


Article

Neighborhood Identity Formation and the Changes in an Urban Regeneration Neighborhood in Gwangju, Korea

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Abstract: Since the Urban Regeneration Act in 2013, central and local Korean governments have endeavored to regenerate deprived urban neighborhoods. This study analyzed how these efforts have changed the nature of neighborhood identity in Yanglim, Gwangju, Korea. The authors analyzed 62,386 Naver blog posts from 2013 to 2022, utilizing an Artificial Intelligence (AI) technique, Topic Modeling (i.e., Latent Dirichlet Allocation). Using trend analysis by topic, three phases were identified: (1) Phase 1: Flourishment (January 2013 to October 2016); (2) Phase 2: Maturation (November 2016 to February 2020); and (3) Phase 3: COVID-19 (March 2020 to October 2022). In the first phase, the collective actions between the local government and citizens to improve the declined neighborhood formed the Yanglim area's reputation as the "History and Cultural Village" and as "Penguin Village". The unique identity of the area in the second phase, along with gentrification issues, created a hot spot (e.g., cafés and restaurants), drawing the attention of tourists and locals. More recently, the Yanglim area has become a place for locals' daily activities with their loved ones, as tourist traffic greatly dropped off due to the COVID-19 outbreak. Until now, the Yanglim area has experienced a process of successful urban regeneration from flourishment to degentrification. AI techniques represent a novel application that can support policy makers and stakeholders in understanding citizens and taking further actions to create economically and socially sustainable neighborhoods.

Keywords: urban regeneration; neighborhood identity; identity change; history and culture; hot spot; COVID-19



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1. Introduction

The identities of urban spaces or neighborhoods are manifested by their people (e.g., their residents and visitors). These identities are shaped by unique images, not only due to landscapes and buildings but also due to food, music, customs, language, relationships, and political viewpoints. All of these aspects (i.e., physical and cultural) interact with each other to form unique identities [1]. Lynch defines identity as "the extent to which a person can recognize or recall a place as being distinct from other places" [2] (p. 131). Ok-tay states that "identity is one of the essential goals for the future of good environments. People should feel that some part of the environment belongs to them individually and collectively, some part for which they care and are responsible, whether they own it or not" [3] (p. 261). As stated above, human beings are important stakeholders interacting with built environments. Thus, it is important to research human perceptions and their interactions, identifying the distinctiveness of different neighborhoods.

In recent decades, relevant stakeholders (e.g., local governments, urban planners, community leaders and residents) have been challenged to revitalize dilapidated neighborhood environments as well as to mitigate negative images by collective actions in many countries. The proliferation of collective actions is categorized as "commercial-led regeneration", "culture-led regeneration", "tourism-led regeneration", "design-led regeneration",

or complexes of these terms [4–7]. As one of the countries implementing urban regeneration policies with a proliferation of projects, South Korea (hereafter, Korea) has worked to revitalize depopulated and economically unsustainable city centers. Accordingly, a number of articles dealing with urban regeneration have been published in Korea; the majority of research has shed light on Seoul and the metropolitan areas, with limited knowledge of other cities such as Gwangju.

In recent years, utilizing social media platforms to mine people’s opinions in order to broaden ideas on urban environments has become widespread. In particular, Natural Language Processing (NLP) and Artificial Intelligence (AI) techniques are applied to mine the opinions of diverse people, overcoming the usual time and budget limitations for data collection [8]. Using big data analysis has great significance. First of all, an overview of social media permits new and chronological trends to be uncovered. Second, this paper illustrates the potential of topic modeling to the greatest extent [9]. This technique can offer invaluable insights to relevant stakeholders such as policy makers and planners for the purpose of understanding citizens, which is necessary for urban regeneration. Nonetheless, a great many previous studies have concentrated on qualitative and phenomenological approaches such as interviews, observations, or mapping to reveal urban or neighborhood identities.

Capitalizing on the benefits of social media data, the authors aim to answer the two following questions:

1. Do social media data allow us to capture a certain point in the changing nature of neighborhood identity through AI techniques?
2. If so, is it possible to capture how changed the neighborhood identity is at the discursive level over time?

To answer these questions, the authors utilized the lens of neighborhood stakeholders and users of the space, including locals, small business owners, tourists, and government officials who posted their opinions and activities on social media during a certain period of time and then analyzed these data with a newly emerging computational method.

2. Literature Review

2.1. *Understanding and Measuring Neighborhood Identity*

In this section, the authors review how research trends on neighborhood identity have changed. Lynch (1960) addressed the image of a city and how urban planners can create memorable city images in the book *The Image of the City* [10]. The image of a neighborhood space is constructed in a two-way process between human beings and their environment as people select, organize, and endow what they see with meaning. This image differs from person to person, and different neighborhood environments are associated with different processes of image-making. An environmental image may possess three components: identity, structure, and meaning. Among these three components, identity implies distinctiveness compared to others and its recognition separate from another entity. A neighborhood identity is a collective representation created by subjective perceptions of any single individual or group rather than by objective reality in the neighborhood [11–13]. Understanding neighborhood identity based on Lynch’s [10] and Suttles’ work [14], researchers have found that people interact with their neighborhood as a creative imposition and that people’s activities are connected to their ‘cognitive maps’ (i.e., their internal representation of the space) [15].

In one stream of urban research, researchers have mainly studied how urban or neighborhood identity is depicted using two methodological approaches: (1) traditional methods, and (2) computational techniques. The first addresses the interdependent identity as perceptions among external observers (e.g., tourists, non-natives), the in-group (e.g., natives, residents rooted in place), and stakeholders (e.g., policy makers) [3,11,16–20]. Their perceptions are measured using traditional methods (e.g., interviews, survey questionnaires, diaries). Moreover, researchers have added their own perspectives through observations. For example, Huovinen and colleagues tried to measure neighborhood identity by

using interviews and diaries to gauge residents' perceptions [20]. Saleses and colleagues created a discursive map with different key words in four different places, then related the identity of places to different perceptions [21]. In addition to methodologies such as interviews and survey questionnaires, the systematic reconstruction of cognitive maps of neighborhood boundaries by relying on residents' perceptions represents a methodological challenge. The boundaries of neighborhoods should be decided by the average or the largest example [22]. In addition to being expensive, these methods are difficult to validate [23] and do not capture enough of the meanings and identities of neighborhoods that are attached to languages [13].

The second approach uses computational techniques to gather and process high volumes of data through Geographical Information Systems (GIS), space syntax, and programming languages (e.g., R and Python) [1,21,24,25]. For example, geo-tagged digital images collected from four different places through online maps and on-site observations were analyzed in the context of city identity. The safety, uniqueness, and social class of neighborhoods were used as a proxy of city identity as measured by the perceptions of the public (i.e., crowdsourcing). The results were then be visualized as maps. Zhou and colleagues analyzed over two million geo-tagged photos from Google Street Views, Flikers, and Panoramio to identify city identities from twenty-one different cities [25]. Their study labeled scene attributes with one hundred and two distinctive classifications, such as natural, eating, and open areas by drawing on deep learning processes. Later, spatial analysis was performed with these characteristics on maps and a similarity network analysis was created.

In addition to image processing for place identity, determining the linguistic patterns in big data has not yet fully revealed its potential. Research has been performed with big data, such as that from Twitter, TripAdvisor, Yelp, and news article data from diverse geographical regions [1,8,13,26]. Such works have explored, for instance, (1) how similar or changed neighborhoods are over time [13], (2) how different city characteristics or urban green space characteristics are from each other [1,8], and (3) how different the topics are based on geo-tagged locations [26]. Certain data types, such as from TripAdvisor and Yelp, only provide insights for commercial destinations and do not cover diverse opinions. Although Twitter covers spatiotemporal information with texts being used by diverse populations, the number of users in Korea is limited and the data do not cover a long-term period. Thus, the authors mainly focused on an analysis of how neighborhood identities have been constructed through an emerging methodology by analyzing big data (i.e., Naver blogs), thereby adding more knowledge to the literature. Through big data analysis, the authors adopted text mining to deal with linguistic patterns for neighborhood changes using data accumulated over a period of almost ten years.

2.2. Understanding the Study Neighborhood

Urban decline is a multidimensional process describing the reduction of local economic opportunities along with a decrease in jobs and a rise in unemployment, depopulation, and dilapidation of the neighborhood environment [27]. Central and local governments in many developed countries have tried to lessen the negative effects of urban and neighborhood shrinkage and to bring back the positive image of cities and neighborhoods. Korea is one of the countries investing tremendous amounts on urban regeneration. As an exemplar of local cities, the Yanglim neighborhood in Gwangju was chosen for this study. Gwangju is the sixth largest city located in southwestern Korea. It covers 501 km² and had almost 1.5 million people in 2021 [28]. It is one of the cities currently experiencing a gentle population decline [29].

Yanglim is a residential area covering 0.68 km² and surrounded by the Sajik and Yanglim mountains in Gwangju. The Gwangju stream is located nearby. While Yanglim is located close to the old city center, prior to 1904 the land around it was affordable, and included a great many graveyards. Taking advantage of affordable land, missionaries from the Presbyterian church in the United States settled in the area, using it as a base camp

for their religious missions and social work [30]. Their most outstanding activities were education, medicine, and mission, establishing schools (e.g., Speer Girls' Schools, the first institute for girls' education in Gwangju), a hospital (the current Gwangju Christian Hospital), and a church (Yanglim Presbyterian Church). The Yanglim area played a role as a center for the arts (e.g., traditional Korean and Western music and performance), intellectual exchange, and the movement for independence from Japan and was a center for religion, medicine, education, and social work. Until 1970, this place was called a "western village", "Christian village", or "cradle for modern culture in Gwangju", with a modern historical heritage and Korean traditional houses (e.g., western-style buildings and Hanoks). In addition, the Yanglim neighborhood is the home town of famous artists [31]. Since 1976, the lower part of Yanglim has been developed as a residential area to solve the housing shortage; most of the housing in this neighborhood is 30 years old or more, with some vacant and dilapidated houses. The aged houses, narrow streets, public health issues such as streets inaccessible to fire trucks, and lack of parking lots and walking paths have been considered important issues for improvement [32].

In 2009, the local government launched initiatives to develop the Yanglim neighborhood as a historical and cultural village to attract tourists [33]. The local district assigned funding (approximately USD 24 million) to regenerate the neighborhood over a nine-year period (2009–2017). The first initiative was the renovation of the missionary heritage, the formation of a missionary memorial park, and the maintenance of walking paths in the neighborhood. This initiative included the construction of a memorial tower (the current Sajik Observatory Tower) along with renovations of old schools and the medical center [32]. During this period, the local government focused on developing art and exhibition content and constructing several small art galleries [34]. In addition to these local government initiatives, the residents voluntarily began beautifying the neighborhood. One resident started to clean up a burnt-down house, and hung items such as old-style clocks on fences and walls for decoration. Other residents began urban farming in the vacant lots, accelerating the urban regeneration process. The collective actions of the residents, the local artists, and the local government have made the neighborhood, now known as Penguin Village, widely renowned. "Penguin" is the nickname of a resident who waddles like a penguin after a car accident, and who has been actively involved in the neighborhood project [35]. Penguin Village has become renowned, drawing a large volume of tourists and locals. This has functioned as a driver of neighborhood change, stimulating construction and renovation of commercial buildings and houses to suit the demands of both insiders and outsiders. On top of these nine years of improvements, the local government secured additional funding (approximately USD 51.6 million) for the next six-year period (2018–2023). The goals in this period are as follows: (1) improvement of the residential area (e.g., funding and program support for housing repairs and securement of parking spaces); (2) improvement of the urban environment (e.g., creation of a smart city and Book Street); (3) vitalization of the local economy (e.g., by attracting small business owners and opening an urban regeneration support center); and (4) social integration (e.g., the management of a local community and citizen art school) [36]. To realize these goals, the local government has incentivized local artists and small business owners to settle in the area by subsidizing rent and offering affordable studios in cooperation with the neighborhood community. These endeavors have included constructing new buildings and launching additional programs for the local economy, arts, and community through incentives and sponsorships.

3. Methodology

This section describes the methodology used to detect neighborhood identity and the changing nature of the Yanglim neighborhood in Gwangju. Three stages were set up for the data collection and analysis process using computational technique and statistics analysis. The entire process is shown in Figure 1. It is possible to draw out individuals' impressions and behavioral patterns from the analysis of blog data. Thus, in the first stage, we collected data from the Naver website for a ten-year period. In the second stage, after

data cleaning, topic modeling and trend analysis with all data were performed in order to explore the neighborhood identity. In this stage, a great volume of unstructured text data were converted into quantifiable data. In the third stage, after dividing the dataset using the trend analysis, the authors analyzed how the neighborhood identity changed over the study period. The detailed methodology is described below.

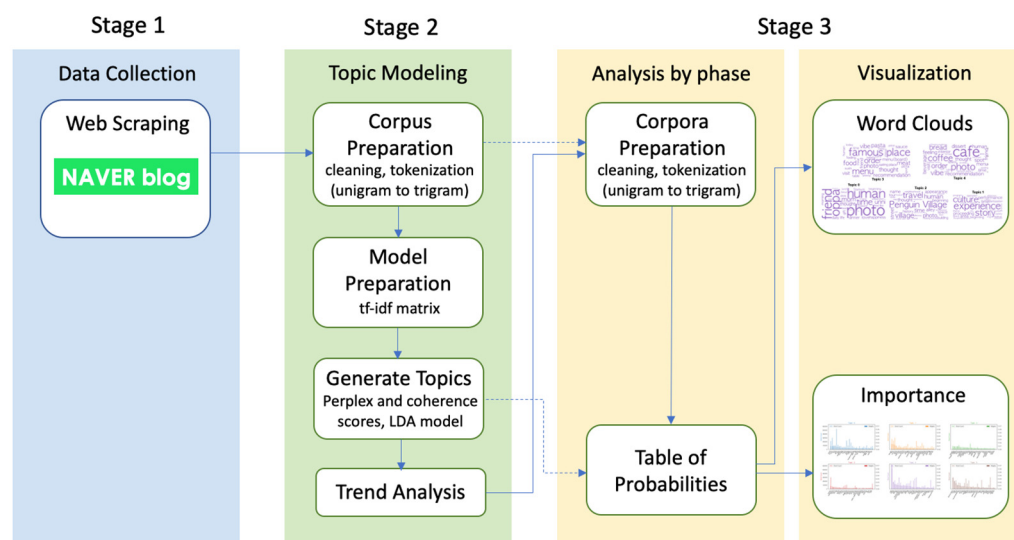


Figure 1. Research framework for this research.

3.1. Stage 1: Data Collection

Web scraping is a type of data mining that involves extracting unstructured data from targeted websites, then transforming these data into structured data and storing them as a file or in a database [37]. Using this data collection technique, the keyword, Yanglim-dong was searched on the website Naver Blogs for a ten-year period from January 2013 to October 2022. Naver is one of the largest portals in Korea, and has provided a blog service since October 2003. Thus, the accumulated amount of data is quite massive. The blog dataset includes information about what happens in the area, how and where users are, as well as what their opinions are. The voices and behaviors of users include tourists, visitors, residents, local business owners, policy makers, and tourism stakeholders; these data can be used to gain information on users' diverse activities and opinions. Geo-tagged information was collected, if available, in order to determine whether the postings were about Yanglim. The dataset, consisting of 96,356 blog posts in total, was scraped through self-implemented Python programming by the first author, and a total of 62,386 blog posts were left for analysis after the data cleaning process. Data cleaning was performed using keywords (e.g., rental car, potentially tagging various neighborhoods beyond Yanglim) as well as with geotagged information, blog user IDs, and even reading of specific blog lines. Certain bloggers tagged Yanglim or Yanglim-dong in order to make their blogs highly searchable, even when the postings were not relevant to Yanglim at all. Thus, the data cleaning process was important to securing a fine dataset.

3.2. Stage 2: Topic Modeling for All Data

The topic modeling used Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) calculated for the data analysis, which is an unsupervised method [38] using an Artificial Intelligence (AI) technique. Therefore, all collected data needed to be written in one language (i.e., Korean). This section illustrates the corpus preparation, model preparation, and topic generation processes. A text corpus is defined as a large and unstructured set of text. Recently, it has been defined as a set of data which is electronically processed and stored for statistical analysis and hypothesis testing that confirms occurrences or validates linguistic rules within a certain language territory [39]. "A corpus does not contain new information about

language, but the software offers us a new perspective on the familiar. In order to gain this new perspective, the first analytical steps generally involve two related processes: the production of frequency lists (either in rank order, or sorted alphabetically) and the generation of concordances" [40] (p. 122). In corpus preparation, tokenization is the very first step in text processing. Korean is an agglutinative language, meaning that combinations of nouns with or without whitespaces generate the same meaning. This leads to difficulties in tokenization. MeCab in KoNLPy, a Python library for NLP, was originally developed for Japanese morpheme analysis, and has been modified to MeCab-Ko for Korean morpheme analysis [41]. Compared to other libraries, MeCab-Ko provides stronger tokenization in terms of both speed and performance. A major strength of MeCab-Ko is that it offers users the function of an editable library of proper nouns. The blog contents that the first author collected contained a great many proper nouns (e.g., human or business names) and loanwords or English words directly written in Korean. Combinations including these words can result in less accurate tokenization. Thus, the authors input a proper noun list into the library of MeCab-Ko after reviewing the collected blog contents. To improve the quality of the tokenization and to perform better topic modeling, the raw corpus then needed to be cleaned of special characters, URLs, punctuation, and stopwords which are less significant in semantic contexts. Tokenization was performed by morpheme, then only nouns were selected into the tokenized list. Items from the tokenized list with fewer than three corpora were dropped as well.

This study implemented LDA, "a generative probabilistic model of collections of discrete data such as text corpora" [38] (p. 994), to analyze topics. Model preparation started with vectorization of documents from the corpus. To prepare the model, the vectorization process assigned a unique identification number for each word. While the unigram corpora (individual words) do not exactly capture the meaning of two to three words in a sequence, the *n*-gram analysis made of *n* words benefits from the co-occurrence observations [42]. By applying the *bigram_mode* and *trigram_mode* phrase modeling models in turn, the frequency of the corpus was counted and the result was transformed into a dictionary with the ID as the query key. The tokenized list combined with unigram to trigram was saved into a dictionary and the words or terms from documents were transformed into tuples (i.e., from document to bag-of-words) for their subsequent numerical calculation.

To generate topic modeling, a Term Frequency–Inverse Document Frequency (TF-IDF) matrix was used to compute the frequency of the terms in a corpus of documents (i.e., term *X* appears in document *Y*) [43]. LDA starts from the intuition that documents exhibit multiple topics [44], and is a part of the larger field of probabilistic modeling. In generative probabilistic modeling, researchers deal with data arising from a generative process including hidden variables. A joint probability distribution over the observed and hidden random variables is defined by this generative process. Data analysis is performed by harnessing the joint distribution to calculate the conditional distribution, which is called the posterior distribution, of the hidden variables with the observed variables [44]. Under the given requirement, the LDA model groups documents with at least two relevant topics [45]. The LDA model is one of the most important and widely used probabilistic models [46].

Because the number of topics *k* is a significant parameter for topic modeling, *k* was determined by the calculation of coherence and perplexity. On the basis of these scores, the better model (i.e., higher value) for the desired topic number was chosen. The authors acquired up to the top thirty most relevant terms from each topic and created visualizations of those terms using word clouds and graphs based on the relative importance of the topic. In particular, the visualization of word clouds aimed to represent the percentage of individual topics that emerged, with the size of individual words standing for the importance within each topic, not across all topics. The importance of words for the LDA was extracted using a document–word matrix $wd[w, f_d]$ indicating the importance of a word *w* in document *f_d*; please refer to the work of Maskeri and colleagues for further details [47].

Whole-topic saliency was computed based on the following formula:

$$\text{Distinctiveness}(w) = \sum_T P(T|w) \log \frac{P(T|w)}{P(T)}$$

“For a given word w , we computed its conditional probability $P(T|w)$: the likelihood that observed word w was generated by latent topic T . We computed the marginal probability $P(T)$: the likelihood that any randomly selected word w' was generated by topic T . We defined the distinctiveness of a word as the Kullback–Leibler divergence [48] between $P(T|w)$ and $P(T)$ ” [49] (p.2). For more detail, please refer to the work of Chuang and colleagues [49].

Labeling topics and thematic analysis of topics are interactive processes that involve human interpretation, although topic modeling itself is an automated process [50]. The grouping of each topic (i.e., thematic analysis) depends on the results of the Intertopic Distance Map used to determine the topic distances through an automated process. Thus, the authors decided on the labels of the topics and themes considering the keywords and the Intertopic Distance Map. The percentage of each topic was calculated during the generation of the Intertopic Distance Map.

3.3. Stage 3: Topic Changes by Period

The government interventions have been ongoing since 2009, and the interventions during the data collection period were not likely to have had any immediate effects on the responses of the locals and tourists posting on social media. Thus, trend analysis by topic was performed to determine how to categorize a period by topic change instead of dividing the period by government interventions. First of all, the LDA model assumes each document contains more than one topic, as mentioned above. Thus, the percentage contribution by each topic for each document was computed throughout all the documents. After that, each assigned topic was computed by year and month (e.g., January 2013).

Next, the authors used the same procedures for cleaning, tokenization, and bag-of-words (e.g., trigram modeling) detailed in Section 3.2. Because the rate of each topic presented differed by phase, the number of topics and the contents of the topics that emerged were inconsistent for each stage. As described above, the authors computed the perplexity and coherence scores, then selected the better LDA models based on these values. The results were drawn as word clouds and the word counts and importance of topic keywords were illustrated in figures. The individual topics were labeled considering the themes of the keywords, as described above. For instance, the topic containing keywords such as *travel*, *Penguin Village*, and *alleyway* was labeled as tour and culture. The saliency of terms for each phase was computed using the formula stated above.

4. Results

4.1. Topic Modeling for All Data

As described above, all data (January 2013 to October 2022) were analyzed in this stage to detect neighborhood identity for the entire period of time. On the whole, the exclusive identity of Yanglim, as a hot spot and tourist destination for sightseeing, consists of famous cafés, restaurants, and Penguin Village. The most salient terms that emerged were *café* (96,038), *photo* (79,606), *famous place* (54,285), *time* (44,234), *menu* (42,083), *order* (41,758), *coffee* (32,203), *vibe* (31,971), *recommendation* (29,206), and *feeling* (25,778). Other terms listed in this analysis are *travel*, *Penguin Village*, *space*, *food*, *unni* (which means older females of similar age or in a blood relationship in Korean), *mom*, *dessert*, *bread*, *beverage*, *looking around*, *table*, *pasta*, *meat*, *village*, *sauce*, *street*, *interior*, *alley*, *tour*, and *culture* (Table 1).

Table 1. Most salient terms and their frequencies by stages.

All		Stage 1		Stage 2		Stage 3	
Hot Spot and Tourist Destination		Cultural Heritages and Tourism		Hot Spot and Cultural Tourism		Daily Life and Hot Spot with Loved Ones	
Keywords	Frequency	Keywords	Frequency	Keywords	Frequency	Keywords	Frequency
café	96,038	photo	4927	café	37,563	café	53,767
photo	79,606	human	4673	photo	31,725	famous place	29,929
famous place	54,285	travel	3304	famous place	20,894	order	22,162
time	44,234	thought	3179	menu	18,836	menu	21,439
menu	42,083	culture	2572	order	18,623	coffee	17,525
order	41,758	Penguin Village	2550	friend	14,871	recommendation	16,528
coffee	32,203	café	2289	vibe	14,224	vibe	15,644
vibe	31,971	village	2150	coffee	12,204	visit	15,193
recommendation	29,206	story	2049	recommendation	11,334	feeling	14,186
feeling	25,778	area	1833	travel	11,028	spot	13,719
travel	23,915	space	1763	feeling	10,209	space	11,321
Penguin Village	23,385	friend	1671	visit	9561	unni	11,066
space	20,242	artwork	1274	food	8732	mom	10,753
food	19,521	alley	1263	bread	7552	dessert	10,391
unni	18,183	proceeding	1212	table	6318	food	10,111
mom	17,958	looking around	1173	dessert	6148	oppa	9090
dessert	16,834	Korea	1160	pasta	5917	travel	8643
bread	16,125	coffee	1103	village	5904	bread	8288
beverage	14,228	art	1035	beverage	5768	beverage	7969
looking around	14,143	Mr.	1003	meat	5285	table	7053
table	13,809	experience	993	menu(board)	5108	Penguin Village	6901
pasta	12,878	missionary	941	oppa	4852	pasta	6251
meat	11,769	church	863	sauce	4772	meat	6181
village	11,523	artist	856	eating place	4451	sauce	6059
sauce	10,743	order	799	cake	3567	pizza	5615
street	9816	menu	690	pizza	3393	artwork	4725
interior	9537	movie	619	sushi	2861	exhibition	3736
alley	7942	China	528	steak	2349	village	3662
tour	6929	(musical)	179	Testa	2277	artist	3235
culture	6675	performance	166	experience	2222	soup	2610
		music	166				

As explained in the methodology section, the authors calculated coherence and perplexity scores to identify better models with an optimal number of topics; in the end, an LDA model with five topics for all data was calculated. Based on the LDA modeling, word clouds and the count and importance of keywords were generated. Figure 2 illustrates the top thirty keywords composing the five selected topics out of the entire set of postings. During the entire period, the emerging topics were as follows: Topic 0 (daily life: 33.2%), Topic 1 (tour and culture; 10.3%), Topic 2 (café and hot spot; 17.5%), Topic 3 (food and hot spot; 18.6%), and Topic 4 (culture and citizen participation; 20.4%; Appendices A and B).

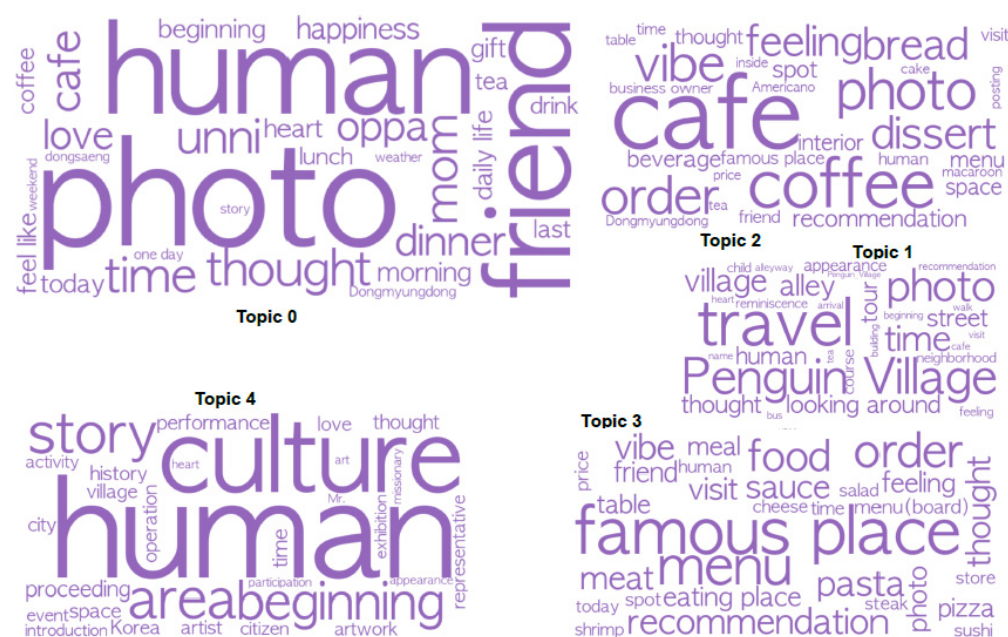


Figure 2. Word clouds for all data.

Topic 0 is labeled daily life, which includes people or loved ones interacting in daily life. The keywords of importance for Topic 0 are as follows: *photo* (0.0153), *human* (0.0109), *friend* (0.0095), *thought* (0.0080), *time* (0.0077), *mom* (0.0075), *unni* (0.0073), *café* (0.0060), *oppa* (0.0057; opposite gender of *unni* in Korean), and *dinner* (0.0056). Topic 1 (tour and culture) is related to historic and cultural resources present or cultivated in the Yanglim area. Topic 1 incorporates keywords such as *travel* (0.0326), *Penguin Village* (0.0278), *photo* (0.0225), *time* (0.0139), *village* (0.0109), *alley* (0.0088), *looking around* (0.0087), *street* (0.0086), *thought* (0.0085), and *human* (0.0082), in order of importance. Topic 3 is about cafés and hot spots. This topic contains keywords including *café* (0.0684), *coffee* (0.0244), *photo* (0.0165), *vibe* (0.0137), *order* (0.0137), *dessert* (0.0096), *bread* (0.0092), *feeling* (0.0089), *recommendation* (0.0087), and *spot* (0.0085). Coffee and dessert-related keywords occur as well. Topic 3 is about food and hot spots. The keywords (e.g., *famous place*, *menu*, and *order*) are concurrent with Topic 2, but food-related terms are dominant here. Topic 4 represents culture and citizen participation; the relevant terms are illustrated in Figure 3.

The resulting trends of the topics are shown in Figure 4. In particular, the rate of Topic 4 (i.e., culture and citizen participation) is noticeably higher than others before 2017. Topic 1, tour and culture related to Penguin Village, shows a similar pattern to Topic 4 since 2015. However, other topics are comparable to each other in the first part of the graph, showing only moderate increases or decreases in rate. Moreover, the rate of Topic 4 dramatically dropped after the COVID-19 outbreak in Gwangju. Thus, the authors separated the periods of analysis into three: (1) January 2013 to October 2016 (stage 1: flourishing); (2) November 2016 to February 2020 (stage 2: maturation); and (3) March 2020 to October 2022 (stage 3: COVID-19). The numbers of documents contained in each stage are as follows: 5362 for stage 1, 26,408 for stage 2, and 30,616 for stage 3.

Figure 5 presents the topic counts by documents and the five major terms generated through LDA modeling. As seen in Figure 5, the volume of topics related to culture and citizen participation was higher in the first stage than for others. Over time, the volumes of other topics balanced one another, then the daily life-related topic (Topic 0) dramatically outweighed the others during the COVID-19 period (stage 3). Overall, the quantity of blog postings increased noticeably over time.

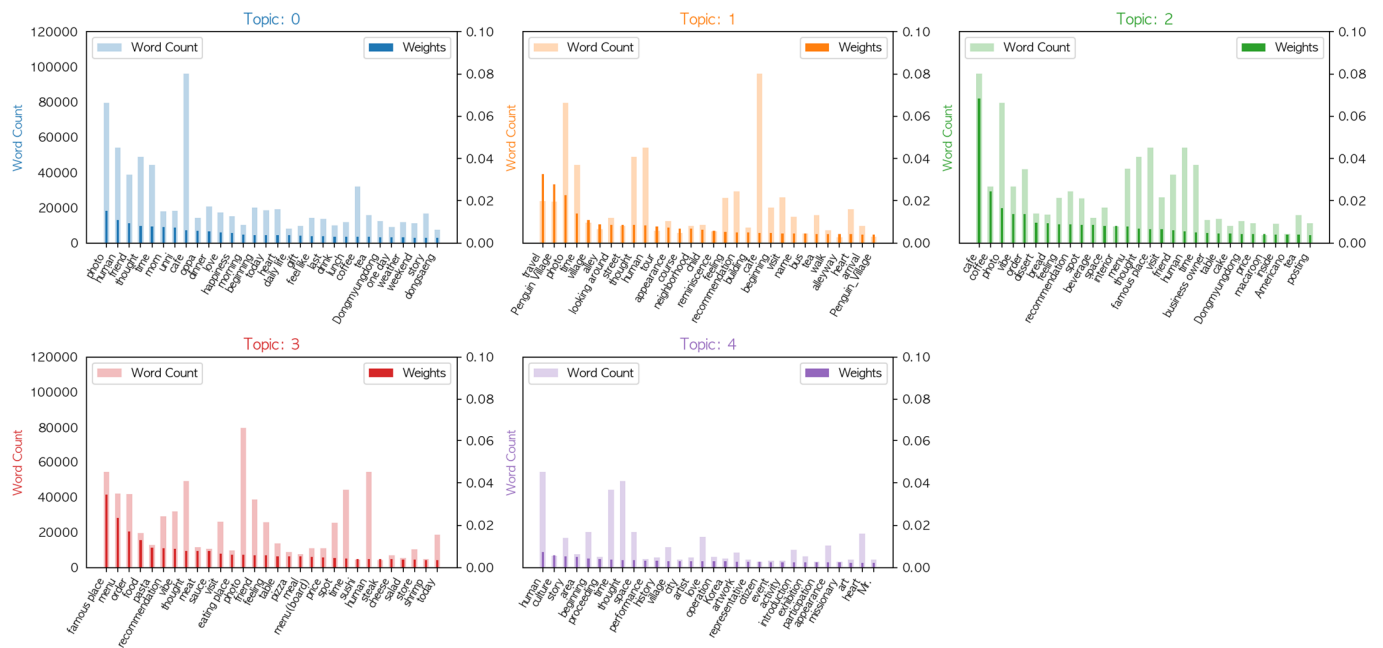


Figure 3. Importance (weight) of keywords by each topic and total frequency of keywords for all data.

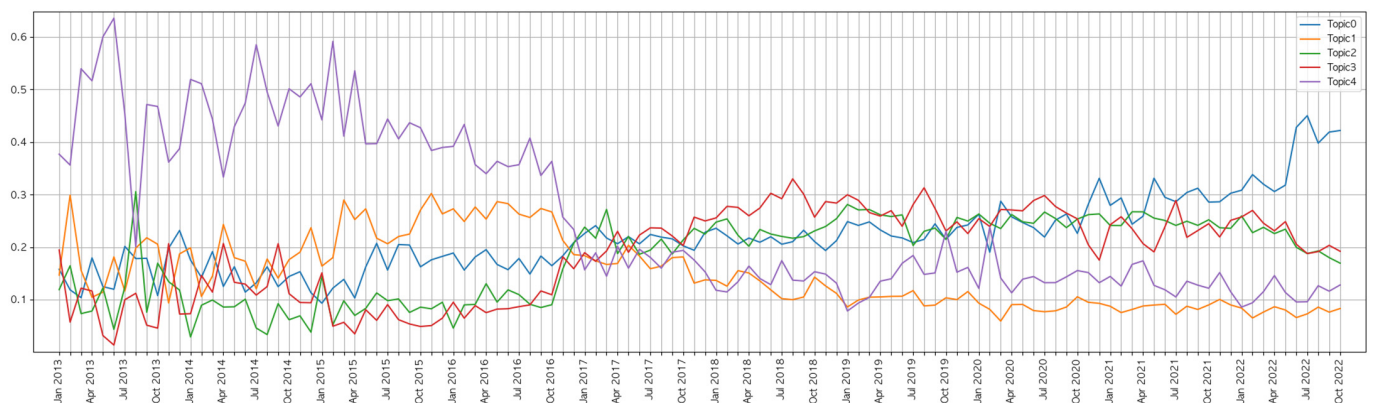


Figure 4. Trends for each topic from 2013 to 2022.

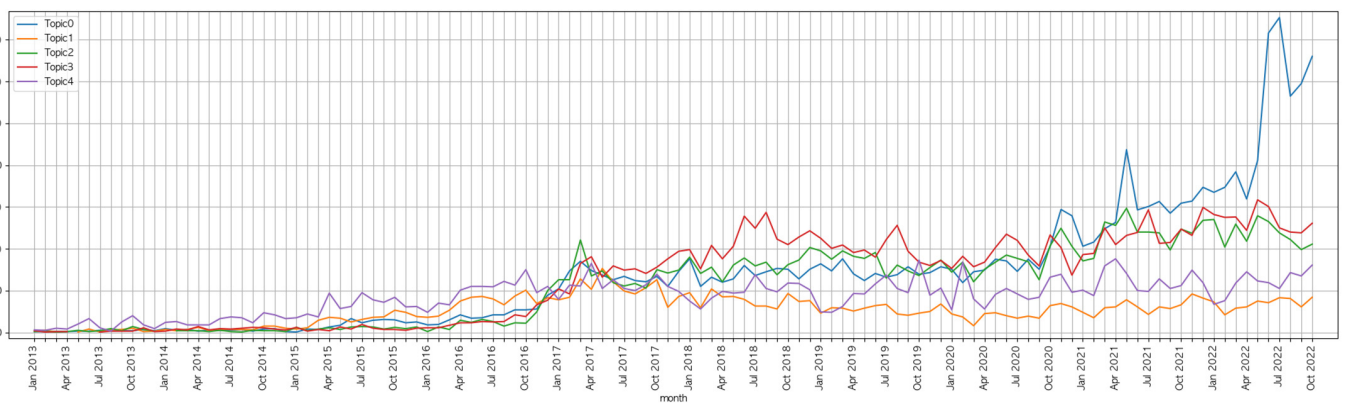


Figure 5. The count of blog posting by topic and month.

4.2. Topic Changes by Period

4.2.1. Stage 1: Flourishment (January 2013–October 2016)

The first phase of urban regeneration was from January 2013 to October 2016. In this stage, the local government worked to revitalize the neighborhood by commodifying its historical and cultural resources, and the area was named Yanglim History and Culture Village. In tandem with these initiatives, the local residents revamped the streets and alleys in the neighborhood through voluntary and cooperative participation. Later on, the Yanglim neighborhood was named Penguin Village and gained fame, being reported on in mass media and going viral.

First of all, the authors identified the theme of Stage 1 as cultural heritage and tourism. In this stage, the keywords related to this theme are history, art, and travel, rather than cafés and hot spots. Specifically, the most salient keywords determined through LDA modeling included *photo* (4927 times), *human* (4673), *travel* (3304), *thought* (3179), *culture* (2572), *Penguin Village* (2550), *café* (2289), *village* (2150), *story* (2049), and *area* (1833). Other terms are as follows: *space*, *friend*, *artwork*, *alley*, *proceeding*, *looking around*, *Korea*, *coffee*, *art*, *Mr.*, *experience*, *missionary*, *church*, *artist*, *order*, *menu*, *movie*, *China*, *(musical) performance*, and *music* (Table 1).

In addition, ten topics were identified by perplexity and coherence scores in this stage, bringing up more detailed keywords. The authors organized these ten topics into four themes: (1) culture, travel, and area (36.3%); (2) historic and cultural heritage and the evolution of Penguin Village (23.8%); (3) the creation of the neighborhood (20.9%); and (4) cafés and daily life (19.0%). These classifications are illustrated in Figure 6 and Appendix B.



Figure 6. Word cloud for Stage 1. Topic numbers under the same theme have the same color for readability.

The first theme (culture, travel, and area) is related to Topic 5 (8.3%), Topic 6 (12.1%), and Topic 7 (15.9%). The relevant keywords with the highest importance scores are (1) *area* (0.0125), *business* (0.0123), *tourism* (0.0087), *support* (0.0086), and *citizen* (0.0074) in Topic 5; (2) *culture* (0.0286), *art* (0.0109), *performance* (0.0107), *area* (0.0101), and *artwork* (0.0092) in Topic 6; and (3) *travel* (0.0230), *village* (0.0077), *Seoul* (0.0063), *market* (0.0059), and *time* (0.0059) in Topic 7.

The second theme, historic and cultural heritage and the evolution of Penguin Village, is associated with three topics (i.e., Topic 1, 4, and 9). The emerging keywords with the highest importance are as follows: (1) *building* (0.0268), *photo* (0.0148), *House of Jangwoo Yi* (0.0116), *appearance* (0.0115), and *Sajik Park* (0.0099) in Topic 1 (7.7%); (2) *café* (0.0207), *travel* (0.0199), *photo* (0.0169), *alley* (0.0144), and *neighborhood* (0.0143) in Topic 4 (9.5%); and

(3) *Penguin Village* (0.0595), *photo* (0.0213), *village* (0.0185), *time* (0.0136), and *penguin* (0.0128) in Topic 9 (6.6%).

The third theme of the Yanglim neighborhood is the creation of the neighborhood story, with two topics (Topic 0 and 3). In addition to commodifying the heritage of the neighborhood, the enthusiastic storytelling about the neighborhood attracted unique small businesses. The relevant keywords by the highest importance scores are *human* (0.0205), *thought* (0.0181), *photo* (0.0179), *story* (0.0178), and *time* (0.0111), as well as *book*, *heart*, *photographing*, *love*, and *movie* (Topic 0; 9.2%). In Topic 3 (11.7%), *human* (0.0229), *missionary* (0.0120), *church* (0.0116), *Mr.* (0.0112), and *Korea* (0.0095) are relevant terms.

The last theme is about cafés and daily life. This topic accounts for merely 19% of the data (9.1% for Topic 2 and 9.9% for Topic). The important keywords are (1) *café* (0.0198), *order* (0.0150), *menu* (0.0134), *coffee* (0.0129), and *famous place* (0.0129; Topic 2) and (2) *photo* (0.0235), *friend* (0.0128), *time* (0.0113), *thought* (0.0107), and *bread* (0.0098; Topic 9). On the whole, the most important keyword in Topic 9 is *Penguin Village* (0.0595), as illustrated in Figure 7.

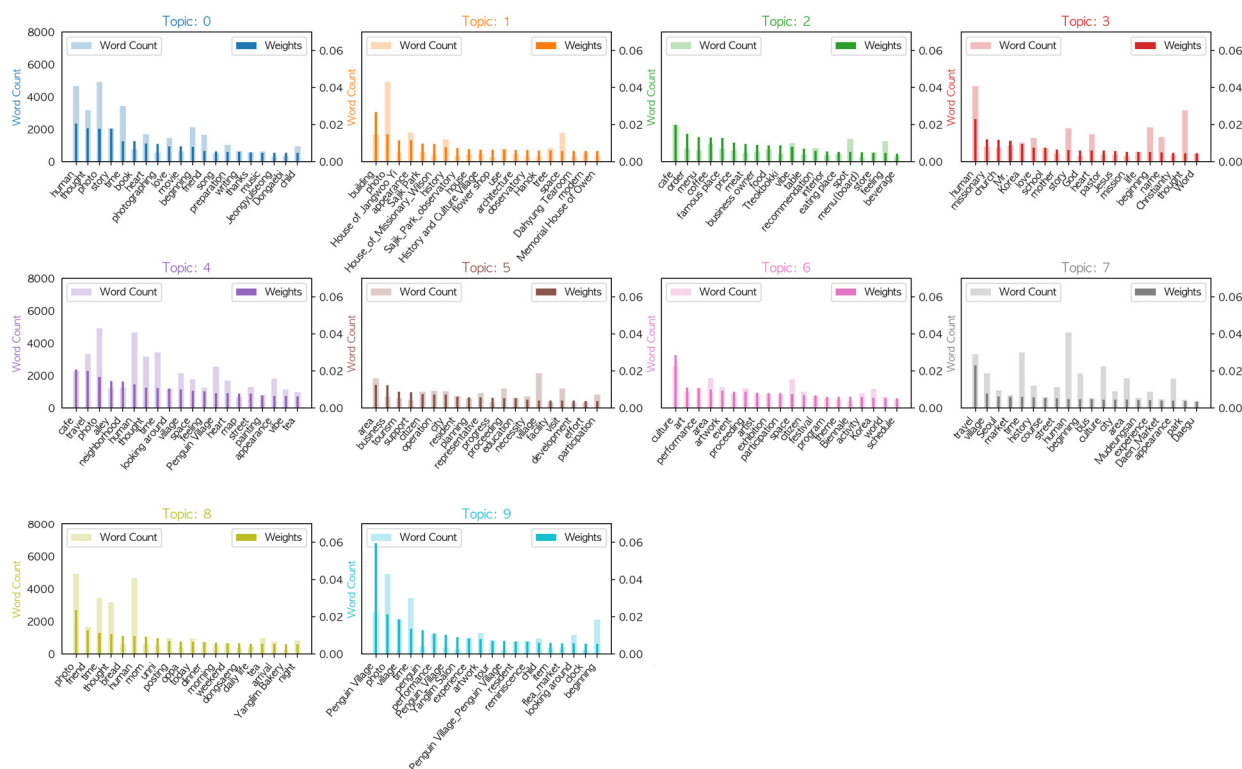


Figure 7. Importance (weight) of keywords by each topic and total frequency of the keywords for Stage 1.

4.2.2. Stage 2: Maturation (November 2016–February 2020)

The strategy for urban regeneration utilizing cultural and historical resources in the neighborhood became successful and attracted both locals and tourists. The newly opened local businesses with their own distinctiveness, such as restaurants and cafés, led the change in the neighborhood identity. Thus, the salient keywords in this stage are related to cafés and famous eateries and to their own vibes. The top keywords categorized by saliency are as follows: *café* (37,563), *photo* (31,725), *famous place* (20,894), *menu* (18,836), *order* (18,623), *friend* (14,871), *vibe* (14,224), *coffee* (12,204), *recommendation* (11,334), and *travel* (11,028). *Feeling*, *visit*, *food*, *bread*, *table*, *dessert*, *pasta*, *village*, *beverage*, *meat*, *menu (board)*, *oppa*, etc., are included as well (Table 1). The theme for Stage 2 was hot spots and cultural tourism.

In this stage, the authors identified five different topics by perplexity and coherence scores; these are grouped into three unique themes (Figure 8 and Appendix C). The first

theme is daily life (Topic 0; 21.8%). The second theme is about cultural activities and tourism. With an unreproducible identity as a cultural and historical place, the summed ratio of Topic 2 (Penguin Village and travel) and Topic 1 (culture and relevant activities) entries occupies one third (31.2%) of the total. The third theme is an identity as a hot spot with good eateries and cafés (Topic 3 and 4; 47.0%). The topics for famous eateries (Topic 3; 24.5%) and cafés (Topic 4; 22.5%) are the most relevant topics, sharing fifteen keywords (e.g., *menu*, *photo*, and *vibe*) among the top thirty and occupying almost half of the topics (47%).



Figure 8. Word clouds for Stage 2. Topic numbers under the same theme have the same color for readability.

First of all, daily-life-related themes or topics account for 21.8% of the data; users' loved ones, daily activities, and feelings are all mentioned (i.e., *photo*, *human*, *friend*, *oppa*, *time*, *mom*, *unni*, *thought*, *love*, *dinner*, *happiness*, *daily life*, *gift*, *morning*, *beginning*, *Starbucks*, *feel like*, *drink*, *preparation*, *weekend*, *Seoul*, *lunch*, *heart*, *hand*, *child*, *Dongmyungdong*, *last*, *hair*, *dongsaeng* (younger people of similar age or in a blood relationship), and *today*).

Second, under the theme of cultural activities and tourism, Topic 2 (Penguin Village and travel; 18.4%) illustrates physical characteristics of the neighborhood, with keywords including *Penguin Village* (0.0190), *travel* (0.0168), *village* (0.0129), *human* (0.0099), *photo* (0.0079), *time* (0.0069), *street* (0.0057), *thought* (0.0056), *alley* (0.0056), and *appearance* (0.0049). Other keywords include *name*, *beginning*, *tour*, *space*, *history*, *building*, *neighborhood*, *looking around*, *artwork*, *heart*, *winter*, *child*, *missionary*, *tourist spot*, *alleyway*, *course*, *visit*, *remembrance*, *museum*, and *History and Culture Village*. The keywords (Topic 1; 12.8%) indicating culture and relevant activities contain *experience* (0.0084), *story* (0.0069), *culture* (0.0068), *performance* (0.0061), *proceeding* (0.0061), *time* (0.0058), *area* (0.0056), *beginning* (0.0048), *participation* (0.0047), and *youth* (0.0047). Other culture-related keywords are *operation*, *festival*, *theme*, *program*, *event*, *variety*, *space*, *city*, *afternoon*, *thought*, *activity*, *representative*, *preparation*, *charm*, *site*, *artist*, *exhibition*, *installation*, *schedule*, and *narrative*.

Last, under the theme of a hot spot with good eateries and cafés, *menu* and *types of foods* are important keywords, reflecting the popularity of specific restaurants in this area in Topic 3 (famous eateries). The most important related terms are *famous place* (0.0284), *menu* (0.0189), *order* (0.0146), *food* (0.0104), *thought* (0.0083), *photo* (0.0083), *pasta* (0.0080), *vibe* (0.0079), *meat* (0.0078), and *recommendation* (0.0072). Other relevant keywords are as follows: *sauce*, *visit*, *menu (board)*, *friend*, *eating place*, *feeling*, *table*, *pizza*, *human*, *time*, *meal*, *sushi*, *spot*, *salad*, *price*, *today*, *shrimp*, *cheese*, *curry*, and *Testa* (a restaurant in Yanglim). The keywords with the highest importance scores for famous cafés (Topic 4) include *cafe* (0.0558), *photo* (0.0217), *coffee* (0.0177), *vibe* (0.0119), *order* (0.0109), *bread* (0.0103), *recommendation* (0.0076), *spot* (0.0073), *feeling* (0.0073), and *dessert* (0.0069). The other keywords were listed in the following order: *thought*, *human*, *beverage*, *friend*, *menu*, *time*, *visit*, *interior*, *space*, *famous place*, *cake*, *posting*, *price*, *Dongmyungdong*, *hot spot*, *business owner*, *table*, *inside*, *macaroon*, and *sensibility*. Dongmyungdong, another revitalized neighborhood with

its own success, is located near Yanglim, and the two places were frequently mentioned or visited together.

When looking at the importance of keywords from Stage 2 (i.e., maturation), *café* is the highest, followed by *famous place*, *photo*, and *Penguin Village* from Stage 2 (Figure 9). During this stage, the Yanglim neighborhood became famous for its unique cafés and restaurants, appealing to a growing number of tourists and locals. Gentrification was highlighted in the mass media as evidence of this fame.

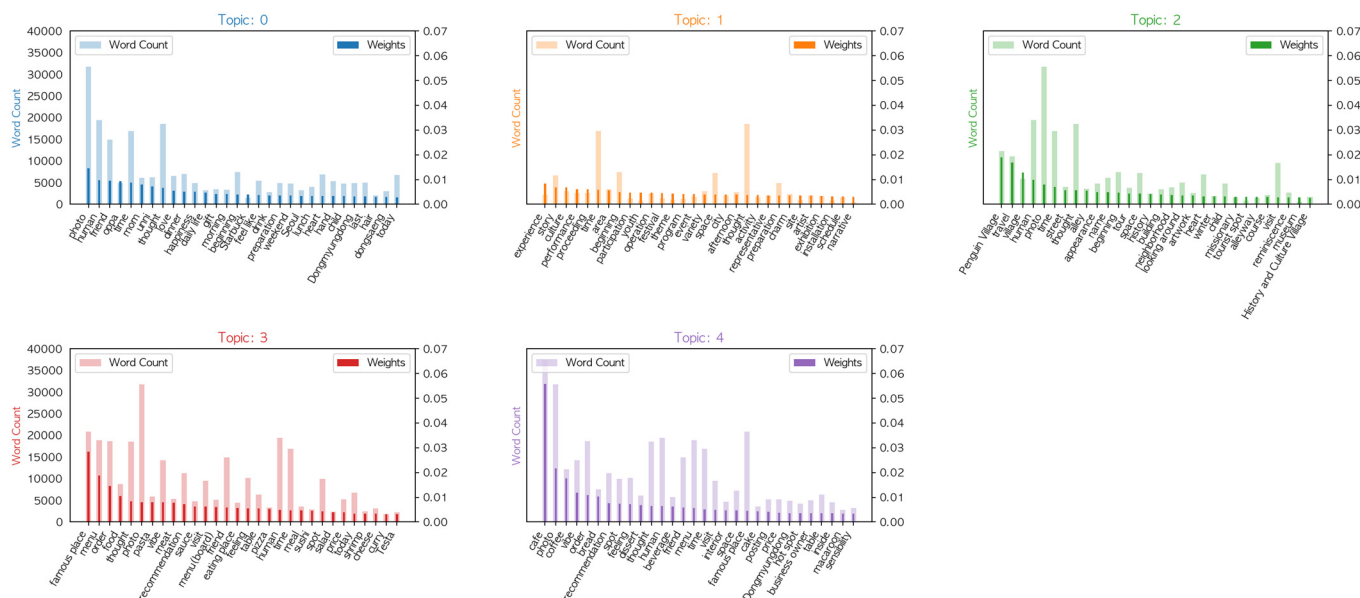


Figure 9. Importance (weight) of keywords by each topic and total frequency of the keywords for Stage 2.

4.2.3. Stage 3: COVID-19 (March 2020–October 2022)

The third phase of urban regeneration was during the COVID-19 pandemic. The first confirmed case was in January 2020; there were nine confirmed cases in Gwangju by February 2020 [51]. The initiatives and activities of the governments and local businesses related to tourism slowed down to suppress the spread of COVID-19. Several of local entrepreneurs closed down their own businesses due to the pressure of rent increases, very slow business, and a lack of capital. In accordance with these changing environments, fifteen salient keywords in this phase were associated with cafés, famous places, and daily life rather than travel and activities of local artists. The keywords include *café* (53,767), *famous place* (29,929), *order* (22,162), *menu* (21,439), *coffee* (17,525), *recommendation* (16,528), *vibe* (15,644), *visit* (15,193), *feeling* (14,186), *spot* (13,719), *space* (11,321), *unni* (11,066), *mom* (10,753), *dessert* (10,391), and *food* (10,111; Table 1). Thus, the theme was identified as daily life and a hot spot with loved ones.

Through LDA modeling, six topics were identified, with three major themes with two individual topics each, after computing perplexity and coherence scores. The three main themes were daily life (52.3%), cafés and local hot spots (34.0%), and travel, art, and local stories (14.7%; Figure 10 and Appendix D).



Figure 10. Word clouds for Stage 3. Topic numbers under the same theme have the same color for readability.

First of all, for the main theme, daily life, stories about loved ones in the neighborhood (Topic 0; 29.0%) were the most common postings during this phase. The most important ten keywords were *friend* (0.0102), *human* (0.0098), *mom* (0.0094), *unni* (0.0094), *café* (0.0080), *dinner* (0.0078), *oppa* (0.0075), *happiness* (0.0051), *morning* (0.0049), and *drink* (0.0049; Figure 11). Along with loved ones and activities, other keywords expressing feelings and happiness (e.g., *lunch*, *time*, *today*, *thought*, *coffee*, *love*, *Dongmyungdong*, *exercise*, *gift*, *getting off work*, *feel like*, *dad*, *dog*, *blog*, *last*, *best*, *beginning*, *daily life*, *hair*, *weather*, and *tea*) were salient. For Topic 1 (activities in the neighborhood; 22.3%), keywords related to neighborhood businesses and activities, including *book*, *flower*, *writing*, *tea*, and *painting*, were salient. The top ten keywords were *thought* (0.0164), *time* (0.0164), *human* (0.0164), *heart* (0.0164), *flower* (0.0164), *beginning* (0.0164), *story* (0.0164), *book* (0.0164), *looking around* (0.0164), and *travel* (0.0164). Other relevant terms were *love*, *feeling*, *child*, *preparation*, *name*, *thanks*, *appearance*, *friend*, *tea*, *memory*, *happiness*, *recommendation*, *writing*, *necessity*, *arrival*, *painting*, *gift*, *feel like*, and *one day*.

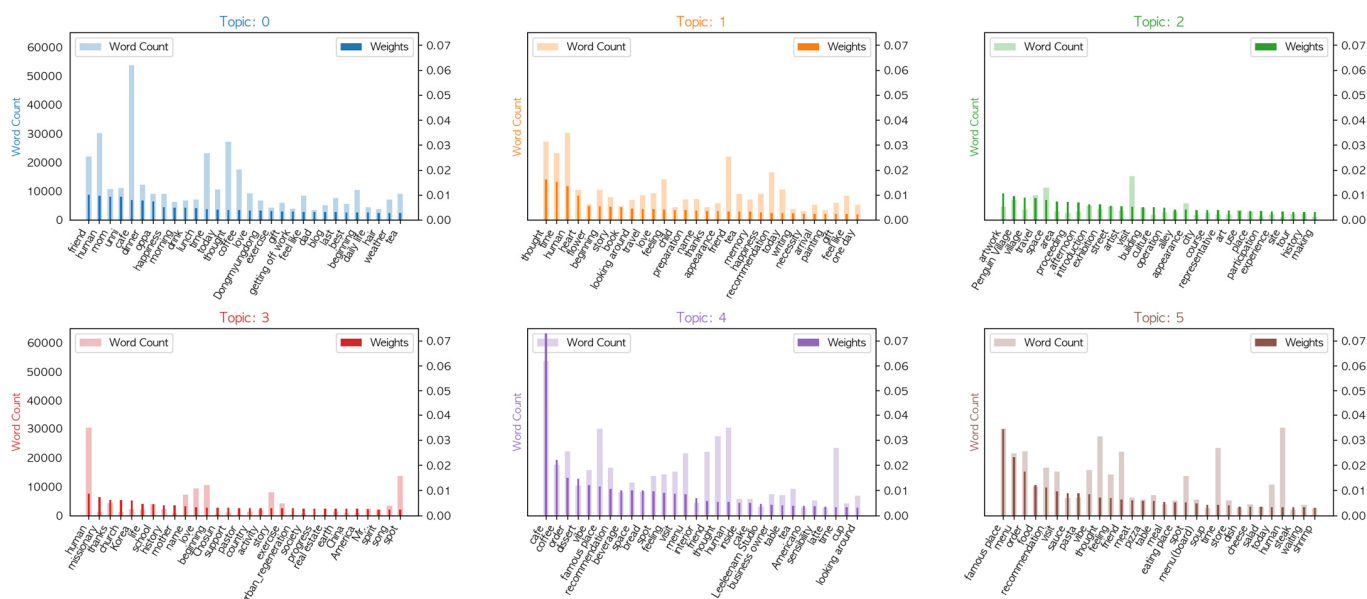


Figure 11. Importance (weight) of keywords by each topic and total frequency of the keywords for Stage 3.

For the second theme, keywords associated with cafés and local hot spots are illustrated. For Topic 5 (famous places and food; 17.2%), western food such as pizza and pasta

along with famous places and the vibes were all mentioned. It seems that this neighborhood is famous for western food rather than local food; as western food is more expensive than local food, this is highly likely to be evidence of gentrification in Yanglim. The ten most important keywords were *famous place* (0.0343), *menu* (0.0233), *order* (0.0176), *food* (0.0122), *recommendation* (0.0112), *visit* (0.0096), *sauce* (0.0090), *pasta* (0.0089), *vibe* (0.0085), and *thought* (0.0071). There were twenty additional salient keywords such as *feeling*, *friend*, *meat*, *pizza*, *table*, *meal*, *eating place*, *spot*, *menu (board)*, *soup*, *time*, *store*, *dish*, *cheese*, *salad*, *today*, *human*, *steak*, *waiting*, and *shrimp*. In topic 4 (16.8%), keywords about cafés and the vibe emerged. The keywords included *café* (0.0730), *coffee* (0.0220), *order* (0.0150), *dessert* (0.0146), *vibe* (0.0122), *famous place* (0.0115), *recommendation* (0.0106), *beverage* (0.0101), *space* (0.0100), and *bread* (0.0100). There are twenty keywords about *feelings*, *friends*, and *thoughts* as well. The Yanglim neighborhood has worked to combine art and local business. As a successful example, *Lee, Leenam studio* appeared, which is a café-cum-media art studio exhibiting the artwork of the media artist *Lee, Leenam*.

Travel, art, and local stories are the last theme. Topic 2—travel, Penguin Village, and art—makes up 9.5% of the keywords. Although the influx of tourist traffic slowed down in this phase, artwork, Penguin Village, and travel remained the top ranked for this topic. The importance of each keyword was as follows: *artwork* (0.0107), *Penguin Village* (0.0096), *village* (0.0091), *travel* (0.0089), *space* (0.0080), *area* (0.0074), *proceeding* (0.0073), *afternoon* (0.0073), *introduction* (0.0071), and *exhibition* (0.0063). In addition to art and culture, space-related keywords included *street*, *artist*, *visit*, *building*, *culture*, *operation*, *alley*, *appearance*, *city*, *course*, *representative*, *art*, *use*, *place*, *participation*, *experience*, *site*, *tour*, *history*, and *making*. Topic 3 was about the local story and urban regeneration (5.2%). As a heritage site of Christianity, relevant terms were *human* (0.0087), *missionary* (0.0074), *thanks* (0.0063), *church* (0.0062), *Korea* (0.0061), *life* (0.0047), *school* (0.0044), *history* (0.0042), *mother* (0.0041), and *name* (0.0038). Keywords such as *love*, *beginning*, *Chosun* (the last imperial dynasty of Korea), *support*, *pastor*, *country*, *activity*, *story*, *exercise*, *urban regeneration*, *society*, *progress*, *real estate*, *earth*, *China*, *America*, *Mr.*, *spirit*, *song*, and *spot* were included as well.

5. Discussion

Analyzing big data in urban regeneration areas helps policy makers to better understand citizens' thoughts and needs and how they position themselves within the cities and neighborhoods. Comprehending neighborhood identity and its changing nature offers a framework for this analysis. Local government policies making good use of historical and cultural resources and citizen participation have become drivers of neighborhood changes and have gradually transformed neighborhood identities, as has the COVID-19 pandemic more recently. In this study, the authors have examined how the identity of the Yanglim area of Gwangju, Korea has changed through urban regeneration initiatives and citizens' participation and interactions. The authors divided this neighborhood identity into three phases using trend analysis: (1) January 2013 to October 2016 (stage 1: flourishing), (2) November 2016 to February 2020 (stage 2: maturation), and (3) March 2020 to October 2022 (stage 3: COVID-19).

The topics included the issues around events, businesses, emotions and sentiments, users, activities, history, art, and culture in the neighborhood [52]. The topics and salient keywords identified have changed over time.

In the beginning, Yanglim was unnoticed by locals and tourists. However, cooperation between the local government and residents brought about successful urban regeneration. The local government steered the maintenance and improvement of the neighborhood environment and made use of storytelling through historical and cultural resources (i.e., culture-led urban regeneration). In addition, the voluntary involvement of the local residents and the cooperation of local artists in beautifying a burnt house site and the surrounding neighborhood helped it acquire its current reputation as Penguin Village, the new name of the Yanglim area. This cooperation between government and local residents

played a crucial role in burgeoning urban regeneration and a new identity introduced by cultural and historical resources for this area.

Second, the growing demands from new clientele became an important driver of neighborhood change [53]. Thanks to the influx of tourists and local visitors for sightseeing, small business entrepreneurs opened shops with their own featured items and foods. During the first phase, businesses taking advantage of affordable rents (e.g., photo studios, flower shops, wedding shops, and guest houses as well as coffee shops, bakeries, and restaurants) were the primary businesses in the area. For example, wedding shops, guest houses, and photo studios lured local customers who desired special experiences combining cultural and modern heritage. As time went by, newly opened food-related businesses such as coffee shops, bakeries, and restaurants became the predominant businesses due to a demand for these businesses by a new population in the area, such as tourists and young locals. As a result, the neighborhood's identity changed to a hot spot going through commercialization, with a great many top-rated and must-see restaurants and cafés with their own unique tastes and moods. The distinctive characteristic of urban regeneration projects in Korea is commercialization by converting residential buildings to commercial buildings such as cafés and restaurants. This conversion changes neighborhoods into tourist spots, though this brings up gentrification issues [54]. These food-related businesses function as a proxy of local economic change associated with gentrification in neighborhoods, providing real-time and up-to-date insights for gentrification before official statistics are released [55]. As expected, this identity change in Yanglim has led to gentrification issues, with the growing increase of rents reported in the news media. Thus, the local government, landlords, and small entrepreneurs (i.e., tenants) made an agreement to prevent a dramatic increase in rent in 2019, promising a government subsidy [56]. Government statistics released later showed that the number of food-related businesses that closed down increased by 50% from 2018 to 2019, confirming these news reports (Table 2). On top of these endeavors, the local government has worked to attract local artists by designating a block as the Yanglim Culture Park (4071 m², 1077 m² for buildings) created between 2018 and 2020 [57]. All of the buildings built or renovated with the Hanok architecture type are occupied by fourteen different studios for arts and crafts [58].

Table 2. The number of small businesses that closed down between 2013 and 2022 in Yanglim.

	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
N of Businesses closed down (café, bakery, restaurant etc.)	11	8	8	7	11	14	21	23	20	27

Data obtained from <https://www.localdata.go.kr/main.do> (accessed on 22 March 2023).

Lastly, in addition to the gentrification issue, COVID-19 has propelled unexpected neighborhood changes. Yanglim's identity as a hot spot for tourists and locals has been weakened due to the worldwide pandemic. Small business owners (tenants) with insufficient capital closed down their businesses due to slow business as well as rising rents and real estate prices. As seen in the data in Table 2, the number of businesses shutting down has gradually grown since 2017, and almost doubled in 2022 compared to 2018 (i.e., from 14 to 27). As the Yanglim neighborhood has become less famous as a hot spot for the young and tourists following the COVID-19 pandemic, the changing nature of the neighborhood is identified by the majority of blog posts as a place for individuals and their loved ones. Following the COVID-19 pandemic, this neighborhood now lies between the point of retrieving its previous reputation as a renowned tourist spot with an abundant heritage and art studios and a hot spot with rich cafés and eateries drawing the attention of the young. It is likely that gentrification is one of the barriers to winning back its fame. Because the Yanglim Culture Park opened during the COVID-19 outbreak, local artists have stated that initiatives embracing their activities (e.g., one-day classes or festivals) are necessary to ap-

peal to more potential tourists and locals. However, the Korean central government has cut the budget for urban regeneration projects, and currently the local government feels pressure to create self-sustainable neighborhoods [59]. Subsequently, it is important to strategize for economically and socially sustainable neighborhoods in the era of depopulation and degentrification.

6. Conclusions and Limitations

This study has attempted to analyze how neighborhood identity has changed through linguistic patterns using computational techniques (i.e., text mining). User-generated data provide insights about urban regeneration. Such insights can be valuable for improving current situations and planning for economically and socially sustainable neighborhoods and cities [8].

On the one hand, urban regeneration in the Yanglim area was considered to be successful overall. In the first phase, the identity of the Yanglim neighborhood in Gwangju, Korea, was formed by different stakeholders. The activities of policymakers and local residents led to a shared identity known as the Yanglim History and Culture Village, or Penguin Village. Starting with an identity as a tourist spot, the identity of this area evolved into a hot spot with trendy and unique cafés and restaurants, drawing attention from a considerable number of tourists and local young adults. On the other hand, gentrification became an issue, similar to other urban regeneration sites. The outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic and the resulting decrease in visitors and tourists changed the neighborhood's identity to a place for everyday life. The dominant blog postings during that time were about time and activities spent with loved ones such as friends and family members in the neighborhood. This means that the neighborhood has been experiencing degentrification, losing its reputation as a hot spot due to economic crisis [54]. Consequently, it appears that the process of enabling this neighborhood to be economically and socially sustainable has been challenged by successive experiences of gentrification and degentrification.

While blog data allow us to listen to citizens' voices through massive volumes of data, it has possible biases. First of all, blog postings are more likely to be used to promote businesses due to entrepreneurs or compensated service users uploading topics which generate a high number of keywords rather than personal online postings. Second, analyzing blog data may not adequately capture the viewpoints of residents and small business owners in the area, especially those who experience displacement and gentrification. Whereas displacement and gentrification issues may show up in micro-level data analysis, LDA modeling, as a technique for macro-level analysis, may not be able to capture these issues. In addition, the majority of blog or social media users tend to emphasize the positive side of their lives [52]. Thus, considering other diverse research methods is recommended for further research.

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Appendix A. Most Important Terms and Blog Posting Numbers by Topic and Year

T	Keyword1	Keyword2	Keyword3	Keyword4	Keyword5	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	Sum	% of tokens
0	photo	human	friend	thought	time	42	69	240	515	1601	1690	1758	2160	3532	5085	16,692	33.2
1	travel	Penguin Village	photo	time	village	47	103	386	859	1237	933	652	530	743	689	6179	10.3
2	café	coffee	photo	vibe	order	56	37	124	341	1649	1940	2017	2071	2832	2364	13,431	17.5
3	famous place	menu	order	food	pasta	32	101	105	385	1801	2658	2375	2235	2805	2684	15,181	18.6
4	human	culture	story	area	beginning	188	354	781	1204	1365	1178	1165	1176	1476	1192	10,079	20.4

Appendix B. Most Important Terms by Topic for All Data

Topic 0: Daily Life (33.2%)		Topic 1: Tour and Culture (20.4%)		Topic 2: Café and Hot Spot (18.6%)		Topic 3: Food and Hot Spot (17.5%)		Topic 4: Culture and Citizen Participation (10.3%)	
Keywords	Importance	Keywords	Importance	Keywords	Importance	Keywords	Importance	Keywords	Importance
photo	0.0153	travel	0.0326	café	0.0684	famous place	0.0344	human	0.0073
human	0.0109	Penguin Village	0.0278	coffee	0.0244	menu	0.0234	culture	0.0058
friend	0.0095	photo	0.0225	photo	0.0165	order	0.0170	story	0.0054
thought	0.0080	time	0.0139	vibe	0.0137	food	0.0131	area	0.0052
time	0.0077	village	0.0109	order	0.0137	pasta	0.0093	beginning	0.0043
mom	0.0075	alley	0.0088	dessert	0.0096	recommendation	0.0091	proceeding	0.0041
unni	0.0073	looking around	0.0087	bread	0.0092	vibe	0.0090	time	0.0037
café	0.0060	street	0.0086	feeling	0.0089	thought	0.0080	thought	0.0035
oppa	0.0057	thought	0.0085	recommendation	0.0087	meat	0.0078	space	0.0034
dinner	0.0056	human	0.0082	spot	0.0085	sauce	0.0078	performance	0.0034
love	0.0050	tour	0.0079	beverage	0.0085	visit	0.0067	history	0.0033
happiness	0.0047	appearance	0.0073	space	0.0082	eating place	0.0061	village	0.0031
morning	0.0041	course	0.0067	interior	0.0081	photo	0.0061	city	0.0031
beginning	0.0037	neighborhood	0.0067	menu	0.0079	friend	0.0060	artist	0.0030
today	0.0037	child	0.0062	thought	0.0067	feeling	0.0060	love	0.0030
heart	0.0036	reminiscence	0.0059	famous place	0.0066	table	0.0055	operation	0.0030
daily life	0.0036	feeling	0.0053	visit	0.0065	pizza	0.0054	Korea	0.0030

Topic 0: Daily Life (33.2%)		Topic 1: Tour and Culture (20.4%)		Topic 2: Café and Hot Spot (18.6%)		Topic 3: Food and Hot Spot (17.5%)		Topic 4: Culture and Citizen Participation (10.3%)	
Keywords	Importance	Keywords	Importance	Keywords	Importance	Keywords	Importance	Keywords	Importance
gift	0.0036	recommendation	0.0050	friend	0.0060	meal	0.0054	artwork	0.0028
feel like	0.0033	building	0.0050	human	0.0056	menu(board)	0.0052	representative	0.0027
last	0.0032	café	0.0047	time	0.0050	price	0.0048	citizen	0.0027
drink	0.0030	beginning	0.0046	business owner	0.0049	spot	0.0047	event	0.0026
lunch	0.0030	visit	0.0046	table	0.0046	time	0.0043	activity	0.0026
coffee	0.0029	name	0.0046	cake	0.0044	sushi	0.0041	introduction	0.0025
tea	0.0029	bus	0.0045	Dongmyungdong	0.0043	human	0.0041	exhibition	0.0025
Dongmyungdong	0.0028	tea	0.0043	price	0.0042	steak	0.0041	participation	0.0025
one day	0.0028	walk	0.0043	macaroon	0.0042	cheese	0.0039	appearance	0.0024
weather	0.0026	alleyway	0.0043	inside	0.0041	salad	0.0039	missionary	0.0024
weekend	0.0026	heart	0.0043	Americano	0.0040	store	0.0039	art	0.0024
story	0.0025	arrival	0.0041	tea	0.0039	shrimp	0.0036	heart	0.0023
dongsaeng	0.0025	Penguin_Village	0.0041	posting	0.0038	today	0.0035	Mr.	0.0022

Appendix C. Most Important Terms by Topic and Theme for Stage 1

Theme 1: Culture, Travel, and Area (36.3%)					Theme 3: the Creation of the Neighborhood (20.9%)				
Topic 5 (8.3%)		Topic 6 (12.1%)		Topic 7 (15.9%)		Topic 0 (9.2%)		Topic 3 (11.7%)	
Keyword	Importance	Keyword	Importance	Keyword	Importance	Keyword	Importance	Keyword	Importance
area	0.0125	culture	0.0286	travel	0.023	human	0.0205	human	0.0229
business	0.0123	art	0.0109	village	0.0077	thought	0.0181	missionary	0.012
tourism	0.0087	performance	0.0107	Seoul	0.0063	photo	0.0179	church	0.0116
support	0.0086	area	0.0101	market	0.0059	story	0.0178	Mr.	0.0112
citizen	0.0074	artwork	0.0092	time	0.0059	time	0.0111	Korea	0.0095
operation	0.0073	event	0.0088	history	0.0058	book	0.0109	love	0.0075
city	0.0072	proceeding	0.0087	course	0.0054	heart	0.0099	school	0.0074
resident	0.0059	artist	0.0083	street	0.0053	photographing	0.0094	mother	0.0064
planning	0.0058	exhibition	0.0079	human	0.0048	love	0.0083	story	0.0061
representative	0.0057	participation	0.0079	beginning	0.0047	movie	0.0082	God	0.0061
progress	0.0056	space	0.0076	bus	0.0047	beginning	0.0079	heart	0.006
proceeding	0.0054	citizen	0.0071	culture	0.0046	friend	0.0058	pastor	0.0059

education	0.0052	festival	0.0069	city	0.0045	song	0.0054	Jesus	0.0057
necessity	0.0045	program	0.0061	area	0.0045	preparation	0.0052	mission	0.0053
village	0.0041	theme	0.006	Mudeungsan	0.0043	writing	0.0052	life	0.0053
facility	0.004	Biennale	0.006	experience	0.0042	thanks	0.0051	beginning	0.0051
visit	0.004	activity	0.0059	Daein_Market	0.004	music	0.0048	name	0.0051
development	0.0039	Korea	0.0054	appearance	0.0039	Jeongyulseong	0.0048	Christianity	0.0049
effort	0.0039	world	0.0053	park	0.0038	Dongaebi	0.0048	thought	0.0046
participation	0.0038	schedule	0.0052	Daegu	0.0035	child	0.0047	word	0.0045
evaluation	0.0037	afternoon	0.0051	nature	0.0035	appearance	0.0047	hospital	0.0044
activity	0.0036	variety	0.0045	tour	0.0034	work	0.0042	country	0.004
development	0.0035	youth	0.0042	spot	0.0032	happiness	0.0041	history	0.0038
economy	0.0033	culture_art	0.0042	Pusan	0.0032	study	0.004	Father	0.0037
formation	0.0031	operation	0.0042	alley	0.0032	reason	0.0038	global society	0.0035
management	0.0031	representative	0.0041	view	0.003	gift	0.0036	worship	0.0033
thought	0.0031	experience	0.004	tourist spot	0.003	place	0.0035	spirit	0.0033
result	0.0031	opening	0.004	museum	0.003	global society	0.0034	America	0.0033
woman	0.003	music	0.0039	country	0.0029	memory	0.0034	Chosun	0.003
industry	0.003	China	0.0038	operation	0.0028	Mr.	0.0033	prayer	0.0029
Theme 2: historic and cultural heritages and evolution of Penguin Village (23.8%)					Theme 4: cafés and daily life (19.0%)				
Topic 1 (7.7%)		Topic 4 (9.5%)		Topic 9 (6.6%)		Topic 2 (9.1%)		Topic 8 (9.9%)	
building	0.0268	café	0.0207	Penguin Village	0.0595	café	0.0198	photo	0.0235
photo	0.0148	travel	0.0199	photo	0.0213	order	0.015	friend	0.0128
House of Jangwoo Yi	0.0116	photo	0.0169	village	0.0185	menu	0.0134	time	0.0113
appearance	0.0115	alley	0.0144	time	0.0136	coffee	0.0129	thought	0.0107
Sajik Park	0.0099	neighborhood	0.0143	penguin	0.0128	famous place	0.0129	bread	0.0098
House_of_Missioary_Wilson	0.0096	human	0.0127	performance	0.0111	price	0.0102	human	0.0095
history	0.0077	thought	0.0111	Penguin_Village	0.0102	meat	0.0094	mom	0.0094
Sajik_Park_observatory	0.0073	time	0.0108	Yanglim Salon	0.0089	business owner	0.009	unni	0.0086
house	0.0068	looking around	0.0105	experience	0.0082	food	0.0088	posting	0.0069
History and Culture Village	0.0066	village	0.0099	artwork	0.0081	Tteokbokki	0.0087	oppa	0.0068
flower shop	0.0066	space	0.0093	tour	0.0071	vibe	0.008	today	0.0065

use	0.0065	feeling	0.009	Penguin Village_Penguin Village	0.007	table	0.0071	dinner	0.0064
architecture	0.0063	Penguin Village	0.0081	resident	0.0067	recommendation	0.0059	morning	0.006
observatory	0.0062	heart	0.008	reminiscence	0.0065	interior	0.0055	weekend	0.0059
Hanok	0.0061	map	0.0078	child	0.0061	eating place	0.0052	dongsaeng	0.0058
tree	0.0061	street	0.0077	item	0.0059	spot	0.0052	daily life	0.0055
space	0.0059	painting	0.0069	flea_market	0.0059	menu (board)	0.005	tea	0.0054
Dahyung Tearoom	0.0057	appearance	0.0066	looking around	0.0058	store	0.0048	arrival	0.0054
modern Memorial	0.0057	vibe	0.0065	clock	0.0056	feeling	0.0048	Yanglim Bakery	0.0052
House of Owen	0.0057	tea	0.0063	beginning	0.0056	beverage	0.0043	night	0.0052
missionary_house	0.0056	name	0.0062	human	0.0056	photo	0.004	feel like	0.0049
Modern_History_and_Culture_Village	0.0052	alleyway	0.0061	proceeding	0.0055	thought	0.0039	weather	0.0048
inside	0.0052	coffee	0.0053	appearance	0.0053	friend	0.0038	hand	0.0044
Choi Se-unghyo_House	0.0051	walk	0.0052	name	0.0051	tea	0.0037	rain	0.0041
Yanglim Church	0.005	building	0.0049	Penguin_vegetable garden	0.0051	side dishes	0.0037	hair	0.004
time	0.0046	discovery	0.0048	alley	0.005	name	0.0035	beginning	0.0039
beginning	0.0045	mural	0.0046	vegetable garden	0.0049	visit	0.0034	lunch	0.0037
night view	0.0044	Songjung_Station_Market	0.0045	story	0.0049	cheese	0.0033	last	0.0037
name	0.0044	friend	0.0044	introduction	0.0048	taste	0.0033	looking around	0.0036
housing	0.0043	art gallery	0.0044	thought	0.0048	sauce	0.0033	memory	0.0036

Appendix D. Most Important Terms by Topic and Theme for Stage 2

Theme 1: Daily Life (21.8%)		Theme 2: Cultural Activities and Tourism (31.2%)				Theme 3: Hot Spot with Good Eateries and Cafés (47.0%)			
Topic 0: Daily Life (21.8%)		Topic 1: Culture and Relevant Activities (12.8%)		Topic 2: Penguin Village and Travel (18.4%)		Topic 3: Famous Eateries (24.5%)		Topic 4: Famous Cafés (22.5%)	
Keyword	Importance	Keyword	Importance	Keyword	Importance	Keyword	Importance	Keyword	Importance
photo	0.0145	experience	0.0084	Penguin Village	0.0190	famous place	0.0284	café	0.0558
human	0.0096	story	0.0069	travel	0.0168	menu	0.0189	photo	0.0217
friend	0.0095	culture	0.0068	village	0.0129	order	0.0146	coffee	0.0177
oppa	0.0094	performance	0.0061	human	0.0099	food	0.0104	vibe	0.0119
time	0.0088	proceeding	0.0061	photo	0.0079	thought	0.0083	order	0.0109
mom	0.0081	time	0.0058	time	0.0069	photo	0.0081	bread	0.0103
unni	0.0072	area	0.0056	street	0.0057	pasta	0.0080	recommendation	0.0076
thought	0.0066	beginning	0.0048	thought	0.0056	vibe	0.0079	spot	0.0073
love	0.0056	participation	0.0047	alley	0.0056	meat	0.0078	feeling	0.0073
dinner	0.0052	youth	0.0047	appearance	0.0049	recommendation	0.0072	dessert	0.0069
happiness	0.0050	operation	0.0046	name	0.0048	sauce	0.0062	thought	0.0065
daily life	0.0048	festival	0.0044	beginning	0.0048	visit	0.0062	human	0.0065
gift	0.0042	theme	0.0043	tour	0.0044	menu (board)	0.0060	beverage	0.0062
morning	0.0041	program	0.0042	space	0.0043	friend	0.0059	friend	0.0059
beginning	0.0040	event	0.0042	history	0.0042	eating place	0.0057	menu	0.0057
Starbucks	0.0040	variety	0.0040	building	0.0040	feeling	0.0055	time	0.0050
feel like	0.0037	space	0.0039	neighborhood	0.0037	table	0.0055	visit	0.0049
drink	0.0036	city	0.0039	looking around	0.0035	pizza	0.0054	interior	0.0047
preparation	0.0035	afternoon	0.0039	artwork	0.0035	human	0.0050	space	0.0046
weekend	0.0035	thought	0.0037	heart	0.0032	time	0.0048	famous place	0.0046
Seoul	0.0034	activity	0.0037	winter	0.0031	meal	0.0047	cake	0.0043
lunch	0.0034	representative	0.0036	child	0.0031	sushi	0.0044	posting	0.0041

Theme 1: Daily Life (21.8%)		Theme 2: Cultural Activities and Tourism (31.2%)				Theme 3: Hot Spot with Good Eateries and Cafés (47.0%)			
Topic 0: Daily Life (21.8%)		Topic 1: Culture and Relevant Activities (12.8%)		Topic 2: Penguin Village and Travel (18.4%)		Topic 3: Famous Eateries (24.5%)		Topic 4: Famous Cafés (22.5%)	
Keyword	Importance	Keyword	Importance	Keyword	Importance	Keyword	Importance	Keyword	Importance
heart	0.0034	preparation	0.0036	missionary	0.0030	spot	0.0044	price	0.0037
hand	0.0033	charm	0.0036	tourist spot	0.0030	salad	0.0040	Dongmyung-dong	0.0036
child	0.0033	site	0.0036	alleyway	0.0030	price	0.0040	hot spot	0.0036
Dongmyung-dong	0.0032	artist	0.0035	course	0.0029	today	0.0034	business owner	0.0036
last	0.0032	exhibition	0.0034	visit	0.0027	shrimp	0.0034	table	0.0035
hair	0.0031	installation	0.0032	reminiscence	0.0027	cheese	0.0033	inside	0.0035
dongsaeng	0.0030	schedule	0.0031	museum	0.0027	curry	0.0032	macaroon	0.0033
today	0.0029	narrative	0.0030	History and Culture Village	0.0026	Testa	0.0031	sensibility	0.0033

Appendix E. Most Important Terms by Topic and Theme for Stage 3

Theme 1: Daily Life (52.3%)				Theme 3: Travel, Art, and Local Stories (14.7%)				Theme 2: Cafés and Local Hot Spots (34.0%)			
Topic 0: Loved Ones in the Neighborhood (29.0%)		Topic 1: Activities in the Neighborhood (22.3%)		Topic 2: Travel, Penguin Village, and Art (9.5%)		Topic 3: Local Story and Urban Regeneration (5.2%)		Topic 4: Café and Vibe (16.8%)		Topic 5: Famous Places and the Food (17.2%)	
Keyword	Importance	Keyword	Importance	Keyword	Importance	Keyword	Importance	Keyword	Importance	Keyword	Importance
friend	0.0102	thought	0.0164	artwork	0.0107	human	0.0087	café	0.0730	famous place	0.0343
human	0.0098	time	0.0153	Penguin Village	0.0096	missionary	0.0074	coffee	0.0220	menu	0.0233
mom	0.0094	human	0.0136	village	0.0091	thanks	0.0063	order	0.0150	order	0.0176
unni	0.0094	heart	0.0097	travel	0.0089	church	0.0062	dessert	0.0146	food	0.0122
café	0.0080	flower	0.0056	space	0.0080	Korea	0.0061	vibe	0.0122	recommendation	0.0112
dinner	0.0078	beginning	0.0055	area	0.0074	life	0.0047	famous place	0.0115	visit	0.0096
oppa	0.0075	story	0.0054	proceeding	0.0073	school	0.0044	recommendation	0.0106	sauce	0.0090

Theme 1: Daily Life (52.3%)				Theme 3: Travel, Art, and Local Stories (14.7%)				Theme 2: Cafés and Local Hot Spots (34.0%)			
Topic 0: Loved Ones in the Neighborhood (29.0%)		Topic 1: Activities in the Neighborhood (22.3%)		Topic 2: Travel, Penguin Village, and Art (9.5%)		Topic 3: Local Story and Urban Regeneration (5.2%)		Topic 4: Café and Vibe (16.8%)		Topic 5: Famous Places and the Food (17.2%)	
Keyword	Importance	Keyword	Importance	Keyword	Importance	Keyword	Importance	Keyword	Importance	Keyword	Importance
happiness	0.0051	book	0.0052	afternoon	0.0071	history	0.0042	beverage	0.0101	pasta	0.0089
morning	0.0049	looking around	0.0046	introduction	0.0063	mother	0.0041	space	0.0100	vibe	0.0085
drink	0.0049	travel	0.0045	exhibition	0.0063	name	0.0038	bread	0.0100	thought	0.0071
lunch	0.0047	love	0.0043	street	0.0058	love	0.0034	spot	0.0096	feeling	0.0069
time	0.0043	feeling	0.0041	artist	0.0056	beginning	0.0031	feeling	0.0091	friend	0.0064
today	0.0042	child	0.0041	visit	0.0054	Chosun	0.0031	visit	0.0087	meat	0.0061
thought	0.0040	preparation	0.0041	building	0.0051	support	0.0031	menu	0.0085	pizza	0.0059
coffee	0.0039	name	0.0037	culture	0.0051	pastor	0.0031	interior	0.0071	table	0.0058
love	0.0039	thanks	0.0037	operation	0.0050	country	0.0030	friend	0.0058	meal	0.0054
Dongmyu- ngdong	0.0038	appearance	0.0036	alley	0.0043	activity	0.0030	thought	0.0055	eating place	0.0053
exercise	0.0035	friend	0.0034	appearance	0.0042	story	0.0030	human	0.0055	spot	0.0053
gift	0.0035	tea	0.0034	city	0.0041	exercise	0.0030	inside	0.0051	Menu (board)	0.0048
getting off work	0.0034	memory	0.0034	course	0.0040	urban _regeneration	0.0029	cake	0.0051	soup	0.0043
feel like	0.0032	happiness	0.0030	representative	0.0040	society	0.0029	Leeleenam Studio	0.0046	time	0.0042
dad	0.0032	recommendation	0.0029	art	0.0038	progress	0.0028	business owner	0.0043	store	0.0041
blog	0.0032	today	0.0028	use	0.0037	real estate	0.0028	table	0.0040	dish	0.0036
last	0.0032	writing	0.0028	place	0.0037	earth	0.0027	tea	0.0040	cheese	0.0036
best	0.0031	necessity	0.0025	participation	0.0036	China	0.0027	Americano	0.0040	salad	0.0035
beginning	0.0030	arrival	0.0025	experience	0.0035	America	0.0027	sensibility	0.0037	today	0.0034
daily life	0.0030	painting	0.0024	site	0.0034	Mr.	0.0026	latte	0.0035	human	0.0034
hair	0.0029	gift	0.0024	tour	0.0033	spirit	0.0025	time	0.0034	steak	0.0033
weather	0.0029	feel like	0.0024	history	0.0033	song	0.0024	cup	0.0033	waiting	0.0033
tea	0.0029	one day	0.0023	making	0.0033	spot	0.0024	looking around	0.0032	shrimp	0.0032

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