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PLACEMAKING AND THE LOSS OF PLACE: PERCEPTIONS OF TOURISM-INDUCED NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGE IN SOUTH KOREA'S DISADVANTAGED NEIGHBORHOODS

by

Minji Kim

A Dissertation Submitted in

Partial Fulfillment of the

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in Geography

at

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

December 2020

ABSTRACT

PLACEMAKING AND THE LOSS OF PLACE: PERCEPTIONS OF TOURISM-INDUCED NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGE IN SOUTH KOREA'S DISADVANTAGED NEIGHBORHOODS

by

Minji Kim

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2020
Under the Supervision of Professor Ryan Holifield

This dissertation research uncovers how seemingly beneficial urban projects associated with tourism reinforce inequitable urban environments and loss of place by examining different perceptions and experiences of tourism-induced neighborhood change in disadvantaged neighborhoods in South Korea. I investigate how public art projects implemented by the government to regenerate *daldongnes*—informal hillside settlements—have brought economic and social disruption to residents and generated a series of contest outcomes. In this research, I examine how tourists' perceptions and representation of the neighborhood in social media contribute to the (re)construction of the neighborhood, how the growth of tourism has influenced place attachment, and how residents and small-business owners experience indirect displacement induced by tourist gentrification.

I use ethnographic fieldwork and qualitative methods to explore how, by whom, and with what effects the neighborhoods are reimagined and reconstructed as contradictory sites to visit and explore. I have demonstrated in my research that the coexistence of tourism and everyday life in the space of residential neighborhoods has led us to rethink a series of controversial outcomes accompanied by the process of neighborhood transformation. This includes the full

understanding of perceptions and experiences of different stakeholders, a fluid and relational understanding of place attachment in touristifying neighborhoods, and an expanded understanding of displacement that includes both direct and indirect displacement. By doing so, my research contributes to a wide range of scholarship within urban and tourism geography, critical tourism studies, and Asian studies by engaging with interdisciplinary theories and concepts.

My key findings are as follows. First, I contend that so-called 'neighborhood improvement projects' are, in fact, micro-scale projects of entrepreneurial place-making. The reproduction of *daldongnes* as tourism destinations primarily serves a "nostalgic fantasy" for a romanticized, fading past for outsiders, instead of properly addressing the real needs of marginalized residents. This disparity has served as the seed of a complex neighborhood conflict.

Second, I claim that a fluid and relational understanding of place attachment is critical in understanding the complexity in *daldongnes* changing through touristification. I claim that place *still* matters in being an object of strong attachment, and people continuously construct, adapt, and reshape their place attachment during the process of tourism-induced neighborhood change. Thus, I contend that urban policy must recognize these dynamics of place attachment in order to address community conflicts likely to emerge with tourism development. Place attachment could not only positively bring the community together but also rupture relationships.

Finally, focusing only on numbers of displaced people by excessive rent increases in a touristified *daldongne* presents a partial understanding of neighborhood change. This is because people can experience displacement without actual physical displacement. Thus, it is critical to engage with indirect displacement—emotional, psychosocial, and material impacts of displacement—to understand the phenomenon in a *daldongne* fully.

While *daldongnes* are essential and exciting in their own right, the study of these neighborhoods enriches several bodies of literature and areas of geographic investigation. As I have demonstrated in this research, uncovering tourism-induced neighborhood change is an essential and inherently geographic phenomenon that reflects a complex people-place relationship that calls for more geographers' engagement. A critical analysis of such a tourism phenomenon serves not only as a way to unpack the broader issue of urban inequality and marginalization but also as a way to discover what sustainable, just, and inclusive urban-dwelling means and to envision ideal neighborhood change.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

GCV	Gamcheon Culture Village
IMV	Ihwa Mural Village
MCST	the Ministry of Culture, Sport, and Tourism
NAPA	Naksan Public Art Project

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Chapter 1. Introduction

Many cities across the globe seem to boast of their vast prosperity. It seems that a typical urban life is often illustrated as holding a cup of freshly brewed coffee, taking a subway to commute to an office located in a skyscraper, and discussing with colleagues what cuisines to pick for lunch in which 'hip' and 'authentic' neighborhood. Perhaps this is not a false illusion of urban life and urban spaces. However, it would be a parable of 'blind men and an elephant' to understand the complex urban environment completely. In fact, it is critical to note that urban environments are not only products of uneven power relations and political contestation at multiple scales, but also spaces where struggles over the urban environment connect with and contribute to the broader schemes of social and political change (Holifield, 2001, 2018).

While scholars in different disciplines have copiously studied other urban issues such as poverty, environmental (in)justice, racism, and gender, the question of how urban tourism constitutes and reinforces inequity and injustice has received less attention, despite urban spaces across the globe becoming contested as urban tourism continues to grow. Given the economic and social importance of tourism, as well as the argument within both policy and academic circles that tourism is an effective way of achieving development, many cities have repositioned themselves as attractive tourist destinations to lure more tourists and increase profits (Fainstein & Gladstone, 1999; Sharpley & Telfer, 2014, 2015).

The continuous growth in tourism stimulates the emergence of new tourist destinations around the world, but what has received relatively little attention are the "inherent processes, influences, objectives, and outcomes of tourism-related development into a cohesive, theoretically informed body of knowledge" (Sharpley & Telfer, 2014, p. xi). Especially, new urban tourism, which reflects changing patterns of urban tourism (Novy, 2010), requires more

scholarly attention. Due to individualized and differentiated modes of traveling, blurred boundaries between travel and everyday life, and tourists' quests for authentic local experiences (Gilmore & Pine, 2007; Haldrup & Larsen, 2009; Huning & Novy, 2006; Maitland, 2013), new urban tourism has emerged as a prominent form of tourism. If urban tourism was traditionally regarded as an isolated phenomenon taking place in so-called "tourist bubbles," defined as distinct geographic areas planned and managed for tourists (Judd & Fainstein, 1999), an increasing number of areas not intended for tourism have in turn become tourist destinations.

Changing patterns of post-industrial cities' tourism consumption and production have transformed the trajectories and characteristics of inner-city neighborhoods. Belleville in Paris, London's East End, Kreuzberg in Berlin, and New York's Harlem neighborhoods illustrate a few examples of places that not too long ago held reputations as areas to avoid and not to visit, and yet today are colorfully described in visitor guides and on websites as must-see destinations for the itineraries of tourists (Novy, 2011).

Although new urban tourism has brought about some constructive outcomes for the transformed neighborhoods, such as the revitalization of disinvested areas, the consequences are more complex and contested, which makes these areas full of contradictions. For instance, the intrusion of tourism into daily life has altered place identity, residents' daily rhythms, and place attachments; intensified neighborhood conflicts among different social groups; increased rent and commercialization; and intensified experiences of *un-homing*, a symbolic violence that makes residents feel no longer at home. All these factors present controversial outcomes and reveal how the touristification of neighborhoods has become a critical urban social problem.

A critical analysis of the transformations of urban spaces amid tourism is a way not only to unpack the broader issue of urban inequality and marginalization, but also to discover a

sustainable and inclusive approach to urban dwelling and envision ideal neighborhood change. Although many cities and urban planners have an optimistic outlook on tourism-related neighborhood development and consider it as an efficient and profitable strategy to revitalize disinvested areas, such development are not without problems. Thus, there is an urgent need for more scholarly attention to capturing the dynamics of tourism-associated neighborhood development and change and examining how it (re)constructed urban space and people's use of space in a contested way.

Given these controversies, it is timely to rethink tourism, place, and different perceptions and outcomes of tourism-related development among different stakeholders at different geographic scales. Understanding tourism-induced neighborhood change is vital and inherently geographic because it provides a way to understand complex people-place relationships, and to uncover urban social problems. Nonetheless, geographers' engagement in studying this phenomenon has been limited. The geography of tourism has still not received widespread attention, although the research in this area has grown considerably, as revealed by the major Anglophone academic geographic associations.

The geography of tourism now has special groups or commissions devoted to the topic[1], with research on topics in this field published in journals across both geography and tourism studies (Lew, Hall, & Williams, 2008; Nelson, 2013). Arguably, this is associated with arguments that tourism has been viewed as "an application of established disciplines because it does not possess sufficient doctrine to be classified as a full-fledged academic discipline"

[1] For example, Recreation, Tourism and Sport specialty group of the Association of American Geographers (AAG), the Geography of Leisure and Tourism research group of the Royal Geographical Society (RGS), and the Commission on the Geography of Tourism, Leisure, and Global Change of the International Geographical Union (IGU).

(Bodewes, 1981, p. 37). Nonetheless, tourism is not merely an enormous global industry that generates a multibillion-dollar business and creates millions of jobs. More importantly and unquestionably, it is a complex topic that is associated with place and human life that calls for more attention from human geographers. In one of the most recent articles published in *Progress in Human Geography*, Young and Markham (2019, p. 276) also argued that geographers need to examine the role of tourism in transforming urban spaces: "What demands attention from geographers is not just the sheer scale of this branch of capital…but the transformative power of tourism industries to reconfigure space and place".

Understandings of urban processes associated with tourism have been dominated by western-centric literature. For instance, short-term rentals in residential real estate gained the most significant attention in the tourism research agenda (Cócola-Gant & Gago, 2019; Wachsmuth & Weisler, 2018). This is associated with the popularity of holiday rentals (e.g., Airbnb) and how they have become a "gentrifying machine" in many major western urban and metropolitan areas, seen as a threat by many communities in these neighborhoods. However, the invasion of tourism in a residential area is not merely about short term rentals. It also could be an outcome of place-marketing urban strategy to create a "new urban tourist destination," as revealed by this research.

Thus, in order to fully comprehend tourism-induced neighborhood change as an emerging urban and social problems, there are still vast empirical gaps to enrich the theorization of this phenomenon. For instance, as argued by comparative urbanists, the theorization and the conceptualization of tourism-induced neighborhood change is dominated by experiences of the

so-called Global North[2] (see, such as Lees, Shin, & López-Morales, 2016; Robinson, 2011, 2016; Shin, Lees, & López-Morales, 2016). Recognizing these "gaps in knowledge," increasing research has been needed to compare across cities from a wide range of contexts (Robinson, 2014). Also, more studies of urbanization and gentrification in non-Western contexts need to be published to investigate other forms and causes of touristification in other urban contexts.

This dissertation research aims to fill this gap by addressing a distinctive process of urban development and change with the case of South Korean cities. Cities in South Korea are indicative of rapid urbanization, export-oriented economic development, and strong developmental states that have generated variegated outcomes. Thus, the examination of South Korean cities can enrich the understanding of gentrification triggered by tourism and add to its theorization. In this research, I examine how the inherent processes, influences, objects, and outcomes of tourism-related development alter the life of underrepresented communities in South Korea; specifically, the cases of Ihwa Mural Village (IMV) in Seoul and Gamcheon Culture Village (GCV) in Busan, where state-led public art projects to regenerate disadvantaged areas have transformed urban neighborhoods into tourist destinations and generated controversial outcomes.

[2] Since the end of the Cold War, many commentators have employed the North-South label to draw a dichotomy between wealthy, developed countries primarily located in the northern hemisphere (the North) and poorer, developing countries located mainly in the southern hemisphere (the South). I clarify that I object to this dichotomic view, and thus, hesitate to use such terms. But I used it purposely to demonstrate the western hegemonic view in understanding urban issues.

Study Area

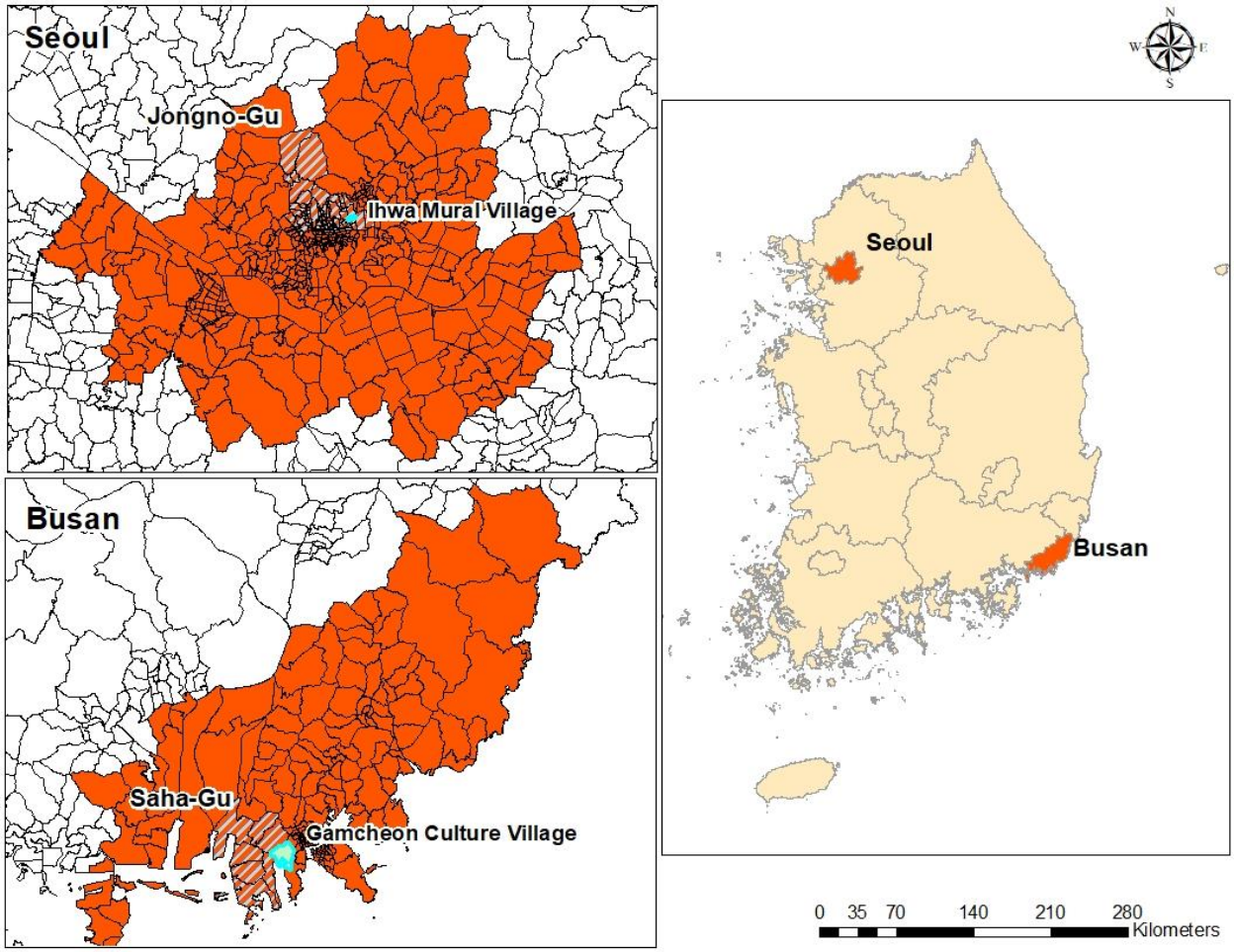


Figure 1 The location of IMV and GCV

Source: By author

Ihwa Mural Village (IMV) in Seoul and Gamcheon Culture Village (GCV) in Busan are so-called *daldongne*. *Daldongne* refers to a neighborhood consisting of substandard dwellings that are frequently built with low-quality materials, which are essentially unplanned squatter settlements. In most cases, *daldongnes* are located on hillsides; "*dal*" means the moon and "*dongne*" refers to neighborhoods in Korean. It is a term that implies the sorrows of life of the residents living in a *daldongne*; as its location is on a hillside, residents could watch the moon more closely. While so-called ghettos in western contexts often imply 'unsafe' neighborhoods

with high crime rates and tend to be found in ethnic minority neighborhoods (Small, Manduca, & Johnston, 2018), Korean *daldongnes* are not considered as 'bad and unsafe' neighborhoods. Instead, a *daldongne* is just a neighborhood with marginalized living environments, such as small alleys and old-style houses, along with a majority of working-class and senior residents.

Daldongnes are, in part, the outcome of a tragic history. These substandard settlements were formed because of an unexpectedly large group of returnees and refugees settling in Seoul and its metropolitan areas following the end of Japanese colonization, which lasted until the early 1960s. Also, there was an enormous wave of rural to urban migration that accompanied this period. These mass movements contributed to a significant disparity between housing need and supply. Urban infrastructure, particularly housing, was hardly sufficient to accommodate the rising demand from the rapid population growth. This imbalance overwhelmingly affected the poor, who have the fewest resources to compete in the market for affordable housing (Ha, 2001).

Thus, it is during this period that *daldongnes* emerged in Seoul and its metropolitan areas. The returning population settled in open spaces—such as hillsides, public spaces near railroads—and constructed their own houses with available, albeit low-quality supplies. This type of squatter settlement was constructed without the city government's consent, and thus, the development was neither designed nor planned. Nonetheless, with few other alternatives, the municipality mostly ignored such development (Shin & Kim, 2016).

Thus, *daldongnes* have been seen as an urban 'nuisance' not only because the housing was vulnerable to a series of safety issues (e.g., fire and flood), but also because these neighborhoods were thought to degrade the image of the city. Beginning in the 1970s, South Korea's rapid economic development and urbanization have led to many *daldongnes* being demolished to make room for skyscrapers, and a large number of residents became displaced

(Ha, 2001). For instance, when Seoul was chosen to host the Summer Olympics in 1988 (it was announced in late September of 1981), the South Korean government took the 'serendipitous opportunity' to eliminate *daldongnes* as a means of conveying a more positive image of the city (Ha, 2001). During this period, since new large-scale housing estate developments were essential for city-wide urban spatial restructuring, these projects forcibly displaced many poor and marginalized residents (Shin & Kim, 2016).

However, these marginalized neighborhoods were reappraised with the shift in urban development paradigms associated with the financial crisis in 1997. Before this economic crisis, the central government's focus was to prioritize industrialization. However, criticism of this approach led the government to shift its strategy to neoliberalism (Choi, 2012; Park, Hill, & Saito, 2012). Also, the *segyehwa* (globalization) campaign of this period urged increasing the global competitiveness of cities. Since then, western-style place-marketing strategies have become the predominant form of urban policies to promote local growth and increase urban competitiveness (Hae, 2018). I clarify what I mean by place marketing in this research following Ward (2007)'s discussion of the concept that refers to culture-based urban development policies and urban branding efforts practiced in western cities to boost images of place.

It is this 'cultural turn' that has made *daldongnes* appreciated in different ways. Paradoxically, due to the long history of marginalization from governmental attention and modernist urban planning, these marginalized neighborhoods maintained 'old neighborhood features,' which serves as an illusion of the atmosphere of the 1970s. According to intellectuals and policymakers, these features of the neighborhoods attract visitors who want to experience what they understand as 'nostalgic' and 'authentic' urban life and who are yearning for the lost times that existed before modernist urban planning and rapid urbanization.

Nevertheless, this reevaluation and romanticization of *daldongnes* does not reflect the realities of these neighborhoods, which have urgent physical needs to improve residents' quality of lives. Also, disadvantaged environmental and living conditions give rise to the social stigmatization of both *daldongnes* and their residents as a 'poor neighborhood' or 'poor community.' Thus, since the 2000s, *maŭlmisulp'ŭrojekt'ŭ* (public art projects) were implemented in both IMV and GCV to improve the living conditions of the neighborhoods and using public arts as a tool to engage the community.

Table 1 General information about two projects

	Ihwa Mural Village (IMV)	**Gamcheon Culture Village (GCV)**
Organizer	Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism (MCST)	
Time	July 2006 - October 2006	2011 to present
Project Name	Naksan Public Art Project (Art in City)	Maeul Misul Project
Supervision	Public Art Promotion Committee Jongno-Gu District Office (under Seoul Metropolitan Government)	Maeulmisul Art Project Promotion Committee & Korean Fine Arts Association Saha-Gu District Office (under Busan Metropolitan City Government)
Location	Jongno-Gu, Seoul (the capital city)	Saha-Gu, Busan (the second largest city)
Goal	Revitalize marginalized neighborhood economically, socially, and culturally	Branding the unique stories of the neighborhoods to develop novel paradigms for culture, art, and tourism

Source: Source: Korea Arts Management Service, 2007, 2012.

Although urban policymakers justified the public art projects as tools to regenerate and revitalize these neighborhoods; instead, the projects generated contested outcomes by sparking tourism-oriented development. The purported benefits of the projects, such as the improved quality of life of residents, did not materialize automatically. Instead, a growing number of residents experienced unwelcome neighborhood change, including the threat of gentrification and conflicts between different groups of people that affected their everyday lives.

Fieldwork and Methodology

In order to uncover different stakeholders' perspectives and experiences of tourism and the impacts of tourism through their own words describing their subjective, lived experiences, and memories, I conducted ethnographic fieldwork from May 2017 to January 2018 in IMV and GCV. I used a series of qualitative methods, including semi-structured interviews, focus group interviews, and participant observation. I have also completed fieldnotes that include many details ranging from weather, how the neighborhood looked like in terms of crowdedness and who were the major visitors of each day, interviewees' subtle facial expressions and emotions revealed during the interviews, and so on. I have also attained many official and unofficial documents during the fieldwork period.

I used different methods of data collection to understand tourists and residents. To understand tourists' representation of place of both neighborhoods, I used TripAdvisor reviews. While this is a method predominantly used in tourism studies and business marketing literature to examine tourists' (dis)satisfaction with different tourism services, I used tourists' comments in TripAdvisor as a way to gain insights that we might not acquire through other qualitative methods, such as an interview. Gaining insights from Zukin, Lindeman, and Hurson (2017)'s work using restaurant reviews on Yelp.com to examine how social media users serve as generating "discursive investors" in gentrification (p.459), I treated tourists' reviews as a valuable source to understand a distinctive form of discourse and public expression. By doing so, I have shown how this data could be reflective of tourists' behavior and perceptions. In total, I analyzed 216 reviews from Ihwa Mural Village (as of 3/4/2018) and 1,941 reviews from Gamcheon Culture Village (as of 3/15/2018) with the aid of the NVIVO qualitative data analysis software program.

Most of the data for understanding residents' perceptions was collected through both semi-structured and focus group interviews. These interviews enabled me to gain multiple insights and perspectives of residents' understanding of the different impacts of tourism-induced neighborhood change. In addition, participant observation was also used to learn about the activities of the people in a natural setting by observing and participating in those activities (Kawulich, 2005). All these methodological techniques not only allowed me to establish rapport within the communities and learn to act in such a way as to blend into them, but also assisted me in acquiring deeper and richer information to understand residents' experiences and narratives of neighborhood change. I used a snowball sampling strategy to approach initial informants, and I asked them to nominate others in their social networks. At the initial stage, I was able to interview several 'key' longstanding residents who have been active in neighborhood activities and know most of the neighbors. They provided access to a number of additional interviewees with diverse backgrounds, such as inhabitants, resident business owners, newcomers, and artists who have participated in public art projects.

Interviews conducted with these different stakeholders ranged from one-time encounters to several follow-up interviews, which ranged from 60 to 240 minutes. I audio-recorded these interviews based on the approval of residents and the Institutional Review Board (IRB). I conducted all the interviews in Korean, and thus, all the transcripts were initially recorded in Korean, and then later translated into English by myself. I transcribed all interviews and then coded and analyzed them, along with the secondary data materials such as news articles and official documents, field notes, and some statistical data on demographic information and housing prices. I interviewed a total number of 39 interviewees in IMV and 36 interviewees in GCV.

Overview and Findings

This dissertation is structured around different themes and outcomes that have emerged from the impact of state-led public art projects that have transformed two *daldongnes* into tourist destinations. The following three chapters of this dissertation are written as stand-alone papers, with each devoted to examining different topics. In the final chapter of this dissertation, I summarize my major findings and conclusions and provide suggestions of directions for future research.

Chapter 2, my first empirical chapter, examines two major points. First, it investigates the (re)constructions of IMV and GCV via the state-led public art projects under the broader force of the nation's trajectory of urban development and the role of social media. By pointing out the discrepancy between the objectives of public art projects and their actual outcomes, I argue how these seemingly advantageous projects to improve the marginalized neighborhoods have, in fact, changed the neighborhood to be gazed upon by numerous tourists and perceived as "theme parks" despite being sites for residents' ordinary daily lives. Social media served to spread and consolidate a place myth of these neighborhoods and to attract more tourists to the neighborhoods. However, the neighborhood changes are contrary to the residents' urgent need to improve marginalized neighborhood infrastructures.

Second, tourists' reviews on TripAdvisor reflect such contradictions. While many tourists perceive these neighborhoods as "fun and arty theme parks" to enjoy, other reviewers were also mindful of visiting residential neighborhoods where people still live and cautioned other visitors to be responsible and caring toward residents. As tourists also play an essential role in the transformation of these places, tourists' reviews on TripAdvisor are helping to uncover how they view and experience these sites. Given that ongoing neighborhood changes in both IMV and

GCV are continuously leaning toward to focus on meeting the expectations of these tourists, it shows how tourists' representations of place matter in (re)constructing the neighborhoods.

Chapter 3 investigates the relevance of a fluid and relational understanding of place attachment within the context of new urban tourism with the case of IMV. I showed that the socioeconomic reconfiguration of IMV has complicated people-place relationships and demonstrated that people continuously construct, adapt, and reshape their connections and attachments to place, responding to such dynamics during tourism-induced neighborhood change. Such findings show that place attachment is multidimensional and fluid. It can be either amplified or attenuated during the trajectory of neighborhood change, which is contingent upon diverse neighborhood events affecting their quality of lives and conflicting rights.

More specifically, I found that place attachment is plural, as it may not necessarily only be premised on rootedness, and may not be exclusively possessed by a particular group or individuals. Also, people can attach to multiple sites simultaneously. Also, I showed that a series of neighborhood events and configurations associated with tourism matter in generating fluid place attachment, such as exclusion from the neighborhood projects, estrangement generated by installed artworks that do not reflect real life, negative impacts of overtourism, and the complexity of proximity to tourism hotspots.

Chapter 4 identifies a distinctive form of displacement that occurs in GCV. Some academic research and news articles diagnose GCV as experiencing gentrification due to the rent increase caused by excessive commercialization. However, tourism-induced displacement in GCV reveals that several distinctive dimensions of un-homing that may be less common in other kinds of gentrifying neighborhoods are also part of neighborhood change. The findings show that tourism-induced gentrification has generated limited direct physical displacement of residents

and business owners, spatially concentrated in areas adjacent to the main tourist thoroughfare. Also, indirect displacement in the sense of displacement pressure and un-homing has a more widespread and complex presence within the community, depending in part on residents' proximity to tourist activity.

Significance

In general, this dissertation warrants the analysis of a wide range of scholarship within human geography, tourism studies, and Asian studies by engaging interdisciplinary theories and concepts, such as the representation of place, authenticity, tourist gaze, place attachment, and gentrification within the context of South Korean cities. However, more particularly, it contributes to several bodies of literature and areas of geographic inquiry. First, this dissertation serves to enrich the literature on the geography of place and tourism and to expand research methods by incorporating the qualitative analysis of TripAdvisor reviews. More specifically, I demonstrate geography can contribute to the study of tourist experience as a change of place as well as the relationship with place by uncovering tourists' representation of place, along with a series of forces, such as the trajectory of urban development, place marketing, and the role of media.

Second, this dissertation contributes to place attachment literature, in which the 'place' component has received relatively little attention. Within tourism studies, place attachment research is centered on destination management and marketing perspectives to manage tourism destinations more effectively. By filling the empirical gaps in understanding 'fluid and relational' place attachment with the context of new urban tourism, the dissertation shows the relevance of accommodating plural expressions of place attachment and fluidity to uncover

residents' people-place relationships in the touristifying neighborhood. By doing so, it suggests the great potential of geographers to contribute to broadening our understanding of place attachment in various realms of mobility, especially with tourism.

Third, this dissertation research expands the understanding of gentrification in general, as well as gentrification literature in Korea. I have not only examined a distinctive form of tourism gentrification by demonstrating emotional and psychosocial displacement, which has received less attention by gentrification scholars. In addition, Korean gentrification literature has neglected *daldongne* as a case study.

Finally, this dissertation helps to conceptualize new urban tourism as an emerging critical urban and social phenomenon that generates contested outcomes at the neighborhood scale. Also, it contributes to deepening urban theories centered on western-centric views by reconsidering various geographic concepts within the context of South Korean cities.

Chapter 2. The Paradox of Reinventing Disadvantaged Neighborhoods as New Tourist Destinations: Culture-led Urban Regeneration and the Fantasy of Nostalgia

Introduction

Places are complex entities, and the understanding of place is complicated by the emergence of urban tourism that plays a critical role in reconfiguring the spatial, economic, social, and cultural transformation of the urban fabric across the globe (Nelson, 2013; Sequera & Nofre, 2018). Tourism interacts with place characteristics, and it is "both place-shaped and shaping" (Shaw & Williams, 2004, p. 186). What makes places more complex are the "changing patterns of urban tourism" that are observed in different cities worldwide" (Novy & Huning, 2009, p. 88), including what is labeled as new urban tourism. There has been increasing contact between residents and tourists due to visitors seeking 'typical,' ordinary experiences in everyday spaces of an unfamiliar city (Dirksmeier & Helbrecht, 2015; Füller & Michel, 2014).

Accordingly, many urban neighborhoods—the sites of everyday practices—have increasingly emerged as 'tourist sites' for those interested in experiencing a so-called authentic atmosphere. Spaces inhabited by marginalized communities are often deemed such cases and are often converted into new urban tourism destinations. Belleville in Paris, London's East End, Kreuzberg in Berlin, and New York's Harlem illustrate a few examples. While not too long ago, these places had reputations as areas to avoid and not to visit, today they are described in visitor guides and on websites as must-see destinations in the itinerary of tourists (Novy, 2011).

In the academic study of tourism, while tourism scholars have paid much attention to residents' perceptions, attitudes, and support or lack of support of tourism (e.g., Allen, Long, Perdue, & Kieselbach, 1988; Choi & Murray, 2010; Gregurović, Kaufmann, Župarić-Iljić, &

Dujmović, 2019), the experiences of tourists have often had a small role (Suvantola, 2018). Even when it was the object of the research, the focus has usually been put on a tourism marketing approach, such as evaluating the relationship between tourist experiences and their satisfaction with tourism services (Biswas, Deb, Hasan, & Khandakar, 2020; Dwyer, Chen, & Lee, 2019; Oviedo-García, Vega-Vázquez, Castellanos-Verdugo, & Orgaz-Agüera, 2019). While understanding residents' perceptions and their relationships to place is critical, tourists' experiences and expectations also constitute people-place relationships in touristifying new urban tourist destinations. This indicates the need for a holistic approach to taking into account both residents and tourists' perceptions in investigating such relationships. Nonetheless, uncovering travel experience as a contributor to place change has received relatively little attention in the literature.

Given these gaps in the literature, this paper aims to shed light on the following aspects. First, it investigates how tourists experience the places they visit in order to understand the role of tourism in the social construction of space through place. Tourists' representations of place help us explore the relationship between place and tourism and the consequences of place change generated by this relationship. Place characteristics can become complicated and stratified with the coexistence of outsiders and locals. More specifically, the meanings of a place are shaped by both insiders and outsiders (Nelson, 2013).

Second, I claim that understanding tourists' experiences is also a valuable way to uncover how tourists' representation of places is (re)shaped within broader forces, such as the trajectory of urban development, place marketing, and the role of social media. For instance, comparing tourist representations against neighborhood change offers to examine how and by whom the

places have been reimagined and reexperienced. This investigation will be useful to unpack and its implication in comprehending a series of (possible) conflicts triggered by tourism.

Third, tourists' representations of place through web-based platforms, such as reviews in TripAdvisor, are valuable in understanding their experience of place. This is a substantial source that allows us to gain insights that interviews may not provide. While this is a method used widely in tourism and business marketing literature, geography can and should adopt this method to answer a different set of questions. Zukin et al. (2017, p. 459) argued that reviews on online platforms could serve as a way of examining how the users act as both "prosumers or producers" and "discursive investors" in gentrification. Similarly, I argue that reviews on TripAdvisor represent a distinctive form of discourse, and if we handle them as discursive interactions and not as "representative samples," then we can learn a great deal from them. In addition, I claim that TripAdvisor data also reveal how tourists experience a place and interact with each other.

The emergence of new urban tourist destinations in South Korea, specifically, a number of *byŏk'wamaŭl* (public art villages) generated all over the country, helps us understand the phenomenon. I examine two representative *byŏk'wamaŭls* as case studies: Ihwa Mural Village (IMV) in Seoul and Gamcheon Culture Village (GCV) in Busan, South Korea. IMV is considered as one of the earliest *byŏk'wamaŭls*, and GCV is regarded as one of the most successful models. Most of the *byŏk'wamaŭls* are, in fact, *daldongne,* which refers to urban hillside shantytowns that are inhabited by impoverished migrants from rural areas or urban poor build their homes on unoccupied land on slopes. These *byŏk'wamaŭls* have been reinvented as tourist destinations through the government's implementation of public art projects as part of a culture-led urban regeneration strategy.

The initial objectives of the public art projects were to develop and improve the living environments of the disinvested neighborhoods via community participation (Korea Arts Management Service, 2007a, 2007b). Public art projects were deemed as an innovative way to revitalize the areas at the beginning because conventionally, under developmentalism, *daldongnes* were the objects of demolition to make room for high-rise apartment complexes in South Korea. However, since South Korean urban policy shifted to cultural-led urban regeneration to promote local growth (Hae, 2018), *daldongnes* were reinterpreted by urban scholars and elites in charge of making place policies.

In particular, a series of physical features characteristic of *daldongnes*, such as small alleys and old-style houses, which recall an urban atmosphere before modernist urban planning, have been reappreciated as triggers of nostalgia and the yearning for the loss of a period and place. While converting IMV and GCV into tourism sites was not the initial goal, thanks to an increasing number of tourists seeking to experience 'authentic' and mundane urban life, these sites have gradually emerged as new urban tourist destinations. In other words, both public artworks and the distinctive features of *daldongne* have generated such outcomes.

This discrepancy between the initial objectives of the projects and the actual outcomes has generated controversy. For instance, findings from the TripAdvisor analysis showed that many tourists perceive *daldongnes* as "fun and arty theme parks," but simultaneously, others instruct each other about how to behave responsibly around residents by recognizing the negative impacts experienced by residents. In this paper, I investigate *how tourists' representations of these places resonate with new urban tourism* and *how these representations make a distinctive contribution to place construction.*

Given that both IMV and GCV are ordinary residential neighborhoods, residents' experiences and perceptions of neighborhood change are critical to analyzing. However, I clarify that I address residents' complex experiences in my other two empirical papers – chapter three and chapter four. This chapter pays particular attention to the inherent contradictions within the projects and how tourists experience these places. I draw on governmental documents, media coverage, and TripAdvisor comments concerning both IMV and GCV to uncover these processes.

The Geography of Place, Tourism, and Representation

Different elements shape tourist experiences, and there are three main dimensions (Shaw & Williams, 2004). The first is related to experience and consumption. For instance, Boorstin (1964) defines tourist experience as a "popular act of consumption" (Shaw & Williams, 2004, p.134), while in contrast, MacCannell (1973) argues that tourists are more active actors searching for an "authentic" experience. Second is the relationship between experience, motivation, and tourist types. For example, Cohen (1979) has categorized individuals into two broad groups based on what tourists want to experience. These groups are "modern pilgrimage" and "search of pleasure," and these different tourists seek different experiences, which in turn carry various meanings (Shaw & Williams, 2004, p.134). The third is the nexus of experience and behavior. In this perspective, tourist experiences are multifunctional, and they involve all the senses, not merely visual, as suggested by the concept of the "tourist gaze" (Ryan, 2002a, 2002b; Urry, 1990).

While tourists' experiences have been widely studied in social sciences disciplines, such as sociology (Wang & Alasuutari, 2017; Wearing & Foley, 2017; Wearing, Stevenson, & Young,

2009), psychology (Larsen, Doran, & Wolff, 2017; Zatori, Smith, & Puczko, 2018), and tourism studies (Mossberg, 2007; Ramesh & Jaunky, 2020; Uriely, 2005), they have been understudied in geography (Suvantola, 2018). Traditionally, geography's contribution to the study of tourism has adopted environmental, regional, spatial, and evolutionary perspectives (Mitchell & Murphy, 1991). Although these aspects often overlap (Suvantola, 1996, 2018), geographers have considered such issues as the impact of tourism on the natural environment (Butler & Suntikul, 2010), tourism as a means of economic development (Hall, 1994), and tourist area life cycle models for understanding the growth and development of tourism destinations (Butler, 1980).

Although the experience of tourism was not the major concern of humanist geographers, Relph (1976)'s well-recognized book, *Place and Placelessness*, is an exception (Nelson, 2013). In this book, he views tourism as one of the unauthentic activities in place creation and experience, since he perceives mass communication as resulting in a "uniformity of landscape," which contributes to lessening the diversity of place (Relph, 1976, p.93). Media representations of place, alongside standardized mass tourism formulated by governments and professional designers rather than residents themselves, intensifies *placelessness*. Relph's criticism of tourism resonates with the study of tourists' experience, which has debated the (in)authenticity of tourism and criticism of its perceived spuriousness (Boorstin, 1992; Brown, 2013; MacCannell, 1973; Turner & Ash, 1975; Wang, 1999). In more recent research, the emphasis has shifted towards understanding tourism as one kind of a cultural discourse of the world (Bruner, 1991; Suvantola, 1996), including the analysis of tourists' motivations (Ryan, 2002b).

Given that tourists' experiences are fundamentally place-based activities, there is much potential for bridging the geography of tourism and the geography of place to understand tourists' experiences of place (Nelson, 2013). Just as representations of place are an

extraordinarily important part of tourism, they also apply to the experiences of places. For instance, a quote from Dean MacCannell (1976)'s classic book, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, reveals the significance of tourists' representation to understand a place: "Usually, the first contact a sightseer has with sight is not the sight itself but with some representation thereof" (p.110).

Representation of place describes the ways places are encapsulated and depicted to an individual and generating ideas and images about those places. In tourism, since places are often considered as "products" to be sold, tourism marketing uses phrases like "spectacular sunsets" and "beautiful beaches" to evoke vivid images of a particular place and attract tourists. These images and ideas play an important role in shaping tourists' perceptions of place (Nelson, 2013, pp. 235-236). This has implications for discussing the geography of tourism, as these ideas and images play roles in tourists' decisions to visit a place and shape the expectations of their future visit (Nelson, 2013).

However, different types of media contribute to ideas about places and the expectations for tourism experiences in those places. What digital media offers cannot be separated from "embodied practices, from doings, but nor can performances be separated from issues of materiality" (Haldrup & Larsen, 2009, p. 133). New forms of media increase the "vicarious experience of places" in various ways (Nelson, 2013, p. 242). One example provided by Nelson (2013) is films and travel-themed television programs that have become an important representation and/or advertisement tool that attracts visitors. And recently, different types of social media and web-based platforms have started to play a role. Websites, such as TripAdvisor and Yelp.com, have emerged as representation instruments where visitors can freely make reviews for the places and restaurants they visit. Reviews on these websites not only help and

influence the decision-making process (Kladou & Mavragani, 2015), but more importantly, these can serve as sites for representing a distinctive form of discourse.

The work of Zukin et al. (2017, p. 459) shows how social media users act as both "prosumers or producers" and "discursive investors" in gentrification via using restaurant reviews on Yelp.com. By analyzing the Yelp reviews of restaurants in predominantly White-gentrifying and Black-gentrifying neighborhoods in Brooklyn, New York, the authors discovered how the reviewers' language represented "discursive redlining" in the digital public realm and contributed to "taste-driven processes" of gentrification and racial change. As this article indicates, many online databases of consumer reviews have become influential with growing numbers of users and writers and have become significant media platforms in their own rights. They have also become important mediators between "global publics of consumers and local providers of cultural goods and services" (Zukin et al., 2017, p. 460).

Taking all these into account, I claim that tourists' representations of place can be more powerful if they are analyzed in relation to the structural forces within which personal meanings develop. In other words, if we expand the analysis of a tourist's experience of place by considering structural forces that affect personal interpretations of place, it provides a better way of understanding place change induced by tourism.

The Rise of New Urban Tourism as a Prominent Form of Tourism

The spatial character of urban tourism has become complicated. In response to meet the increasing demands of new tourists who seek feelings of the 'ordinary' and 'authentic life of a city' (Gilmore & Pine, 2007), sites that were unplanned and nontraditional tourist areas are deemed as desirable locations for tourism, leisure, and consumption (Dirksmeier & Helbrecht,

2015; Maitland, 2008, 2010; Novy & Huning, 2009). These tourists went from "*having* a holiday through *doing* the sights or activities towards *becoming"* (Maitland & Newman, 2004, p. 339), and such behavior has stimulated the production of an increasing number of new urban tourist destinations.

The rise of new urban tourism is associated with a series of factors, such as individualized and differentiated modes of traveling, infusion of everydayness in travel due to the blurred boundary between travel and everyday life, and tourists' quests for authentic local experiences (Gilmore & Pine, 2007; Haldrup & Larsen, 2009; Huning & Novy, 2006; Larsen, 2008; Maitland, 2013). However, in order to better understand new urban tourism, scholarship needs to engage with the broader framework of urban (re)development. Many cities' participation in (re)producing and (re)imagining tourism and culture has, ironically, trapped them in a homogenized built environment and a loss of distinctiveness. Many scholars have criticized this type of homogenized contemporary tourist-oriented urban development as diminishing cities' ability to create and enhance their uniqueness (Richards & Wilson, 2006). For instance, critical urban sociologist Sharon Zukin assesses these designed urban spaces as "spaces of consumption" within the global competition forces (Zukin, 1996, 2001, 2012). Zukin (1996) asserts that, although so-called cultural cities claim their distinctiveness, in reality, these cities (re)produce similar spaces of consumption in a geographically widespread manner. These constructive considerations present many scholars' concerns about the standardized contemporary urban tourism strategy and associated urban development (Richards & Wilson, 2006).

The characteristics of post-Fordist tourism consumption are also significant to consider the homogenization of tourist spaces, since it shows that the demands of tourists are shifting to pursue more specialized and individualized needs (Shaw & Williams, 2004). As pointed out by

Novy and Huning (2009, p. 88), globally changing patterns of post-industrial cities' tourism consumption and production transform "the trajectories and characteristics of inner-city neighborhoods". The shift away from standardized mass tourism towards more subjective and differentiated tourist experiences has generated new tourism areas. Accordingly, creating new shared experiences has become popular, and many tourists expect to go beyond the experience of traditional tourism precincts (Fainstein, 2007). Since such popularity has also been manifested in both established tourist cities and less traditional tourist destinations (Bock, 2015; del Romero Renau, 2018; Rae, 2018), scholars in tourism studies have started to focus on "the development of tourism in urban neighborhoods beyond the beaten path" (Huning & Novy, 2006, p. 2).

The Fantasy of Authenticity and Nostalgia in Tourism Marketing

Authenticity has been one of the key concepts in tourism studies in history, anthropology, and sociology, which theorize tourism as a social phenomenon (Rickly-Boyd, 2012). These efforts can be illustrated by seminal works that identified the roles of alienation, inauthenticity, and authenticity in tourism motivation and experience (Boorstin 1992, MacCannell 1973, 1976). Cohen (1979), for example, explains how authenticity matters in "tourists' diverse motivations for recreational, diversionary, experiential, experimental, and existential experiences" (Rickly-Boyd, 2018, p. 734).

However, tourism geographer Jillian Rickly-Boyd contends that, despite the contribution of these works, little attention has been paid to geographical concepts, such as space, culture, time, and mobility, even if they are related to authenticity in tourism destinations (Rickly-Boyd, 2018). She used different examples of how place representations and the concept of authenticity are embedded in tourism and marketing of destinations, ranging from souvenirs and urban

(re)development (Hashimoto & Telfer, 2007; Knudsen, Rickly-Boyd, & Vidon, 2016), arguing that "tourism experiences are not limited to the destination alone" (Rickly-Boyd, 2018, p. 735).

Building on these arguments from Rickly-Boyd, I illustrate how authenticity can be observed from many in place marketing as an urban strategy with two examples: slum tourism and the trend of seeking nostalgia in urban spaces by integrating the discussions on new urban tourism in South Korea. Under the trajectory of a uniform approach to recent urban (re)development worldwide that is losing cultural specificity, tourists try to encounter "staged authenticity". Nevertheless, paradoxically, this attempt of going beyond the staged authenticity is still another way of experiencing it. Just as argued by Knudsen et al. (2016, p. 33), who utilized Lacanian psychoanalysis, "authenticity is a fantasy…particularly in tourism marketing and touristic motivation and experience". This further illustrates one of MacCannell's arguments that backstage is always beyond our grasp as tourists because it is a fantasy (MacCannell, 1976, 1999).

For instance, slum tourism, which emerged as a controversial form of tourism due to the issues of "poverty alleviation, voyeurism, ethics and exploitation" (Dürr & Jaffe, 2012, p. 113), has quickly evolved across the world with the premise of providing authentic experiences (Rickly-Boyd, 2018). Dating back to Victorian England, slum tours were perceived as 'adventures' for affluent people to leave their "safe, comfortable elite spaces" to explore underdeveloped urban areas; in the US, slum tours are marketed as touring "ethnic and exotic neighborhoods" (Dürr & Jaffe, 2012, p. 114). In addition, the way of selling such sites makes visitors feel that they are 'contributing' to the locals by paying tour fees (Dyson, 2012).

Another example is recent urban place marketing in South Korea, which reveals the evocation of nostalgia. Originally, nostalgia was a medical term used to describe soldiers'

homesickness who were working in a distant foreign land (Chen, Yeh, & Huan, 2014). The term is now broadened to depict a sentimental longing for something far away, where the referred distance is "both spatial and temporal" (Stephan, Sedikides, & Wildschut, 2012, p. 292). The temporal distance is not limited to one's own past experiences, but also includes a collective past such as history (Leong, Yeh, Hsiao, & Huan, 2015). Nostalgia can be divided into two domains: personal and historical (Stern, 1992). While the former indicates a sentimental yearning for the past that one has experienced, such as a childhood memory, the latter refers to the romantic desire for the distant past beyond one's living memory. In this case, nostalgia is vicariously experienced through popular media such as film, novel, music, and television.

Applying Stern's (1992) classification, nostalgia in South Korean place marketing leans toward the historical, since nostalgia for the distant past is likely to be the result of a deficiency in contemporary life (Bartoletti, 2010). During the rapid period of urbanization, many 'traditional types' of urban neighborhoods of Korea consisting of alleyways and strong bonds with the community have been destroyed in the name of development or beautification. These villages are often considered 'authentic' to many people who have experiences of spending their childhood in such settings (Shin, 2015), which the majority of them romanticize. Nostalgia is a sentimental yearning for the past that invokes a positive evaluation contrary to the present (Kim, 2005), and given that many of this type of urban neighborhoods are gone, it provokes a romanticized way to view the past (Merchant & Rose, 2013).

Why Have Daldongnes Become Nostalgic Places to Gaze Upon?

During Korea's era of rapid urbanization during the 1970s, *daldongnes* were the scapegoats for developmentalism. However, redevelopment premised on developmentalism not

only has received many criticisms from academics, but also has generated many brutal side effects for people, especially marginalized groups, to be displaced. During this period, industrialization was the highest priority of the developmental state, and industrial policies are the state's primary means for accomplishing economic goals. Since the ideology of developmentalism is premised on public ownership and planning, the government uses these policies and its powers over capital allocation to develop strategic industries and adjust the economic structure to encounter the changes in the world economy (Park et al., 2012). The South Korean economy, guided by the developmental state, along with other East Asian economies, was acclaimed as a "miracle" in the early 1990s, even by the World Bank (1993) (Choi, 2012).

However, since the financial crisis in 1997, these compliments turned into criticisms, as if "the failure of the crisis-afflicted Korean economy was predestined" (Choi, 2012, p. 87). Since then, the South Korean government turned through its major policies for economic restructuring and spatial reconfiguration to neoliberalism. The South Korean central government also introduced the local self-government system that elects local politicians, such as mayors and local councilors, by local constituencies (Hae, 2018; Park, 2008). Considering the fact that before the establishment of such a system, local politicians were appointed by the central government, this is a significant change. The initiation of the local self-government system would not be possible without economists, public policy scholars, urban planners, and geographers. To effectively operate this system, these academics have underscored the significance of local governments to prioritize the autonomy of local economy and restoring place identity among locals (Hae, 2018).

Moreover, under the presidency of Kim Young-Sam[3], he launched a *segyehwa* or globalization campaign, steered Korea through the Uruguay Round negotiations and secured its membership in the OECD (Haggard, 2015). Under this campaign, enhancing global competitiveness was considered an urgent task, and place marketing, which these intellectuals favored, emerged as a prominent policy. Since cultural assets were previously neglected by the central government's developmentalism, these academics have advised reconsidering places' cultural assets by researching and marketing them to make them more attractive to both locals and foreigners (Hae, 2018).

Therefore, the culture-oriented paradigm has become the dominant form of urban policy since the 2000s, and this indicates the shift from a previous developmental to a post-developmental system in conjunction with the democratization, neo-liberalization, and administrative decentralization of the 1990s. In this path, the government has adopted Western-style place-marketing strategies, and put them into practice as cultural revitalization programs to promote local growth (Hae, 2018). Here, place marketing refers to culture-based urban development policies and urban branding efforts to enhance the image of place, which is similar to the ways that were practiced in western cities (Ward, 2007). During the period led by the 'cultural turn,' many critical urbanists viewed place marketing positively as they thought it might help restore a sense of community and promote place-based cultural identities (Hae, 2018; Park, 2010). Given the developmental urbanization during the 1960s to 1980s, when all of these values were neglected, the culture-oriented paradigm is perceived as more humane and even democratic (Lee, 2006).

[3] 7th President of South Korea who served from 1993 to 1998. He was a democratic activist that one of the most powerful rivals to the authoritarian regimes of Park Chung-hee and Cun Doo-hwan.

Under such a paradigm, marginalized neighborhoods have been reappreciated. Paradoxically, the long history of marginalization from governmental attention and modernist urban planning has allowed these underdeveloped neighborhoods to maintain features that barely exist anymore. This includes small alleys and old-style houses that serve as an illusion of the neighborhood atmosphere of the 1970s. Such an environment is deemed as providing retro tastes of place, which create nostalgia for old-fashioned spaces that are connected in complex, emotional ways with a yearning for the lost times that supposedly existed before the subsequent modernist urban planning and rapid urbanization.

These neighborhoods attract visitors who want to experience nostalgia and authentic urban life (Kim, 2015). *Daldongnes* are one such example. Notably, since the 1990s, an aesthetic reinterpretation of *daldongnes* by elites and artists has started to promote their rebranding and romanticization. Examples of these descriptive references include: "the origin of imagination" (Shin, 2014, p. 172), "beautiful and warm neighborhood that invokes the memory of past" (Shim, 2004, p. 230), "alleys[4] not only represent our history but also serve as cultural assets" (Lim, 2006, p. 10).

Also, some contemporary novels and television dramas portray *daldongnes*, which reveals how *daldongnes* were reinterpreted. For instance, in the novel *Changsŏkchone saramdŭl* (Kim, 2008), *daldongnes* are depicted as marginalized places filled with disadvantaged groups. However, due to the city's new-town construction planning, the residents are displaced to a place with a worse living environment. In a television drama broadcast in 1980—entitled *"Daldongne"*—the *daldongne* is depicted as a 'hopeful place' in which people could aspire to live downhill, through upward mobility, instead of living on the hillside. While in the 1994

[4] It implies deteriorated physical structure and unplanned and small alleys in *daldongnaes.*

drama “Moon of Seoul,” the *daldongne* is portrayed as “space of resentment and despair” that has a clear division compared to the other, downhill part of the city, the members of *daldongne* themselves consider it as a space isolated from mainstream society (Lee, 2015b, p. 33). This series’ depiction indicates that the *daldongne* is a complicated place where hope, resentment, and despair coexist.

However, this reevaluation and romanticization of *daldongne* do not mean that it needs to remain the way it used to be, since most of them are in urgent need of physical improvement. While *daldongnes* produce illusionary spaces embodying atmospheres of the 1960s and 70s that evoke nostalgia for outsiders, such as artists, local businesses, and citizens who live elsewhere in high-rise apartments[5], their undesirable living environments necessitate enhancement for the inhabitants residing there. For instance, it creates inconvenience and health hazards for residents and small living spaces along narrow streets, and alleyways are vulnerable to fire suppression and other natural disasters (e.g., flooding). Such disadvantaged environmental and living conditions give rise to the social stigmatization of both *daldongnes* and their residents, which are often referred to as ‘the poor neighborhood’ and ‘the poor,’ respectively.

Public Art Projects (maŭlmisulp'ŭrojekt'ŭ)

Since the 2000s, a *de facto* place marketing strategy was implemented in the name of culture-led urban regeneration to improve *daldongnes*. One of the most notable projects is *maŭlmisulp'ŭrojekt'ŭ* (public art projects), which is used public artworks as a tool for improving

[5] High-rise apartment complexes represent a unique part of Korean housing culture. Unlike other western countries where the popular notion of owning a house is a quintessential part of a national ‘dream,’ for many Koreans, living in one of the high-rise apartment buildings is a lifelong dream. According to the “2016 Population and Housing Census,” apartments account for about 60% of residences and about 49% of citizens are living in apartments (Korean Statistical Information Service, 2016).

the living environment of these neighborhoods and engaging the community. Also referred to as *byŏk'wamaŭlmandŭlgip'ŭrojekt'ŭ* (creating public art villages project), many *daldongnes* have become primary targets for the implementation of these projects. Also, by recognizing the neglected significance of civic engagement and collaboration among stakeholders in urban planning during the era of developmentalist urbanization (Seo, 2019), these projects were believed to bring broader social, economic, and environmental outcomes.

Also, these projects came to resonate with the popularity of the European trend at that time of using cultural policy to justify public expenditure in the arts on the grounds of the advantages (e.g., economic, social, related to urban regeneration, employment) they bring to the nation (Belfiore, 2002). In time, these reinvented *daldongnes* were no longer viewed as cities' black sheep, and instead, became modern cultural-historical assets that retained the features of the urban neighborhoods before the cities were occupied by the current forms of high-rise apartments, which need to be preserved. These changes in *daldongnes* gave rise to linguistic developments, including some phrases commonly used in various news articles, such as "beautifully reinvented *daldongnes* with the implementation of public art," which have become buzzwords for describing this type of culture-led, urban regeneration in disadvantaged neighborhoods. Therefore, to some extent, this resonates with Sen and Silverman (2014, p. 5) argument that "placemaking in the city is always a process fraught with ideological, economic, and symbolic conflicts".

Ihwa Mural Village (IMV) and Gamcheon Culture Village (GCV)

Although both Ihwa Mural Village (IMV) and Gamcheon Culture Village (GCV)[6] have become well-known 'public art villages,' their substandard living conditions have not changed significantly. IMV and GCV are located in Seoul and Busan, respectively. While the size of the neighborhoods is also different, similar projects were implemented in both neighborhoods. In the case of IMV, it was transformed by the Ministry of Culture, Sport, and Tourism (MCST)'s first public art project: *Art in City*. The project implemented in Ihwa-Dong is called *Naksan Public Art Project*, which is known as the most representative project of *Art in City.* GCV was transformed with the grant of *Maeul Misul Project* (Town Art Project) from MCST. *Maeul Misul Project* is a follow-up public art project to *Art in City* initiated by MCST[7]. The goal of the *Maeul Misul Project* was similar to that of *Art in City*, which aimed to create jobs for local artists and generate art scenes for residents who have lacked access to them (Maeulmisul Project, 2019).

Research Methods

This research aims to examine the role of tourists' representations of place in the (re)construction of *daldongnes*. I shed light on how tourists experience place and how they recognize or run counter to what place-makers envisioned in Ihwa Mural Village (IMV) and Seoul and Gamcheon Culture Village (GCV) in Busan. To understand tourists' perceptions of these neighborhoods, I draw upon a qualitative analysis of Trip Advisor reviews for both sites.

[6] I have provided more detailed information about both IMV and GCV, respectively, in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4.
[7] *Art in City* is the first project that initiated from 2006 to 2007, and Maeul Misul Project is the one operated from 2009 to 2012 (Arts Council Korea, 2019). The selection criteria for the awarding of grants were *local need*, *creativity*, *public participation*, *feasibility*, and *sustainability*.

The Internet has played an increasingly important role in tourism. Many tourists share their ideas on different issues and feedback to user-generated content (e.g., online reviews) on travel websites (Ayeh, Au, & Law, 2013). Given that user-generated content influences customers' decision-making processes (Kladou & Mavragani, 2015), using and analyzing the online reviews from global platforms, such as TripAdvisor and Yelp.com, has become a popular method for scholars in tourism marketing and management (O'connor, 2010). Increasing evidence reveals the importance of online searches in influencing travel behaviors. Frequent travelers are known to rely on this content when they plan their trips since they consider peer reviews to be an essential source (Gretzel, 2017; Wang, Yu, & Fesenmaier, 2002).

In much tourism and business marketing literature, themes are centered on examining tourist satisfaction and dissatisfaction, positive and negative experiences on shopping and hotel, the search of patterns among travelers' hotel ratings that affect hotel selections, and factors influencing travel consumers' satisfaction and loyalty (Banerjee & Chua, 2016; Limberger, Dos Anjos, de Souza Meira, & dos Anjos, 2014). Some literature also investigates how tourists' assessments shape destination images and opinions presented on social media (see, for example, Ayeh et al., 2013; Filieri, Alguezaui, & McLeay, 2015; Taecharungroj & Mathayomchan, 2019).

Commentary gleaned from travel review sites (e.g., TripAdvisor) provides a useful resource for illuminating the processes between people and place (Smith, 2018). Also, I found that adopting online reviews as data allows researchers to gain insights that we might not acquire through other qualitative methods, such as interviews. Nonetheless, such data is underutilized in geography. Perhaps this is associated with the fact that such information is mostly used for evaluating satisfaction on tourism activities, which is deemed to be in the scope of business marketing. However, as demonstrated by the work of Zukin et al. (2017, p. 462), data from

Yelp.com can also be used to analyze gentrification. The authors discovered how the reviewers' language represented "discursive redlining" in the digital public realm and contributed to "taste-driven processes" of gentrification and racial change. Thus, I claim that geography research should adopt this method used widely in tourism and business marketing literature, but in order to ask a different set of questions.

In this research, I use tourists' comments on TripAdvisor[8], the largest travel community on the web, among some other examples, such as TravBuddy, Travellerspoint, and Passportstamp (Miguéns, Baggio, & Costa, 2008). TripAdvisor is a website based on the idea that travelers rely on other travelers' reviews to plan their trips, or at least can be satisfactorily helped in their decisions. I analyzed 216 reviews of Ihwa Mural Village (as of 3/4/2018) and 1,941 reviews of Gamcheon Culture Village (as of 3/15/2018) with the aid of the NVIVO qualitative data analysis software program. Among the data, respectively, international travelers' reviews represent approximately 75% for IMV and 80% for GCV[9]. More than half of these international travelers are from Asian countries, including Japan, China, Vietnam, and Indonesia—which correspond to the top-ranked outbound travels in South Korea in tourism statistics. I also found many travelers were from English-speaking countries. While I do not have

[8] TripAdvisor allows users to rate each tourist attraction in one of five categories to write a review to share their personal experiences with other users: "Excellent" (five stars), "Very good" (four stars), "Average" (three stars), "Poor" (two stars), and "Terrible" (one star). Only registered users can submit reviews of a site, but anyone can read the reviews without logging in. Reviews are primarily text-based with an option to add a photo. The review size is unlimited, but it should be more than 100 characters. Once the review is submitted, TripAdvisor moderates it using its online checking system for lack of bias, family-friendliness, and recency. Most reviews are posted online within 24 to 48 hours, but some reviews may be rejected, if they include inappropriate content (e.g., use of non-family friendly language and personal assaults). Therefore, not all submitted reviews are publicly available. A review stays online permanently unless the author removes it (TripAdvisor, 2019).

[9] I clarify that I gained this information from TripAdvisor's function to show the location of commentor. While this is not the exact information to show the nationality of the commentor, I found it useful presume this information. For instance, the commentor reviewed about IMV, and their specified location is Malaysia with Malaysian.

detailed demographic data for these travelers, all users may be presumed to be adults because users need to be 18 years old or older to use TripAdvisor's services (TripAdvisor, 2019).

One thing to note is the different numbers of reviews between IMV and GCV. I assume that the different reputations of IMV and GCV as tourist attractions have caused these differences. For example, while IMV is not listed as a top-ranked tourist destination of Seoul, GCV has been ranked as one of the top five tourist destinations of Busan since 2017 (Busan Tourism Organization, 2018). I carried out a textual analysis of TripAdvisor comments, which helped me to sort different discursive themes. More specifically, I read the entire set of reviews from both neighborhoods to capture subtleties and subtexts. Their representations, including but not limited to the description of the physical landscape, variety and quality of tourism-related business entities (e.g., café, souvenir shops, street food shops, etc.), and the discussion of tourists' responsibility in touring in residential neighborhoods.

With the support of the qualitative data analysis software NVIVO, I have sorted out a set of descriptive codes. This process has enabled me to identify main themes that emerged as prominent in the data: physical landscape, the role of social media influenced their visits, tourism-related business entities (e.g., café, souvenir shops, street food shops, etc.), and discussion of tourists' responsibilities in touring in residential neighborhoods (tourists' interaction with each other).

Despite TripAdvisor data providing a valuable source to understand different ideas about place, undeniably, the data is not without problems despite the appearance of open participation and transparency. For instance, reviews are published under pseudonyms, reviews are neither unbiased nor independent, and questions of selection and self-selection remain unresolved (Luca & Zervas, 2016). However, at the same time, if we treat reviews as interactions among tourists, it

becomes less significant whether they are biased or even whether they are independent. This is because the reviews represent a distinctive form of discourse, and if we handle them as discursive interactions and not as ‘representative samples,’ we can learn a great deal from them.

Super ‘Instagramable’ Place: A Place Suitable for Photography and Wandering

Physical Landscape: “Beautiful, Arty, Colorful, Cute, Cool, Unique, and Fun Neighborhood”

Tourists felt that a series of public artworks installed on the walls and sculptures placed in the neighborhoods are what made these neighborhoods "beautiful, arty, colorful, cute, cool, unique, and fun.” Contrary to some scholars and artists who have appreciated the cultural and historical aspects of the *daldongne* as an urban, cultural, and historical asset, which helped shift the approach to preserving these neighborhoods, tourists’ experiences of the neighborhoods were more centered on the installed artworks.

According to tourist comments, the physical features of the neighborhoods tended not to be at the center of what they came to appreciate. Instead, they tended to visit the neighborhoods to “wander and take selfies”. The different artworks made tourists perceive these neighborhoods as “super Instagramable” in terms of taking pictures not only of scenery but also of themselves. For instance, many comments described these neighborhoods as “a very nice area where you could take dozens of insta/postcard pics”. Therefore, tourists who plan to visit the areas should “get ready to snap lots of pictures…,” “make sure to come here with a friend to take pictures for you,” and “must bring selfie-stick”. Indeed, by searching IMV and GCV on Instagram, there are approximately 63K posts with the hashtag of Ihwa Mural Village and 455K for the Gamcheon Culture Village (including the search in both Korean and English; as of September 26, 2019).

While the themes associated with public artworks and sculptures are the most frequent ones that appeared in tourists' comments, another very frequent topic dealt with the neighborhoods' hilly nature, with most tourist-commenters casting that feature as challenging but appealing. It seems that to tourists, as exemplified by "be ready to climb," such an environment serves as making both sites a "fun place": although it is challenging as it requires some exercise, it is something that provides a unique experience, which is worth it. For instance, many of the quotes, such as "be prepared to climb," "make sure to wear comfortable shoes," "it would be a better idea not bringing your kids," "it's such a climb, but totally worth it!" appeared quite as frequently as mentioning the picturesque feature of the neighborhoods. As these quotes reveal, they have recognized that mobility within the neighborhood is not as easy as in the usual residential areas due to the steep slopes and stairs. For instance, a quote from IMV shows that "streets and lanes are very narrow, and cars use some of those streets too…And the height of the steps of most staircases is not even".

Perhaps to one-time and transient visitors, this "climb" is a unique experience. Although these comments did not directly mention the obsolete neighborhood infrastructure, ironically, they served as collateral evidence of the hardship that most residents experience in their daily lives. From my participant observation and several interviews with residents, I have learned that this difficulty of mobility within the neighborhood makes them feel most inconvenienced. Therefore, they hoped that the government could improve the condition of such stairs and other neighborhood infrastructure. However, this everyday hardship of residents, from tourists' viewpoints, provides an "exclusive experience" in addition to seeing the installed artworks in the neighborhoods that made IMV and GCV a "fun place".

The Role of Media and Social Media

Many of the TripAdvisor comments also showed that IMV and GCV are sites where different films, dramas, and television shows were filmed. This resonates with the literature on tourism representation that media contributes to the ideas about places and the expectations for tourism experiences in those places (Nelson, 2013; Suvantola, 2018). The following are quotes regarding IMV: "One of its strong characteristics besides beautiful murals is the staircase. This staircase is usually used in Korean dramas filming the protagonist holding his drunk girlfriend," and "Walk till the top, you will come across a lane and shop (it's a handmade leather shop) where the drama *Lovely Girl* was filmed". These two commenters mentioned that visiting spots that were the backdrops for films was one of the primary reasons they came to IMV. Similar quotes were found for GCV as well, as the following quotes show: "Gamcheon Culture Village has been the most publicized after a local television program filmed in this village was shown in South Korea," "I came here because of the Korean variety show *Running Man*[10] was filmed here".

These comments resonate with the literature claiming that, although several factors have facilitated this new form of tourism practice, the media has also played an increasingly important role in structuring the tastes and fashions of tourism consumption (Iwashita, 2003; Tamajón & Valiente, 2017; Zukin et al., 2009). Such examples show "a growing fluidity between travel, leisure and migration, a disruption in the concepts of 'home' and 'away'" (Colomb & Novy, 2016a, p.7), increased leisure time, more exceptional ability to travel with the availability of low-

10 An a genre of variety shows in an urban environment. The MCs and guests were to complete missions at a landmark to win the race.The show has since shifted to a more familiar reality-variety show concept focused on games.The show has become popular in other parts of Asia, and has gained online popularity among Hallyu fans, having been fansubbed into various languages (Wikipedia).

cost carriers, and changes in consumption patterns that have promoted urban tourism (Judd & Fainstein, 1999; Poon, 1989).

Applying this shift in perspective and factors to reimagined *daldongnes*, the media and social media played a significant role in reimaging, romanticizing, and broadcasting them to the public more broadly. *Daldongnes* have been the background of retro-style television drama, film, and even entertainment shows.[11] Contrary to previously mentioned television dramas "*Daldongne*" and "Moon of Seoul," where *daldongnes* are portrayed either as a space of hope or space of resentment and despair, in more recent retro-style dramas, they are represented as one of the few places remaining in urban settings that keep an 'old but cozy atmosphere,' full of the lifestyles of ordinary people. Also, it is shown as a unique and unusual place for couples to have a romantic date (Figure 2). Reflecting these depictions, many tourists tend to visit the spots that were featured in dramas, taking pictures in front of those sites, and posting to their Instagram or Facebook with a series of hashtags such as #picturesque, #good dating spot.

11 Some entertainment shows, such as "2 Days & 1 Night," a television show depicts a road trip to the most hidden and beautiful spots in the corners of Korea, was shot in IMV. "Running Man," a variety show in an urban environment that the MCs and guests were to complete missions at a landmark to win the race, was filed in GCV.

The film “Secretly, Greatly”[12] Drama “Boyfriend”

Figure 2 Ordinary local life and romanticization of daldongne represented in films and dramas

Source: Naver Images

Tourism-related Business Entities: “Such a Fun Place to Experience! Please Try by all Means Go and Visit!”

Tourists expressed their feelings of “fun” by taking pictures, appreciating public artworks, and visiting the neighborhoods’ tourism-related amenities, such as souvenir shops, cafés, street food shops, and craft shops. To many of them, these amenities are where “It is a great spot to stop, get a coffee or a snack and snap a few pictures of the fun murals!” and “There are plenty of cafes and food here too; it’s really the perfect mix of everything”. These amenities served as a “fun experience” and made them “easily spend all day wandering around”.

Also, some of the local-owned restaurants/shops provided them an opportunity to communicate with the residents: “We went to a small restaurant, which is owned by an elderly couple. She was very friendly and is in her late 60s, all of the prices of dishes are very economical, the local food she made was very delicious, and the serving was so big – a must try

12 The film “Secretly, Greatly” is about a trained North Korea Special Forces agent who receives orders to deploy to South Korea as a spy, and many of the scenes took place in a poor neighborhood in Seoul.

her foods when you travel there". Tourists' experiences of interacting with residents, perhaps, meet with new urban tourists' desire to experience mundane everydayness of the authentic life of a city (Gilmore & Pine, 2007; Novy & Huning, 2009), and thus, making these sites attractive to them.

Furthermore, one of the unique shops in both neighborhoods is costume rental shops, including old uniforms and Hanbok (Korean traditional clothing; Figure 3). In tourists' opinions, renting these uniforms and wandering around the neighborhoods provided them with a "traditional feeling" or playing out their "fantasies" that they have seen from the old television dramas or movies. Also, wearing such uniforms made such sites unique: "One could also rent public school uniforms to relive their youth. Combining public places with private residences, it felt as though we were in a local Korean suburb and yet a theme park, sometimes an art gallery". Thus, this activity is strongly recommended by tourists "Dressed in borrowed uniforms just like the old photos! You will have a memorable experience by doing this. It gives you a nostalgic feeling!"

Ihwa Mural Village

Gamcheon Culture Village

Figure 3 Uniform rental services

Note: All photographs are taken by the author unless otherwise specified.

However, it is critical to note that the representation of these neighborhoods as a "fun place to experience" reveals a *disconnection* from residents' experiences, which leads to questioning what their 'authentic' experience is. Furthermore, it indicates the complex relationship between tourists and residents. Indeed, there are opportunities to make "authentic" connections from street food restaurants and alleyways. But more of the experiences that people write about are decidedly detached from the reality of life in these neighborhoods. A series of discursive expressions, such as "fun climbing" and "nostalgic costumes," are contrary to the hardship residents experience in these neighborhoods.

Also, it is essential to identify why they perceive such costumes as "memorable" and "unique" nostalgia given that, first, many tourists are aged between the 20s to 30s[13] . They do not

[13] As I mentioned in the research method section, though I cannot acquire this information through TripAdvisor data, I have learned from the fieldwork that the majority of the tourists are of a younger generation.

have direct experience wearing the kind of uniforms worn during their parents' school days (the 1970s to 1980s). Second, they are international travelers who would not have such knowledge. Therefore, their representations are historical nostalgia, as classified by Stern (1992) that is a romantic desire for the distant past beyond one's living memory. Instead of direct experience, nostalgia is shaped through popular media such as film, novels, music, and television.

This nostalgia could also resonate with the recent "retro" trend in marketing. In the period of anxiety connected with the economic recession, political crisis, national conflict, but also personal insecurity and social pressure, consumers search for something that delivers additional value connected with a feeling of security and calm (Gręboszand Pointet, 2015). Regarding tourism in *daldongnes*, perhaps it is lost space and time that is no longer recoverable—and maybe such a time never existed. Thus, it may be deemed to be more amicable compared to the current complicated urban environment.

Responsibility as Tourists: Please Be Quiet and To Be Responsible and Caring Toward Residents

This quintessential part highlights the value of using online data to understand how it contributes to tourists' interactions. Some tourists are aware that both IMV and GCV are also residential areas and realized that residents' lives are highly likely to be impacted by tourists' visits. This awareness can be revealed by a series of quotes, such as "Hey guys, make sure to be quiet when you visit here—here is also a residential area where people still live! I saw many residents were displeased with noise".

More specifically, with the case of IMV, tourists stated: "Some people get annoyed and start to repaint the murals. The number of tourists makes this location very crowded and noisy,"

“There are still residents living here, so please remember to keep tourists etiquette, try not to be loud,” “Don't expect too much, it is not designed for tourists; people do live there,” “Important thing to note is this is a local neighborhood. It is a residential area. So walk quietly and do not make noise or litter the area. It is a public place, so respect the environment”. With the case of GCV, tourists mentioned: “Because this village is open to the tourist, try not to trespass on their property,” “Be sure not to make laugh noises as there are locals staying there,” “There are signs here and there to remind people not to make a lot of noise as "real" people do live there”.

Both neighborhoods have signs that serve as a warning to remind tourists that the sites are residential neighborhoods (Figure 4). As revealed by tourists’ comments, these signs have perhaps successfully reminded them and warned them that these are residential areas. This recaps the fact that tourism is a particularly visual phenomenon (Nelson, 2013) and indicates the power of representations in tourists’ perception of place. In the case of IMV and GCV, these signs serve as triggers to illustrate that residents still live in the neighborhoods and remind tourists of their responsibility in destinations where tourists and residents coexist.

Ihwa Mural Village

Gamcheon Culture Village

Figure 4 Warning signs for tourists

These interactions show that tourists are not only exchanging information about a place but also regulating others' 'tourist gaze' and practices by sharing critical issues that they observed during the trip, such as a series of problems associated with tourism that triggers neighborhood conflicts. This 'regulation' of tourists calls for other tourists to experience the place in a way that respects these lives.

Discussions and Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined how and why IMV and GCV, two *daldongnes*, have been reconstructed into tourist destinations with the implementation of public art projects. I have shown that the trajectory of neighborhood change of these neighborhoods is complicatedly intertwined with the South Korean urban development path and the desires of new urban tourists. I found that the transformations of the neighborhood reveal contradictions: while the initial objectives of the government's public art projects were designed to improve the quality of life and living environment of *daldongnes,* the actual outcome shows that these sites were romanticized, perceived as a "fun and arty theme park" and "super Instagramable places" by tourists.

This paper contributes to the enrichment of literature on the geography of place, tourism, and representation and expands research methods by incorporating the qualitative analysis of TripAdvisor reviews. More specifically, I demonstrate that geography can contribute to the study of tourist experience as a change of place, as well as the relationship with place by uncovering tourists' representation of place, along with a series of forces, such as the trajectory and urban development, place marketing, and the role of media. To fully understand how the neighborhood changed via tourism, examining interactions among tourists is also essential. In this sense, TripAdvisor comments serve as a valuable source to understand a particular way of acquiring the public lens through public expression. More specifically, TripAdvisor comments reveal complexity in how tourists understand place, and how they represent their relationship with residents of these places.

As demonstrated in this paper, tourists' online interactions are not merely about 'gaze'. By sharing their experience and findings, they actively interact with each other and regulate

‘gaze’ to be more responsible tourists. These representations contribute to the transformation of these places, and an important part of what constitutes new urban tourist destinations now are tourist-resident interactions. Given that an essential part of what constitutes these tourist destinations is tourist-resident interactions, the findings from TripAdvisor comments provide a comprehensive series of conflicts triggered by tourism and inform a reassessment of tourist-resident interactions.

The findings indicate that the public art projects have served as an ephemeral beautification to be gazed upon by tourists. Under the benign mask of ‘neighborhood improvement,’ the projects claimed to be decent projects that included ‘culture-led,’ ‘revitalization,’ and ‘community involvement/participation’ components. Media and social media illustrations of these neighborhoods amplify the illusion of these neighborhoods. Thus, the findings are indicative of the fact that the state has followed market imperatives. In other words, the state’s unwillingness to spend money on these neighborhoods unless there is some expectation that state funds will lead to ‘development’.

In this case, tourism serves to meet these expectations. Also, the tourists’ representation of IMV and GCV reveals that tourism-induced neighborhood change in these neighborhoods has been continuously centered on meeting the expectations of these tourists; it shows how tourists’ representations of place matter in (re)constructing the neighborhoods. Such fact guides us to think about how residents’ daily lives are altered and impacted by tourism, and what led to the neighborhood changes is the focus of Chapter 3 and Chapter 4.

Chapter 3. Plural and Fluid Place Attachment amid Tourism-induced Neighborhood Change in Ihwa Mural Village

Introduction

Contested outcomes of urban tourism are by no means new. As shown by much previous research, despite some positive effects, urban tourism brings a series of negative impacts of the tourist economy on neighborhoods, such as the proliferation of short-term rental and overcrowding (Colomb & Novy, 2016; Goodwin, 2017; Lew et al., 2008). However, what intensifies this discontent with urban tourism is the emergence of new urban tourism as a prominent form (Füller & Michel, 2014). New urban tourism is characterized by increasing contacts between residents and tourists in the visited city's everyday spaces due to the diversification of tourists' quests to seek "typical" mundane experiences (Maitland, 2013; Maitland & Newman, 2014).

To meet tourists' "authentic experience" expectations, many areas not initially planned or marketed for tourists—such as ordinary neighborhoods—have been converted into new urban tourism destinations (Dirksmeier & Helbrecht, 2015; Maitland & Newman, 2014). The emerging number of new urban tourism destinations produces contentious impacts on both residents and neighborhoods more than ever by altering residents' social and cultural associations and changing material landscapes of neighborhoods (Cameron, 2003; Jones & Evans, 2012). Significant changes in places brought by the intrusion of tourism into everyday practices and their controversial effects on residents urge urban scholars to reconsider the place-people relationships and delve into the complex meaning of place.

Recent theoretical consideration of place attachment as 'fluid and relational,' which is premised on the assemblage thinking of place that cuts across the binary between place as

routes/roots or open/closed, provides a relevant lens to explore tourism and its impact on everyday urban space (Cresswell, 2004, 2011; Deleuze & Guattari, 1987; Di Masso et al., 2019; Edensor, Kalandides, & Kothari, 2020; Massey, 2010, 2012). Within the context of new urban tourism, the place-people relationships are associated with the increased global mobility that has intensified the circulation of people and goods that reconfigures what Tim Cresswell (2011, p. 551) has labelled as "micro-geographies of everyday life".

Neighborhoods undergoing rapid and intense change beneath banners of new urban tourism are continuously reconstructed through their relationships with multiple constituents, such as the socioeconomic reconfiguration of urban communities generated by diverse mobility forms. Since individuals constantly adapt their strategies to (re)establish or retain a sense of self-continuity in a new settlement (Devine-Wright, 2020), it necessitates flexible and plural ways to grasp the subjective experiences of place and implications of tourism-induced changes for local communities.

A distinct tourism-induced neighborhood change in a disadvantaged neighborhood in South Korea serves as a proper case to deepen the fluid and relational understanding of place attachment. Ihwa Mural Village (IMV), a *daldongne* located on hillsides with substandard housing conditions, has become 'touristified' after implementing a government-funded public art project as a part of culture-led urban regeneration. Murals and sculptures were installed on walls, houses, and staircases in public spaces. The project has induced a tourism-driven socioeconomic reconfiguration of IMV with the rapid influx of tourists and newcomers, and has engendered controversial outcomes to the neighborhood, and has complicated people-place relationships.

Thus, this research unfolds how the neighborhood's transformation into tourist

destinations has affected the local communities and how their place attachment has continually unfolded over time. To answer this question, I use qualitative methods, such as semi-structured interviews, focus group interviews, and field observation, to understand subjective and multidimensional perspectives on place and study residents' perceptions and experiences of neighborhood change. I found that the different narratives and experiences of people-place relationships displayed in IMV reveal the dynamics of place attachment: both plural and fluctuating that demand for interpreting the concept with *plurality* and *fluidity*.

Revisiting Place Attachment: The Nexus of Fixities, Flows, and Fluidity

Research on Residents' Perceptions Toward Tourism

Residents' attitudes toward tourism have significant variation and are influenced by different variables (Nepal, 2008). These factors include socio-demographic characteristics, socio-political positionings in society, the types and forms of tourism, the levels of contact with tourists, the economic benefits derived from the industry, personal economic reliance on tourism, proximity to tourism hotspots, and length of residence (Chen & Chen, 2010; Gursoy & Rutherford, 2004). In general, though factors that affect or even determine residents' support for tourism development are similar, each destination has a set of distinctive conditions that are critical to increasing residents' support for tourism development (Sirakaya, Teye, & Sönmez, 2002). Therefore, much academic literature suggests a need to understand residents' attitudes within different political and socio-cultural contexts (Kayat, Sharif, & Karnchanan, 2013; Nepal, 2008).

There is also an extensive body of literature exploring tourist and host relationships by viewing their relationship as a prominent source of potential conflicts (Robinson & Boniface, 1999; Sharpley, 1994). Studies in this vein tend to examine whether tourism can lead to equitable (or beneficial) relationships between them. Understanding the relationships between tourists and locals as well as between different stakeholders is essential (Jurowski, Uysal, & Williams, 1997; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2016; Tosun, 2002). Nonetheless, residents' perceptions toward tourism within ordinary residential neighborhoods also requires attention to uncover on the ground relationships between varied residents, such as old-timers and newcomers.

In community studies, the common theme of conflict is characterized as the "been-heres versus come-heres debate," and the substantive issues creating conflict are differed among communities because of their unique histories and locations (Spain, 1993, p. 157). During the process of tourism-induced neighborhood change, conflicts are highly likely to arise in the wake of newcomers' rapid immigration with the competing interests within a community (Brown-Saracino, 2010; Spain, 1993). Thus, newly established residents' experiences and negotiations of sense of belonging in the process of neighborhood change need also to be understood.

Theoretically, several conceptual models and theories, such as the Tourism Area Life Cycle, Irridex, and Social Representation Theory, have been used to comprehend residents' perceptions toward tourism and its impacts (Nunkoo, Smith, & Ramkissoon, 2013). One of the most widely utilized frameworks is Social Exchange Theory (SET) (Ap, 1992; Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2012; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2012; Perdue, Long, & Allen, 1990). SET conceptualizes human interaction as the exchange of social and material resources between actors, including both tangible and intangible rewards and resources (Emerson, 1976; Homans, 1961). Applied to a tourism context, SET suggests that social life can be treated as an exchange of both tangible

and intangible rewards and resources between actors (Emerson, 1976; Homans, 1961). Actors judge these impacts before they engage in an exchange process, and they enter the exchange if they decide that the resulting/perceived benefits are of value and outweigh the costs (Ap, 1992; Nunkoo, 2016).

Although SET has proven useful in numerous studies examining perceptions of tourism, it has also drawn a sharp critique. It is challenged for simplifying the complex and multi-dimensional nature of tourist-host interaction (Maruyama, Woosnam, & Boley, 2017). Encounters between tourists and members of the host community vary according to context, roles, and expectations. Many researchers, who presume that social interactions are built upon the exchange of both tangible and intangible activity, argue that socio-cultural determinants (e.g., social capital and community attachment) also have strong impacts on residents who do not enjoy the direct economic benefits of tourism (Jurowski et al., 1997; Sirakaya et al., 2002; Wang & Pfister, 2008). Even when the practice of exchange engaged by residents is regarded as pure economic activity, the non-economic value domain or benefits in the exchange process cannot be neglected (Wang & Pfister, 2008).

Combining SET with other holistic theories is important to capture the complexities influencing resident attitudes toward tourism (Boley, McGehee, Perdue, & Long, 2014). Accordingly, in much recent research, researchers have incorporated non-economic and socio-cultural domains into their studies (Maruyama et al., 2017). This includes social capital (Park, Nunkoo, & Yoon, 2015), intergroup relations (Ward & Berno, 2011), power and trust (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2012), community attachment (Chen & Chen, 2010), empowerment of residents (Boley et al., 2014; Maruyama et al., 2017), emotional solidarity (Woosnam, 2012) and residents' participation in tourism development (McGehee & Meares, 1998).

What is Place Attachment?

Place attachment is the most commonly used term to refer to the "deep-seated emotional connection people have with a place" (Smith & Cartlidge, 2011, p. 540). It is known as a worthy of systematic analysis to interpret residents' behavior in possessing strong senses of cooperative and communal identities based on networks of extended family relationships (Gu & Ryan, 2008; Low & Altman, 1992; Manzo & Devine-Wright, 2013a). However, as the different usage of various place-related terms reveals—place identity, sense of place, topophilia, rootedness, and insideness—place attachment is also a complex and multifaceted concept. To such a multifaceted dimension, some scholars claim as an "overarching, superordinate concept labeled with sense of place" (Von Wirth, Grêt-Regamey, Moser, & Stauffacher, 2016, p. 68).

In general, place attachment is conceived as a positive sense of personal or social identity (Manzo, 2005), and it has been considered to be substantially affected by factors such as residency characteristics, including place of birth and length of residence, affect, cognition, and behavior (Lewicka, 2011; Scannell & Gifford, 2010; Smith, 2018; Song & Soopramanien, 2019). For instance, individuals with robust place attachments have greater life satisfaction, stronger ties with neighbors, a greater interest in family history, and greater trust in others (Lewicka, 2011). Also, people with a strong attachment to place tend to have an increased sense of belonging and self-esteem (Devine-Wright, 2020; Scannell & Gifford, 2010). Accordingly, the impact of change has been seen negatively and conceiving as a disruption to place attachment (Brown & Perkins, 1992), or even a threat to place identity (Devine-Wright & Howes, 2010).

Methodologically, while much of the place attachment research has been led by a quantitative approach to measure the different dimensional aspects (Devine-Wright, 2020), qualitative methods were also used in order to examine the relationship between the theoretical

conceptualizations of place and people's everyday experiences (Dwyer et al., 2019; Lewicka, 2011). For instance, qualitative researchers have used in-depth interviews to understand how groups of people bond with a particular place and investigate mundane meanings associated with diverse places (Devine-Wright, 2020; Scannell & Gifford, 2010). Geographers have been leading this domain. Humanistic geographers have examined how people develop an attachment to place through shared symbolic meanings among members of the group, and cultural and historical geographers have focused on socially constructed spaces and seek to comprehend how they give meaning to the lives of people who live there (Smith, 2018).

Place Attachment: Navigating Fixities, Flows, and Fluidity

With the emergence of "the mobilities turn" as a central topic in social science in the early 2000s, scholars have challenged a taken for granted 'sedentarist approach' that presumes place as "bounded, classifiable, and static" (Edensor et al., 2020, p. 2) and the neglection on the varied and complex ways of people's mobility (Cresswell, 2006; Di Masso et al., 2019; Sheller, 2006; Urry, 2000). Instead, researchers have claimed to view place as progressive that constructs a place a unique, vibrant, conflicting, changing, multiple and open to globalized mobile world (Edensor et al., 2020; Massey, 2010, 2012).

Employing such a paradigm shift in social science into place attachment research, the concept has reconsidered not only as "complex, multivalent bonds that may be positive, negative or ambivalent and evolve over time" (Devine-Wright, 2020, p. 507) but also a component that implicated in social and territorial conflicts (Lewicka, 2011; Manzo & Devine-Wright, 2013a; Manzo & Devine-Wright, 2013b). More specifically, researchers have challenged how place attachment is perceived as a static phenomenon and understood as a one-dimensional set of

attachment relations. Also, they have pointed out place attachment was uncritically conceived as a positively experienced bond developed over time despite the possibility for 'ambivalence' (Berglund, 2018; Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001; Low & Altman, 1992). Other factors, such as political exclusion and deterioration of place, can generate an ambiguous feeling of place attachment and generate the feeling that a community is less desirable (Manzo & Devine-Wright, 2013b). Thus, the aspects and consequences of place attachment are neither positive nor dichotomous (Devine-Wright, 2020).

Diverse forms of mobility and relational understandings of place in human geography have contributed to reconsider place attachment (Cresswell, 2006, 2011; Di Masso et al., 2019; Massey, 2012; Pierce, Martin, & Murphy, 2011; Verstraete & Cresswell, 2002). The rapid increase in various non-migratory mobility forms has intensified the circulation of people and goods across the world have reconfigured "micro-geographies of everyday life" (Cresswell, 2011, p. 551) in the forms of—to name a few—urban redevelopment, residential changes and lifestyles (Di Masso et al., 2019).

The nexus of place attachment and mobility is complex since it could be shaped across time and space by a series of mobility conditions and the relational configurations that underlie them (Devine-Wright, 2020; Di Masso et al., 2019). With intensified mobility experiences, people can also have attachments to multiple places simultaneously (Gustafson, 2001). For instance, so-called 'cosmopolitan elites' deem to have a low preference for local involvement and local obligations. However, Gustafson (2009) found that their place attachment is not significantly weaker than occasional travelers or non-travelers. Instead, they were even active in local activities in some respects, revealing that mobility may not unavoidably undermine social cohesion. This shows that one person's attachment is not limited to one single home place, and it

has become more critical recently as people have various possibilities for developing such dual or multiple bonds (Gustafson, 2006; McHugh & Mings, 1996).

Accordingly, the notion of home has become increasingly contingent and unsettled with transnational migration (Boccagni, 2016). Place attachment is suggested to be conceived as a dynamic process continually unfolding over time (Devine-Wright, 2014, 2020) and to be incorporated with plural expressions. This is because "individuals and communities may have different types, valences and intensities of place attachments depending on varying and overlapping modes of interrelation between mobility and immobility" (Di Masso et al., 2019, p.131).

Reflecting such views, Di Masso et al. (2019, p. 132) proposed a fixity-flow framework to systematically reconceptualize "the different forms of interweaving between fixed/static and mobile/dynamic aspects of place attachment". This framework is to urge to continuously re-articulate the conceptual spectrum of place attachment and engaging "different modes of interrelation between fixed and fluid aspects of place attachment dynamics" (p.127). The authors suggest viewing place identities as 'rhizomatic' configurations (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) or 'assemblages' (Cresswell, 2015), which "spread feelings of anchoring and rootedness across multiple, dynamic, and changing locales" (requoted from Di Masso et al., 2019, p. 131). They claimed that in this way, place attachment could be viewed as an "emergent property of a complex system" (p. 131).

Nevertheless, research on place attachment still requires more theorization with the empirical studies to reflect the real-world circumstances and inform policymaking (Devine-Wright, 2015). I claim that a new urban tourism destination serves as a particularly relevant setting to address these gaps. First, new urban tourism destinations present movements and

desires for ‘authenticity’ under the influences of global processes, which is intertwined with the dimension of home (everydayness), tourism destination (for seeking ‘authentic local life), and/or migratory destination (for work and live). This creates a reconfiguration of complex networks and flows of people and objects at the neighborhood scale. Therefore, it is relevant to investigate varied meanings ascribed to place through an extended network of social relations, or namely “the existence of dual or multiple place attachments” (Gustafson, 2006, p. 19).

Second, place attachment in a new urban tourism destination presents the multiplicity of place attachment or collectively recognized place identity and shows that place attachment is not only *static* but also *fluid*. For instance, people-place relations are presented in a dynamic nature over time that can be formed upon place change, diverse configurations of residential mobility, and continuity of settlement type (Bailey, Devine-Wright, & Batel, 2016).

Such theoretical abstraction requires to be applied in different empirical settings to uncover place attachment dynamics by recognizing different types and intensities (Di Masso et al., 2019). Nonetheless, relatively little attention has been paid to examine tourism-induced neighborhood change in a disenfranchised neighborhood, even it provides relevance to understand how people navigate different situations and contexts with the trajectory of neighborhood change. Thus, to address such a gap, this study’s central objective is to examine the flexible and fluid place attachment, focusing on a disadvantaged neighborhood that turned into a new urban tourism destination in Seoul, South Korea.

Research Methods

Much of the work on place attachment has been dominated by a positivist approach to investigate patterns of attachment and factors that affect place attachment (Lewicka, 2011).

Despite the usefulness of such an approach, it is not always best equipped to understand the "affect-rich nature of relations to place" (Sebastien, 2019, p. 5). As place is linked to life histories, social processes, and the individual's lived experiences that are not easily quantifiable (Jorgensen & Stedman, 2006; Seamon, 2013), the use of qualitative methods can provide potentially deeper and richer information for understanding subjective dimensions (Sebastien, 2019).

The purpose of this research is to examine the diversity and richness of people's emotional relationships toward tourism-induced neighborhood change through their own words describing their subjective lived experiences. Thus, I use a series of qualitative methods, such as semi-structured interviews, focus group interviews, and field observation during fieldwork undertaken from May 2017 to January 2018 in Ihwa Mural Village. This qualitative approach was considered appropriate to allow for "a layered, multidimensional perspective on place and study residents' perceptions and experiences of neighborhood change" (Pinkster, 2016, p. 876).

The use of these methods has allowed me to collect data and build rapport with different social groups. I used semi-structured and focus group interviews to understand the lived experience and the meanings related to neighborhood change. Field observation not only has allowed me to establish rapport within the community and blend into them (Bernard, 2017) but also to learn about the activities of the people in the natural setting by observing neighborhood activities (Kawulich, 2005). Snowball sampling strategy was adopted to approach initial informants, and I asked them to nominate others in their social networks. At the initial stage, I was able to interview several 'key' longstanding residents who have been active in neighborhood activities and know most of the neighbors. They provided access to a number of additional

interviewees with diverse backgrounds, such as inhabitants, resident business owners, newcomers, and artists who have participated in the public art project.

Interviews conducted with these different stakeholders ranged from one-time encounters to several follow-up interviews, and they ranged from 60 to 240 minutes. I audio recorded these interviews based on the approval of residents and the IRB. I conducted interviews in Korean, and all the transcripts were initially recorded in Korean and then later translated into English by the author. The interviews were focused on their residential histories, their personal experiences of living in a touristifying neighborhood, perceived changes in the everyday usage of the neighborhood, and their interactions and relationships with the community.

The total number of interviewees was 39, including a group of longstanding residents (n=27) who tend to view themselves as the "*T'obagi* [native][14] of IMV" and newcomers (n=12), which consist of business owners and artists. To this classification of interviewees' attribute, I need to make it clear two points. First, I have followed how interviewees have identified themselves and the others. Second, this distinction of different groups does not affect my analysis since it was engaged in textual analysis and coding to identify the key terms and themes, along with the secondary data materials such as news articles and official documents, and field notes. While my interviewees' perceptions cannot be used to generalize for the entire IMV, their insights provide a multidimensional perspective and experiences of neighborhood change.

[14] The expression of T'obagi [native] were used by residents many times during the interview. Given that Ihwadong has been a *daldongne* that consists of the refugees from Korean War or rural-urban migrants to look for job opportunities in Seoul (and its metropolitan area), technically, they could not be native to Ihwadong. Nevertheless, many of these interviewees consider themselves as a native of IMV, which exemplifies the length of residence, in part, plays a critical role in shaping community's identity.

Case Study

Daldongne: The Place of Various Contested Experiences and Desires

Ihwa Mural Village (IMV) is one of the so-called *daldongnes* of Seoul, a negative term in common parlance that implies slums. *Daldongne* generally refers to an unplanned squatter settlement that consists of substandard housing that is frequently built with low-quality materials, inadequate sewage disposal, and small living spaces along small streets and alleyways. Many inhabitants of these neighborhoods are aware of the social stigmatization associated with residents of *daldongne* as a working-class neighborhood. Also, in most cases, *daldongnes* are located on hillsides: *dal* means the moon, and *dongne* refers to village/neighborhood in Korean. In contrast to this seemingly romantic name, the term implies the sorrows of life of residents in the low-income group; as its location is on a hillside, residents can watch the moon more closely. *Daldongne* used to be the home of refugees from the Korean War (1950-1953). During South Korea's rapid urbanization process, *daldongnes* have been the objects of demolition to make way for skyscrapers or high-rise apartment buildings.

Despite the substandard living conditions, many residents have resided in the same place for decades and therefore have grown strong place attachment to their neighborhoods and amongst themselves as community members. For instance, several scholars approach *daldongne* from place attachment with deep community sentiment (Cho, 2013; Shim, 2004). Many residents have a close relationship with each other and often spend time with one another gathering in public spaces to chat or play a Korean card game.

Nevertheless, due to the unsatisfactory living conditions, these neighborhoods also tend not to be desirable places for younger residents. Consequently, most residents of *daldongne* are seniors who have expressed strong place attachments and wish to keep their homes, but

simultaneously, they would love to move to an area with better living conditions if they could afford it. In other words, despite the residents' committed attachments to their local neighborhoods, most of them desire to live in a 'better and improved' living environment with more modernized conditions. Thus, *daldongne* postulates a unique urban neighborhood in which various contested experiences and desires coexist.

Ihwa Mural Village (IMV)

Ihwa Mural Village (IMV), a relatively small neighborhood with 186 households, is located in Ihwa-dong[15], Jongno-gu[16], in central Seoul. It is within 10 minutes of walking distance from Daehak-ro (Seoul's theater and performing arts district). While it was a common approach for the government to bulldoze *daldongnes* to make room for urban (re)development during the 1980s and 1980s, an alternative approach was implemented for IMV. There are several reasons. First, IMV is adjacent to two historical and cultural heritage sites: the Seoul City Wall (Hanyangdoseong)[17] and Ihwajang House.[18] Due to its proximity to these sites, Ihwa-dong is regulated by the Seoul Metropolitan Government (SMG)'s Ordinance on Cultural Property Protection (Figure 5 & 6).

[15] "Dong" means a village or community.
[16] "Gu" refers to the district.
[17] It's also known the Fortress Wall of Seoul, which was built in 1396, and is one of the most significant historical cultural heritage sites of Seoul. It stretches for 18.6km along the ranges of Bugaksan Mountain, Naksan Mountain, Namsan Mountain, and Inwangsan Mountain (VisitSeoul.Net).
[18] Registered as the Historical Site No. 497 is the home of the first president of South Korea Syngman Rhee after Korea gained independence from Japan in 1945.

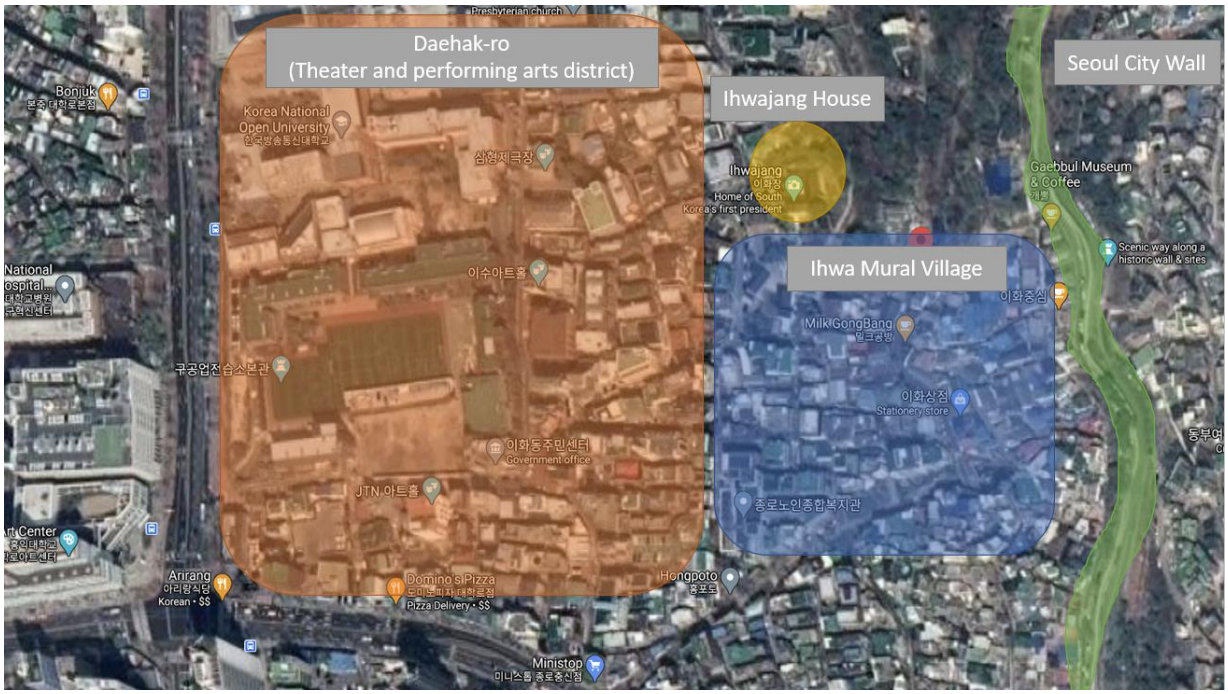


Figure 5 Location of IMV

Source:Google map; modified by author

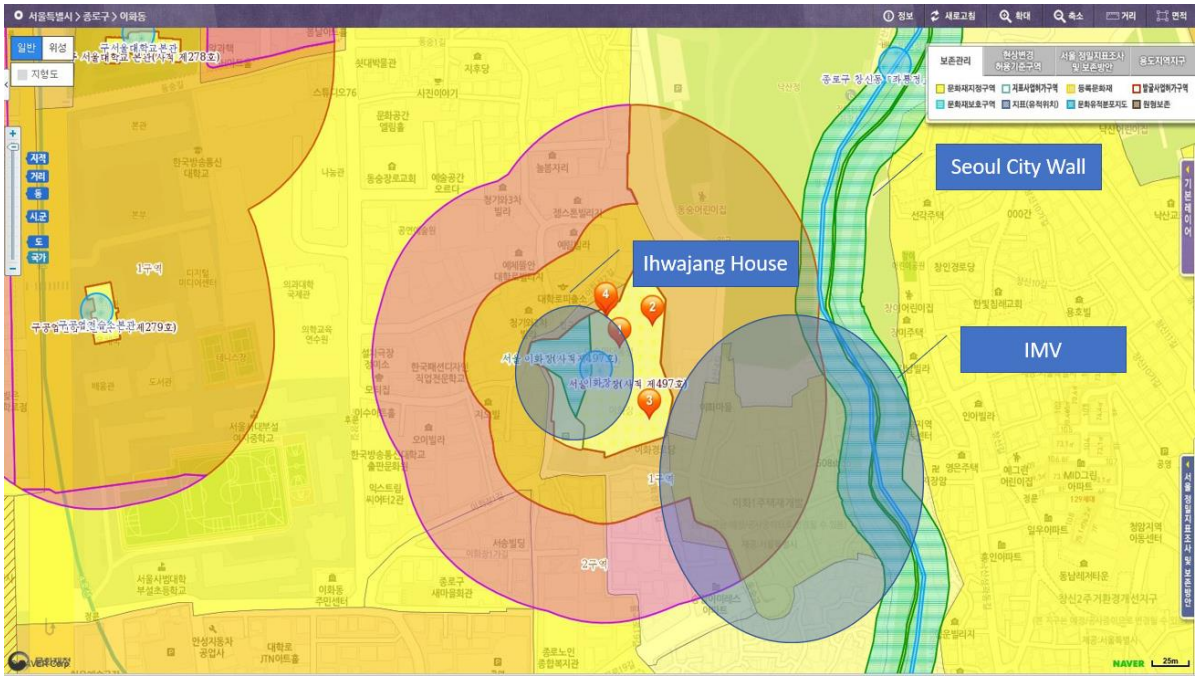


Figure 6 Seoul Metropolitan Government's Ordinance on Cultural Property Protection

Source: Cultural Heritage Administration Heritage Mapping System, Ihwa-dong Office; both modified by author

Second, despite substandard living conditions, IMV is appreciated for its architectural and historical value. In the late 1950s, the former form of the Korea National Housing Corporation constructed *kuk-min-chu-t'aek-tan-chi*: a national housing complex (Figure 7). It was built in deteriorated residential areas during the 1960s to improve housing conditions and provide stable housing supplies for low-income workers, and the one built in IMV is known as Seoul's first tenement house. *Kuk-min-chu-t'aek-tan-chi* in IMV has received particular attention for two reasons. First, it is the oldest remaining example of this housing type and in a relatively well-preserved condition. Second, it provides cultural and aesthetic value for researchers and

architects investigating modern housing history (Ham & Ahn, 2016; Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2016). Therefore, such distinctive features of the neighborhood are deemed to provide a unique and nostalgic feeling to many Koreans who yearn for the past.

Figure 7 Examples of Kuk-min-chu-t'aek-tan-chi that renovated for commercial use

A Series of Inconsistent Urban Projects in IMV: The Seeds of Neighborhood Conflicts

Contrary to most *daldongnes*, which have been 'forgotten neighborhoods' not widely known to the public and rarely drawing attention from local officials, IMV has been the target of a series of urban projects. These examples include an abandoned redevelopment plan that would have constructed a new apartment complex, the *Naksan Public Art Project* (NPAP) as a part of the *Art in City initiative* (implemented), and a residential environment improvement project (implemented).

Although the redevelopment plan through the demolition of *kuk-min-chu-t'aek-tan-chi* and constructing new apartment complexes between 2004 to 2008 was not implemented, it is still important to mention it since it has become a seed for exacerbating conflicts in IMV (Figure 8). When *kuk-min-chu-t'aek-tan-chi* was constructed in IMV, the neighborhood had a complex discordance between cadaster of land and buildings due to neighborhood's original characterization as a *daldongne*. The first critical issue started from here: the correction on the discordance between the cadaster of land and buildings was neglected. Although all these illegally and planlessly built houses were demolished for *kuk-min-chu-t'aek-tan-chi*, the discordance between cadaster of land and buildings remained unresolved and prevented residents from exercising their property rights since then (Kim, 1984).

Also, when SMG conducted the "Naksan Park Construction Plan," 25 houses located close to the Seoul City Wall were planned to be demolished. However, after a long time when residents filed litigation for land ownership, in 2002 residents finally got the land ownership by acquisitive prescription,[19] including those residents who lived in the 25 houses close to the Seoul City Wall (Lee, 2015a). According to the author, these actions instigated the residents to fight to save their own rights and live in the neighborhood.

However, because of these lawsuits, Ihwa-dong has been excluded from Naksan Park area's regeneration process despite the fact that residents have continuously experienced the neighborhood's physical degradation. Thus, after the reclaim of the land ownership, in 2004, the residents have established the "Commission for Promotion of Redevelopment" for working on their neighborhood redevelopment. Hyundai Engineering & Corporation (HEC) was selected as

[19] "A method of acquiring property by meeting statutory requirements of continuous possession, which vary by state. In order to ripen into ownership, possession must be in the role of an owner, public, peaceful and uninterrupted." (https://definitions.uslegal.com/a/acquisitive-prescription/)

the construction company to advance the redevelopment plan. Initially, HEC proposed an apartment complex with 11 stories to redevelop the neighborhood. Nevertheless, due to the proximity of the Seoul City Wall, HEC's redevelopment plan was rejected by the SMG multiple times. The administration requested to change the plan to minimize the damage to the green space around the Naksan Park and Seoul City Wall as well as the landscape of the neighborhood by constructing tall buildings. SMG maintains that tall apartment complexes will generate unharmonious views with the currently existing low-height residential buildings (Lee, 2015a). Nevertheless, in 2008, as Ihwa-dong was designated as one of the demonstration destinations for SMG's "Special Landscape Management on Hill Land Plan[20]" the redevelopment plan was finally accepted, and the "Commission for Promotion of Redevelopment of the First Ihwa District"[21] was approved as well.

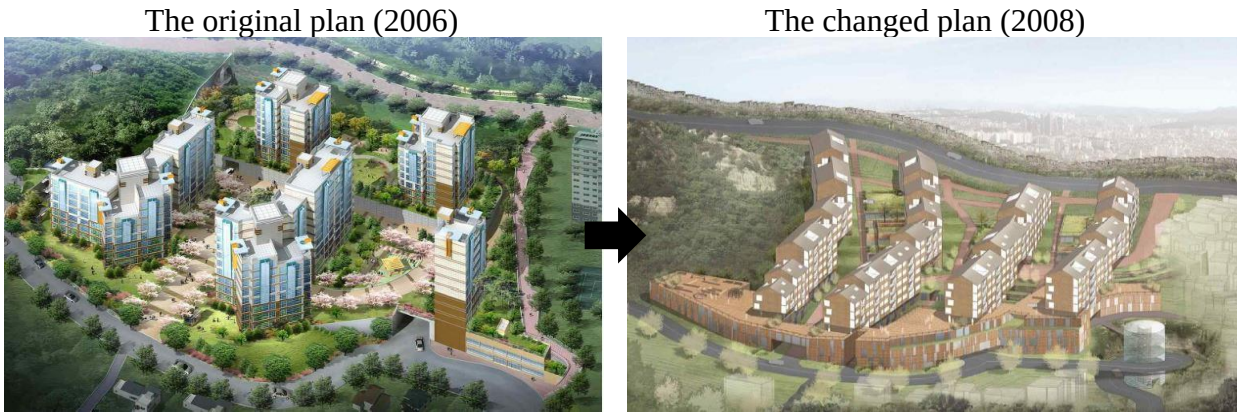


Figure 8 The redevelopment plan for Ihwa-dong

[20] SMG realized that the previous style of redevelopment—tearing down all the buildings without considering the particularity of different topographic characteristics of the different neighborhoods—was inappropriate for pursuing sustainable development and preserving the historical value. Thus, the SMG switched from the previous 'matchbox style' apartment construction which dominated redevelopment. This style led to homogeneous appearance of the buildings. SMG introduced guidelines to diversify building types to match different topographic characteristics of the hill lands to preserve the historical, cultural, and natural landscape of the (Lee, 2008).

[21] The 'Commission for Promotion of Redevelopment' is protected by Urban Redevelopment Act, which works on redevelopment issues, such as government's approval procedure and selection on constructor.

Source: The Commission for Promotion of Redevelopment of the First Ihwa District (requoted from Lee, 2015, p.38); Jongno-Gu Office

Nevertheless, in spite of the approval of the plan, no further step has been made since 2009 since the status of Ihwajang (for recall, refers to footnote 19) was elevated from the Historical Site of Seoul to the State-Designated Cultural Property. This changed status has made it more complicated to proceed any types of development plans in IMV, since it must go through an additional approval from the Cultural Heritage Administration. In other words, elevated status of Ihwajang and SMG's Ordinance on Cultural Property Protection have played a major role in delaying the plan. Due to these reasons, the initial stage cost for HEC increased enormously and HEC stopped making any further actions for redevelopment (e.g., fund support for next step). This caused the drift of the redevelopment plan since 2012, and practically, it would be safe to say that the plan was temporarily stopped.

According to an unreleased document from SMG, "The Cancellation Plan on Housing Redevelopment in the First Ihwa District housing[22]," they approved to disband the "Commission for Promotion of Redevelopment of the First Ihwa District" and to provide an exemption of corporation tax for HEC[23] to amicably resolve this protracted redevelopment in 2015 (Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2015, 2016). These failed attempts of redevelopment generated residents' distrust of the government. Recognizing this distrust, the document suggested "Regeneration Plan for SeongGwak Maeul[24]" as an alternative to improve the neighborhood's physical environment (Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2016). The focus of this plan is to manage and improve the quality of residential environment of the neighborhood.

[22] I acquired this document through the request of information disclosure from the Seoul Metropolitan Government.
[23] Approximately USD $1,500,000.
[24] SeongGwak indicates Hanyangdoseong (Seoul City Wall) and Maeul means neighborhood. In contrary to previous urban redevelopment plan which focused on demolishing all the buildings for constructing new "modern" ones, this plan focus on improving the quality of residential environment by engaging more public participation.

Naksan Public Art Project (NPAP) and the Transformation of IMV into Tourist destination

Implemented by the Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism (MCST) in 2006, NPAP is a part of the government's culture-led urban regeneration projects. This project aims to revitalize underdeveloped urban neighborhoods economically, socially, and culturally to improve the conditions of the living environment, and approximately 70 murals and artworks were installed (Korea Arts Management Service, 2007b). However, as IMV has become the background for TV shows and dramas, the neighborhood was converted into a new urban tourism destination in which visitors seek 'authenticity' in the landscape and their interactions with locals alongside their appreciation of the public artworks (Figure 9). For instance, in 2016, IMV ranked fifth in most-searched visitor destinations in Seoul by Chinese tourists (Han, 2016). The transformation of IMV has brought about massive neighborhood change, and many contested outcomes to the community and their people-place relationships.

Figure 9 Installed artworks in IMV

Evolving Place Attachment between Fixities and Fluidities

People-place relationships displayed in IMV reveal the dynamics of place attachment that is both multidimensional and fluctuating. Place attachment is discovered as *plural* with the neighborhood change brought by new urban tourism, and both the sedentarist assumptions (e.g., length of residency, movement as disruptive) and non-habitual way of understanding place attachment (e.g., appreciation of aesthetic value) shape people's place attachment. Also, place attachment is found to be fluid in the sense that it either amplifies or attenuates during the trajectory of neighborhood change that is intertwined with a range of neighborhood events.

Plural Place Attachment

IMV is one of a few remaining *daldongnes* in Seoul, where many of the residents worked for the clustered garment and sewing home-factories located in the area during the 1960s and 1970s (Oh, 2020). Until today, the socioeconomic backgrounds of IMV remain homogeneous, with the majority of them as working-class. Also, IMV has a higher percentage of 65+ population (18.8%) compared to the average of other neighborhoods in Seoul (12.79%) (Seoul

Metropolitan Government, 2016). Living in a so-called *daldongne* in Korean society often connotes hardship due to marginalized conditions, including a substandard living environment and social stigmatization from the public assuming their socioeconomic class. Therefore, coping with everyday hardship, supporting each other emotionally—by communicating and helping out each other frequently—has been deemed a virtue of living in IMV.

My ethnographic data suggest that rootedness, length of residency, and emotional solidarity formed from such distinctive conditions play an essential role in strengthening social relationships and group identity. As a consequence, despite the undesirable living environment, many of these residents perceive IMV as "cozy," "generous," and "friendly and family-like" places where they call "my home," as illustrated by an 88-year old woman and a 65-year old woman who has spent most of their lives in IMV, respectively.

> I have lived in our neighborhood for more than fifty years, and my family moved from Haenam[25] to here, after the Korean War…Our living condition was really poor…But most of our neighbors had a similar situation, so we helped each other…Our relationship is just like a family! (Interviewee A)

> I have a lot of good memories with my neighbors chatting in the alleyway, making Kimchi[26] together in the street [because few cars passed and no visitors except for the residents]…When one cooks a nice meal, they always drop by and inviting neighbors by simply knocking at the door. Whoever will be joining always bring whatever leftover dish they have in the fridge and bring it for an impromptu potluck party. (Interviewee B)

Such positive experiences have grown stronger over time and are determined by both past experiences associated length of residency and old age with greater place attachment, which resonates with the place attachment literature that conventionally underscores affective bonding between an individual or a group and places at different spatial scales (Dwyer et al., 2019;

[25] Located in Jeollanam-Do, located in the southmost part of South Korea.

[26] A traditional side dish of salted and fermented vegetables.

Hammitt, Backlund, & Bixler, 2006; Low & Altman, 1992; Pinkster, 2016; Strzelecka, Boley, & Woosnam, 2017). These interviews also encompass nostalgia, a sense of belonging, and emotional solidarity in strengthening their bonds between people and place.

Contrary to such an account corresponding to the conventional place attachment, it is essential to point out a discerning appreciation of attachment: the aesthetic satisfaction and the appreciation of the cultural and architectural value of IMV associated with the distinctive neighborhood feature. Before the NPAP, IMV was not widely known to the public. However, after the project, IMV started attracting many people, including newcomers (artists and business owners) and tourists. As revealed by the interviews, the remains of *kuk-min-chu-t'aek-tan-chi* and small alleys provide them with a sense of "authenticity" and "nostalgia from Korean old urban neighborhood".

> When I participated in the art project in 2006, I was very impressed by the neighborhood's historical and cultural value…*Kuk-min-chu-t'aek-tan-chi* has great architectural value and stimulates nostalgia. These buildings must be preserved and let the public also appreciate the value of IMV. (Interviewee C)

Aesthetic satisfaction has brought this 60-year old man to the neighborhood and led him to become attached. To him, IMV is a *de facto* "live museum" that is rich in cultural and historical value since it comprises vernacular houses and the lifestyle of the 1970s. He has a background in metal curation and has collected diverse locks and bolts for a long time, and he thought such a neighborhood feature matches well with his plan to operate a lock-museum to display collections. Along with the museum, he also opened a café to make an income.

> I would say the panoramic view of Seoul you can see from my café is one of the best views you can ever enjoy…I firmly believe that more people should come and visit here to feel this!! (Interviewee C)

Similarly, a 63-year old artist and a professor of art who has his workspace in the neighborhood revealed a similar aesthetic appreciation.

> I love my studio here because the unique atmosphere of IMV provides me inspiration for my artworks! I was the project director of NPAP, and I guess I was attached to here since then. (Interviewee D)

While technically he is not a 'conventional resident' of IMV since where he and his family reside is not located within the neighborhood, he still actively participates in local activities and develop bonds with residents. He wanted to use his talent—art—to contribute to the revitalization of IMV: "I am trying to organize more free exhibitions so that both visitors and residents can enjoy the artwork". Such accounts correspond to the findings that people can also have attachments to multiple places simultaneously with intensified mobility experiences (Gustafson, 2001). For instance, so-called 'cosmopolitan elites' deem to have a low preference for local involvement and local obligations. However, Gustafson (2009) found that their place attachment is not significantly weaker than occasional travelers or non-travelers. Instead, they were even active in local activities in some respects, revealing that mobility may not unavoidably undermine social cohesion. This shows that one person's attachment is not limited to one single home place, and it has become more critical recently as people have various possibilities for developing such dual or multiple bonds (Gustafson, 2006; McHugh & Mings, 1996).

The nexus of place attachment and mobility is complex since it could be shaped across time and space by a series of mobility conditions and the relational configurations that underlie them (Devine-Wright, 2020; Di Masso et al., 2019). With intensified mobility experiences, people can also have attachments to multiple places at the same time (Gustafson, 2001). For instance, while so-called 'cosmopolitan elites' deem to have a low preference for local involvement and local obligations, their place attachment is not considerably lower than

occasional travelers or non-travelers (Gustafson, 2001), and people have various possibilities for developing such dual or multiple bonds (Gustafson, 2006; McHugh & Mings, 1996).

In sum, what has attached both interviewees C and D to IMV is significantly different from other interviewees; different narratives and experiences show that place attachment is plural as it may not necessarily only premised on rootedness (Bissell, 2020). Also, place attachment is not exclusively possessed by a particular group or individuals: with intensified mobility experiences, people can also have attachments to multiple places simultaneously (Gustafson, 2001).

Fluid Place Attachment

Despite the committed attachments from the majority of the constituents of IMV, merely a fixed and plural understanding of place attachment is insufficient to capture place attachment dynamics. The interviewees' narratives and experiences reveal that place attachment in IMV has been continuously evolving, disrupted, and adapted along with on-going neighborhood events and reconfigurations associated with tourism. In this sense, the recent theoretical discussion on reconsidering place attachment as 'fluid' and 'relational' (Devine-Wright, 2020; Manzo & Devine-Wright, 2013a), and viewing as an "emergent property of a complex system" that "people learn, adapt and evolve new repertoires of behavior" is relevant to examine the case of IMV (Di Masso et al., 2019, p. 131).

Since place attachment typically refers to a positive emotional bond between individuals and/or groups and the familiar locations they inhabit or visit (Low & Altman, 1992; Manzo, 2005), the impact of change is often characterized as either a disruption to place attachment or a

threat to place identity (Brown & Perkins, 1992; Devine-Wright & Howes, 2010). Diverse causes are identified as the upsetting nature to generate 'disruption,' such as a change to the physical environment affected by natural or human activities to disrupt social networks (Bonaiuto, Carrus, Martorella, & Bonnes, 2002; Devine-Wright & Howes, 2010).

However, tourism-induced neighborhood change in IMV complicates our understanding of change merely as 'disruption' since place attachment is fluid and continuously evolving. It could be disrupted and adapted along with a series of neighborhood events and configurations associated with tourism, including the exclusion from the neighborhood project, estrangement generated by installed artworks that do not reflect real-life, negative impacts of overtourism, and the complexity of the proximity to tourism hotspot.

Exclusion: The Sentiments of Powerlessness and Resentment and Estrangement from "Cute artworks"

"Connect, Mix, and Get Together" is the motto of NPAP. According to an interview from the artistic director of the project (Interviewee D), "This Naksan area is too polarized…Daehak-ro is thriving, full of young people and vitality, while IMV is dilapidated even if they are adjacent to each other…that's why we set such a slogan for the project, and we wanted to engage with the community and wished to bring more people to the neighborhood increase social mix." Also, according to the executive director of the Public Art Program Committee, "the target is neglected regions, the goal is *neighborhood improvement*, and the instrument is public art *through community engagement*"(Choi, 2006, p.1; italics added). All these facts show that bolstering tourism in IMV was not the purpose of NPAP. However, contrary to these goals, NPAP ultimately has led to the transformation of IMV into a tourist destination. For instance, in

practice, MCST has listed IMV as an attractive tourist attraction for visiting on their website; SMG and Jongno-gu Office (local government) has created and distributed the mural village map. Also, this seemingly beneficial project neither achieve the goals nor match the expectation of residents.

Contrary to one of the objectives, community participation was neglected during the project implementation process. For example, among the total number of 70 installed public artworks, including murals and sculptures, only 5 of them (7%) have engaged community participation (Jongno-Gu District Office, 2007; Korea Arts Management Service, 2007b). The project was also merely a beautification by installing murals and sculptures instead of addressing residents' actual and urgent needs, such as improving the degraded infrastructure (Korea Arts Management Service, 2007b). The way the project was unfolded has raised the residents' dissatisfaction and resentment due to its rushed implementation nature; neither a clear explanation of the expected outcomes nor enough efforts on effective communication were provided during the process. This can be proved by a quote from the artistic director of the project:

> We were only given less than a half year for completing the project, which means we neither had enough time to engage many residents nor had a chance to communicate with residents well. (Interviewee D)

Also, both "colorful" and "cute" murals and artworks made residents feel uncomfortable since it has less to do with the memories, history, and everyday lives full of the hardship of the village. Such a sentiment is revealed by an excerpt from a resident of a 42-year old woman.

> To be honest, I have no idea what these artworks mean to us because I do not think these match our neighborhood…Frankly, what we wanted was substantial aids, like renovation of the old houses and infrastructure. (Interviewee E)

According to her, due to ineffective communication when the project was implemented, many of the residents did not have clear ideas about the impacts of the outcome on their daily lives, and as a result, they thought it should be a project that could enhance their quality of life. She revealed that installed murals and artworks are "unnecessary things" that may be attractive to tourists; these do not reflect the reality of IMV and fail to contribute to improving their living conditions.

To sum up, exclusion from the project and the installed murals that have less to do with the real-life in IMV have intensified residents' estrangement and diluted their committed attachment. Also, given that public art has been used for community building by augmenting local identity or by advocating the participation of marginalized groups into art projects as a means to encourage their integration (Hall & Robertson, 2001; Hall & Smith, 2005; Sharp, 2005), public arts did not achieve such functions in IMV. Instead, NPAP simply served as neighborhood beautification, which has ultimately turned the neighborhood into a tourism attraction for gaze upon. It shows that when the project does not address the real need and not commit to enhancing local identity, it could detach people's attachment.

Negative Impacts of Overtourism and the Complexity of the Proximity to Tourism Hotspot

Overtourism is defined as "the impact of tourism on a destination, or parts thereof, that excessively influences perceived quality of life of citizens and quality of visitors experiences in a negative way" (UNWTO, 2018, p. 4). IMV is exceptionally vulnerable to overtourism due to the unique topographic condition and marginalized living environment. Also, the fact that most of the houses consist of low-quality materials exacerbates vulnerability. Most of the residents are identified to have been suffering from a series of inconveniences with the growing tourist flows,

including congestion, noise, littering, invasion of privacy (Park & Kovacs, 2020). However, as supported by my observation from the fieldwork and interviews (Interviewee F), residents who live closer to tourism hotspots are affected more severely by disruptions.

Such negative impacts of tourism and these adverse impacts disrupt residents' place attachment is not new. It resonates with the tourism literature that the location of an inhabitant's residence influences their attitude toward tourism: residents who live close to attractions tend to be less tolerant of tourists and more concerned about perceived and actual adverse impacts (Gursoy, Jurowski, & Uysal, 2002; Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004). Also, residents who live in tourism hotspots may believe that "they are always about to be gazed upon, even if they are not. They may, therefore, feel 'under the gaze,' even if no tourist is actually about to capture them in his or her mind's eye, let alone in the viewfinder" (Urry, 1992, pp. 177-178).

However, what complicates such understanding in IMV is the proximity to the tourism hotspot. Despite the identified disruptions to place attachment from the negative impacts of tourism, it also shows how people adapt their attachment differently. For instance, ironically, such disruptions have intensified some residents' solidarity to protect their rights, exemplified by the mural erasure incident intricately associated with the zoning plan that eventually raises the conflicting interest of "who benefits?"

In IMV, two staircases that two murals (sunflowers and carps) were installed are the most favorable tourist sites. Many of the photos posted online via Instagram, blogs, and other social media tools, are the ones that were taken in front of these murals (Oh, 2020; Park & Kovacs, 2020). In April 2016, two murals installed on the stairways were painted over by several residents. While many media have reported that residents were upset by the inconvenience

generated by tourism (e.g., KBSN, 2016), many of my interviewees thought this is only partially true (Figure 10). More importantly, it was a research institution's proposed zoning plan to minimize the negative impacts of tourism for residents who live adjacent to the two stairways that have triggered mural erasure incident and their protests. Park and Kovacs (2020), who have examined IMV and community responses, also have such a finding.

Stairway ①

Stairway ①

Stairway②

Stairway②

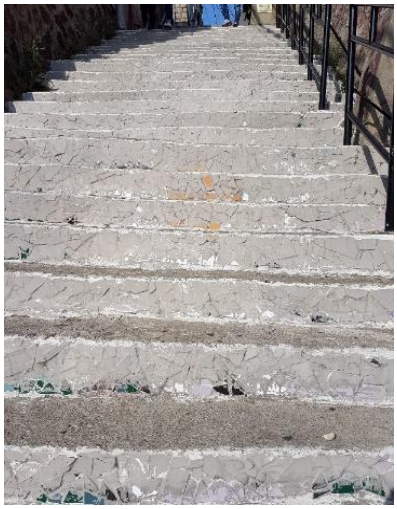


Figure 10 Zoning plan and mural erasure incident

Note: Above two highlighted green lines indicate the most popular routes for tourists.

Source: OnGongGan Institute (2016, p. 42); translated into English by author

This proposed plan's main point was to establish two tourist zones: one that allowed commercial use and a residential zone that did not permit commercial use to avoid overtourism disrupt residents' daily life. This proposal would allow some residential community sections to be engaged in commercial ventures while others were to be excluded. Since IMV has turned into tourist destinations, some residents in these areas have transformed their residential homes for operating the tourism-related business, such as street food shop, souvenir shop, and café. Thus, these areas are deemed to have a high possibility to gain profits from tourism and tourists. Most of the residents who attended the protest are from this 'residential zone,' a tourism hotspot, who had no hope of gaining any such benefits. Such perceptions can be exemplified by a 59-year old man who has led several residents to paint over the murals.

> I am wondering whether they [government] regard us as 'pigs' and 'dogs'[27] because we are not wealthy people!!!

[27] "Pigs and dogs (a direct translation from Korean)" is a commonly used phrase to refer to someone treating another in a condescending attitude, this inflammable tone demonstrates his mixed feelings of anger and frustration.

> If the government wants to make our neighborhood a tourist attraction, they need to provide us some rewards because we are experiencing a lot of inconvenience from the tourists. If they think our neighborhood should be a residential area, then remove all the murals so that no more tourists will come here. (Interviewee F)

Also, an unofficial document written by this group, which I acquired during fieldwork, criticized how this zoning plan would violate their property rights. They also asked for a plan that would promote the coexistence of both tourists and residents. As this unofficial document's contents reveal and supported by my ethnographic data, residents' frustration arose from the unequal benefits that this zoning plan generates (Figure 11).

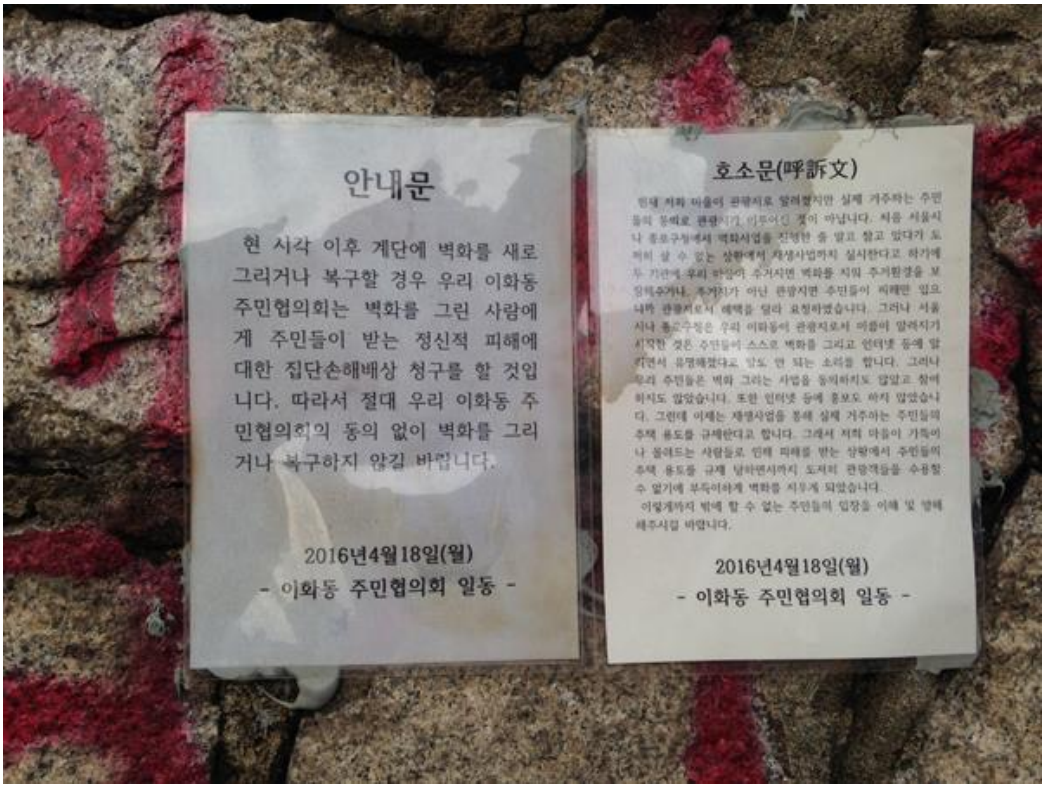


Figure 11 Letter of plea from residents and protests

However, as another quote from the interviewee I reveals, he perceives that while such disruptions have alienated their emotional bond from IMV and feeling unwelcoming, paradoxically, conflicts have intensified residents' solidarity to protect their rights and neighborhood.

> I am so glad that some of our comrades are on the same page to fight for this conflict. When I organized one-month protests that will hold every Saturday, many of our neighbors have joined, which shows our strong solidarity! (Interviewee F)

In summary, the proximity to the tourism hotspot presents a complex understanding of place attachment as it is intertwined with the "who benefits" issue, and thus, serves as a source to extenuate attachment and intensify solidarity. While living adjacent to the tourism hotspot exposes residents to more direct inconveniences generated from tourism, it simultaneously provides an opportunity to benefit from tourism. As revealed by the mural erasure incident, although the negative impacts of tourism serve to disrupt residents' place attachment. Their "cozy and family-like neighborhood," which is built upon emotional solidarity, degrades to a place where "want to leave if I can afford". Nevertheless, the proximity is also connected to the economic benefits that residents cannot overlook. Thus, it shows people's committed attachment is fluid, and it is contingent upon diverse neighborhood events affects their lives and rights.

Discussion and Conclusion

The aim of this study is to bring together geographers' understanding of place and place attachment in tourism studies to understand how place attachment is not a uniform construct, and how it is continuously evolving within the context of tourism-induced neighborhood change. Globalization has, to some degree, generated more spatial homogeneity in the contemporary world (Sebastien, 2019), and due to this phenomenon, some researchers have questioned if the notion of place still matters to individuals (Beatley, 2005; Casey, 1997). Place has not lost its significance. Instead, it has regained its value, especially at the scale of neighborhoods and small towns, which are the site of accumulation of multidimensional lived experiences and memories (Manzo & Devine-Wright, 2013a; Manzo & Devine-Wright, 2013b; Sebastien, 2019). Amid intensified global and local changes, it becomes more significant to capture how various

mobilities (and immobilities) affect and reshape place-based meanings and attachments associated with diverse developments and urban transformation (Di Masso et al., 2019).

This shows that place attachment is important in understanding within the context of tourism, not merely from the destination management and marketing perspective to more effectively manage tourism destinations which is premised on the perspective of treating tourism destinations as tourism products. As revealed by this study, a new urban tourist destination, which is also a site for ordinary lives of local residents, cannot be simply understood as a destination to increase its competitiveness to lure more tourists and intensify consumer loyal behaviors.

This study also offers several insights for scholarship on place attachment and tourism studies in general. It contributes to expanding our understanding that place attachment is not a uniform construct and it is continuously evolving as societies become more mobile (Lewicka, 2011, 2013). More specifically, the examination of IMV contributes to broadening the place attachment literature by accommodating plural expressions of place attachment and fluidity. It shows that the plurality and fluidity are contingent upon an array of neighborhood events and conditions induced by new urban tourism.

Empirically, this research has filled gaps by engaging new urban tourism, a reconfiguration of complex networks and flows of people and objects under the intensified global mobility that reconfigures residents' daily lives in an ordinary urban neighborhood. Despite some constructive outcomes, an increasing number of tourists seek to experience 'authentic' local life, and increased mobility has complicated existing communities and triggered contested consequences.

The findings of this research suggest that urban policymakers need to recognize the significance of the complexity of fluid place attachment in touristifying neighborhoods. Urban policymakers need to be aware of the danger of the 'fantasy' of place attachment and to assume it as fixed, positive, and only possessed by certain groups of long-established residents; it could be either amplified or attenuated during the trajectory of neighborhood change. The appreciation of plural and fluid place attachment helps land-use planners and policymakers set a sense of place within a broader socio-political context and minimize potential neighborhood conflicts. By doing so, it can help practitioners formulate tourism policies at the destination level.

There are inevitable limitations to this study. First, although efforts were made to interview residents with different backgrounds, it was not feasible to interview all stakeholders. Thus, my interviews reflect fragments from various stakeholder perceptions and cannot be generalized to the IMV's entire population. Nonetheless, considering interviewees' familiarity and knowledge about the neighborhood, interview data provides valuable information to capture the dynamic and subtle people-place relationships. Second, this study was examined within a certain period; therefore, if a diachronic approach is adopted for future studies to understand how perceptions are changing over time, it will elucidate the evolutionary process of residents' perceptions of neighborhood dynamics.

Third, if future research can feature collaborations with or a dialogue between scholars in other disciplines, such as environmental psychologists who conduct volumes of place attachment research, but whose approaches do not yet account for the myriad ways in which place matters, could help a deeper understanding of why people have perceived and responded in a certain way. Finally, I call for more qualitative research in other disadvantaged neighborhoods to investigate

additional perceptions to address residents' changing needs and enrich the understanding of plurality and fluid place attachment.

Chapter 4. Tourism Gentrification and Experiences of Displacement in Gamcheon Culture Village[28]

Introduction

In the time since the British sociologist Ruth Glass (1964) coined the term in the context of London, *gentrification* has entered the public lexicon in countries around the world, and academic writings on the topic have more than tripled (Lees & Phillips, 2018). However, as gentrification has spread throughout the world, its causes, effects, forms, and definitions have diversified and become increasingly complex. In contrast to Glass's conceptualization of gentrification as the invasion of working-class neighborhoods by middle-class newcomers eager to renovate older housing stock, contemporary concepts of plural gentrifications now extend to broader and more diverse processes of urban restructuring, including new-build gentrification, environmental gentrification, retail gentrification, and tourism gentrification (Lees, 2019; Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2010). The idea of "planetary gentrification" casts gentrification in broad terms as "the appropriation of land to serve the interests of the wealthy" at the planetary scale (Lees et al., 2016, p. 218). This dispossession, understood as embedded within the broader process of planetary urbanization, is distinguished not only by its diverse manifestations but also by the rise of the state as dominant agent (Lees, Shin, & López-Morales, 2016). The growing diversity in forms and experiences of gentrification has generated a need to look beyond Western cities, and scholarly attention to contexts beyond Europe and North America is steadily increasing.

Although the appropriate conceptual breadth of gentrification remains subject to debate (see, e.g., Ley & Yang, 2017), one theme that remains prominent throughout the literature is displacement (Elliott-Cooper, Hubbard, & Lees, 2019). Most research has focused on the direct,

[28] A version of this chapter, co-authored with Dr. Ryan Holifield, is under review at *Urban Geography*.

physical displacement of established residents and businesses by newer ones. But scholars have long recognized that gentrification also leads to more indirect forms of displacement, including emotional and psychological pressures and disruptions for those who remain in place (Atkinson, 2015; Davidson, 2009; Elliott-Cooper et al., 2019; Marcuse, 1985). The latter have been identified as dimensions of *un-homing*: the subtle processes of cultural appropriation and symbolic violence that make residents feel no longer at home in their own neighborhoods (Atkinson, 2015; Elliott-Cooper et al., 2019). Despite this recognition, research on the impacts of gentrification on residents remaining in their neighborhoods and experiencing indirect displacement remains limited (Helbrecht, 2018).

Research on the experience of both direct and indirect displacement among residents also remains limited within the growing literature on gentrification and tourism. In many cities, as Cócola-Gant (2018) notes, tourism helps increase housing prices, replaces residential housing with visitor accommodations, supplants local stores with businesses oriented to tourists, and disrupts the daily lives and social networks of long-term residents. In this article, we argue that urban tourism-based gentrification, often concentrated along specific "strips" or central, high-traffic thoroughfares, produces displacement effects that may not only show distinctive characteristics, but also vary within affected neighborhoods. As our study shows, experiences and perceptions of physical displacement among local residents and business owners may be closely associated with proximity to centers of tourist activity at the neighborhood scale. Meanwhile, experiences of indirect displacement can extend beyond central tourist thoroughfares, and tourism can create dimensions of un-homing that go beyond those common in other gentrifying neighborhoods.

Gamcheon Culture Village (GCV) in Busan, South Korea, represents a distinctive case of tourism-induced gentrification in what Shin et al. (2016) label the Global East. In many ways, GCV is a typical *daldongne*, or "moon village": an unplanned informal settlement with substandard housing, inadequate sewage disposal, and small living spaces concentrated along small streets and alleyways. However, thanks to the installation of a state-sponsored public art project intended to revitalize the neighborhood, GCV is also now one of Busan's most famous tourist destinations. Due to the influx of tourists and small-business owners, rents have increased, and the neighborhood's unique identity has been transformed. Both academic research and news articles in Korea diagnose GCV as undergoing gentrification (Kim & Jang, 2017; Woo, 2019; Yang & Joa, 2019).

How do residents and small-business owners in GCV perceive and experience displacement as a result of tourism-induced gentrification? To answer this question, we draw on government documents, field observations, and semi-structured interviews with residents, members of a community-based organization, and business owners. These sources suggest that the direct physical displacement of residents has been both limited and spatially concentrated in areas near the main tourist thoroughfare. However, indirect displacement in the sense of displacement pressure and "un-homing" has a more widespread and complex presence within the community, affecting residents and business owners in different ways, depending in part on their proximity to tourist activity. We illustrate this complexity with the example of a small dry-cleaning shop, which has served long-term residents not only as a business, but also as a source of social connection and a symbol of the community's place identity.

We aim to address the general scarcity of empirical research on experiences and perceptions of residents in low-income urban neighborhoods undergoing displacement,

especially in “touristified” districts. Attention to the emotional and social impacts of indirect displacement has also been rare in the growing literature on gentrification in Korea and the Global East, which has emphasized the direct physical displacement induced by large-scale urban redevelopment. Finally, we suggest that urban scholarship and policy alike can benefit from comparative research contrasting experiences of indirect displacement in different kinds of gentrifying neighborhoods and investigating the spatial differentiation of such experiences.

Tourism Gentrification, Displacement, and Un-homing

Tourism Gentrification

Before Gotham (2005b) examined the process of tourism gentrification in New Orleans’ French Quarter, tourism received little attention in gentrification research (Gotham, 2018). However, as tourism has become a major driver of urban development, it has become increasingly implicated in gentrification (Gravari-Barbas & Guinand, 2017a). Accordingly, recent research has paid more attention to tourism as both a result of and pre-condition for gentrification (Brown-Saracino, 2016; Cócola-Gant, 2018; Colomb & Novy, 2016; Gotham, 2005a). Although tourism-driven gentrification has become a worldwide phenomenon, it occurs differently in different places (Cócola-Gant, 2018). For example, the dynamics of gentrification in so-called “tourist bubbles”—distinct geographic areas planned and managed for tourists (Judd & Fainstein, 1999)—differ from those in residential areas that have become hotspots for “new urban tourism,” in which visitors seek to experience the everyday life of locals instead of curated tourist attractions (Dirksmeier & Helbrecht, 2015).

Tourism-induced gentrification is tightly intertwined with retail gentrification (Gotham, 2005). With the rise of new urban tourism, disinvested working-class areas have experienced inflows of capital oriented toward the consumer demands of wealthier new residents and visitors (Cócola-Gant, 2018; Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008). In cities throughout the world, this reinvestment includes upscale restaurants, cafés, and stores, often associated with the creative, artistic activity (Zukin et al., 2009). These gentrified landscapes offer attractive consumption opportunities and spaces for tourists searching for unique and "authentic" local experiences (Cócola-Gant, 2018).

Displacement and Tourism Gentrification

As with other forms of gentrification, tourism-driven gentrification involves displacement. Despite its centrality to gentrification studies, the concept of displacement remains ambiguous, and many argue that it requires further theorization (Baeten, Westin, Pull, & Molina, 2017; Elliott-Cooper et al., 2019). Displacement frequently refers to some type of enforced mobility (Brickell, Arrigoitia, & Vasudevan, 2017). For example, when residents can no longer afford to remain in their homes due to increased rent or taxes, they are either pressured to leave or evicted. Research on gentrification-induced displacement has attempted to quantify this enforced mobility by measuring migration to or from neighborhoods during a specified period of time (Easton, Lees, Hubbard, & Tate, 2020). However, it is far more difficult to measure the "phenomenological or affective dimensions of displacement, and the anger and despair that is inherent to its experience" (Elliott-Cooper et al., 2019, pp. 2-3). Moreover, as Davidson (2009) argues, the conventional focus on people's movement between locations represents a partial understanding of displacement, because people can be displaced without physical dislocation.

For example, displacement can also refer to the loss of psychosocial ties that bind people to places (Davidson, 2008) or to the sacrifices made by lower-income residents to remain in their homes (Newman & Wyly, 2006).

Cócola-Gant (2018) classifies the three forms of displacement caused by tourism gentrification as residential, commercial, and place-based. Residential displacement is associated with the impacts of tourism on the housing market and the possibility that it might increase land values. For example, tourism can stimulate the process of residential displacement by converting local housing into visitor accommodations (Cócola-Gant, 2018). This is a central concern of the so-called 'Airbnb syndrome,' which threatens to displace residents while providing new opportunities for landlords and investors to accumulate capital (Gravari-Barbas & Guinand, 2017b; Wachsmuth & Weisler, 2018). In Berlin, Barcelona, and several other cities, this phenomenon has triggered protests by residents against tourists (Colomb & Novy, 2016; Novy, 2010). Given this trend, short-term rentals have become a focus of research on issues associated with tourism gentrification (Cócola-Gant & Gago, 2019; Wachsmuth & Weisler, 2018).

Commercial displacement occurs when retail facilities, restaurants, pubs, and other businesses oriented toward newcomers and visitors displace working-class residents and the stores they use (Judd & Fainstein, 1999; Zukin, 1990). Commercial or retail gentrification typically passes through two stages: first, a phase in which 'pioneers' enter a working-class neighborhood and open their own businesses, and second, one that attracts capital investment in corporate chain stores (Jeong, Heo, & Jung, 2015). As the retail landscape of a neighborhood becomes more upscale, it can alter the character and 'atmosphere' of a neighborhood to make it more exclusive and exclusionary, driving out the businesses serving less affluent residents

(Hubbard, 2017, 2018). Retail gentrification often accompanies cities' efforts to revitalize historic city centers as tourist attractions (Dürr & Jaffe, 2012).

Place-based displacement refers to inhabitants' feelings of estrangement, isolation, and loss of place arising from their experiences of living in spaces of tourist consumption (Cócola-Gant, 2018). Even without experiencing physical displacement from their homes, residents may find their everyday rhythms and routines disrupted and complicated by visitors dominating the space of their neighborhoods (Davidson, 2008, 2009; Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2010). Twigge-Molecey (2014) suggests a framework for indirect displacement that includes four dimensions: disruption of place-based relationships (social), threats to existing neighborhood cultures (cultural), shifts in political positioning (political), and pressures on access and affordability (housing market). Baeten et al. (2017, p. 632), elaborating on Marcuse's (1985) concept of displacement pressure, characterize indirect displacement as encompassing "the anxieties, uncertainties, insecurities, and temporalities that arise from possible displacement due to significant rent increases after renovation and from the course of events preceding the actual rent increase."

Atkinson (2015, pp. 373, 376), building on ideas from Davidson (2009), coined the term *un-homing* to refer to the feelings of "loss connected with a home that might be imminently lost and the cherished place around it," along with an accompanying sense of "injustice, anger, resentment, and of being supplanted even while remaining in place" (see also Elliott-Cooper et al., 2019). The concept is closely related to the idea of the "right to dwell," which encompasses not only the right to stay in a dwelling, but also the right to use public spaces and services in a changing neighborhood (Elliott-Cooper et al., 2019). As with other forms of neighborhood change, tourism-driven gentrification thus not only pushes out low-income residents through

rising rents and pressure on available housing, but also changes the atmosphere of the neighborhood in ways that can make those who remain feel less at home (Cócola-Gant, 2018; Gotham, 2005).

Although scholarship on residents who remain within gentrifying neighborhoods has been limited, empirical research on this topic has expanded over the past decade. In general, it finds that the subjective experiences of such residents are diverse and complicated (Bakhsh & Pakzad, 2019; Doucet, 2009; Doucet & Koenders, 2018; Ernst & Doucet, 2014; Lewis, 2017; Pinkster, 2016; Pinkster & Boterman, 2017; Pull & Richard, 2019; Shaw & Hagemans, 2015; Twigge-Molecey, 2014; Valli, 2015). Gentrification can bring benefits to existing residents, but low-income communities often suffer a sense of social and cultural loss, such as when their "local shops and meeting places" are replaced by the amenities preferred by gentrifiers (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015, p. 339). In many countries, such as the United States, this experience is highly racialized or characterized by ethnic exclusion (e.g., Danley & Weaver, 2018).

Recent research from other world regions has begun examining residents' experiences in the context of tourism gentrification (Bakhsh & Pakzad, 2019; Lee & Kang, 2018; Pinkster & Boterman, 2017). However, little research addresses the ways that the perceptions of residents relate to the distinctive spatial characteristics of neighborhoods undergoing touristification, such as concentrations of tourist-oriented businesses along central thoroughfares. In addition, there is a need for more attention to the ways that experiences of indirect displacement may take on distinctive forms in touristifying neighborhoods. A central objective of this study is to explore these dimensions of residents' experiences of displacement, focusing on a country that has recently emerged as important in gentrification scholarship: South Korea.

Gentrification in South Korea

Gentrification in South Korea became widespread during the 1980s and has increased dramatically since the 2000s. Much scholarship on Korean gentrification has focused on the Joint Redevelopment Program (JRP), which between the early 1980s and the first decade of the 21st century transformed low-income residential areas into dense, large-scale high-rise estates (Ha, 2004a; Ha, 2001, 2004b; Shin, 2009; Shin & Kim, 2016). In JRP projects, the prototypical gentrifiers were not necessarily the yuppies highlighted in Western cases; the process has been characterized as "landlord-initiated gentrification" (Ha, 2004c). Often characterized as the archetype of gentrification in Korea, JRP estates appealed both to the growing middle class and to real estate speculators; they also produced widespread displacement (Shin, 2009; Shin & Kim, 2016). As a market-oriented urban redevelopment policy, the JRP generated significant profits for speculators and middle-income households, while failing to resettle most original residents (Ha, 2004b).

In the post-JRP era, literature on gentrification in South Korea has diversified to consider multiple forms of displacement, along with additional factors that trigger gentrification, such as retail and tourism (Heo, Jeong, & Jung, 2015; Jung, Lee, Lee, & Son, 2020; Lee & Kang, 2018; Woo, Kim, & Nam, 2017; Yang & Joa, 2019). This literature has begun to consider not only indirect displacement alongside enforced mobility, but also complexity in experiences of both direct and indirect displacement, including emotional and psychosocial impacts. Lukens (2020, p. 17), for example, shows how distinctive experiences of displacement in metropolitan Seoul are connected with "agents of change, regulatory regimes, and social geographies" quite different from those associated with gentrification in Western contexts. Tourism gentrification in Korea is receiving increasing attention (Um & Yoon, 2020; Yang & Joa, 2019), but only a few studies

have examined the perceptions and experiences of residents in neighborhoods undergoing "touristification" (e.g., Jung et al., 2020; Lee & Kang, 2018).

Research on gentrification in South Korea is also beginning to diversify in its selection of empirical settings. Unsurprisingly, metropolitan Seoul has been the focus of most of the studies cited above. But research on gentrification and displacement is starting to investigate other parts of South Korea as well, including Busan, the country's second-largest city (Choi & McNeely, 2018; Kim & Jang, 2017; Woo, 2019). At the same time, this scholarship has begun to examine neighborhoods beyond JRP projects, including hillside *daldongne* transformed through state-sponsored cultural projects into tourist destinations since the 2000s. As we discuss below, touristified *daldongne* has distinctive spatial characteristics associated with variation in experiences and perceptions of gentrification and displacement.

Neighborhood Change in Daldongne

Daldongne and other substandard settlements emerged following the Korean War of 1950-1953, as an unexpectedly large group of returnees from the war, refugees, and rural-to-urban migrants settled in Seoul and Busan. Urban infrastructure, especially housing, was insufficient to accommodate the rising demand. Consequently, many migrants settled in open spaces—such as hillsides or public spaces near railroads—and constructed their own houses with low-quality materials. Although these settlements lacked the city government's consent, the municipality turned a blind eye (Shin & Kim, 2016).

The fortunes of these settlements have shifted in recent decades. During South Korea's period of rapid economic development and urbanization since the 1960s, the government

demolished many *daldongne* and other informal settlements. This activity cleared space for JRPs and the current Korean urban landscape of high-rise apartment complexes, displacing many low-income residents in the process. Meanwhile, old urban villages located in or near downtown districts were marginalized, as government planners focused on new-build development in suburban areas. However, with the rise of a new culture-oriented approach to urban regeneration, the government has approached the remaining *daldongne* differently. Instead of bulldozing these settlements, the new approach seeks to preserve these neighborhoods' distinctive architectural features in the name of revitalization. Many *daldongne* are now undergoing retail or commercial gentrification, triggered both by state-led revitalization projects and the arrival of businesses seeking to capitalize on the neighborhoods' new "hip" cultural image.

Case Study and Research Methods

The Urban Development History of Busan, Sanbokdoro (hillside road) Renaissance Project, and Maeul Misul Project (Town Art Project)

Gamcheon Culture Village (GCV), in Busan, is a prominent example of a *daldongne* now undergoing tourist and commercial gentrification. Located at the southeastern tip of the country, Busan is South Korea's second-largest city and its first and largest international trade port. It is second only to Seoul as a tourist destination, attracting over seven million tourists in 2015 (Korea Tourism Organization, 2015). During the Korean War, Busan was not only the main site for refugee camps,[29] but also, like Seoul, another major destination for rural to urban migration. Busan's physical environment is mountainous, with relatively small areas of flatland, and its

[29] Busan was one of only two cities, along with Daegu, under the control of South Korea (not captured by the North Korean army) within the first three months of the Korean War.

hillsides became the sites of numerous *daldongne* after the war (Busan Metropolitan Government, 2020). Since Busan's physical environment is mountainous with relatively small areas of flatland (Busan Metropolitan Government), hillsides became primary places that refugees built their houses (Figure 12). This unique topographic feature explains why multiple *Sanbokdoros* (hillside roads) exist in Busan.

Figure 12 Topographic map of Busan

Source: Google Map

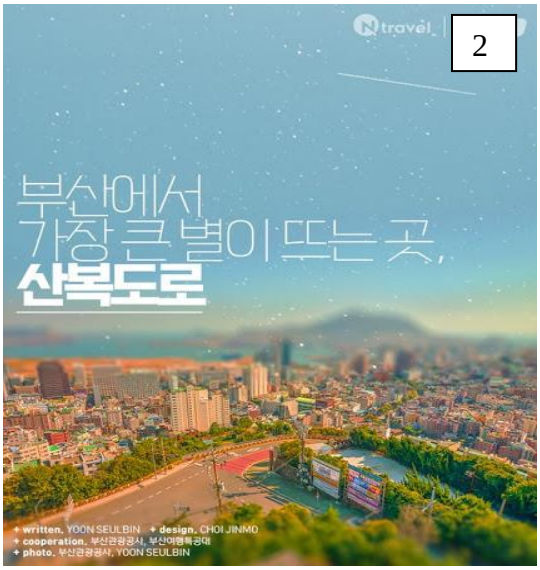
The transformation of GCV is closely associated with both *Sanbokdoro (hillside road) Renaissance Project* and *Maeul Misul Project* (Town Art Project) grant from the Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism (MCST). *Sanbokdoro (hillside road) Renaissance Project* is intertwined with the history, culture, and physical environment of Busan. This project is a 10-year comprehensive neighborhood regeneration project designed to regenerate the original Central Business District (CBD) of Busan by implementing both culture-led urban regeneration and the residents' self-recovery model. GCV is known as one of the most successful cases of this project, and though there are multiple *Sanbokdoros* in Busan, the longest and most prominent

one (22.5 km; about 14 miles) is located in the original center of Busan[30] cutting across six districts—Jin-Gu, Dong-Gu, Jung-Gu, Seo-Gu, Saha-Gu, and SaSang-Gu (Academy of Korean Studies, 2020). Cheonma Mountain Sanbokdoro[31] is one of the most famous sections of the entire Sanbokdoro, which crosses GCV. These densely populated residential areas were not quite accessible to navigate with automobiles due to their physical conditions like narrow and limited roads (Figure 13). Due to these features, *Sanbokdoro* areas have experienced a continuous population decrease and a high occupation of residents age 65 or over. Along with disinvestment, the living environment has become more marginalized, and thus, these areas were not considered desirable choices for young people and the middle-class to live. This condition contributes to a strong and urgent need for the Busan Metropolitan Government (BMG) to regenerate these areas.

Figure 13 Narrow road conditions of Sanbokdoro for traffic

[30] The current new center of Busan is Haeundae-Gu.
[31] The length is about 1.2 miles and the width of the road is only about 33 feet.

Given the areas' historical and cultural values that have evolved since the Korean War, BMG decided to launch *Creative Urban Regeneration Project*[32], which outlined the vision of a "Human-centered Creative City" to regenerate the marginalized neighborhood under the name of "Community New Deal" (Busan Metropolitan Government). Urban tourism has become one of the strategies to revitalize these areas, and BMG promotes them as sites for "history and romance" to make a tour or just for a drive (Figure 14). For instance, BMG has operated a bus tour around Sanbokdoro (picture #1), advertising and romanticizing this area as "the closest site to see the largest star in Busan" (picture #2), so that visitors can either tour or drive in the "historically and culturally rich areas" (picture #3).



[32] Strategy for *Creative Urban Regeneration Project* is*:* 1) (Busan Metropolitan Government Website)

Figure 14 BMG's strategies to regenerate Sanbokdoro

Source: Busan Mandibus (2020), Google Images

The neighborhood's transformation began in 2009 with a Maeul Misul Project (Town Art Project) grant from the Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism (MCST)[33]. The grant of approximately USD$100,000 went to The Art Factory in Dadaepo, a nonprofit composed of local artists (Saha-gu District Office, 2017). It supported the organization's project *Dreaming Busan's Machu Picchu*, in which local artists installed ten artworks in various sites within the neighborhood. During the following year, the neighborhood won another MCST grant to initiate the *Miro Miro Project*[34], which allowed local artists to install an additional eleven public artworks to convert empty houses and alleyways into creative and useful community spaces. These projects have made GCV one of the most popular tourist destinations in Busan (Figure 15). Korea Tourism Organization (2019) selected it as one of the city's top three "must-visit"

[33] The Mauel Misul project (2009-2012) is a follow-up to another public art project initiated by MCST, "Art in City" (2006-2007) (Arts Council Korea, 2012). Both projects aimed to create jobs for local artists and to give residents access to public art (Arts Council Korea, 2012). The selection criteria for the awarding of grants were local need, creativity, public participation, feasibility, and sustainability.

[34] *Miro* means "maze" in Korean.

destinations, and it is now advertised as such on the websites of several national and local authorities. The number of visitors has increased dramatically, from 25,000 (68 per day on average) in 2011, when the Saha-gu district office first installed a counter, to 3,082,289 (8,444 per day) in 2019 (Saha-gu District Office, 2020).

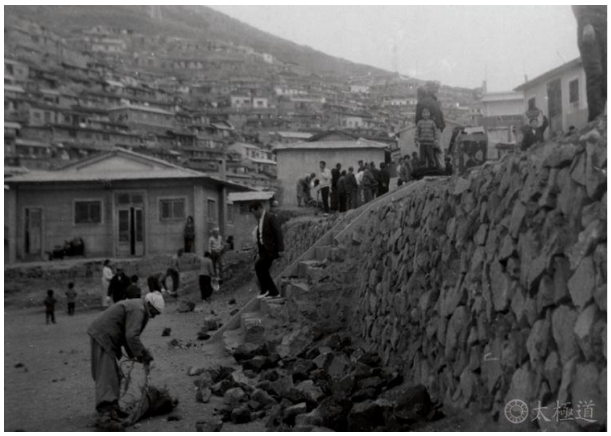


Figure 15 Neighborhood change in GCV

Source: Pictures in the first rows are from Taegukdo (2019) and the rest are by author

Gamcheon Culture Village (GCV)

GCV, established during the Korean War, is located in the district of Saha-gu and the neighborhood of Gamcheon-dong, surrounded by Mount Choenma (Figure 16). After a period of rapid population growth, Gamcheon-dong was subdivided into Gamcheon1-dong and Gamcheon2-dong; GCV is within the latter (Busan Metropolitan Government, 2020).

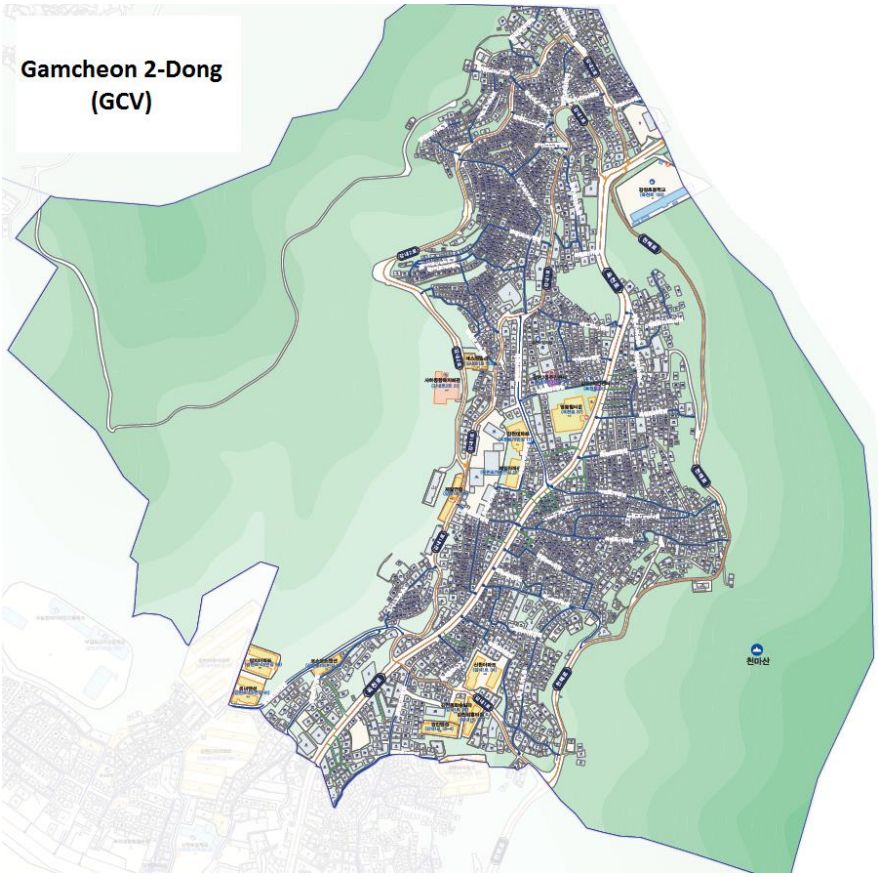


Figure 16 Panoramic view of GCV

Source: Gamcheon 2-Dong Office and Taegukdo Website

The spatial and architectural characteristics of Gamcheon-dong reflect its history of unplanned expansion. As Choi and McNeely (2018, p. 3) describe it:

> Every nook and cranny, the rambling streets, maze-like winding alleyways, and small blockhouses that form the appearance of the village are mostly the products of unplanned development and temporarily expedient fragmentary expansion and changes over time.

The residential buildings have undergone limited upgrading since their initial construction. For example, roofs began to change to slate in the 1960s, and in the 1980s, slab roofs became more common as the Korean government's Saemaul Undong (New Village Movement) sought to modernize the rural South Korean economy. Nevertheless, these changes did not affect the unique style of the neighborhood, with its distinctive narrow streets and staircases. This unique landscape provided the setting for a public art project that has made Gamcheon, formerly overlooked by local authorities and the general public, exceptionally attractive to visitors.

Despite the recent influx of interest and investment in the area, GCV remains a low-income neighborhood with living conditions below Busan's average standards (Figure 17). The municipal government's official assessment report finds that Gamcheon has the most vulnerable living conditions within the district of Saha-gu, including a low street-to-building ratio, poor access to public transportation, smaller-than-standard living spaces, poor access to main vehicular thoroughfares, a declining population, and a high rate of the elderly population (Busan Metropolitan Government, 2015, p. 55). The residential population has decreased from 26,004 in 1985 to 8,039 in 2015 (Saha-gu District Office, 1980-2015). In addition, 81.3% of the buildings in Gamcheon are more than 20 years old, compared to 75.2% for the whole Saha-gu district, and many are deteriorating (Busan Metropolitan Government, 2015, p.40).

Table 2 Population change of GCV

	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015
Gamcheon -2Dong	25,191	26,004	24,485	21,304	14,777	11,812	9,480	8,039

Source: Saha-gu District Office

Table 3 The number of tourists

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Total[35]	25,000	98,000	304,992	797,092	1,381,361	1,816,333	1,009,290	2051,684
Average/ day[36]	68	268	836	2,184	3,785	4,976	2,765	5621

Source: Saha-gu District Office

[35] Saha-Gu district office installed a counting machine in 2011. Thus, the tourist numbers have been counted since 2011.
[36] Total number/365

Figure 17 Substandard living condition in GCV

The “touristification” of Gamcheon has caused many residents to experience displacement, whether direct or indirect. In order to manage the effects of this tourism-oriented development, while reinventing the neighborhood as a “culture village,” the Gamcheon Culture Village Community-Based Organization was established in February 2010. Consisting of five resident leaders, five art experts, and a governmental official, the organization was registered as a nonprofit in 2013. It engages in several activities to manage neighborhood affairs, such as publishing a monthly GCV newspaper, coordinating volunteers at the main gate to assist tourists, and helping needy residents repair and maintain their houses. The organization also operates several small businesses, including a guest house, souvenir shops, restaurants, and cafes; it uses the profits to support initiatives for improving the neighborhood and residents' daily lives.

Research Methods

To investigate how GCV residents experience and perceive direct and indirect displacement, we draw primarily on qualitative data, including semi-structured and focus group interviews and field notes from participant-observation at several community meetings and workshops. The lead author conducted fieldwork in GCV from May 2017 to January 2018.

In order to recruit participants, the lead author used a snowball sampling strategy to approach initial informants, asking these individuals to suggest others in their social networks. The initial informants, primarily business owners and members of the community-based organization, provided connections to prominent long-term residents and other residents active in the community. The 36 interviewees included an equal number of women (n=18) and men (n=18). Among the participants were life-long inhabitants (n=11), residents and small business owners (n=9), newcomers (n=12), and members of the community-based organization (n=4).

Interviews ranged from one-time encounters to multiple follow-up interviews. The interviews, conducted in Korean by the lead author, were audio-recorded, translated by the lead author into English transcripts, and then coded and analyzed, along with field notes. The study also uses secondary data materials, such as news articles and official documents, census data, and real estate data, to supplement findings from the fieldwork. We do not attempt, however, to measure displacement quantitatively; the primary purpose is to provide a qualitative investigation of how long-term GCV residents are experiencing tourism-induced gentrification.

Tourism-induced Neighborhood Change and Experiences of Displacement in Gamcheon Culture Village

GCV's transformation has received contradictory evaluations from governmental officials, academics, the public, and local residents. Governmental officials regard it as one of the most successful cases of urban regeneration in Busan, due in part to the involvement of the community-based organization and in part to the neighborhood's 'upgraded' status (Saha-gu District Office, 2017). However, many academics and members of the public challenge the government's framing, arguing that these appraisals fail to reflect challenges facing GCV.

The first such challenge is the increase in property values and rent (Kim, 2017; Woo, 2019). According to the Korean Appraisal Board (2020), the average assessed land value of property in GCV in 2009 was 4,980,000 Korean Won[37] (KRW) per square meter; by 2019, this had risen to 8,020,000 KRW. Although we were unable to obtain data on average rental rates in the neighborhood, such statistics provide reasonable estimates of rising housing prices in GCV.

Nonetheless, the lead author's observations and interviews with residents suggest that steep rent increases in GCV are clustered along the primary street, Gamnae 2-ro (highlighted in red in Figure 18), which extends to GCV's main entrance. In contrast with the area's mostly small labyrinthine streets, Gamnae 2-ro is the only thoroughfare within the neighborhood that accommodates vehicular traffic; it is also where most of the art projects were installed. According to interviews, most newcomers to GCV prefer buildings located along Gamnae 2-ro, both because its width makes it more approachable from the main entrance and because its location provides an excellent view of the entire neighborhood. Consequently, the rent increase

[37] As of 24 July 2020, 1 USD=1201.89 KRW. Over the past five years, the exchange rate has ranged from roughly 1 USD = 1050 KRW at the lowest to roughly 1 USD = 1250 KRW at the highest.

in GCV has been concentrated along the main street and in the so-called “upper neighborhood” closer to tourist activity.

Figure 18 Gamnae 2-ro and clustered rent increase

Source: Gamcheon 2-dong office; modified by author

In contrast, rents in the “inner neighborhood”—a term commonly used by residents to refer to parts of GCV distant from Gamnae 2-ro—remain relatively low. For example, informal flyers posted in neighborhood kiosks showed advertisements for small houses in the inner

neighborhood with monthly rents of 100,000 to 150,000 KRW, in contrast to flyers for similarly small houses on Gamnae 2-ro with monthly rents of approximately 1,000,000 KRW.

A second challenge, closely related to the first, is that since GCV has become a tourist destination, Gamnae 2-ro has undergone heavy commercialization. Along with this change, many daily necessities for residents have been replaced by tourism-related businesses, such as souvenir shops, cafés, and street food shops. The number of tourism-related businesses in GCV grew from eight in 2009 to 108 in 2018 (Lee & Kang, 2018).

Rent Increase and Physical Displacement along Gamnae 2-ro

The interviews conducted by the lead author suggest that residents are acutely aware that rents have increased with the rapid commercialization of GCV. However, residents experience this cost escalation differently, depending both on whether they own property within the neighborhood and on where they live. This interview excerpt, for example, illustrates the experience of displacement experienced by a long-standing resident and tenant, a 69-year old woman who lived in and operated a small dry-cleaning business in the heart of the tourist zone:

> I am closing my dry cleaner (shop) within two weeks—when the lease ends. So, if you visit me next time, perhaps you will not see me here! … When I started my dry cleaners, the rent was 100,000 KRW per month. But the rent has risen, and I now pay 300,000 KRW. But then, the landlord told me that he wants to raise the rent to 800,000 KRW, which is unbelievable…The landlord said this location is really good, so if someone runs some tourism-related business here, it would be very profitable. … But since our neighborhood has become a tourist destination, I have also started to sell simple stuff, water, and soft drinks, to tourists to make some additional money. But imagine. How much can I earn from selling these? How can I afford to pay this much-increased rent! This is unbelievable and terrible for me. (Interviewee G)

The former site of her dry-cleaning shop is close to GCV's current main entrance. When the village was an ordinary residential neighborhood, this location was unremarkable. However, as

the neighborhood transformed, the location became more significant, since thousands of tourists passed it every day. Because of this, the owner decided to rent the property to another tenant able to pay higher rent. The interviewee also noted that awareness of and concern about physical displacement of existing residents had spread more widely within the neighborhood:

> …OOO [the artist director of the project] dropped by recently and said to me that he feels sorry because he is afraid that the transformation of the neighborhood into a tourist destination has played a major role in forcing people out. (Interviewee G)

The quote also illustrates the widespread perception that "the transformation of the neighborhood into a tourist destination" has been the major factor causing displacement.

In contrast to renters, interviewees who are both residents and landlords--especially those with property along the main street--showed mixed feelings about rising rents. Interviewee H (man, age 57, resident), who lives adjacent to the main street, for example, expressed excitement about the increase of his real estate value, following many decades of stagnation:

> The size of that one [currently is a shop] is only 43 square feet and the real estate value used to be less than 5,000,000 KRW. But that shop owner bought it for 43,000,000 KRW. I heard a lot of stories like this are going on in our neighborhood, especially this street…I have my own property, so perhaps it is quite exciting news for me. (Interviewee H)

However, he also expressed concern about his tenant neighbors, many of whom are poor and elderly, and thus most vulnerable to the rent increase:

> But to those tenants, it must be a worrisome story…If I were them, I would definitely feel that way...Many of the residents have low economic status and they are old people. So, if rent keeps increasing, it would be a big threat to them. (Interviewee H)

Because many older residents of GCV have lived in the neighborhood for all or most of their lives, they share strong social ties, and maintaining close relationships with their neighbors is of the utmost importance. Interviewee H's commentary reveals his ambivalence: on the one hand,

he is happy about the financial benefits he might gain from the rent increase, but on the other, he is concerned about the displacement pressure faced by his predominantly elderly neighbors.

Members of the community organization also expressed concern about rent increases, often emphasizing encroaching commercialization. Interviewee I (woman, age 65, resident and member of the organization) was especially worried about increasing commercialization:

> I need to admit that the speed of commercialization is quite excessive in Gamcheon. So, we have been a bit concerned about it. That is why we try not to allow franchisees to operate here [if franchisees appear in this neighborhood, they will play a role in increasing rent dramatically]. (Interviewee I)

Interviewee J (man, age 73, resident and member of the organization) emphasized that rent increases associated with this rapid commercialization are spatially concentrated in the high-demand locations along Gamnae 2-ro:

> Since Gamcheon has become crowded with tourists, Gamcheon has experienced a rent increase, which is heavily associated with the influx of new business owners. The rent in Gamcheon may seem low to them. But where they want to operate their businesses is centered on the main street, which means limited spots. So they usually are willing to offer twice more than the previous rent to get those spaces. For example, if the rent was 500,000 KRW with a deposit of 10,000,000 KRW, they will pay 1,000,000 KRW with a deposit of 20,000,000 KRW. (Interviewee J)

He went on to note that the rent increases are also burdening small businesses, many of which directly overlap and compete with each other:

> Also, we have so many overlaps of businesses on this street. I think we have at least 15 cafés along the main street. The excessive commercialization here increases the rent not only for residents, but also for those businesses…In order to pay their rents, they have to compete with each other in such a small neighborhood. (Interview J)

In response to the rising rents along the main street, the community organization has been working closely with Saha-gu officials responsible for development in the area. Interviewee J explained a new neighborhood project aiming to stabilize rents along Gamnae 2-ro by dispersing the excessive commercialization in the main street (see Saha-gu Division of Creative City,

2018). Simultaneously, the project seeks to freeze rent increases by asking landlords to sign agreements that they will not increase the rent for five years:

> Gamcheon has been selected to implement the Ministry of Culture and Tourism's project "Three Times the Fun: Explore Lower Gamcheon." Along with this project, Saha-Gu Office is going to implement "2017 Public Art Project for Exploring Lower Gamcheon," which will install twelve artworks in the lower Gamcheon area to attract tourism, usually centered on the upper neighborhood. We know that many people are concerned about gentrification in Gamcheon. So, in order to prevent excessive rent increase from occurring in Gamcheon, we [community-based organization members and local authorities] froze the rent increase in the lower neighborhood for five years to prevent gentrification. (Interviewee J)

In addition to such district-wide initiatives to mitigate the adverse impacts of rent increases, there are also informal, smaller-scale efforts underway to keep rising rents from forcing valued residents and businesses out of the neighborhood. The dry cleaner (Interview G, above) provides a good example. As the quote below indicates, her family and her business have served the neighborhood for many years, in ways that go far beyond dry cleaning. For instance, the shop has served as a safe, trusted location for storing emergency keys or leaving parcels when no one is home. It also has served as a convenient 'open house' for neighbors to drop by, chat, and eat together:

> My husband has served as a neighborhood leader for more than 20 years. Perhaps due to this fact, our place has served as Gamcheon's *Sarangbang* [reception room]. Look at these keys - some are literally our neighbors', and some are the keys for facilities for communal use by residents, such as senior community centers. Look at those boxes; those are our neighbors' parcels. The courier knows us well, and when they find no one is at home, they just leave the parcels here…I am concerned when we relocate if we still can do these things for our neighbors. (Interviewee G)

The interviewee described how with the help of neighbors and the support of local officials, they found a new place that would enable them to remain within the neighborhood:

> Thanks to our neighbors and district office, who helped us, although we need to move, we still can be in the neighborhood. Since the house we are moving to is not personal real estate—instead, it is owned by our neighborhood block [because it is located in the same

> building with a small temple]—I believe we won't be forced out again. On the one hand, I am sad to move, but on the other hand, I am thankful for this help. (Interviewee G)

Since the new location features neither artwork installations nor the maze-like small roads that attract heavy pedestrian traffic in other parts of GCV, it is distant from the tourist crowds. Although Interviewee A's experience of physical displacement is in many ways atypical, her story illustrates not only how relocation may consist of moving *within* a gentrifying neighborhood, but also how residents may organize informally to help keep beloved families and the meaningful services they provide nearby. It also enabled her to maintain her own long-standing social ties.

Displacement Pressure and Un-homing

Although direct physical displacement from rent increases has been less common in the areas of GCV beyond the main tourist zone, residents throughout the area have experienced indirect forms of displacement. The lead author's fieldwork revealed that as touristification has changed the atmosphere of the neighborhood and disrupted its rhythms of daily life, for many residents it has generated negative emotional impacts associated with a sense of un-homing (Elliott-Cooper et al., 2019). It has increased the displacement pressure on low-income residents and business owners, even beyond the parts of GCV where rent is increasing rapidly. At the same time, it has diminished many residents' feelings of attachment to their neighborhood. To understand gentrification in GCV holistically, we must look beyond direct physical displacement and pay the same attention to experiences of indirect displacement.

In the "inner neighborhood," residents have yet to face substantial rent increases, but the lead author's fieldwork reveals growing anxiety among long-term residents that rising rents will

reach beyond the main tourist zone in the future. Interviewee K (woman, age 53, resident), for example, shared her concerns about new investment and development:

> I heard that a guy from Haeundae has purchased six properties here to operate some business. I don't know what he is going to do with those properties, but I am pretty sure we don't view his behavior in a positive way. That's something that started to occur in our neighborhood, which makes us feel concerned.
>
> …In general, I think the rent has been increasing in Gamcheon. But so far, I do not think we are affected by it seriously [in the inner neighborhood] because it is still affordable. However, we have heard a lot about excessive rent increases along the main streets for businesses. That is a bit of concern because…who knows? We may experience that in the future too, and where should we go then? (Interviewee K)

Another interviewee (woman, age 68, resident) described her concerns in more blunt and visceral terms: "Whenever I hear about the rent increase, my heart starts to palpitate, and I start to worry about my future" (Interviewee L). Displacement pressure, however, is only one of several dimensions of un-homing reported by interviewees remaining in GCV.

Although some aspects of the experience of un-homing in GCV are common to a wide range of gentrifying settings, interview narratives make it clear that tourism-induced indirect displacement is in many ways distinctive. For example, one interviewee (woman, age 63, resident) appreciated the changing perception of the area, but also said that the inconveniences associated with tourism and congestion have made her want to leave:

> When I say I live in Gamcheon, people used to say with a pitying facial expression: how can you live on that hillside? It is not to be disrespectful, but just to express their sympathy. Now, those people tend to say: isn't that a beautiful neighborhood, with pastel tone colors of the houses? I at least enjoy this change in perceptions of our neighborhood, and I enjoyed living here regardless of the poor living conditions. Now, I just want to move somewhere else. It is so inconvenient to live here with such many tourists and traffic congestion. (Interviewee M)

Another interviewee (man, age 55, resident) echoed this frustration with tourist crowds, but also identified the loss of privacy and the feeling of being on display:

> What is home? Whether it is fancy or spacious, it should make the people who live there feel cozy and comfortable. Even if this is a *daldongne*, it should function like this. But look at it now, full of tourists and crowded…Sometimes people even try to look inside the house. Is my house a zoo? I cannot take a good nap because of these things, and I also feel uncomfortable wearing casual clothes [short pants and a sleeveless shirt, etc.] at home. (Interviewee N)

Two additional dimensions of un-homing associated with tourism gentrification emerged in a different interview (woman, age 58, resident): the sense that businesses serving residents were being replaced with tourist-oriented businesses, and the feeling that public spaces that residents used for social interaction were being taken over by tourists:

> Now we have lots of cafés and souvenir shops, etc., but none of them are for us—residents. Aren't those just for tourists? Few of us find that those are relevant to make our lives easier or different. We want a fresh vegetable shop; we want to keep having dry cleaners… Due to the crowdedness in our neighborhood, I do not think our neighbors use the public space to chit-chat anymore as we did before. Almost all those public spaces are crowded by tourists. How can we use those spaces as we did in the past? (Interviewee O)

Interviewee O added that tourism-oriented commercialization risks transforming the rich cultural landscape of the neighborhood into the monotonous, homogenized landscape of a typical tourist destination, noting: "I don't think it [the proliferation of overlapping tourist-oriented businesses] will be good for the neighborhood image either." In GCV, the loss of a sense of "home" and emotional attachment to place encompass not only a perception that businesses and public spaces are oriented more towards casual visitors than long-time residents, but also a disruption of both the rhythms of daily life and the boundaries protecting the integrity of private residences.

In addition to such disruptions, another source of discomfort has been the "cute artwork" installations that have transformed GCV into a tourist destination. As Interviewee P (woman, age 38, resident & business owner) points out, the art installations both obscure the realities of life in the *daldongne* and raise questions about why art projects have received more attention and investment than much-needed infrastructural improvements:

> To be honest, those so-called "cute artworks" are something that makes us feel detached from our neighborhood. Perhaps those are something that tourists like and serve as one of the reasons for visiting our neighborhood, (but) we feel those are unnecessary to the neighborhood. Those artworks do not really reflect the reality here, like hardship and economic difficulty. That is why we feel like those cute artworks make us feel uncomfortable, and sometimes even disrespectful to our lives. If they [the government] have that money for installing arty things, we would rather it be used to improve the living environment here. (Interviewee P)

Interviewee Q's (man, age 69, resident) narrative echoes the idea that the art installations constitute a false facade, which has generated feelings of injustice and frustration within the neighborhood:

> Perhaps some people think Gamcheon has been 'developed' since the project. Indeed, it has become cleaner and looks 'better' and more 'upgraded' than before. But it is designed as a show for tourists, not for us. Actually, nothing has really changed here to improve residents' quality of life…This situation makes us quite frustrated. (Interviewee Q)

Although the art projects may have improved the public image of GCV, they have left many residents with a sense that the government is more concerned about attracting tourists than addressing local needs. The interviews above, all conducted with residents of the "inner neighborhood," show that even in areas of GCV where rent increase has been limited, residents are experiencing the emotional ruptures associated with indirect displacement or un-homing.

Discussions and Conclusion

The case of GCV offers several insights for scholarship on tourism gentrification and for gentrification more generally. In the wake of the touristification sparked by the public art projects, GCV is experiencing many of the classic symptoms of gentrification, such as increased rent, commercialization, and the loss of population. Rent increases, however, are not affecting all residents and businesses equally; they have been spatially concentrated along the main tourist

thoroughfare, Gamnae 2-ro, and the local community-based organization has worked to keep them under control. As the case of the dry cleaner illustrates, forced relocations may also mean moving to a less accessible area within the neighborhood, rather than another part of town.

On the other hand, even the residents unaffected so far by rent increases describe experiences and feelings associated with indirect displacement, displacement pressure, and un-homing. Their narratives reveal both the multidimensional nature of un-homing and the distinctiveness of indirect displacement in tourism-oriented gentrification. The illustrative case of the dry cleaner also shows how un-homing is also involved in commercial gentrification, which can displace community resources and disrupt social networks. The loss and replacement of businesses and services oriented toward long-time residents are familiar in other settings of gentrification. But tourism-oriented gentrification stands out because of the ways that it disrupts patterns of activity and interaction, transforms unwilling residents themselves into "tourist attractions," and creates resentment by obscuring harsh realities behind attractive facades.

The findings of this study suggest several avenues for future research on the impacts of tourism-induced gentrification, both in and beyond Korea. First, we propose the need for more research on the distinctive characteristics of un-homing and emotional, psychosocial displacement in "touristified" urban districts. This should include comparative research that contrasts dimensions of un-homing in areas undergoing touristification with neighborhoods undergoing gentrification unrelated to tourism. In Korea, such research would be especially valuable in the context of urban *daldongne*, in which less quantifiable forms of displacement have received limited attention. But it would also provide the basis for richer knowledge of how gentrification differs between Western and non-Western contexts (Lees et al., 2016; Robinson, 2011, 2016; Shin et al., 2016). Second, we propose additional research examining how

experiences of displacement in touristifying urban districts are spatially differentiated. For example, how far does the experience of displacement pressure extend beyond areas undergoing rent increases caused by the influx of tourism-oriented businesses?

Finally, although attention to the experiences and perceptions of residents remaining in gentrifying neighborhoods is increasing, a fuller understanding of this dimension of gentrification and displacement requires more empirical exploration, both qualitative and quantitative. Additional research on indirect forms of displacement in gentrifying neighborhoods can help not only to build theory, but also to create more comprehensive and just urban policies for mitigating and managing displacement. Urban policies designed to address physical, direct displacement from neighborhoods undergoing gentrification—but inattentive to indirect, emotional, and place-specific forms of displacement—are insufficient.

Chapter 5. Conclusion

A fundamental question at the heart of my dissertation has been how new urban tourism has generated contested urban spaces, by examining the case of the touristification of *daldongnes* under the broader umbrella of critical urban issues of inequality and marginalization. I documented and analyzed neighborhood change with the onset of tourism. Though touristified *daldongnes* reveal a distinctive form of tourism-induced neighborhood change in the South Korean context, the findings reflect critical and universal urban issues common to cities elsewhere in the world. The contested consequences of capitalism manifesting at the urban scale have been constantly altering residents' daily lives at the neighborhood scale in the benign name of 'improvement' or 'development'.

In my dissertation, using ethnographic fieldwork and qualitative methods, I reconsider how and by whom these two so-called *daldongnes*—which present a symbol of urban poverty—are reimagined and reproduced as sites to visit and explore. I have investigated how state-led public art projects to regenerate disadvantaged areas have transformed urban neighborhoods in a contradictory way in Ihwa Mural Village and Gamcheon Culture Village in South Korea.

I have proposed to rethink the coexistence of tourism and everyday life in the space of residential neighborhoods, since it has generated a series of controversial outcomes accompanied by the process of neighborhood transformation. This reconsideration includes the full understanding of perceptions of experiences of different stakeholders, a fluid and relational understanding of place attachment, and an expanded understanding of displacement by incorporating indirect displacement. These findings show that tourism-related development not only has disproportionately impacted different stakeholders, but also has been perceived differently. Communities in both neighborhoods have challenged and responded to the

reproduction of their neighborhoods in various ways that are shaped by the forces of entrepreneurial place marketing in the benign name of culture-led urban regeneration.

I also found that the reimagined *daldongnes* and consequences of these changes require scholars to reconsider the immanent contradictions of people-place relationships under uneven geographical developments and the production of space via new urban tourism. As revealed by contradictory perceptions from people themselves, a seeming advancement of individuals' lives from development may not always be positively perceived by people. For instance, one of the factors that attract tourists to reimagined *daldongnes* is 'authentic' old features of marginalized neighborhoods—small alleyways and small "Lego-like" small houses—that barely exist anymore. People evoke nostalgia from this feature and hope for it to be preserved. However, this 'authentic' atmosphere, marketed to be gazed upon by tourists, does not provide a desirable setting for residents. Thus, this shows the challenging nature of touristified neighborhoods where residents and tourists coexist and suggests that urban scholars should consider the meaning of inclusive and sustainable urban dwelling for these touristified sites.

Major Findings, Contributions, and Broader Implications

My research shows how it is timely to rethink tourism, place, and different perceptions and outcomes of tourism-related development for different stakeholders, especially at the neighborhood scale. However, this is not merely an agenda for tourism scholars. As I have demonstrated in this research, uncovering tourism-induced neighborhood change is an essential and inherently geographic phenomenon that reflects a complex people-place relationship that calls for more engagement by geographers. A critical analysis of such a tourism phenomenon serves not only as a way to unpack the broader issue of urban inequality and marginalization, but

also to discover what sustainable, just, and inclusive urban dwelling means and to envision ideal neighborhood change.

More specifically, I have examined how public art and tourists' representations have been changing place identity and the nature of place attachment, affecting and disrupting residents' daily life, and triggered both direct and indirect displacement in *daldongnes.* Also, I have shown how entrepreneurial place-making strategy can be conducted under the seemingly sound and beneficial banner of culture-led urban regeneration. In fact, this is a camouflage of speculative development that benefits capitalists and satisfies the desires of tourists instead of enhancing the well-being of existing residents. Contrary to the declared aims of the projects, in fact, these efforts failed to improve residents' lives, and played the main role in creating redesigned *daldongnes* to be "gazed upon" and enjoyed as "fun and arty theme parks". Such disparity has sparked various controversies and neighborhood conflicts.

Also, I demonstrated the need for a fluid and relational understanding of place attachment in the touristified neighborhoods, which accompanies socioeconomic reconfiguration of a relatively homogeneous neighborhood. During the process of tourism-induced neighborhood change, as I have demonstrated, place attachment can be adapted, negotiated, and developed. Thus, I contend that urban policy must recognize these dynamics of place attachment in order to address community conflicts likely to emerge with tourism development.

Finally, as shown by touristified GCV, it requires an expanded understanding of displacement because it may only include large numbers of people displaced by excessive rent increases. Although touristified *daldongnes* display these characteristics to some degree, direct displacement itself is insufficient to capture tourism gentrification. The subtle processes of cultural appropriation that make residents feel no longer in their own neighborhoods is also

critical to understand the impacts of tourism-induced neighborhood change. Thus, I suggest that urban planning policies need to expand the scope of gentrification to reflect this indirect displacement.

In sum, my findings show how the touristification of neighborhoods is a complicated process that cannot simply be explained by love–hate dualism. The understanding of this tourism-induced neighborhood change requires going beyond this dichotomy and reflecting different perspectives from different stakeholders. If urban planners fall into the trap of holding a rosy blueprint of the future of *daldongnes* by attracting more tourists and newer residents, and believing this is the best way to 'develop' and 'improve' marginalized neighborhoods, contested outcomes generated by tourism-induced neighborhood changes will hardly be resolved. While I argue for the need to *not* reflect the desires and needs of only one particular group, in such touristified neighborhood settings where tourists and residents coexist, empowering residents and promoting equitable development should be prioritized in the development plan. Furthermore, it requires a place-specific urban policy to address such neighborhoods.

For instance, as I have shown, place attachment is a critical factor that carries significant meaning to the residents of *daldongnes*. However, as neighborhoods are undergoing tourism-induced change, we must recognize the importance of dynamics of place attachment for both longstanding and newcomers in neighborhoods experiencing tourism-induced neighborhood change. Place attachment could positively bring the community together, but it could also rupture relationships. This appreciation helps to firmly set a sense of place within a larger socio-political context, therefore enabling land-use planners as well as decision and policymakers to anticipate reactions when faced with a change of place.

Another example of suggesting a place-specific urban policy is to avoid too heavy a focus on land value, and accordingly, physical displacement. I suggest that both urban scholars and practitioners need to reconsider displacement, especially by reflecting a more inclusive concept of displacement. *Un-homing*, which makes residents feel no longer at home, is unquantifiable but is a critical factor that shapes residents' lives in touristified neighborhoods. The fact that residents have not been physically displaced does not necessarily mean the process of neighborhood change is not brutal to them. All such examples have policy implications for urban practitioners seeking to pursue more inclusive, just, and sustainable neighborhood development in areas where residents and tourists coexist.

While *daldongnes* are essential and exciting in their own right, the study of these neighborhoods enriches several bodies of literature and areas of geographic investigation. This dissertation has engaged with a wide range of scholarship within human geography, tourism studies, and Asian studies by engaging interdisciplinary theories and concepts. First, this dissertation contributes to the literature on the geography of place, tourism, and representation.

Second, this dissertation fills the gaps in place attachment literature where place has received the least attention among other aspects. I demonstrated why a fluid and relational understanding of place attachment is significant to identify neighborhoods undergoing tourism-induced neighborhood change.

Third, this dissertation research expands the understanding of gentrification in general, as well as gentrification in Korea. It contributes to the urban and tourism literature by focusing on tourism gentrification, which has been relatively underexamined in the existing literature, and solidifies the need to expand our understanding of displacement by incorporating emotional and psychosocial displacement. In addition, it fills the empirical gap in Korean gentrification

literature that has neglected the distinctive form of tourism-induced neighborhood change in *daldongne,* which cannot merely be explained by rent increase and few direct displacements. Finally, I expand research methods by incorporating the qualitative analysis of TripAdvisor reviews. More specifically, I demonstrate how geography can contribute to the study of tourist experience as a change of place and the relationship with place by uncovering tourists' representation of place through engaging with such data.

Although this research addresses the specific case of Korean *daldongne,* the series of substantial qualitative data that I have demonstrated in my dissertation (which constitutes diverse lived experiences and perspectives of established lower-income groups, newer residents and businesses, artists, and tourists) are still valuable to understand the experiences of touristified neighborhoods that undergo changes less hospitable to residents. I believe the same reasons why the South Korean film *Parasite* won the 2020 best picture Oscar could be applied to this argument.

Of course, the film's well-written screenplay, cinematography, and editing all played significant roles in winning this award. However, I believe it has become the first non-English film to win the Academy Award for the best picture in 92 years because it depicts the deepened inequality between haves and have-nots in a capitalist society, a universal and critical topic. Similarly, what touristified *daldongnes* have been experiencing is applicable to understand many other marginalized and touristified neighborhoods in different cities. Also, by doing so, it contributes to supplement a more sophisticated theorization of urban spaces.

Limitation and Future Research

There are inevitable limitations to this study. First, while many of the controversies of IMV and GCV are interrelated, they are both similar and different, which explains the necessity of presenting these stories as discrete, different problems. Also, despite the similar backgrounds of these two neighborhoods and similar projects that have been implemented, the size and populations of the neighborhoods are different, and they are located in different cities. Thus, while these two case studies need to be thought of together, the differences also need to be clearly presented.

Second, although efforts were made to interview residents with different backgrounds, it is not feasible to interview all stakeholders. Thus, my interviews reflect fragments from various stakeholder perceptions. Accordingly, while I cannot generalize my findings to the entire population of the neighborhood, the data is both insightful to understand various residents' experiences and perceptions toward tourism-induced neighborhood change.

Third, this study was examined within a certain period; therefore, if a diachronic approach is adopted for future studies to understand how perceptions are changing over time, it will elucidate the evolutionary process of residents' perceptions toward the neighborhood dynamics. For instance, since my fieldwork in 2019, I learned that residents who participated in painting over the murals also had removed their painted rallying cries from the walls of the streets, as a way of showing their willingness to bring the neighborhood together. However, that part of the story is not included in my analysis.

Fourth, while TripAdvisor reviews served as a valuable source to understand tourists' representations of place from different perspectives, reviews are published under pseudonyms; the reviews are neither unbiased nor independent. Also, not all the tourists who have visited IMV

and GCV have published reviews on TripAdvisor websites. Therefore, my analysis does not represent all tourists' experiences and understandings of place. Nevertheless, despite such obstacles, considering the familiarity and knowledge of interviewees and tourists' reviews, the presented data provide valuable information to understand different stakeholders' perceptions in these neighborhoods.

This dissertation calls for the potential of expanding the current findings by engaging with collaborative works with other disciplines, such as tourism studies, history, and cultural studies. For instance, this research can be extended by critically document modern urbanization processes in South Korea and traces a series of different neighborhood change in *daldongnes*. It would be interesting to compare the residents' experience of living in fear of demolishing *daldongnes* soon in the future versus the experiences of living in touristified *daldongnes* in order to envision a more inclusive, just, and sustainable neighborhood changes.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

**All interviews were conducted in Korean, and these are the translated versions of the interview questions.*

Residents in Ihwa Mural Village and Gamcheon Culture Village

1. How long have you lived at your current residence? Where are you from originally?
2. What factors did you consider when deciding whether to allow/not allow the public art project in your neighborhood and how do you feel about your decision?
3. Were you notified about the public art project in your neighborhood before its implementation? If so, through what formats and how many times?
    a) Were residents' opinions reflected in implementing the project? If so, to what degree do you think residents' opinions were reflected? What formats were used (e.g., public meeting)?
    b) Did residents have any different views towards the project? If so, could you specify what they were?
4. Do you enjoy living in your neighborhood more or less now as your neighborhood has become a "tourist destination"?
    a) What was your initial expectation of the project? Did the consequences of the project meet your expectation or not?
    b) How do you perceive the changes have reshaped the *cultural and social landscape* of the neighborhood?
    c) How do you perceive the changes have reshaped the *physical landscape* of the neighborhood?
    d) What impacts, whether positive or negative, do you feel tourism-induced neighborhood change has had on your daily life?
    e) How have these changes affected your quality of life and everyday experience?
    f) If you feel you were impacted by the project, to what degree do you think you were impacted?
5. Have any of these impacts, whether positive or negative, reinforced/switched your idea of staying/moving out of this neighborhood?
    a) What type of suggestions do you want to make to governmental officials to improve/mitigate the positive/negative impacts of the project?

Governmental Officials

1. How long have you served on the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism/ Jongno-Gu District Office (Seoul)/Saha-Gu District Office (Busan) and how/why were you appointed to *the public art projects*?
2. What factors did you and/or the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism/ Jongno-Gu Distric Office (Seoul)/Saha-Gu District Office (Busan) as a whole figure into the decision to implement the project in Ihwa Mural Village/Gamcheon Culture Village?
    a) What criteria were being used to select the neighborhoods?
    b) What is your understanding of the project?
3. What processes did the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism/ Jongno-Gu Distric Office (Seoul)/Saha-Gu District Office (Busan) enact in the neighborhood?
    a) What information was disseminated to residents in an effort to inform them of the pros and cons of the project?
    b) How were these processes implemented? How many times and in what forms was the information circulated?
    c) Were there any challenges or difficulties to implement the projects? If so, could you specify them?
    d) What benefits/opportunities/risks, if any, did you associate with the project?
    e) How would you rate the project implement in the neighborhood?
    f) Were there any discrepancies between the aim of the project and residents' wishes?
4. How has the project been supervised since the implantation of the project in the neighborhood? What efforts have been made to monitor the project?
    a) What changes, whether positive or negative, has the project brought to the neighborhood? Jongno-Gu District/Saha-Gu District, Seoul/Busan?
    b) Were there any efforts made to strengthen/alleviate these positive/negative changes brought to the neighborhood?
5. What is your explanation for the increased number of tourists in the neighborhood?
6. What is the plan for mitigating a series of negative impacts of tourism on residents?

Artists Involved in Public Art Projects

1. How long have you served on Public Art Promotion Committee/Maeulmisul Art Project Promotion Committee/Korean Fine Arts Association and how/why were you appointed to *the public art project*?
2. What factors have made you and/or Public Art Promotion Committee/Maeulmisul Art Project Promotion Committee/Korean Fine Arts Association decide to work with Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism/Jongno-Gu Distric Office (Seoul)/Saha-Gu District Office to implement the project in Ihwa Mural Village/Gamcheon Culture Village?
    a) What is your understanding of the project?
    b) What did you/your organization find to be beneficial/challenging to implement the project in the neighborhood?
3. What processes did your organization enact in the neighborhood in terms of deciding what forms/styles/contexts of public art to implement in the neighborhood?
    a) What was the criteria for deciding the forms/styles/contexts of public art?
    b) How much are residents' opinions reflected in this?
    c) How did you/your organization communicate with governmental officials and the residents?
    d) Were there any challenges or difficulties in the communication processes?
    e) Were there any discrepancies between the aim of the project and residents' wishes?
4. What benefits/opportunities/risks, if any, do you associate with the project?
    a) Do you observe any positive/negative neighborhood changes since the implementation of the project? If so, could you specify them?

Representatives in Community-based Organization in Gamcheon Culture Village

1. How long have you served as a member of the organization? Did you have any similar experiences before working with this organization?
2. What factors made you consider serving as a member?
    a) What is the role of your organization?

3. How do you/organization communicate with the residents? Through what forms? How often?
    a) Do you/organization cooperate with local governmental agency as well? If so, could you specify what types of issues you collaborate on? How do you collaborate?
4. What type of activities does your organization organize to ensure the vibrancy of the neighborhood?
    a) Does the organization have any of the sources of funding? If so, how did it acquire them?
    b) Does the organization run any of the activities to earn profit in order to improve the quality of the neighborhood? If so, how did it work? To what degree do you think these activities bring positive/negative outcomes to the neighborhood?
    c) How are the profit of these activities distributed to the neighborhood and in what form?
5. How do you think about the public art project, whether positive or negative, in your neighborhood?
    a) Did the project trigger any new/challenging issues to the organization? If so, what are they?
    b) Do you have any suggestions for the project?

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEWEES' INFORMATION

Interview Participants		Date(s)	Interview Locations
A	Resident, woman, age 88	July 11, 2017	Public space
B	Resident, woman, age 65	July 13, 2017	Public space
C	Business owner and project leader, man, age 60	July 17, 2017 July 19, 2017	Café
D	Artist director of the project who has a workspace in IMV, man, age 63	July 18, 2017 July 27, 2017 August 3, 2017	Café Workspace for artworks
E	Resident, woman, age 42	July 19, 2017	Living room
F	Resident, man, age 59	September 2, 2017	Staircase where mural was removed
G	Resident and business owner (dry-cleaning), woman, age 69	October 10, 2017	Dry-cleaning shop
H	Resident, man, age 57	October 17, 2017	Public space
I	Resident and member of the community-based organization, woman, age 65	October 19, 2017 October 29, 2017	Office Public space
J	Resident and member of the organization, man, age 73	September 27, 2017 October 13, 2017	Office Café
K	Resident, woman, age 53	September 30, 2017	Public space
L	Resident, woman, age 68	December 9, 2017	Alleyway
M	Resident, woman, age 63	October 22, 2017	Living room
N	Resident, man, age 55	October 29, 2017	Public space
O	Resident, woman, age 58	December 5, 2017	Café
P	Resident and business owner, age 38	September 25, 2017 October 16, 2017 November 3, 2017 December 12, 2017 January 4, 2018	Souvenir shop Restaurant
Q	Resident, man, age 69	September 29, 2017	Public space

CURRICULUM VITAE

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EDUCATION

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, USA
Ph.D., Geography, December 2020

Korea University, Seoul, South Korea
M.A., Geography, February 2013

Korea University, Seoul, South Korea
B.A., Geography Education, February 2011
Exchange Student Program at the Department of Geography, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Canada (Fall 2009 & Spring 2010)

RESEARCH/TEACHING INTERESTS

- Urban and tourism geography
- Urban regeneration
- Urban social sustainability
- Urban and regional policies
- Gentrification
- Cities in Northeast Asia

PUBLICATIONS

PEER-REVIEWED JOURNAL ARTICLES

Kim, M. (2020). Reinventing Vacant Lands for Urban Agriculture: Evaluating Milwaukee's Vacant Land Programs and Initiatives. *LHI Journal of Land, Housing, and Urban Affairs,* 11(2), 1-10. (In Korean with English abstract)

Kim, M. (2013). The Location of Guangzhou Exhibition Industry and Regional Development: The Case of Canton Fair. *Journal of the Korean Urban Geographical Society,* 16(1), 131-144. (In Korean with English abstract)

MANUSCRIPTS UNDER REVIEW

Kim, M. Residents' Perceptions of Tourism-Induced Change and Fluid Place Attachment in Disadvantaged Neighborhoods in South Korea. (Revised and resubmitted to *Geoforum*)

Kim, M. & Holifield, R. Tourism Gentrification and Experiences of Displacement in a Disadvantaged Neighborhood in Busan, South Korea. (submitted to *Urban Geography*)

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Kim, M. (2011). Northern Environment in Manitoba. In Association of the Korean Women Geographers (Ed.), *41 Women Geographers' Field Trip Sketch for the World's Niche Tourism*. Seoul: Purengil. (In Korean)

FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS

FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS

Emerging Scholar Award for Policy Proposal for National Development, Korea Research Institute for Human Settlements (2020)
Percy Buchanan Graduate Prize, the Midwest Conference on Asian Affairs, Association for Asian Studies (2020)
Recreational, Tourism, and Sport Specialty Group (RTS) Student Paper Award, American Association of Geographers (2020)
Urban Studies Travel Award, Urban Studies Program, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (2020)
Social Science Research Council (SSRC) Korean Studies Dissertation Workshop Fellow, Korea Foundation (2019)
Mary Jo Read Fellowship, Department of Geography, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (2014-2020)
Best Graduate Poster Award, Urban Studies Program, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (2019)
Graduate Student Excellence Fellowship, Graduate School, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (2018-2019)
Asian Geography Specialty Group Student Travel Award, American Association of Geographers (2019)
Comparative Urbanism: Global Perspectives Conference Travel Award, Urban Studies Institute, Georgia State University (2019)
Graduate Student Travel Award, Graduate School, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (2018-2019)
Mary Jo Read Travel Award, Department of Geography, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (2014-2020)
Young Researcher Award, Land & Housing Institute, South Korea (2018)
Urban Geography Specialty Group Student Travel Award, American Association of Geographers (2018)
Clinton Edwards Graduate Research Award, Department of Geography, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (2017)
2nd place on the 1st National Land Survey Competition, the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport, Republic of Korea
Geography Education Alumni Association Fellowship, Department of Geography, Korea University (2013)
Creative Challenger Scholarship, LG Electronics (2010)

OTHER AWARDS AND HONORS

Outstanding Service Award, Department of Geography, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (2019)

Outstanding Graduate Service Award Special Mention, Department of Geography, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (2015)

Graduate Representative Participant (one of the five elected participants out of sixty applicants) of Graduate School, Korea University to attend *East Asian University Institute (EAUI) Winter School* for Asian Regional Integration, Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan (2012)

TEACHING AND MENTORING EXPERIENCE

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Department of Geography, Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Instructor of Record

GEOG 125 Introduction to Environmental Geography (Online) (Spring, 2020)

GEOG 441 Geography of Cities and Metropolitan Areas (Face to Face) (Fall, 2019)

GEOG 110 The World: Peoples and Regions (Online) (Fall, 2016 - Fall, 2018)

Undergraduate Advising Assistant

Guest Lecturer

Geography of Asia (April 2015; April 2018)

Graduate Teaching Assistant

Introduction to Conservation and Environmental Science (Fall, 2020)

The World: Peoples and Regions (Head TA; 2014-2015; Spring, 2016 - Spring 2018)

Natural Hazards (Spring 2017)

Korea University, Department of Geography Education, Seoul, South Korea

Tutor

Population Geography (Spring 2010)

Lab Manager

Geographic Information Systems (Fall 2010)

CONFERENCE PARTICIPATION

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

Kim, M. & Holifield, R. (2020). Tourism Gentrification and Experiences of Displacement in Gamcheon Culture Village in Busan. *The Korean Geographical Society Annual Meeting.* (Online).

Kim, M. Rethinking Displacement: Gentrification and 'Un-homing' in a Disadvantaged Neighborhood in South Korea, Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting, Seattle, WA, USA, March 2021.

**** Nominated for a special panel of prize-winning graduate student papers. One of five selected from among the nine regional conference organizations***

Kim, M. *Rethinking Displacement: The Challenge of Gentrification and 'Un-homing' in a Disadvantaged Neighborhood in South Korea.* Midwest Conference on Asian Affairs (MCAA) Annual Meeting, October, 17, 2020 (Online)

Kang, J., **Kim, M**., Park, G. *The Current Situation and Challenges on Online Geography Classes during COVID-19 Pandemic: A Case Study on U.S. Universities*. The Korean Geomorphological Association Annual Conference, September, 19, 2020. (Online)

Kim, M. *Rethinking displacement: The challenge of gentrification and 'un-homing' in a disadvantaged neighborhood in South Korea*. 2020 Korea University Graduate Student Conference, Seoul, Korea, June 10, 2020. (Canceled due to COVID-19)

Kim, M. *Residents' perceptions of Public Art Projects and Tourism in Disadvantaged Neighborhoods in South Korea: Bringing Broader Relationship to Place*. American Association of Geographers Annual Meeting, Denver, Colorado, April 8, 2020. (Canceled due to COVID-19)

Kim, M. *Contextual Diversity in Gentrification Research: A Case Study of Disadvantaged Neighborhoods in South Korea*. Urban Affairs Association (UAA) Conference, Washington D.C., USA, April 3, 2020. (Canceled due to COVID-19)

Kim, M. *Problematizing Disadvantaged Neighborhoods as New Tourist Destinations: Complexity in Residents' Perceptions and Responses to Tourism in South Korea*. Midwest Conference on Asian Affairs (MCAA) Annual Meeting, East Lansing, Michigan State University, USA, October 6, 2019.

Kim, M. *Tourism gentrification in less-privileged urban neighborhoods? The case of South Korean cities.* American Association of Geographers Annual Meeting, Washington D.C, USA, April 4, 2019.

Kim, M. *The paradox of new urban tourism and the conversion of disadvantaged neighborhoods into tourist attractions: the case of South Korean cities.* Comparative Urbanism: Global Perspectives Conference, Atlanta, Georgia, USA, March 8, 2019.

Kim, M. (2018). *Reinvented Substandard Settlements as 'New Tourist Attractions' and the Controversies over Neighborhood Change in South Korean Cities.* West Lakes Division of the American Association of Geographers (WLDAAG) Annual Meeting, La Crosse, Wisconsin, USA, November 2, 2019. (Session Chair)

Kim, M. *Revisiting urban tourism in South Korean cities: the discrepancy between the objectives of the projects and their effects on residents*. American Association of Geographers Annual Meeting, New Orleans, Louisiana, USA, April 14, 2018.

Kim, M. *Neighborhood Change into a Tourist Destination with the Implementation of Public Art: the Case of Seoul.* American Association of Geographers Annual Meeting, Boston, Massachusetts, USA, April 6, 2017.

Kim, M. *The Location of Guangzhou Exhibition Industry and Regional Development: The Case of Canton Fair.* American Association of Geographers Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, USA, April 24, 2015.

PANEL

Kim, M. *Young Korean Geographers Forum.* American Association of Geographers Annual Meeting, New Orleans, LA, USA, April 12, 2018.

POSTER PRESENTATIONS

Kim, M. *The Paradox of New Urban Tourism and the Conversion of Disadvantaged Neighborhoods into Tourist Destinations in South Korean Cities: Residents' Contested Perceptions and Responses*. Urban Studies Programs 24th Annual Student Research Forum, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, USA, May 3, 2019.

Won Best Graduate Poster Award

Kim, M. *Culture-led Urban Regeneration and Urban Tourism, and Its Link to the Challenge of Gentrification: the Case of Seoul.* Urban Studies Programs 22nd Annual Student Research Forum, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, USA, April 28, 2017.

INVITED PRESENTATIONS

Kim, M. *Urban regeneration projects in Busan*. Town Hall Meeting in Saha-District, Busan, Republic of Korea. Invited by the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport, December 1, 2017.

Kim, M. *Diagnosis on the current status of Ihwa Mural Village*. Hanyangdoseong Project Community Meeting, Seoul, Republic of Korea. Invited by the Division of Hanyangdeseong Project, Seoul Metropolitan Government, October 13, 2017.

CAMPUS AND DEPARTMENTAL TALKS

Kim, M. Three Minute Thesis (3MT), Graduate School, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. Milwaukee, Wisconsin, USA, April 4, 2018.

Donnelly, A., Sziarto, K., **Kim, M.** *Effective Teaching Assistants.* UWM Teaching and Learning Symposium, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, USA, January 12, 2017.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Intern

Korea Institute for Industrial Economics & Trade (KIET), Seoul, South Korea

Project Assistant, **2nd International Conference on Territorial and Geographic Education**, Seoul, South Korea

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Assistant & Volunteer, **19th Session, United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) General Assembly**, Gyeongju, South Korea

UNIVERSITY SERVICE

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Department of Geography, Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Project Assistant for Undergraduate Committee (2019-2020)

Project Assistant for PR Committee (2015-2017)

Graduate Student Representative (elected by peers; 2014-2015)

Organizer for German Students field trip to UWM (2015; 2018)

Volunteer for Graduate Open House, GIS Day, Undergraduate Major Fair (2014-2018)

Korea University, Department of Geography Education Alumni Association, Seoul, South Korea

Secretary (2011-2012)

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

- American Association of Geographers
- Association for Asian Studies
- Urban Affairs Association
- Korean-American Association for Geospatial and Environmental Sciences
- The Korean Urban Geographical Society
- Korean Association of Space & Environment Research

CERTIFICATES

- Online and Blended Teaching Program Certificate (Center for Excellence in Teaching and Learning, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee) 2018

2011

- The Certificate for Middle/High School Teacher in Geography (Issued by the Ministry of Education, Korea)

LANGUAGES

Korean: Native
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Chinese (Mandarin): Full Professional Proficiency

SKILLS

ArcGIS, SPSS, R, NVivo