Governance Efficacy in Sustainable Slum Regeneration: Assessment framework for effective governance in slum tourism regeneration. Cases of study Medellín, Colombia and Busan, South Korea

Eficacia de la gobernanza en la regeneración sustentable de barrios marginales: Marco de evaluación para una gobernanza eficaz en la regeneración de barrios marginales mediante el turismo. Los casos de Medellín, Colombia y Busan, Corea del Sur

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Abstract

Understanding the significant role of governance in slum upgrading projects through touristification is a crucial requirement to ensure economic development, social capital growth, improvement of the life quality, and in general, the transition of such areas toward sustainability. A literature review of policies and evaluation tools related to slum upgrading employing governance actions, an assessment framework for effective governance in sustainable slum regeneration implementing tourism. The framework, structured in three main areas: social, economic, and environmental, presents 18 core objectives distributed according to the phases of planning and implementation and post-implementation. An example of the assessment was performed using a case studies analysis, selecting two exemplary models of this practice, located in South Korea (Gamcheon cultural village) and Colombia (Comuna 13). The assessment found that successful governance can promote new networks between the community and different stakeholders, and it can reconfigure the stigma of these areas. In contrast, there was an evident deficiency in implementing tools for tourist management during the post-implementation phase and a general limitation regarding governance actions and the projects' long-term sustainability. These implications can be a direction for future studies concerning governance for the long-lasting performance of slum touristification.

Keywords

Colombia, governance, slum tourism, slum regeneration, South Korea

Resumen

Comprender el papel significativo de la gobernanza en los proyectos de mejoramiento de barrios marginales a través del proceso de turistificación es un requisito crucial para garantizar la transición de dichas áreas hacia la sostenibilidad. A través del análisis de políticas y herramientas de evaluación relacionadas con el mejoramiento de los barrios marginales, empleando para ello acciones de gobernanza, se desarrolló un marco de evaluación estructurado en tres áreas principales: social, económica y ambiental. Se presentan 18 objetivos centrales, los cuales se encuentran distribuidos en las fases de planificación e implementación, y posimplementación. Estos objetivos buscan promover una gobernanza para la regeneración sostenible de barriadas implementando el turismo. La aplicación de dicho marco evaluativo se realizó mediante un análisis de estudios de caso, seleccionando dos modelos ejemplares de esta práctica, ubicados en Corea del Sur (Gamcheon cultural village) y Colombia (Comuna 13). Se encontró como resultado que una gobernanza exitosa del turismo promueve nuevas redes interacción socioeconómicas, y puede reconfigurar el estigma de estas áreas. Por el contrario, se evidenció que en dichos procesos existe una deficiencia en la gestión turística durante la fase de posimplementación, así como una limitación en cuanto a la sostenibilidad de los proyectos a largo plazo. Finalmente, con base a los resultados se establecen direcciones a tomar en cuenta para la gobernanza enfocada en el desempeño duradero de la turificación de los barrios marginales.

Palabras clave

Colombia, gobernanza, regeneración de barrios marginales, Sur Corea, turismo de barriadas

Introduction

Nowadays, a quarter of the world's population lives in slums (United Nations Human Settlements Programme [UN-HABITAT], 2015), and in three decades the number will increase to more than 30% or over 3 billion people (Sing Rai, 2017). Therefore, the necessity to improve these types of urban settlements rise every day.

Urban regeneration is a process that target urban problems in downgraded or deprived areas, where poverty is one of the main characteristics (Porter, & Shaw, 2009). This process has diverse focus of action —economy, housing, culture, property, community, etc.— (Tallon, 2013), by which the upgrade process can be performed effectively. In these processes every action is driven by governance, a crucial element that can determine the success of an upgrading plan (Jones, & Evans, 2013; Tallon, 2013).

Before the current global pandemic, the global travel and tourism sector represented 10.4 % of the Global GDP or USD 8.8 trillion, while it was responsible for one of every five jobs worldwide (World Travel and Tourism Council [WTTC], 2019). For many years, the tourist sector has shown a potential that turned it into a focus of great interest in urban planning. It has become a tool for urban regeneration around the world (Steinbrink, 2012) especially for the sustainable upgrading of slums through their *touristification*.

Researchers highlight the difficulty of establishing a sustainable renewal, and therefore the subsequent need for the development of assessment models that can serve as directions to urban planners (Kazmierczak et al., 2009; Natividade et al., 2019; Zhao, 2013). Accordingly, with this necessity, and taking slums —critical and vulnerable urban areas—, the present article looks to develop an assessment framework to evaluate effective governance process on the context of sustainable slum regeneration through slum tourism. For this, first, the origin, characteristics and consequences of slum tourism will be studied. After, an analysis of the role of governance in slum regeneration will be established. As part of the methodology for developing the framework,

an evaluation of models, frameworks, policies, and plans will be pursued to generate a structured model to assess the efficiency governance process under the scope of slum tourism. Finally, two cases of study are analyzed through the assessment model developed to understand further the relationship between the governance process and slum touristification as an instrument for regeneration.

The study will focus on two projects: Gamcheon Cultural village in the South Korean city of Busan and Comuna 13 in the Colombian city of Medellín. The similarities between the two cases refer to their characteristics as peripheral hillside neighborhoods, the considerable territorial transformations in their recent history, and also the exclusion and marginalization present in both contexts; reasons why slum tourism have a great impact on both projects. The different geographical and socio-cultural contexts, add to the research the possibility to expand the present knowledge in slum upgrading and in the field of comparative regional urban studies between South America and East Asia. It must be recognized a crucial difference between the cases, while in Medellín, the project was promoted mainly by the government —as result the actions taken could have a higher impact and dimensions—, the case of Gamcheon is mainly a community-based project, with interventions in a smaller scale. Nevertheless, this difference allows to highlight and contrast strategies, problems, and limitations of the urban regeneration method under study. Finally, this study draw conclusions and implications for this field based on the results obtained.

Literature Review

Touristification, regeneration, and slums

Touristification is the appropriation of an area's physical and symbolic space due to the sharp rise of touristic activities (Barrero y Jover, 2021). This process has become a global phenomenon, and it has been present in slum regeneration through 'slum tourism'.

Slum tourism began in Victorian London where police officers guided tours for the high class around the

deprived areas of the East End, such practice was called 'slumming' (Porter, & Shaw, 2009). Later in the 19th century, the practice spread to Manhattan, Chicago, and San Francisco, where again the wealthy class was eager to introduce and explore this other world, or the "place of the 'Other'" (Frenzel et al., 2015), making slum tourism part of urban tourism. With globalization, slum tourism turned directions to the global south, becoming a reason for tourism in places like Río de Janeiro, or Cape Town, in the 1990s (Frenzel et al., 2015; Oh, 2018).

Contemporary slum tourism still resembles its origins as an activity that is a synonym of 'adventure', a way to venture into underprivileged groups' cultural and social sphere to explore their way of living and culture. In this kind of tourism, poverty is the main attraction, and tourists not only look to be able to transform into mere observers but also participants (Dürr et al., 2019).

Slum tourism, as an urban dynamic, presents contradictory aspects; first, slum tourism can be seen as a tool to raise people's awareness about poverty. Nowadays it is becoming, an educational instrument that looks to downside the stigma that these urban areas carry around by showing the "other side of the place of the other." Second, Tourism has a crucial role for the development and growth of marginal economies, like those in informal urban areas, where there is a lack of professional jobs that generate high incomes; therefore, visitors transform into a source of economic input for the community (Cocola-Gant, 2018). This economic transformation renders opportunities for citizen empowerment, the development of local economy, and entrepreneurship to alleviate poverty (Burgold et al., 2013; Jones, 2011).

Slum tourism has also transformed into a tool for the regeneration of these urban environments. Slums or townships are characterized by the lack of essential services, insecurity, socio-structural problems, or low quality and maintenance of the physical environment. The implementation of slum tourism looks to improve this, through the economic benefits of tourism and by enhancing the area, developing public services, or improving the transportation system, infrastructure, and public space, to make it more attractive for those who visit (Frenzel et al., 2015). On the other hand, tourists also bring to these places a broader attention, "tourists co-create the destination as attention leads to more attention and may increasingly involve local elites" (Frenzel, 2014); furthermore, the interactions between tourists and residents bring social and cultural exchanges, allowing both parts to benefit by acquiring new knowledge that transforms their vision about others and put into perspective their view about their social groups and themselves (Álvarez, 2020).

The same aspects portrayed as positive also carry with them negative consequences, not all of them easily noticeable. First, behind the labels of 'appreciation' of 'local' and 'authentic' lifestyles, poverty still lies as the motor of this practice, which is the main reason for detractors of this kind of tourism, who see it as a voyeuristic (Frenzel, 2013). Slum tourism is a perfect example of how poverty and the stigma attached to it can be commodified, transforming these urban settlements into spectacles (Jones, & Sanyal, 2015).

Second, in terms of economic impact, authors (Álvarez, 2020; Ascensão, 2018; Hiernaux, & González, 2014; Lees, 2014) agree that new economic activities could benefit the residents, but this also generates gentrification. For slums, gentrification is a process by which the investment in informal settlements, impulse by global or local mainstream ideas, is followed by renewal or upgrade projects of the built environment, which result through time on the displacement of original residents (Ascensão, 2018). According to Cocola-Gant (2018), this displacement is not only related to physical or economic aspects, in relation to the power that tourism has on the rise of rent, land, and other goods value; but it also refers to the place-based displacement, by which residents are limited or bereft of their right and power over their places, as a result of the transformation of communal and private spaces into products for consumption and the transformation of the interaction community-space by adding a new element: 'tourists'.

Lastly, by undergoing on regeneration projects through capital or material investment, these places and their inhabitants

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face a formalization of their local economy, which due to the aspects related to the context, can be considered as relatively independent (Ascensão, 2018). Therefore, through investment and government intervention, the access to the new infrastructure and services, which before were arranged informally by inhabitants, are formalized, generating inequalities growth (Ascensão, 2018).

The place of governance on slum regeneration

Urban regeneration or urban renewal is a flexible concept that many scholars have defined. For some, the definition focuses on planning process, specifically in transforming neglected urban areas through new or changed land use and their physical improvement (Lehmann, 2019). In contrast, many others have a broader approach defining this concept as actions that target urban problems through long term improvements, not only on the physical aspects but as well on the social, economic, environmental, and even cultural areas (Colantino, & Dixon, 2011; O'Brien, & Matthews, 2016; Roberts, 2000; Tallon, 2013; Weber-Newth, 2019).

Even though the different perspectives, there is one thing that underlies all of them: the role of government. These urban changes, no matter the scope, are initiated, funded, driven, or inspired by the public sector (Leary, & McCarthy, 2013); in other words, the government is a crucial actor in any regeneration program, as the initiator and foremost responsible of it. In present times the government is not the only participant in delivering the aims in an urban project. Instead, the state seeks to reach its objectives through governance, a process that develops partnerships with external stakeholders —private, public, and community— to develop those goals (Tallon, 2013).

For Jones and Evans (2013), the act of governance is critical for urban regeneration since the development of the objectives implies a scale that is not suitable for the government to manage by itself. In urban upgrading, adequate governance arrangements can ensure long-lasting and scalable improvements since the legal framework englobes all the other areas from the socio-economic to cultural-environmental (Van Horen, 2004).

When it comes to regeneration through touristification, governance plays an essential role on it, especially in slums. Hiernaux and González (2014), and Diaz-Parra (2015) highlight that state intervention is developed through strategies that look to enhance accessibility, security, infrastructure, and physical improvement of an urban environment, all these creating essential alliances between private and public actors. However, to develop these strategies, central or local states look to retake the control from capitalist or informal groups that domain these urban areas by developing actions and regulations to make those spaces more attractive for visitors, promoting gentrification (Hiernaux, & González, 2014).

For slums, the place that government through governance has on their regeneration, mainly through touristification, can follow almost the same model. This process starts with investments to redevelop informal settlements by programs focusing on public infrastructures (sanitation, collective services, etc.). As part of these programs, and according to the context, pacifying actions are also taken for security normalization. Once essential elements are established, and a certain degree of formalization is implemented, experimental upgrading interventions are executed in order to produce an image rebranding of the area and the city, increasing its cultural relevance in the larger metropolitan area, and with time in a national and international context, generating slums insertion into touristic circuits (Ascensão, 2018). For the government, the interventions are a way to justify social and political objectives through the process of governance (Hiernaux, & Gonzalez, 2014), but at the same time for the state, tourism and the gentrification product of it, represent an essential element for the development and growth of informal settlements (Cocola-Gant, 2018).

Materials and Methods

Experts and international institutions highlight that an efficient assessment of governance has to be done across the various stages, from pre-implementation to post-implementation, since after the implementation, some adaptations are needed to have long-lasting results (Minnery et al., 2013). Natividade et al. (2019) and

Table 1
Slum regeneration framework references.

Source	Description of the source
Van Horen, 2004	It explores the process needed for the continuity of informal settlement upgrading, dividing it into three main stages: pre-upgrading, capacity building during upgrading, and post upgrading capacity development for sustainability. Concludes that physical, natural, relational, and economic assets, resettlement plans, and reforming governance institutions as essential elements for long-term continuity.
Minnery et al., 2013	Focuses on slum upgrading case of study on southeast Asian cities, based on sustainable livelihoods capitals: human, social, economic, natural, and physical.
Del Mistro & Hensher, 2009	Explores the role of informal settlement residents' opinions on the upgrading process by determining the type of upgrading and the importance of the elements according to their perspectives based on aspects as public services, project location, size, and type of the upgrading.
Freire, 2013	The study discusses the different alternatives for financing slum upgrading and identifies eight pillars for successful projects: political will and good governance, ensuring sufficient resources, land policy framework, efficient infrastructure for better mobility, community participation, income generation, targeted subsidies, and regulation of new settlers influence.
UN-HABITAT, 2014	A guide for city slum upgrading. It stablishes the process and stages for slum upgrading feasibility, and implementation; based on the frameworks of policy and regulations, socio-economic aspects, environmental elements, and institutional capacity.
Ruster & Imperato, 2003	Explores the importance of participation in slum upgrading through Latin American cases. It stablishes the importance of civil society role for the sustainability of the project, based on their capacity for the conservation of the project's benefits and continuity of its development.
Cities Alliance (n.d.)	A framework of ten principles for an effective slum upgrading: political will, slums integration into city's plans, integration of diverse actors, the legal framework for security tenure, community participation, program institutionalization, and continuity, ensure and mobilize economic resources, infrastructure investment, and slum formation prevention.

Bramwell and Lane (2011) established that theoretical framework are central for the assessment of the policies and projects implemented in urban regeneration through governance process. The approach employed in this study modifies and adapt models and frameworks analyzed in the literature, developing core objectives in four main areas: social, economic, environmental, and policies, to understand the place of governance in sustainable slum upgrading projects where slum tourism plays a main role.

The methodology implemented is based on multiple cases of study approach, comparing two projects that represent a model to follow in their own geographical context and abroad due to their apparent success: Comuna 13 (Medellín, Colombia) and Gamcheon Cultural Village (Busan, South Korea). While cultural and geographically different, both contexts share similar historical background and urban-morphological characteristics. At the same time, they are praised for their apparent positive impact on the upgrading of deprived urban areas.

Through a holistic and extensive analysis of data collected using secondary sources —policies, project reports, news articles, and academic papers—, the research looks to synthesis the similarities, differences, and patterns across both projects, to analyze the efficiency of this urban regeneration approach and the role that governance plays on it.

Evaluation framework of governance for slum tourism within sustainable slum regeneration

The framework developed is based on a set of references on slum regeneration projects (Table 1) and the perspectives around slum touristification mentioned in the first part of this paper (Álvarez, 2020; Ascensão, 2018; Barrero y Jover, 2021; Cocola-Gant, 2018; Diaz-Parra, 2015; Hiernaux, & González, 2014). The assessment framework has been divided into four categories: social, economic, environmental, and policies and legal framework, and it describes their role in the planning and implementation, and the post-implementation phases of urban regeneration. (Table 2).

In terms of social aspects, regeneration projects that involve slum tourism should promote community participation in all levels and groups through the whole process; especially after implementation to safeguard project's sustainability through time. The investment in social capital must be guaranteed since it helps to ensure access to social services, promote social mobility, and strengthen social networks. Part of tourism benefits should secure, promote, and develop social structures. For the short term, touristic activities can form part of social capital development; however, this must diversify and be independent of those activities for the long term.

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Table 2
Framework for governance in slum upgrading projects with slum tourism

	Planning and Implementation	Post- Implementation
Social	Ensure and promote community participation at all stages of the upgrading process.	
	Safeguard equity, encouraging the initiatives of all the groups of slum dwellers.	
	Invest in social capital and the continuous development of it to develop cohesion and organizational resources.	
	Increased social mobility/ Mobilize partners participation	
	Ensure and promote the community's willingness and ability to pay taxes, service fees, consumption tariffs, etc.	
		Improve access to social services, a more robust solidarity network, and strengthened connections within and among households.
Economic	Invest in existing physical, social, and organizational resources in slum settlements.	
	Combine slum upgrading with employment generation and local economic development.	
	Look for a broad range of funding sources and payment mechanisms (public, private, grants, cross-subsidies, etc.).	Guarantee long-lasting access to funding sources and the community's capacity and ability to pay taxes, service fees, and consumption tariffs and repay contracted debt.
	Look for creative financing mechanisms to support the initiatives of CBOs (Community-Based Organizations).	
	Invest in community infrastructure that helps build community cohesion.	
	Increase entrepreneurship and economic activities stimulated by the upgrading process.	
	Have the consciousness of the investment and operation and maintenance costs of infrastructure.	
Environment (Natural and physical)	Design, implement and ensure the availability of basic infrastructure and services that perform well over time.	
	Have a clear definition of public and private spaces is one of the foundations defining the relationship of residents and non-residents, the city, and each other.	
	Develop a community knowledge of the nature and characteristics of the local physical environment (infrastructure and nature).	
		Ensure community capacity for the maintenance of the physical interventions as well as the natural environment.
Polices and legal framework	Integration of marginalized communities into the city.	
	Enhance and protect socio-economic aspects inside the community.	
	Regulated tourists and external stakeholders' activities and actions.	
	Promote a sustainable formalization of the slum social, physical, and economic systems.	

Regarding economic elements, slum tourism plans, should focus on investing in the existing local economy, physical and social structure. It should stimulate entrepreneurship and other local activities, focusing on a conscious investment that ensures the maintenance of the projects (physical, economic, and social structure) in the long term. Lastly, the economic capital should not mainly dependent on tourism, and it needs to be protected from external agents since it can influence project's sustainability.

Case studies

Busan City

The South Korean city of Busan (Figure 1) is in the southeastern area of the peninsula and is the second-largest metropolis after Seoul. Busan's development goes back to the 1950s during the Korean War (1950-1953) when it received a large migration wave from around the peninsula, and later during the 1960s with the rapid development of manufacturing industries (Joo,

Figure 1
Gamcheon Culture Village. (LEFT) Location within Busan Metropolitan area

Note: Google maps. (RIGHT) Top-left: Gamcheon Village in 1957. Source: Lucile (2020). Top-right: View of village now days Right. Nowadays. Source: FreePick.com. Bottom: Views of different artistic interventions and tour map. Source: Author (2019)

2019). Today the city is characterized as being one of the major port cities in the world. However, it struggles with deindustrialization, rapid depopulation, and aging population, which results in many areas staying behind the development. This situation brought the decline of the once lively old downtown and the neighboring areas that surround it, especially the hilled slums settlements that expanded during the 1970s and 1980s (Choi, & McNeely, 2018; Hong, & Lee, 2015; Joo, 2019; Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2019).

The condition described led the city government to create urban regeneration projects to support these areas; therefore, since 2010, the government has executed diverse projects as "Hillside Village Renaissance Project", "Happy Village Project", and "Urban Revitalizing Project". Moreover, during this period, the national government created in 2013 the Special Act on the promotion of and support for Urban regeneration, which supports local governments with the assistance from central institutions at the national level, on the development of their strategic regeneration plan (Busan Metropolitan City, 2013; OECD, 2019).

Gamcheon Cultural Village

Gamcheon is a hillside residential neighborhood located in Busan. The history of this settlement goes back to the 1940s, when only 20 houses were built in the area. During the Korean war, its population, like many other slums around the city, upsurge to more than 4000 people (Choi, & McNeely, 2018). Later, the Taeguk religion established an urban morphological structure for the neighborhood that transformed it into what we can see today: stretch-connected alleys where none of the houses built obstruct the view of any other that surrounds it (Woo, 2016). At its peak, the village had a population of 30,000 residents, but after time passed, the neighborhood came to shelter only one-third of the population, with around 20% of the residents being elderly people and over 200 vacant houses (Joo, 2019).

The regeneration of Gamcheon started in 2007 when several artists and academics suggest a non-destructive approach to the village that could help revitalize the area, which was suffering a quick depopulation. The main idea was to actively involve the community while using art as the primary media for the revitalization (Joo, 2019). The project officially took form in 2009 after winning the contest "Village Art Project" launched by the South Korean Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism.

The development of the project is structured in three main phases: "Town art project" (2009) Miro Miro Project (2010), and "Town Art Double Happiness Project" (2012). All these phases were part of public programs where money allocation was granted for the development of artistic interventions around village (Choi, & McNeely,

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2018). Since then, this village became a renowned destination nationwide and a 'must-see' attraction in Busan for international tourists (Oh, 2018). With the success of the art projects among local and international visitors, the Metropolitan Government of Busan focused on the village, integrating it in 2012 into the city's slum regeneration policy —the Sanbok Road Renaissance project—. Since then, it started to assign funds to revitalize the infrastructure and services, and renovate some abandoned housing; where some units were transformed into small cafes, galleries, residences for artists, etc.

Lessons from Gamcheon

Gamcheon has become a renowned model in the field of slum upgrading in terms of community participation (OECD, 2019). The partnership between the artists from Art Factory in Dadaepo, faculty members from local universities, and the community becomes an example of how community and experts can promote urban change that later can attract governmental support. The project has led to the develop social capital community organization as the Resident's Council Gamcheon Cultural Village (RCGC); this organization is in charge through different groups —Volunteers, business and media— to manage all the issues related to visitors guidance, promotional activities, communities' meetings, and the operation of community's businesses and distribution of income (Choi, & McNeely, 2018; Kim, & Kang 2020).

However, in regards to social aspects, several studies have identified different negative aspects: first, it has been noticed a decrease of 20 % of the population after the initiation of the project from 2011 to 2016 (Kim, & Kang 2020). Second, a survey to 200 residents realized by Kim et al. (2017), showed that 64.5 % were not proud of Gamcheon Culture Village, almost half of the respondents felt that the value of the village did not perceive any improvement, and 66 % expressed that the promotion of the village did not generate any benefits in terms of employment opportunity. Another aspect related to the displacement generated by the project, is the displacement of Taeguk believers, formerly a main part of the population now it represent less than one

percent, and due to the perception of this religion as a pseudo-religion by other residents who were participants of the regeneration project, the village former known as Taeguk Village was rebranded and the different spaces and elements in the settlement that were relate to it were changed (Kim, & Kang 2020).

Concerning economic capital, the financial support that the village perceived from 2009 to 2017 goes up to USD 9.4 MM allocated as follows: 6.58 MM for infrastructure, 2.35 MM for amenities, and 0.47 MM for public art projects (Urban Sustainability Exchange [USE], n.d.). This project has attracted over 7 MM visitors, according to the Korea Tourism Organization (2015). With the increase of visitors, many elderly residents have changed their income activities from waste recycling to the creation of handmade souvenirs and other craft that are sold in the community art shops; similarly, some neighbors took the touristic activity as an opportunity to open small stores to sell some products to the tourist (Choi, & McNeely, 2018). According to the interviews realized by Kim and Kang (2020) to local representatives, the RCGC manages ten community businesses, with an annual sales value in 2017of about 1.3 MM USD; they generate around 55 permanent jobs, and over 100, including part-timers. The profits are invested in local community's support programs, house reparations, scholarships, and programs to support elderlies.

On the opposite side of these benefits, it is possible to identify an increase in the average price of property square meters. From an average of 482$ during the period of 2006-2008, to 664$ between 2009 and 2012, and to 850$ in 2013-2016, the increment was over 170 % in less than ten years (Kim, & Kang 2020; Chosun Ilbo Newspaper [CIN], 2013). It is possible to add that many residents, who are not part of the RCGC, felt that the income that the village perceive through tourism is not well distributed, and in many cases, they still must economically endure the impact that tourists generate in the village (Kim, & Kang 2020). This idea goes in consonant with the results of the surveys realized to 198 residents of the village on the study of Kim et al. (2021), which showed that residents that depend on tourism

and have low income are more sensitive to the negative impact of this practice. Finally, it has been noticed the surge of 'retail gentrification', from 8 business related to tourism in 2009, this number rose by 2018 to 108 (Kim, 2020), with many of the new businesses being owned by outsiders (Choi, & McNeely, 2018; Woo, 2016), a situation that became a challenge for the old and deprived part of the community that still lives in the area.

In terms of the physical environment, the improvements were not only in terms of the artistic interventions which focused on the enhancement of the colorful characteristics of the village, once a symbol of poverty that was transformed into the main aesthetic value of the village, but this enhancement was also in parallel with improvements of the infrastructure and its maintenance (Choi, & McNeely, 2018; Kang et.al., 2020); in which the government has a central role as main source of founds, allowing better mobility and access to the village (Joo, 2019). Over the course of the years, many buildings have been either renovated or built, from around four buildings before the beginning of the program (2006-2008) to 165 edifications during the period of highest increment of visitors (2013-2015) (Kim, & Kang 2020). According to the RCGC representatives between 50-60 household repairs undergo every year with the profits generated by the community businesses (Kim, & Kang 2020). A similar increment can be seen in real states transactions from 72 during 2006-2008, to 329 between 2013 to 2016 (Kim, & Kang 2020); this allows to see that the improvements and change in the physical environment are also related to private properties and not only to the public spaces. Nevertheless, in a community with over 4,000 households, where 81.3 % of the buildings are over 20 years old (Kim, & Kang 2020; Busan Metropolitan Government, 2015; Kim, 2020) the majority of them are not well maintained, therefore the amount of housing upgrading can fall short. Other problem directly related to tourism is that due to the constant presence of tourists, it has become a problem the normal development of daily activities of residents: trash, noise, and especially tourists' private property infringement as result of the mixed tourist and residences environments (Choi, & McNeely, 20018; Kim 2020; Kim et al., 2017; Kim et al., 2021).

Finally, regarding policies, legal framework, and the role of government and community, it is possible to mention several points: first, as mentioned above, the project has its origins in a project started by the central government through the Ministry of sports and culture, and through the years, it has represented great support for the project; however the Ministry requires the approval of only 20 residents to launch a community-based art project, therefore for a context as Gamcheon the opinion of 8100 were not needed (Kim, & Kang, 2020). Second, in 2010 the residents established the Resident's Council Gamcheon Cultural Village (RCGC), responsible for being the representatives of the community regarding the tourist projects and their impact; later, this organization was recognized by the district of Saha-gu office with the establishment of the ordinance 888 —Ordinance Regarding Constructions and Support of Gamcheon Culture Village—, where the role of each stakeholder was defined; but this regulation establish: a limited participation of 120 residents, where current associates decide the integration of new members, and the participation of other residents is limited as just mere listeners; a situation that took excluded residents to create the Body of People who Love Gamcheon (BPLG), an organization that does not have the same recognition and power of the RCGC (Kim, & Kang 2020; Kim, 2020).

Medellín City

Medellín is the second biggest urban metropolis of Colombia. Located in Aburra valley in the mountain range of Los Andes, it was once one of the most dangerous cities, a situation related to a long history of conflict in the country between the state, drug cartels, and paramilitary groups (Maclean, 2015). Medellín slums are mainly located in the western peripheries of the city, over the mountains. Their development goes back to the 1950s and 1960s with the growth of the textile industry; and later in the 1980s and 1990s, result of the displacement of thousands of Colombians that lived in the countryside and flown from the armed conflict generated by the guerrilla (Hernández-García, 2013; Ortiz, & Boano, 2018; Trujillo, 2017).

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To talk about the urban transformation of Medellín, first, it is necessary to mention the new National Constitution (1991), which established a new legal framework for policy planning, giving political legitimacy to people and social organizations in the process of decision-making (Maclean, 2015; Ortiz, & Boano, 2018). Moving forward to 2004, Medellín's government established the "Plan for the development 2004-2007: Medellín a compromise of all citizens", where the concept of 'social urbanism' was introduced as the main driver for regeneration projects.

Social urbanism, in urban regeneration has been implemented through decades in different contexts, particularly in those from the northern hemisphere. It had the objective to tackle problems in degraded areas of the city by implementing specific architectural and urban projects that could improve life quality. For the case of the Medellín model, many scholars see that the inspiration was taken from other cities' models that also applied this concept, like Barcelona (Garcia et al., 2018; Maclean, 2015).

In the Colombian city under study, the turn given to social urbanism focused on the development of acupuncture interventions —transportation, housing, infrastructure, and public space— centered in the most impoverished areas of the city located on hillsides; projects that looked to tackle the high levels of inequality and violence, a way to pay off the 'social debt' (Franz, 2017; Garcia et al., 2018; Maclean, 2015; University College of London [UCL], 2010).

Comuna 13 (San Javier)

One of the areas that went under urban transformation was Comuna 13 (Figure 2), also known as the 'barrio of San Javier', one of the 16 wards of the city. In its beginning, this poor neighborhood only had around 1,500 families, but during the 1980s became one of the biggest slums in Latin America. During the same period and until the early 2000s, the area became the place of settlement for drug cartels and the guerrilla until military operations took place in the community (Humphrey, & Valverde, 2017; Sinay, 2019).

The history of urban regeneration in the area starts in 2004 with the 'Proyectos Urbanos Integrales' or PUI (Integral Urban Projects) for the Comuna 13. The PUIs were the planning tools used to deliver 'social urbanism'; these instruments focused on the informal areas and mean to target their specific needs through socio-economic strategies and environmental interventions (like transportation, landscape intervention, housing, etc.) (Garcia et al., 2018; Humphrey, & Valverde, 2017; Ortiz, & Boano, 2018). For the PUIs, citizens' involvement was established through planning and participatory budgeting (Garcia et al., 2018; Maclean, 2015), allowing the community to have a more vital role.
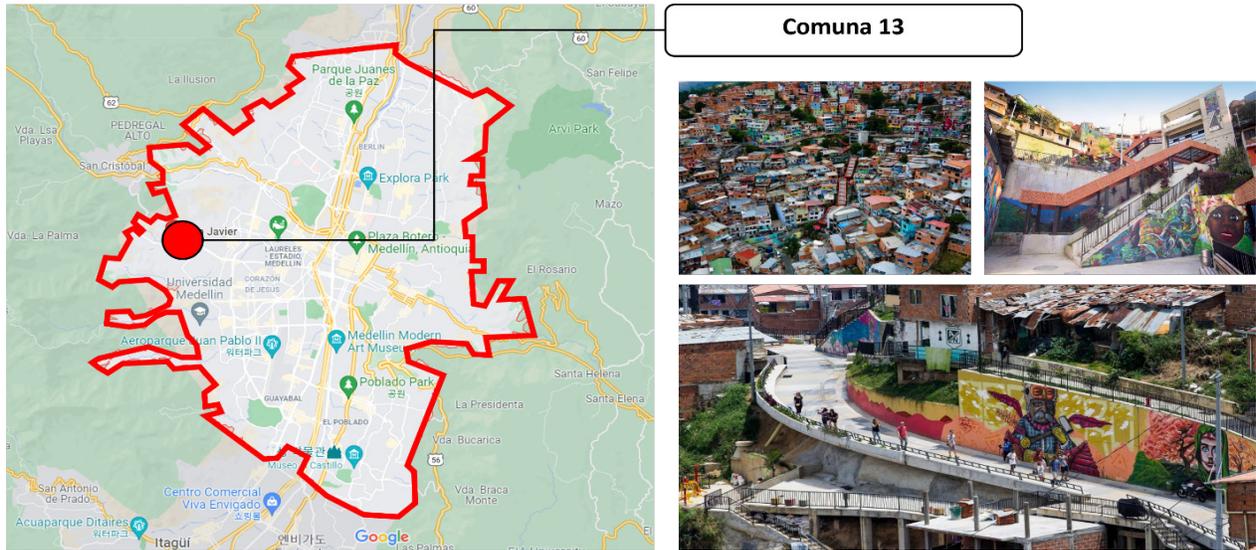
In the case of Comuna13, the Library-Park 'San Javier' was built; with the idea for this new building to not only fulfill the scarcity of educational spaces but also to provide public, cultural, recreational, and leisure spaces to the less favored communities (Franz, 2017; Schnitter, 2013). The government also focused on improving the transportation system to ensure the connection within the neighborhoods and the city center. Building special projects as the Metrocable (cable car) Line J and a series of public open-air electric escalators integrated with public green spaces (Franz, 2017; Ortiz, & Boano, 2018). Public interventions were followed by residents' intervention of public spaces through art, using graffiti as a media to express the intricate past and present of the Comuna. Later these graffities became the focus for the different tours, especially does that go through the neighborhoods of 20 Julio and La Independencia (Pérez, 2018).

Under the transformations that not only happened in the Comuna 13 but also in other impoverished areas of the city, Medellín became a center of attention for the world due to its urban transformation; attention that brought to the city, and particularly to the 'comunas,' tourists eager to see this renewal (Schnitter, 2013).

Lessons from Medellín

The program for slum regeneration in Medellín became a 'model to follow' for many other countries in Latin America, where the social context related to the slums is

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Figure 2
Comuna 13. (LEFT) Location within Medelllin Metropolitan area

Note: Source: Google maps. (RIGHT) Top-left: Comuna 13 panoramic view. Source: Nieto Javier, 2020 in *El Tiempo*. Top-right: View of escalators and graffities. Source: Palomino Lisa, (2015) in Revista Panorama. Bottom: View of pedestrian viaduct and graffities along it Source: Zuloaga Donaldo (2021) in *El Colombiano*.
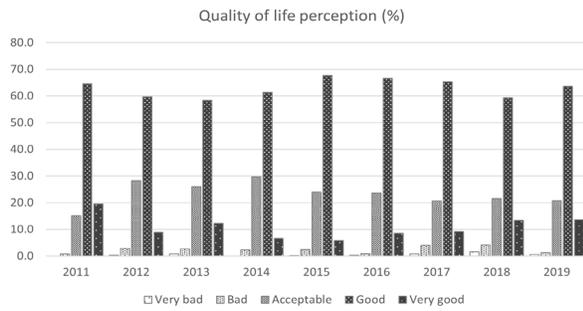
similar. The adaptation of 'social urbanism' as a flagship for the renewal of San Javier, with its integration in the public policies, became a cornerstone for developing the community's social capital and improving the environmental quality in these forgotten areas (Maclean, 2015; University College of London [UCL], 2010).

By implementing high-quality projects in Comuna 13, the government looked to generate a profound social transformation through which quality of life could be substantially improved (UCL, 2010); this has brought as a result that from 2011 to 2019 more than 60 % of the population has classify the quality of life in the Comuna as good or very good (Figure 3) (Medellín Government, 2021a; 2021b). Moreover, the process of regeneration generated a rise in national and international interest, tourists' arrival allowed the community to create tours related to their history and culture through art interventions, this process of touristification generated the presence of two types of social agents in the Comuna: those without social or cultural activities in the neighborhood, in other words, those who only had a business focus (ex. Ruta 13, Zippy tour, etc.); and, on the other side, those organizations with interaction in the social and cultural process (ex. Alfotour, Casa Kolacho, Pazifistas, etc.) (Álvarez, 2020). In this sense, tourism helped strengthen the existing social organizations, allowing the sustainability, social impact, and economic subsistence of their members. Additionally, it helped to generate interactions between residents and

outsiders, which construct new social networks and enrich the life of both parties. On the negative side, the arrival of tourism caused fragmentation in the social fabric due to the conflict between the different agents to capture benefits (Álvarez, 2020). Also, residents felt that the process of touristification also translated into a process of 'zoofication', by which their privacy was vulnered and some of their community spaces lost by visitors (Álvarez, 2020; Carrillo y Escobar, 2020; Naef, 2018)

On the economic aspect, many tours have surged, first from private initiatives and later from social organizations in the Comuna (Comuna 13 grafititour, n.d.; Naef, 2018). Recent data show that these tours received around 190.899 visitors in the first semester of 2019 (Sinay, 2019), and one of the tour operators highlights that over 35,000 people register for the tours, from which 60 % were foreigners (Turismo en Medellín, n.d.). In a similar situation, we can find the Library Park of San Javier project, which is one with the most affluence of visitors, only in September 2018 were reported over 50,000 visitors (Sistema de Indicadores Turísticos de Medellín y Antioquia [SITUR], 2018). In the last ten years, the businesses related to hospitality —restaurants, bars, small hostels, etc.— established in residents' homes increased. In 2012 and 2013 -after the implementation of the escalators- from over 230 businesses registered by the Quality of Life Survey (Medellín Government 2021a, 2021b), more than 50 % of the businesses were related to

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Figure 3
Comuna 13 Residents' perception of their quality of life (%)

Figure 4
Top: Comuna 13 Relation between the total number of businesses and business-related to hospitality. . Bottom: Percentage of businesses related to hospitality per year.
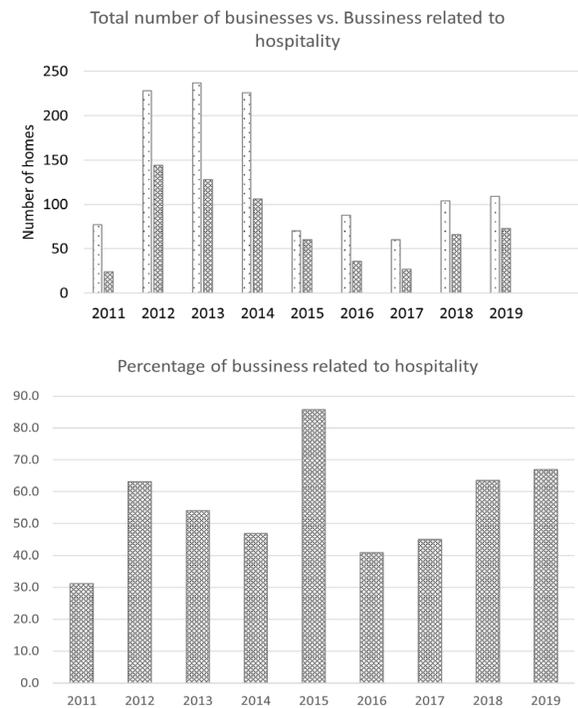
this field. Even though the total of businesses decreased after 2014, these numbers started to rise after 2017, and with them, the businesses mentioned (Figure 4).

Besides the benefits that the community and the city have captured from the tourist, some negative aspects can be mentioned; first, the income from the tours around the Comuna is not 100 % captured by its residents, many tours are managed by external agencies, which do reinvest invested in the neighborhood (Álvarez, 2020; Naef, 2018). Second, concerning the business related to hospitality these concentrate on the pathways followed by the tours; therefore, not all the neighbors

can benefit from tourist's expending (Álvarez, 2020; Carrillo y Escobar, 2020). Third, not all the economic activities related to touristification are located in private property; according to the study of Álvarez (2020) there is a significant number of informal activities that occupy public spaces; finally, there is presence of children and teenagers around touristic areas that ask for money to tourist, a situation that reflects the vulnerability of these groups (Carrillo y Escobar, 2020).

In Comuna 13, the major investment and focus of the projects were on the physical revitalization of the area as leverage for social changes. During planning, the idea was to transform the physical space dominated by violence and use different art expressions that helped residents to occupy these places. Second, by the improvement of the mobility infrastructure, the government tried to integrate the area to the formal fabric of the city, a situation that looked to size down the high levels of violence (Carrillo y Escobar, 2020; CNRR Grupo de Memoria Histórica, 2011). This focus on high-quality projects for social change rendered into a multimillion investment; around USD 7 MM, were more than USD 4.3 MM were destinated to Library park (Medellín Government 2007a., 2007b) and USD 2.7 MM went to the escalator (Calle, 2020; EFE, 2011), this investment does not take into account the construction of the cablecar, neither the annual budget destinated for the community. However, for the residents, some of the projects developed, as the open-air escalators, did not respond to the community's necessities, since it was not placed in an area where most people with reduced mobility could use it. For them, the projects, were mainly a way to portray the new image of the city and its 'social urbanism' (Naef, 2018). Second, as time passed, their cultural aspects and social benefits towards the community started to blur due to problems related to their maintenance and the lack of adaptations to community's needs. A situation that translates into restricted socio-cultural dynamics for the community (Trujillo, 2017). Finally, with the rise of tourism, some problems started again; even though the amount and quality of public spaces increased and were no longer occupied by

violent groups, nowadays public space still reminds precarious, due to its occupation by tourists and the formal and informal economic activities that extend their influence into the public space (ex. Restaurants' tables on the sidewalk, street furniture used as a stand for souvenirs, pathways with great concentration of tourist, etc.) (Álvarez, 2020).

Regarding the government's role and policy framework, the state had two main roles in the transformation of Comuna 13. During this first phase, the state focused on two main objectives; one was to eradicate organized violent groups that were present in the neighborhood by putting into place in 2002 a series of military operations (CNRR Grupo de Memoria Histórica, 2011; González Gil, 2019), the second objective was the implementation of its social urbanism, with residents' participation through the implementation of the PUI, in order to transform them into the main actors of the socio-territorial dynamic (Carrillo y Escobar, 2020; Rodríguez, 2012). After stablishing the bases for tourism, the second role of government was on the promotion of the Comuna's touristification where the local institutions implemented a series of policies that looked attract foreign capital and tourism, not only to the city in general (Medellín Government, 2000, 2001, 2004, 2008, 2012, 2016); an example of this is the policy N° 4330 (Medellín Council, 2015), on which tourism is established as an alternative for the exploitation of the resources that can be found on the comunas. This focus lead to a strengthening of the security, services, and infrastructures related to the practice, transforming the neighborhood into an element for the branding of the city, focusing its attention and presence for the preservation of the future of this economic activity, reason why many residents feel that they are being put aside (Álvarez, 2020; Carrillo y Escobar, 2020; Hernández-García, 2013).

Comparative lessons

Even though the social and cultural differences between the two cases studied, we can identify some general outcomes concerning sustainable urban regeneration projects and the relationship between governance and the practice of slum tourism according to the framework developed (Table 1). In what respect to the social sphere, it was found that in both projects, community participation was present from the planning phase and during the implementation of the projects, which promoted social capital through the creation of new networks, which through tourism went beyond the local community and expanded to transnational levels. The economic component in both cases keeps being vague, especially in the long-term and dependency of the community's economic activities on touristic activities. Finally, concerning the environment, the physical achievements were the most prominent, mainly due to the government's significant investment, which after the post-implementation phase still represent the primary source of income for the general maintenance of the interventions. One key aspect that we can find is that the projects responded with innovative solutions —for their own context— to the community's needs, turning them into national and international models that others wanted to follow (Oh, 2018; Schnitter, 2013). However, there are three main points that can have a more thoughtful exploration:

Government, policies, and legal framework

The governments' role in both projects became crucial. Their direct intervention from the initial phase of planning, as in the case of Comuna 13, and through the stage of development and post-implementation, as in the Busan case, transformed it into a critical factor for the success of the respective plans.

One difference that we can notice is the degree of public institutions' intervention and the point in the process when they intervened. In the beginning, Gamcheon's project was planned and structured by the community with the help of professionals, an association that lead to better planning and direct beneficial outcomes, especially for the management of tourist activities' benefits (Choi, & McNeely, 2018; Joo, 2019). On the contrary, in Medellín, the change came from the government, which integrated the community through participatory tools, one of the possible reasons it took time for the community to organize around the tourist activities to capture the benefits (Maclean, 2015; Naef, 2018).

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One aspect to highlight is the impact that policies and the legal framework had on the development of both projects, from the national constitution of 1991 and the PUI in Medellín to the urban regeneration acts for Gamcheon; these tools allowed better participation of the community and general development of plans. On the other hand, there is an evident lack of policies regarding the post-development phase, specifically for the management of the relation tourism-space-residents (Álvarez, 2020; Cha, 2016). In the same way that policies and other instruments were developed to implement these projects in such a particular area, it could be natural to think that tourism development in such places will need special management tools. Therefore, the government —local and national—, is a crucial actor for the successful implementation of regeneration projects based on tourism, but its intervention should extend beyond the implementation phase by creating policies and programs that maintain the needs and rights of the residents always at the center of interventions, and avoid and control process of gentrification and its different types of displacement.

Financial support and economic development

Financial support has shown to be crucial for the development of the projects, not only because of the lack of financial resources that slums have but also in terms of the quality of the projects that are implemented and the positive impact that these ones can have, for the community and for tourism.

In terms of economic development, Gamcheon Cultural Village perceives direct benefits by creating community associations, where part of the benefits that private business perceives from tourism are allocated for the community. This project's structure allowed a more significant impact for the community in terms of employment generation (Choi, & McNeely, 2018; Joo, 2019). In Medellín's case, the economic benefits from tourism were only perceived at first by private companies since they saw the opportunity in the area as a tourist attraction. It was not until later when the community realized the opportunity to create their tours and other alliances with external operators (Naef, 2018).

There is still some work to do in terms of economic outcomes related to this type of regeneration. The government's place takes a vital role in materializing the plans through an investment that the community, particularly the impoverished ones, could never do by their own means. Also, tourism as economic activity generated entrepreneurship, either with small business owners that sell beverages, food, and souvenirs to the tourist in Gamcheon or the Graffiti tours in the Comuna13. With tourism, in both cases, 'economic gentrification' came with it, an aspect that should be analyzed as part of the governance process.

Tourism for these communities has become the main economic activity in the area. However, there is still work to do in terms of economic outcomes related to this type of regeneration, on one side, a more equitable distribution of the benefits is needed, and on other hand, the interventions have not been proven yet to impulse a diversified economy that does not rotate around visitors (Ashworth et al., 2007). A situation that under today's global situation of COVID-19 place them in vulnerable circumstances, Like in San Javier, where it has been a reduction in the tourist visits of 85 % (Calle, 2020)

For tourists or for residents?

A question can be made regarding these projects' social and environmental aspects: for whom are these interventions? In both projects, there is a presence of gray areas that make us analyze this question. The interventions realized in these communities where the lack of proper infrastructure, housing, and other fundamental aspects influence the quality of life; redirect the focus to the real benefits that public art interventions and flagship architecture can bring to the residents. For Gamcheon, its artistic focus has the clear intentionality of attracting visitors as one of the main goals to capture the benefits from the activities related to them. In the case of Medellín 'social urbanism', turned into a branding strategy for the whole city, where the improvement in the slums look to place them not only as examples of good urban planning and governance but also as attractive spots for tourism (Hernández-García, 2013) As Naef (2018) expressed "tourism sector could contribute to the formation of a

myth based on the transformation of the most violent city into the most innovative city in the world". Even the Metrocable, one of the most representative projects, has been found to be used regularly only by 10 % of the San Javier and Santo Domingo's communities (Maclean, 2015).

The idea developed here does not deny the benefits that the physical interventions brought to the communities and the improvement of the living environment. It instead tries to examine how tourism in urban regeneration can, to a certain degree, displace from the main focus those that are already displaced, transforming them into secondary elements in a story where poverty becomes the main character that the visitors want to see. It is also needed to recognize that by the interaction process between visitors and residents, the stigma that poor urban areas have can fade (Frenzel et al.*,* 2014; Naef, 2018).

Conclusion

Governance represents a critical and essential component when dealing with sustainable slum regeneration. Hence, when cities worldwide explore slum tourism as a tool for it, due to the growing economic impact that tourism has on the global economy, they need to analyze this activity as another process that needs special attention.

This study could identify positive aspects of tourism for slum upgrading like: the reduction of the stigma of this deprived area since it allows the community to present varied voices that help the tourist to understand the actual socio-cultural structure of the area. It generates entrepreneurship. Also, to a certain level, tourism helps the community acknowledge positive aspects of their environment and culture, promoting new media to express.

On the other hand, slum tourism still has some limitations. When people talk about slum tourism, they are talking about 'poverty tourism'; poverty becomes the main product of consumption for the outsiders. A condition that leads to two situations; first, the transformation process focuses on attracting more consumers, putting aside the community's present needs, capacity to overcome poverty. Second, it brings ethical issues that affect the project's

sustainability since it becomes a voyeuristic activity where the residents are part of the spectacle. A situation that has a broader impact when tourists become part of the construction of the community's identity by generating a point of comparison residents could see their reality worse than it is, changing their social dynamics and structures (Ashworth et al., 2007; Norberg-Hodge, 2009; Oh, 2018). Another aspect to point out is that tourism in these areas showed to be outside of specific regulations, proving that extensive work must be done in terms of governance.

In the end, for governance, slum tourism as a tool for urban regeneration could be valuable because it has the potential to induce a change, but in the long term, the limitations become more significant, generating a dependency. A possible point to be explored is how to improve governance actions to change established slum tourism projects to generate more independent and diverse socio-cultural and economic dynamics.

The present study presented certain limitations related to the extension of the data in relation to the direct benefits that this project directly brings to the community and to the government. Governments still highlight the benefits of these projects without any deep analyzes or probes of the socio-economic benefits that these particular interventions brought to the community; they still base their assumptions on the local and international recognition that these projects had captured through the years, which translate in the need to focus in more extended and empirical studies of these cases. 46

Declaración de conflictos de interés

Los autores declaran no tener conflictos de interés relacionados con la investigación, autoría y/o publicación de este artículo.

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