Article

University-Community Relations in Urban Regeneration: A Study on the Conflict Between Students and Residents and the Role of the University

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The purpose of the study was to examine the roles universities ought to play in campus-towns in rural areas in the process of urban generation. Findings show that students and local residents have different perceptions: while the students believe that universities ought to primarily focus on students' education and that the community should be more concerned with the students' needs, the locals were found to be disappointed with students' behavior, such as not keeping the community organized, and expected the students to play active roles as community agents and to respect local elders, while expecting the universities to bring a unique culture to the community. Ways in which cultural expectations and power imbalance influence the nature of the relationship between residents and students are discussed as well as the importance of communication and role of local government in initiating collaboration between various stakeholders are suggested. Lastly, implications and suggestions for further studies are provided.

Keywords: *university-community relations, urban regeneration, campus town, rural area, Korea*

Introduction

Cities in decline are seeking revitalization and many nations today are launching urban regeneration plans to bring economic, environmental, and social sustainability to such cities. Korea is no exception. With the establishment of the Special Act on Promotion of and Support for Urban Regeneration in 2013, a number of so-called leading locales have been selected to implement urban regeneration programs. Korea's New Deal project is a project specifically focused on underdeveloped locales where there is a dire need to revamp old residential areas and spur economic development. Jochiwon is one of these areas, and the locale was selected for the New Deal project in 2018.

However, Jochiwon is a unique setting as it is the host of two large four-year universities. Due to the wave of recent studies that have called on universities to do more where they are located, especially in areas that are in need of more social infrastructure, universities are attempting to be make their programs more visible. Moreover, scholars have identified four contributions universities need to make in their communities, namely, physical infrastructure, human resources, as well as economic and civic engagement. Moreover, examinations of the intersections between the function or roles of universities and urban regeneration have shown that universities ought to work towards bringing social and territorial cohesion to where they are located as part of their civic duty. Furthermore, studies have shown that excluding certain stakeholders from the decision-making process of urban regeneration delegitimize the decision-making process and negatively impact the full use of the transformed spaces.

However, the social aspect of universities' contributions has been largely overlooked in previous studies on urban regeneration in Korea, especially as the relationships between universities and local residents are complicated by power imbalances. That is, with only 10% of college students being allowed to live in on-campus facilities, a majority of students are left to find housing off campus where most of the dwellings are owned and operated by local residents. Because many students have no choice but to live in off-campus studio housing, many landlords gouge the prices while providing poor quality facilities. Therefore, the powerless students end up paying high prices. Most often, universities' decisions to build new dormitories are met with strong opposition on the part of community residents and because universities need local approval to expand their facilities, universities often

delay building dorms or build dorms far from their campus to avoid local friction. Thus, while universities are expected to function as community leaders, especially in underdeveloped rural areas, their role as such is also inhibited due to economic and socio-political factors which complicate their relationships with the community. While the participation of a university's student body as an important stakeholder in urban regeneration is critical in bringing economic and socio-political development, they face emotional and relational barriers in the process of civic participation.

Therefore, the purpose of this study is to investigate one such campus towns that faces these problems. By investigating the current status of the relationship between students and the local residents, we seek to highlight the roles universities can and ought to play in bringing social and territorial cohesion for stronger urban regeneration outcomes. Findings of the study contribute to the theory building process of urban regeneration as well as the practical implications of strengthening urban regeneration planning in nations that also face university-community conflicts. As this area of research is largely under-explored, the study uses in-depth interviews with students and residents to understand how they each perceive urban generation as well as their perception of universities' roles in urban regeneration.

Literature review

University-Community Relations

An effective partnership between a university and the local community where it is located has been known to be a vital part of community growth (Hastad and Tymeson 1997). Yet, community-university partnerships have long been known to be tumultuous (Baum 2000; Prins 2005). In fact, Prins argues that "tension and conflict are inherent in community-university partnerships" (p. 57). The conflict between universities and communities has largely been centered on two issues (see Bender 1988, 1998; Brunning et al. 2006; Goddard 1997; Robson et al. 1995). First, universities have traditionally been identified as entities which are detached from the community (Bender 1998). The university has identified itself as a part of the national and international academic and research communities. In this regard, Bender posits that "the university has always claimed the world, not its host city, as its domain" (Bender 1988, p. 294). In this respect, scholars argue that universities have played a vital role in nation-state identity building, namely,

in respect to creating cultural values (Readings 1996).

The second issue is that universities do not do much to benefit the community and local residents (Dewar and Issac 1998. Many universities in the US adopted the campus model that developed between 1945 and 1990 (McGrirr et al. 2003), which allowed students to meet all of their needs on campus. As universities became "self-sufficient cities," students rarely had to leave campus to meet their needs (McGrirr et al. 2003). Because of this model, universities did not make any economic or social contributions to the local communities, further straining the relations between universities and local communities. As the work of universities "bear no relation to community development work" (Dewar and Issac 1998, p. 337), the town-gown relationship further breeds distrust and hostility between universities and community representatives (Spagnolia, 1998).

In recent years, a number of colleges and universities have started to address these issues and have adopted strategies to build positive relationships with local communities. One of the strategies has been to increase students' access to community resources through programs such as internships and volunteer activities (Bonsall, Harris and Marczak 2002). Another strategy has been to extend the expertise of the university to the community. For instance, universities can provide technical assistance, leadership training, job training, and social and recreational programs to the community (Mullins and Gilderbloom 2002). These strategies cannot resolve all issues between universities and communities, but they can begin a positive conversation and possibly resolve misunderstandings or tensions should there be any.

Tensions and conflicts between universities and communities in Korea largely remain, especially in terms of economics. Especially in places where many local businesses make their living by providing housing to college students, universities that seek to build new dormitories so as to provide cheap and convenient housing to their students are often meet with fierce opposition by private housing owners, who often protest universities via boycotts (*Chosun Ilbo* December 26, 2017; *Kukmin Ilbo* February 27, 2019)[1] [2]. Because universities need approval and support from local communities

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[1] Chosun Ilbo. "Stop Overcharging Students VS One-Room Housing Cannot Survive with New Dormitories. Realty section." Dec. 26, 2017. Retrieved Jan. 6, 2020. (realty.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2017/12/21/2017122102360.html)

[2] Kukmin Ilbo. "Boycotting dorm construction even when one-rooms are at ridiculous price… are students cash cow." Current events section. Feb. 27. 2019. Retrieved Jan. 9, 2020. (http://news.kmib.co.kr/article/view.asp?arcid=0924064277).

when it comes to expanding their campus, they are often left with difficult choices, and many choose to delay building dorms or end up building dorms far from the campus to avoid competition with studio housing owners (*Chosun Ilbo* December 26, 2017; *Kukmin Ilbo* February 27, 2019). However, students are left to deal with the consequences. Because local housing is not cheap, and with only an average of 10% of students being able to live in on-campus housing (An 2018), students often end up paying for expensive housing in the local community. Therefore, tensions mount between college students and local housing owners. While students who are from and attend colleges in large metropolitan area such as Seoul, the capital city of South Korea, face no such problems since they can either commute from their home or choose from a wider selection of housing options, the problem remains largely unresolved for students whose home is far from the college they attend, as well as those who attend colleges in small rural where housing options are far fewer than in metropolitan areas. For these students, they must pay burdensome monthly housing fees if they are unable to stay in their college dormitories.

As such, conflict and tensions remain between universities and communities in Korea. Yet the conflict has transformed into to one between college students and local businesses, rather than one between universities and local communities. This issue remains largely unresolved for many universities (Kang 2015).

Urban Regeneration

Many cities are experiencing urban decline. Urban decline is closely related to poverty as basic needs such as education, cultural infrastructure, housing, and food, among others, are not met (Ryu 2019). Some of the characteristics of urban decline are economic decline, high unemployment rates and poverty levels, and run-down physical infrastructure. While some locales may only have one of these issues, many times cities face two or more of these problems (Ryu 2019). The reference points used to measure city decline vary but population, physical environment, and economy/industry are identified as the key factors that determine the level of city decline and of the many antecedent factors that bring about urban decline, depopulation and aging populations are noted as the key factors (Ryu 2019)

Therefore, as many cities experience such a decline, scholars argue that the paradigm has shifted from city development to city/urban regeneration (Ryu 2019). Urban regeneration is said to have begun in the UK, then was

followed by other European nations, the US, and Japan (Byun and Jung 2019). In Korea, the Special Act on Promotion of and Support for Urban Regeneration (here after the Special Act) was enacted in 2013; and 13 locations were selected in 2014 as Urban Renewal Leading Areas. Since then, 33 locations were selected in 2016, 68 in 2017, 99 in 2018, and 22 in the first half of 2019 (Jo and An 2019). The purpose of the Act was to bring economic, social, and cultural revitalization to cities, establish self-sufficient development platforms, and revive local communities to strengthen citizens' welfare (Korea Ministry of Government Legislation ND).

The basic principle of the Special Act is that it functions as a guide as it includes the government's vision and goal of urban regeneration, central policy, appointment of leading areas, urban regeneration strategic planning and implementation of the plans, designation of the infrastructural boundaries for basic living, and national minimal standards of basic living (Special Act 2013). The designated leading areas are to follow the guideline for 10 years until 2023. In 2018, the roadmap for creating new jobs and revitalizing the economy were provided, in it, five objectives were included: 1) enhancing the living condition by revamping the run-down residential areas, 2) bringing revitalization to the city by making the old city center the central area of innovation, 3) establishing new jobs by creating an economic ecosystem, 4) revitalizing the local community by establishing grass-roots urban regeneration governance, and 5) taking pro-active action towards issues such as gentrification, thereby creating a win-win situation amongst community members (Roadmap 2018).

An analysis of 39 leading areas selected for urban regeneration in 2014 (11 locales) and 2016 (28 locales) show some differences between communities when it comes to the focus of projects. While leading locales selected in 2014 primarily focused on revitalizing markets/community/streets/business districts, locations selected in 2016 have primarily focused on revamping residential areas, followed by historical conservation and cultural development projects (Jo and An 2019). Moreover, along with development of physical environments such as re-organization of basic facilities and projects that focused on enhancing infrastructures for basic living, projects that facilitated opportunities to engage in conversations amongst residents were also created. For instance, while no locales constructed community centers in 2014, in 2016 there were 6 locals that established community centers for more active communication within the community (Jo and An 2019). As result of revamping residential areas and enhancing living conditions in these area, living/residential satisfaction have increased, more

jobs have been created, and the size of floating population has grown (Jo and An 2019).

Background of Jochiwon Eup

In 2018, Jochiwon was selected for the Urban Regeneration New Deal Project with approximately 8.26 million dollars of national funding (Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport 2018). After the establishment of the Special Act in 2013, the New Deal Project was later launched in 2018 by the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, and Transport, in order to specifically focus on the environmental enhancement of old residential areas and revitalization of urban competitiveness (Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport 2018). The New Deal Project selected and categorized locales as either economy development types or neighborhood regeneration types (this type is further categorized into general type, residential support type, and town center type). Jochiwon was selected as a general type with the goal of establishing "an energy independent village with local residents and industry" (Architecture & Urban Research Institute 2018). Since the launch of the program, maintenance projects for more effective use of energy in vacant/old housing as well as construction of zero-energy housing projects took place (Architecture & Urban Research Institute 2018).

Jochiwon, located in Sejong City in South Chungcheong Province, has a population of 46,413 (approximately 19,000 households) with an area of 5.29 sq. miles (Sejong Urban Regeneration Center 2015). The town is about an hour and half drive from Seoul and is close to Daejeon, Cheonan, and Cheongju. Jochiwon became a town, or *eup*, after being a *myeon* (township, a lower administrative region than *eup*) in 1931 at the same time as Daejeon (Sejong Urban Regeneration Center 2015). However, while Daejeon has now become a metropolitan city with a population of over 1.5 million people, Jochiwon remains an *eup* to today.

Despite its slow growth, a substantial change came about in 2012 when the Sejong Special Autonomous City was established to ease the congestion of Seoul. Since then, the Korean government has relocated a number of ministries and agencies to Sejong including but not limited to the Ministry of Environment, the Ministry of Health and Welfare, and the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism. Sejong is still undergoing major construction and the city is expected to be complete by 2030 with the population reaching about 500,000 (*Koreatimes* July 1, 2012).

However, as for the present day, the population of Jochiwon remains

relatively low, at 46,413 with about 19,000 households (Sejong City Jochiwon Community Service Center ND)[3]. Luckily, Jochiwon is the host of two four-year universities, which have approximately 16,678 students combined (Wikipedia ND)[4]. Together, the population of Jochiwon is closed to 63,000.[5] Despite having a large number of college students, the general population of Jochiwon consists of relatively older generations, similar to other rural areas in Korea.[6]

Universities in Urban Regeneration

Studies show that negotiation between various stakeholders is critical in balancing economic, environmental, and social equity (Kriznik 2018). Previous models of urban regeneration have primarily focused on the economy and environment while overlooking the social aspect. However, with more understanding of different cases, scholars are now widely examining the relational aspect of urban regeneration (Dempsey et al. 2011; Dujon et al. 2013). More specifically, the public's participation is identified as playing a critical role in strengthening social sustainability (Irvin and Stansbury 2004). In fact, civic participation leads members involved to be more aware of various issues pertaining to the community, thereby allowing them to find the right solutions collectively. Such a step can not only improve the quality of planning, but also legitimize decision-making and encourage publics to "actively use and appropriate places that are transformed with their

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[3] Sejong City Jochiwon Community Service Center. ND. "Current status of Jochiwon" Retrieved Dec. 26. 2019. (https://www.sejong.go.kr/jochiwon/sub05_01.do?cmsNo=1528).

[4] Wikipedia. ND. "Jochiwon-eup" Retrieved Dec. 28, 2019. (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jochiwon).

[5] Since most college students do not change their permanent address to Jochiwon, they are not considered registered residents. Thus, the official count of Jochiwon population excludes college students despite their residency in the area.

[6] Economically, Jochiwon has some limitations of its own. First, there used to be a major factory near the downtown area of Jochiwon in the 1980-1990s, which contributed to the city's growth. However, since the factory closed in the 1990s, the city has more or less relied on college students for its economic stability. However, residents of Jochiwon today face yet another issue as two four-year universities have arranged shuttle buses that run from Seoul directly to the universities rather than stopping at the town center of Jochiwon. Previously when the shuttle was unavailable, many college students used a train station that is located at the town center of Jochiwon. Thus, they had to pass through the city center to get to their universities, in the meantime stopping by stores in the town center for shopping. But, as a result of changes in the shuttle route and college students preferring on-line shopping over off-line shopping, small business owners in Jochiwon are facing challenges. As results of these social, economic, and systematic changes, residents experience economic challenges and hope to see positive results come about through the city regeneration project.

participation (Cerar 2014 as cited in Kriznik 2018, p. 85). Therefore, building a "robust partnership between the state and civil society" is an important step in building stronger social sustainability in cities (Cho and Kriznik 2017, p. 151). In fact, when publics are excluded from decision-making, maintaining social and territorial cohesion becomes difficult (Brenner et al. 2012).

Universities in campus towns are one of the most important stakeholders in local communities. As a catalyst for economic growth, universities function as entities which bring skills and research results that are relevant to innovation (Mansfield 1991). Universities are expected to transfer knowledge, thereby bringing economic growth through various partnerships such as those between universities and industry (Gunasekara 2006). Such collaborations are important assets that can benefit cities (Benneworth et al. 2010).

However, more importantly, universities have been identified as having a role of empowering the community. Specifically, universities have the "civic duty to engage the whole society locally, nationally, and globally by linking social and economic development, and promoting placed-based leadership" (Fernandez-Esquinas and Pinto 2014, p. 1466). Moreover, there is an increasing recognition that universities can and should do more where they are located, and some universities are implementing calls for more local participation. For instance, the University of Pennsylvania and Harvard are strengthening their relations with the city government to make their programs more visible. Also, an OECD study (2007) highlighted that universities have not only economical but also social, cultural, and environmental roles grounded in local sites.

Based on these existing studies, Fernandez-Esquinas and Pinto (2014) outlined four contributions universities ought to make to their local communities, namely, physical infrastructure, human resources, economic development, and civic engagement. Here, physical infrastructure refers to the university as a social amenity and an attraction as a physical location, which functions as an implicit asset for development, especially in underdeveloped settings. Moreover, facilities such as libraries and sports facilities can be used by neighborhoods. In terms of human resources, universities can channel students and professionals into economic sectors that needs to increase their competitiveness or create new business cores (Fernandez-Esquinas and Pinto 2014, p. 1473). Economic development refers to the economic contribution universities can make where they are located. For instance, universities which bring public goods, such as hospitals, to their locations can become some of the largest employers in medium-sized cities

(p. 1473). Moreover, when universities bring knowledge-intensive services, with emphasis on innovation, industry development at the city level can happen. Lastly, in terms of civic engagement, universities can increase civic skills and the level of social integration at the community level. Large populations of educated individuals are expected to bring greater involvement in social issues, and they are more apt at finding the mechanisms underlying social issues (Rowe and Frewer 2000). In fact, there is a long history of universities' involvement in social and political issues (Harkavy 2000).[7]

Thus far, our literature review has examined issues pertaining to cities in Korea, the launch and development of urban regeneration projects in Korea including the New Deal project and the processes thereof, as well as discussed the background of the Jochiwon area. Moreover, issues between community locals and students in campus towns were also examined. However, despite the urgent need for urban regeneration in area such as Jochiwon, relations between various stakeholders within a community have been less examined. The locale under investigation is particularly dynamic as two of the most important interest groups—communities and universities—have an inherently conflicting relationship. To add to that tension and conflict, there is also a housing issue that involves students and local homeowners. Therefore, the current study examines how these conflicting relations emerge in the process of urban regeneration, as well as how various stakeholders make meaning of urban regeneration and identify the role of universities in the process. As contrasting parties (locals, students etc.) have different perspectives, how each stakeholder perceives urban regeneration projects and whether differing views have been communicated and exchanged has not been examined in depth. As scholars have previously pointed out, the communities have only begun to focus on the social and communication aspects of urban regeneration projects. The emergence of an increasing number of community centers as a platform for communication due to the New Deal project not only shows the need of social interaction, but also implies the presence of possible conflict, as well as recognizing the importance of creating a public sphere that provides opportunities for social interaction during the process of urban regeneration. However, such an aspect has been overlooked in the past research on urban development. Therefore, the purpose of this study is as organized in the following research questions:

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[7] See Fernandez-Esquinas and Pinto (2014) for full discussion of the four dimensions.

> *Research question 1*: What are the students' perceptions of urban regeneration in Jochiwon area?
> *Research Question 2*: What are the local residents' perceptions of urban regeneration in Jochiwon area?

In terms of the first research question, the researcher wanted to gauge the students' understanding of urban regeneration and their interest in the project. The researcher expected that a student's interest and involvement would be an indication of their and their university's role in the community. Moreover, the question was also intended to gauge students' relationships with various stakeholders including but not limited to local residents. The interview questions included questions related to all of these aspects. As for the second research question, the purpose was to understand what types of things local residents identify as community problems in the process of urban regeneration, be they relational (with universities or college students), economical, or other.

Methods

Given the exploratory nature of the study in examining previously under-explored areas and also given the purpose of the research questions, the study employed qualitative research methods. Qualitative research methods are appropriate for researchers who are "intrigued with the complexity of social interactions as expressed in daily life and with the meanings participants themselves attribute to these interactions" (Marshall and Rossman 1995, p. 2). In the process of obtaining these complexities embedded in the participants' daily lives, the researchers are able to gather "detailed description of situations, events, people, interactions, and observe behaviors" (Patton 1980, p. 22). This study used an in-depth interviewing method. In-depth interviewing is an appropriate methodology as its goal is to obtain in-depth and open-ended narrative rather than trying to fit participants' experiences into certain categories (Patton 1987). Therefore, although the interviewer may guide the conversation, the interviewer still "respects how the participant frames and structures the responses" (Marshall and Rossman 1995, p. 82). Hence, the greatest advantage of the interview method is its ability to understand the participants' experiences in greater depth and breadth.

Sample

The study employed purposive and convenient sampling to recruit participants. A total of 34 participants were recruited, including members of the local community and students. Of the 18 students, 13 students were from one university and five were from the other (total women=8, men=10). Students either participated in a one-on-one interview or a focus group interview per their preference. Of the 16 residents, 11 were women and five were men. The researchers tried to find a variety of experiences among student participants in terms of years of residence in the community, major, different living experiences, and age.[8] By having participants of different backgrounds, multiple perspectives can emerge through discussions and in-depth interviews. Rubin and Rubin stressed that when a researcher provides a "variety of perspectives" which offers "different vantage points" (Rubin and Rubin 2005, p. 67), the study's credibility increases as result.

The in-depth interviews ranged between 90 and 130 minutes on average and all the interviews were conducted in Korean and were translated for this article. During the in-depth interviews we asked open-ended questions that were semi-structured. Some of the questions that we asked include questions such as "What do you think are the role of universities?" and "What would you like to see the two universities do more of in this community?" As for questions about that relationship, we asked "How would you describe the general relationship between community elders and the students?", "Could you describe some of your personal experiences with the local residents?", "If there are any issues with the homeowners and students living in those housing, what would they be?" Moreover, much probing was done to further understand students' and local residents' experiences and perceptions of urban regeneration and conflicts amongst various stakeholders. All the participants were asked to give consent to be recorded. Recording interviews helped the researcher recall the material accurately. The researchers compensated the participants either with a meal or $20 for their time and participation. Once the interviews were recorded and completed, the

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[8] Due to the difficulties in recruiting government officials, the researcher was unable to interview them. The researcher therefore, attended various urban regeneration related meetings and presentations in addition to interviewing related personnel (e.g., professors involved in urban regeneration projects) unofficially to gauge the local governments work involved in the process. Future studies can recruit government officials to bring about a more comprehensive perception of the urban regeneration process.

researcher transcribed them and began analyzing the transcripts following the third interview.

Data Analysis

A grounded theory approach was employed to analyze data for this study. The grounded theory approach, developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), seeks to explain and theorize about a phenomenon from data. This approach takes a systematic and constant comparison approach to collecting, analyzing, and interpreting the data. Corbin and Strauss (2008), Strauss and Corbin (1990), and Glaser and Strauss (1967) all suggest open coding, axial coding, and selective coding processes for the data collection and analysis processes. These coding processes enable researchers to carry out a systematic and constant comparison approach during the data collection and analysis process. By identifying the topics or key terms that emerged consistently throughout the data collection process, emerging themes and patterns were identified.

Results

RQ1: What is the students' perception on urban regeneration in Jochiwon area?

Universities ought to primarily focus on education

> "I think the primary role of university is providing better education to college students. We are here to learn. I want our university to provide more lectures, internship opportunities, and whatnot to increase our chances of employment."

Findings from our interviews indicate that students had very firm views of the universities' roles in the community. In discussing the role and objectives of universities, students identified the primary role of universities as providing students with a high-quality education and helping students become competitive in the job market. However, the roles were somewhat different depending on the year of the students. Those who had just begun college wanted to have more learning opportunities; they wanted to see more special guest lectures, more activities by student organizations, and support

thereof, as well more opportunities to gain real-life experience such as volunteering and internships. On the other hand, those who were coming up on graduation were more concerned with practical training that would prepare them for the real world. They discussed their desire for more funding to provide more hands-on experiences, training, and classes that would give them licenses/qualifications to work in their respective fields. While there were some differences depending on the issues students were facing, nevertheless, they remained in agreement on the role of universities as institutions having to do with the students and not "outsiders." They were very keen on universities being educational institutions, hence they should only do work that involves education, as is in their own interest as students.

When asked what they think universities can do for the community, some students first rhetorically asked, "Should [universities] do anything in the first place?" Many students asked similar questions. They did not see any need or reason for universities to do anything for local communities. For these students, doing anything for the community went beyond the scope of necessary activities for universities. Given that there were limited resources, students wanted those resources to be focused on themselves. One of the universities in the area had opened up their sports facilities and the library to the local community. However, those who attended this university discussed the inconvenience of having locals share their campus. "[The locals] would be loud in the library. It's really annoying during the exam weeks." Others said, "Sometimes there isn't enough spaces in the sports facilities even for [the students], it only makes sense to open up to outsiders if only there is enough for [the students]." According to the students, the college changed the policy to limit access to the library for the locals during exam weeks. As such, students did not mind having locals coming to the campus as students (some locals had registered as students to take courses on campus), however, beyond that, they wanted themselves, as fully enrolled students, to be prioritized when it came to using campus facilities.

Moreover, when asked about collaborating with the local community to improve the area, students mentioned collaborating with other nearby universities and working with the local government to provide more job opportunities to students. Since there is not much interaction between the two schools, students expressed their desire to see more collaboration in terms of courses, and credit transfer. The two schools had recently offered a couple of courses where students from both universities could learn together and have the credits transfer back to their school. One student said, "the relationship ought to be collaborative and not competitive since there are

only two universities in the area." However, many participants did not have much to say about what sorts of collaboration the two universities could do for the community level at large.

The Community Should be More Concerned With the Students' Needs

> "There are so many things I want…there are so many PC-bang *(internet café)* and norae-bang *(Karaoke)… but we want to see more [facilities] where we can enjoy a healthy cultural life."*
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> "People who do business here want to make money. So, they won't do something that isn't profitable…[what bring profits are] so there are so many bars."
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> "I don't think it's the universities job to bring businesses that students want to see more of."

When it came to what students would like to see change in their local community, there were a variety of answers. First, students discussed a lack of "culture" near their campus. One of the students said, "Frankly there are only bars, restaurants, and karaoke here." Similar answers were echoed throughout the interviews. Students wanted to see more things for college students to do to have fun. Some of the terms used by students were, "healthy activities" that are "wholesome" and "sound" for them to do. Students discussed how they have to take a bus to another city to hang out and have fun. They lamented how "there is nothing to do," and "no culture around campus." They wanted to see the area develop something more unique, whether it be local foods using local produce or place-specific activities. Such a uniqueness would not only be good for the students but also the community in bringing outside visitors for tourism.

Students also wanted to see more well-known fast-food chains or franchises come into their area. They were familiar with places such as Subway, McDonald's, Burger King, and wanted to see these franchises come to their town so they would not have to travel to another city or town for a meal. Students, especially male students from metropolitan areas, wanted to see more Korean fast-food chain restaurants. Not only did they want something familiar, they considered these chain restaurants to have bigger portions at lower prices. However, they regarded locally owned restaurants as being too expensive for them. One of the students said, "Since male students

eat a lot, we want to see more well-known franchises such as Ashley."[9] Another discussed how "franchises would bring more competition into the area." For many, the area is "monopolized by locally owned restaurants who keep their prices high."

At the same time, other students wanted to see more development in terms of local infrastructure. One of the students said, "Sure, streets are much cleaner and most of the roads are paved now. It's far better than what it used to be when I first came here, but still, some areas around the campus still need better lighting and better maintenance." Similar answers were repeated throughout the interviews. However, most did not think changes would be made before they planned to graduate, hence, they mentioned what they would like to see change without much hope that it would happen during their time in Jochiwon.

While students discussed what they would like to see more of and changes they wanted to see extensively and in-depth, no students thought universities ought to be responsible for bringing about these changes. Rather, students felt that business owners needed to make changes, or the local government needed to provide more funding to keep the community clean and safe. When asked about how the universities ought to build relationships with the local community, a few students even asked if there should be relationship between the university and the local community in the first place. And many did not say much, because they did not consider community development to be the primary responsibility of universities.

RQ2: What is the local residents' perception on urban regeneration in Jochiwon area?

Students' Disappointing Behaviors When It Comes to Keeping the Community Organized

"Students these days have no manners. They throw out trash, food waste, cigarette butts everywhere…we have to clean after them."
"When they get drunk, they get loud. This is our residential area. We live here."

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[9] Ashley is a relatively inexpensive buffet franchise in Korea. As of 2014, there were 140 stores nationwide (*The Korea Herald* May 7, 2015). The Korea Herald. "E-Land chairman's love of collecting" 7 May 2015. Retrieved Dec. 24, 2019 (http://www.koreaherald.com/view. php?ud=20150407000901)

When asked what they would like to see change in the local community, local residents first lamented about the college students' poor behavior in the areas surrounding campus, which happened to be the area in which they lived. One of the town leaders discussed how he had lent a space to art major students a couple years prior. Since art majors require workspace for their assignments, many rent a personal studio. However, learning that many cannot afford a personal studio, he had allowed students to use the second floor of a building near campus for a few months without charge. He had also given them art supplies free of charge. However, month after month, the students did not keep the place clean, nor did they thank him for providing the space and facilities, and ended up making a mess of the space he had lent them. He lamented, "I did all those things out of good will, they really needed a space and I really thought they would make good use of it. But none of the students thanked me and they ended up throwing out most of the art supplies without telling me." He was furious talking about this incident that had happened a couple years ago. He discussed how disappointed he was in the students' behaviors.

Others also discussed transforming a dumping ground into a park with publicly accessible exercise equipment. One elder said, "We applied for a small fund from [Jochiwon] a few years ago, and with that funding we cleaned out the garbage, planted grass, and placed exercise equipment…we did all this to bring a better environment for the students." Others followed up by saying, "They don't thank us. In fact, we don't see a lot of students using the park." Another remarked that "some throw away cigarette butts on grass, throw away trash…it's a useless place now." While some locals were found to use the park, not many students were found to make a good use of the park.

Students Need to Play an Active Role as Community Agents and Respect Their Elders

> "*I only know how to make and receive calls on my cellphone [chuckle]. I want to learn to send photos [on my phone]. It would be nice if students can teach us these things….and how to use computers.*"

When asked what they would like to see more of in the neighborhood, some participants mentioned more student volunteers during neighborhood activities such as community clean-up day or Jochiwon Festival. Since most community members were seniors, they wanted to have more volunteers to come and participate in the local activities. During these festivals, the elders

can cook for the volunteers, but they wanted to have more young people come out and help out by setting up tables, serving food to visitors, and providing performances for the main attraction. However, they bemoaned how students rarely attended the local festivals and even when they do, they only stay for a short time. Another said, "Professors used to bring their students out during days we clean out streets or plant trees, but they say it's now hard to bring students since they are all busy with assignments."

Moreover, the locals expressed their desire for the students to teach them new technologies. Since most of the local seniors do not live with their children, yet want to keep contact with their children and grandchildren, they wanted to learn how to video-chat and how to send pictures using their cell-phones. Some only knew how to answer or make calls and they wanted to learn additional ways to use their cell phones. Others wanted to learn how to use computers but they did not know where to go or who to ask, hence, they expressed their desire for the local college students to teach them such technologies.

Hope the Universities Bring a Unique Culture into the Community

"*The universities cared, and they tried hard to build relationship with the community when they first came…but at one point they stopped making an effort.*"
"*We need to make our place more attractive. So more people come visit here. We are old. What can we do? It would be great if the universities can do that. Bring culture into the community.*"

While locals were found to have more disappointments and expectations towards the students rather than the universities themselves, we also found that they expected the universities to play a role in bringing college culture to the community. Those who still remembered the times when the universities were first established discussed how the universities used to make great efforts to win the hearts of the locals. One participant said, "Back then, [the school] invited the community leaders to the university, I was the head of the women's association in the area and I even received a medal from the president of the university. But they don't do anything like that with us locals anymore."

Others discussed how since Jochiwon is home to two large universities, the campus area ought to have stronger college culture nearby. While they were unable to specify how to go about creating such a culture,

they described what they desired as something "lively" and "youthful" with an "activeness" that would reflect the lives of young people attending college in the area. The locals thought that such a culture would bring a competitive edge to the community, thus differentiating it from the surrounding rural areas. In addition, locals mentioned university campus-towns in Seoul that are well known for their unique cultures, expressing that they wished they had something similar so that even those living in places other than Jochiwon would be enticed to visit and enjoy their time. Visitors would bring traffic but it would also provide economic benefits to local businesses. The locals thought such an influx of visitors would compensate for the loss of businesses local business owners face during periods when school is not in session, which is when businesses are at their slowest.

Discussion

Different Social Expectations Due to Culture Adds to the Pre-Existing Hostility and Distrust--Excluding Students in the Urban Regeneration Process Social Expectations Due to Culture

Over the course of this study we found that the local community members had a number of high expectations for college students as well as the universities. Throughout the interviews, the local participants lamented how they wished college students would participate the community more often and help the locals. Specifically, community members were in need of human resources as well as a transfer of knowledge (Benneworth et al. 2010; Gunasekara 2006). They expressed their desire for the students to voluntarily help out in the community by providing their knowledge and manpower. Yet, the students themselves did not regard it as their responsibility or their role (nor the universities') to provide such help in the community.

Expanding on previous research, the incompatible expectations of these two groups of stakeholders may be due to deep-seated socio-cultural expectations. Korea has a long tradition of respecting one's elders that stems from Confucian teachings of filial piety (Ching 1879). Confucianism has been defined as "a philosophy of human nature that considers proper human relationship as the basis of society" (Yum 1988, p. 377). Amongst Confucian values, respect for one's parents and elders is the most emphasized (Sung 2001). In particular, children are instilled with the idea that they must recognize and be grateful for the care they received from their parents and

thus pay respect to their parents in return (Lew 1995; Takahashi 1995). The value of filial piety is reflected in various aspects of the culture, for instance, in the Korean language itself. For instance, factors such as social status, degree of intimacy, level of formality, and age affect a person's use of verbs, pronouns, and nouns (Chao 1956; Yum 1987). The most deferential form of Korean combines the humble form of self-reference on the part of the speaker and the honorific form for the one being addressed (Yum 1988). Thus, it is evident that there is a deep-seated culture in which older Koreans expect young people to pay them respect because of their elderly position.

However, on the other hand, things have changed for the young people in recent years. As a result of rapidly developing technologies, young people tend to have more knowledge and expertise related to new and upcoming social changes. As such, while elders have more experiences, their knowledge, wisdom, and experiences do not garner much respect from younger generations. Therefore, young people's perception of older generations has somewhat shifted from that of respect towards viewing the elderly as dependents, or those who are incapable of working (Kim et al. 2016). Yet, the idea that young people should help and show respect to those who are older than them remains prevalent. Therefore, elders in rural area, who are relatively more conservative than those in metropolitan areas, may still have social expectations towards the young people, including expectations about how college-aged students ought to treat their elders. Thus, such differing social expectations also was underscored in the relationship between college students and local elderly residents. Since those social expectations are not met, the behavior of young people may have been perceived more negatively than it would be in other cultures where such a social norm does not exist. And as a result, the residents may have been more offended and frustrated at students' behavior than necessary.

Misunderstanding Escalated Due to Lack of Communication

However, the interviews revealed that these disappointments and expectations have never been communicated to the students. While the interviews were being conducted for this study, a couple conversation sessions which invited community residents into the classroom to engage in a conversation with college students were arranged by a class at one of the universities. During one of these conversation sessions, the residents discussed how much effort they put in to making the trash dumping ground into a park for the students. The residents continued to mention how

saddened they had been for not being recognized, and for students not returning the favor. As for the community leader who provided the studio space and materials for art students, he voiced sincere regrets for having done more than was necessary. His intentions were geared towards building an amicable and friendly relationship rather than wanting to be repaid in kind. Yet, he didn't think it would be worth mentioning such a disappointment to the students, but recalling and mentioning the details of the incident even after several years show how frustrated he was with those particular students. However, this conversation was the first time that most of the students learned about the park development process. None of the students had known about the efforts that local elders had made for the sake of the students. One student said, "At first I felt some hostility towards the community residents for always telling us not to do this and not to do that… but after hearing about the [park project] I came to appreciate them and be thankful for what they did." Other students who were also at the session discussed how they "now want to contribute to making Jochiwon a better place to live."

Unmet Social Expectations Can Result in Significant Consequences

Interviews with the students also shed light on the ways in which students held negative perceptions of locals. However, none of the students had ever directly voiced their complaints to the elders. The students did not think that there was anything they could do about high prices (rent, food etc.) near campus or the monopolization phenomenon. Many students found this to be a big problem and frequently discussed these issues with fellow students but never expressed their concerns to the community or community leaders. Such a chasm between the students and the locals was evident and seemed to be longstanding. The interviews revealed that distrust has accumulated between students and residents over time for a number of reasons (e.g., trash, high rent). However, due to a lack of opportunities to communicate with each other about these issues, both parties have begun to neglect each other in the decision-making process, even for large projects such as urban regeneration. From the perspective of the residents, important stakeholders such as universities and college students naturally became excluded because of a long track record of universities and college students not having done their part in the community building process, contributing to longstanding distrust and hostility. But the universities and especially the students, feel it is unfair that they are excluded from the urban regeneration process for having not upheld

expectations that they were unaware of (e.g., contributing to the community in terms of keeping streets clean, being quiet in residential area, showing more respect towards the elders). They feel it is unfair that they are excluded because New Deal projects can greatly benefit their own lives, by providing facilities for students to work on their projects in or by providing spaces for startup businesses. While it remains inconclusive whether or not they are being "punished" for not having met these social expectations, one thing that is certain is that, the distrust community residents had towards the students and universities emerged during the urban regeneration process by naturally excluding them from the decision-making process. While the urban regeneration project has been in effect since 2018, students were not invited to relevant meetings or projects; in fact, most of the students were unaware that Jochiwon has been chosen as a New Deal Project leading locale. Nor did community leaders identify students as an important stakeholder in the community development process. They did not consider the needs of the students nor did they ask the students what they wanted from the urban regeneration process. If it was not for the urban regeneration process, the distrust and misunderstandings between students and residents may not have surfaced to the degree that it did.

Both locals and the student bodies of both universities need to work towards building a relationship and trust with one-another. Moreover, locals must respect the young members of the community and not merely anticipate unilateral respect from students or expect students to volunteer their time, knowledge, and man power. In addition, locals need to invite the students into the decision-making process so that students' basic needs can be met, thus motivating them to participate more in community processes and achieving a win-win situation for both parties. More importantly, representatives from the universities need to step in to ease the tensions and possibly mediate the conflicts between students and homeowners. Studies have shown that in community-university partnerships, universities representatives and community organizations work together to solve local problems (Al-Kodmany 1999; Baum 2000; Bringle and Hatcher 2002). In addition, universities must identify community development as one of their key missions, especially when they are a relatively large and influential organization within a community. Doing such would bring more compatibility amongst stakeholders when it comes to social expectations. Studies show that such an understanding of mission and identity can positively shape processes and outcomes when in conflict (Becker 1999; Schon and Rein 1994).

Universities Have a Duty to Create Culture: 5th Dimension of the Theory

Despite the tensions or hostility community residents had toward the students, they seemed to consider the university as a separate entity entirely distinct from the students, with whom they ought to build an amicable relationship. During interviews, locals revealed that they had expectations regarding the university as well. As a result of economic constraints residents have long faced in the community, when residents were asked what they would like the universities to do more of in the community, they offered ideas that could not only make the community more attractive to visitors but also more profitable. A number of residents mentioned the lack of a specific culture in their community despite having two large universities. Mentioning many cases[10] where a distinct and established culture boosted the local economy, residents also expressed their desire to see something similar in their own neighborhood. Community members wanted to have a culture that was lively, youthful, and energetic. In a similar vein, some mentioned creating a food that could be identified with the locale so that Jochiwon would become highly sought-after place for those who want to eat that particular item (e.g., how San Francisco attracts more visitors due to their famous clam chowder).

Because of the aging population in most rural areas, including Jochiwon, the locals wanted the young people to work on building a new culture within their community. Creating a culture was not something that they felt they could do on their own, mainly because they thought of themselves as too old to do something creative. They very much underestimated themselves and did not think they were creative or young enough to do such a thing. Moreover, during the interviews, participants who were local community members expressed their disappointment with the universities for not having made enough efforts already. The participants' comments described such work as being the duty of the university to the local community.

Therefore, the current study expands on previous research on cases rural campus towns undergoing urban regeneration by finding that there are expectation regarding university culture held by local residents. Local community members were found to expect universities to contribute by creating a distinctive local culture. For them, a culture created by the

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[10] Many vibrant business districts near college campuses (including but not limited to Ewha Women's University, Hongik University, and Seoul National University in Seoul), have long enjoyed robust success for being near college campuses, because campus town bring their unique culture in to the locale.

university is the most effective and feasible way to make their community more competitive. While the residents did not identify an economic role as one of the responsibilities universities ought to fulfil, they considered cultural aspects to be a duty of the universities since they identified innovative, creative, researches as being closely tied to universities. And they sought to reap benefits indirect resulting from creative talents of universities.

Creating such a culture could also benefit the students. Since the students were found to travel to another city to entertain themselves, if there were enough cultural components that they could enjoy, they would save time and money by not having to travel to another location. Secondly, a unique culture could give the students a sense of a pride and ownership over the location, which would enable them to correct their misbehavior (Jang unpublished) in the local area that resulted due to lack of ownership. Thirdly, with some support from the local community, the local government, and the universities, students can establish start-up companies near campus.

Since the creation of a local youth-led culture could also benefit the students, the cultural dimension of the university's responsibility should be considered the 5th dimension of the four contributions previously presented by Fernandez-Esquinas and Pinto (2014) rather than being a part of the economic dimension. Creation of a successful local culture could also contribute to the economy. However, it would be secondary goal since culture creation would not necessarily lead to economic creation. More observations and examinations on the link between economic benefits and off-campus cultures need to be made prior to theorizing the relations.

Conclusion

The current study sought to examine ways in which campus towns in rural areas can go about urban regeneration. The findings show that prior to launching projects for urban regeneration, local issues between residents and students must first be addressed. Findings indicate that local residents were found to have an overt social expectation of the students, and as result of such unspoken expectations going unmet, residents were found to "punish" the students by excluding them from the urban regeneration process. However, since students saw locals as fixing housing prices and monopolizing bars, restaurants, and other businesses, they were found to similarly hold hostility towards the locals, but felt somewhat powerless as there was not much that they could do to change the situation. Because students make up

approximately a quarter of the Jochiwon's population, their perception and needs must be considered in the process of any community project, such as urban regeneration. Moreover, their manpower and creative ideas could be a major benefit to the community by bringing a unique culture into the community. Thus, the relationship can be a win-win for both parties; the community must resolve the conflicts that plague it by engaging in constructive conversations so that urban regeneration results in a positive outcome for all in Jochiwon.

The current study revealed somewhat of a power imbalance between the residents and the students. As students remain in the community for about four years or so, they are seen as "guests" in the community, while the residents are the "hosts." Moreover, elders, who are the major decision makers in the community development project, first need to consider how they can create a cooperative relationship with the students, whom can provide help in areas that locals lack abilities in, thereby bringing about a positive outcome for all. Universities that are facing similar situations should learn from the findings of this study and consider in advance the sorts of possible problems that could arise as a result of conflict between residents and college students.

Secondly, the findings show how limited of a role the local government plays in the urban regeneration process. The parties interviewed were unable to clearly identify the role that local government ought to play in the process nor were they aware of what the local government was doing at present. The local government has the role and responsibility of communicating what they are doing to various stakeholders using the communication channel preferred by the public. Opening up communication channels would be the first step towards building collaborative and trusting relationship.

Thirdly, expanding on previous literature, the findings indicate there is a fifth role that universities ought to play in their campus town—a cultural role. Locals expected the universities to use their resources, to create a unique culture that would bring energy and liveliness to the community, which could bring further economic benefits. Universities need to consider ways in which they could work with students to create a culture that could benefit their students as well as the local community.

Cities in decline today are faced with many dilemmas; with limited resources and young people, ways in which economic, environmental, and social sustainability could be instituted are limited. Cities need to consider how they can bring about these developments with the limited resources they have. Locales with universities have more choices, but locals first need to

consider the young people as their partners and invite them into the decision-making processes to bring solution where everyone benefits. Only burdening students with responsibility and duty without providing them with any benefits would not only be mistreatment but also result in less outcomes of urban regeneration. Local governments need to become more active in inviting various stakeholders to the decision-making table, and encourage collaboration and cooperation for successful urban regeneration projects.

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