	34	2.59	.96	2.02*
	Female	98	3.01	1.07	
Home Ownership	Landlord	70	2.60	.94	1.38
	Tenant	62	2.96	1.07	
Opinion on Urban Renewal	Pro	105	2.70	.92	3.85**
	Con	27	3.67	1.20	

* P< .05 **P<.01

Correlation analysis between attachment and contentment reveals that there exists statistically meaningful relationship between them with 99% confidence level and the Pearson coefficient is .473.

Table 22. Correlation between Attachment and Contentment

Classification		Pearson Coefficient
Attachment to the Community	Contentment with the Community	.473**

* P< .05 **P<.01

5. DISCUSSION

This study examined the actual living conditions of jjok-bang and explored measures on providing community social work to the residents through conducting interviews to 132 residents of Sipjeong-dong, Bupyeong-gu, Incheon. Of the research participants, 74.2% were female, and 56.1% were aged over 60. The most pressing problems need to be resolved were housing and living environment, financial problems such as unemployment and a shortage of welfare facilities, however, despite these poor living and regional environment 77% of the subjects still hoped to reside continually.

The tenants who opposes to urban renewal showed stronger attachment to jjok-bang community and female respondents opposing urban renewal were more contented with the community. In addition to these findings, this study also reveals that there exists statistically meaningful relationship between attachment to the jjok-bang community and contentment to it.

Based on the outcomes, the study proposes following aid measures for jjok-bang residents.

Firstly, it should be recognized that the current jjok-bang serves as the only home for the urban poor. The majority of jjok-bang residents were identified not as temporary lodgers living on the brink of becoming homeless but as native habitants who have stayed there for several decades since the Korea War (1950-53). Although jjok-bang has lost most of its function associative support networks, it still provides the residents independent living and even offers them comfort. In physical and environmental aspects, it is undeniably an inadequate housing for residents' stable lives but considering their economic situation and their history since arrival at jjok-bang, deconstructing jjok-bang should not be the focus. Instead it is more reasonable to regard jjok-bang issues as housing problems of the urban poor and their hardships in maintaining daily subsistence rather than problems of certain areas in a city. That is, a potential solution to jjok-bang would only be possible when it develops to a residence that adheres to minimum housing standards without an increase in its housing bill and at the same time, retains its role as the "safety net for the homeless."

Secondly, long-term project should be planned for jjok-bang to gradually meet the necessary basic living standards; allocation of fire extinguishers to prevent negligent accidents, periodic electricity · gas examinations sterilization during summer to prevent spread of epidemics, and installation of heating systems during winter. General public disorders must be resolved as well. Jjok-bang residents are especially worried about possible fire risks and other dangers that could be caused by the homeless and juvenile delinquents illegally lodging in vacant houses. To reduce this anxiety, there should be a strong connection formed between the community and local fire

stations · police offices for regular administrations around the area to be done.

Thirdly, through partnership with the local job center, job consultation, provision of information and other employment related services must be accommodated for the unemployed of the jjok-bang to find appropriate jobs. It is important to offer appropriate information depending on the residents' age and past job experience and create partnerships with local agencies for job development the aged, and social welfare centers. Programs for co-working site for those who are not capable of working can be considered.

Fourthly, it is important to assist individual residents while providing local-level supports.. The reason they chose to stay in jjok-bang despite its deficient physical surroundings was the social relations formed around the community which meant beyond economical values. Thus, developing ways to reinforce such sense of belonging sense of community would be important, which in turn influence them to motivate them to participate in more organized community building efforts. Each jjok-bang resident's strengthened capacity would influence the redevelopment plans of jjok-bang area and accomplish success in realizing welfare policies for jjok-bang residents.

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