M.Sc. Tourism and International Development

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2016

Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Word Count: 12.228

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15TH September 2016

To the editor of the Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events,

I would like you to take my manuscript into consideration for publication as an original research article in the Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events. The name of the article is 'Tourism and urban regeneration: The case of the Old City of Montevideo'. This research has not received any external financial support.

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Yours sincerely,

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Tourism and Urban Regeneration: The Case of the Old City of Montevideo

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Tourism and Urban Regeneration: The case of the Old City of Montevideo.

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A R T I C L E I N F O	A B S T R A C T

This paper investigates the role of tourism in the regeneration of historic urban quarters. It follows a case study design, focusing on the regeneration efforts undertaken in the Old City of Montevideo, Uruguay, over the last two decades**.** Qualitative data was gathered via semi-structured interviews from 3 purposively selected experts, and from purposively selected policy documents. The data collected was analyzed separately through qualitative content analysis and then contrasted. The results show that there was a significant evolution in the policy approach to tourism at the planning level. However, the findings suggest that tourism's potential for collaborating with the urban regeneration of historic quarters has been only partly exploited. The results provide some insights about the potential of focusing the regeneration of historic urban quarters in the development of cultural tourism, something atypical in the Latin American context. They also illustrate the necessity of improving the safety conditions of historic quarters as a precondition for their regeneration and raise some concerns about the consequences of overlooking the design of mechanisms for enabling the most vulnerable sectors of the population to access to jobs in the tourism industry. However, it must be acknowledged that this study is based on a small sample that does not represent all the stakeholders involved in the regeneration process. Further research in the aforementioned areas is needed. Besides, the findings are highly dependent on the specific context of the Old city of Montevideo.

Introduction

Cities have always had a variety of functions. They are centres of trade, culture, social interaction, logistic nodes and places of residence (Roberts, 2008). These functions are not static, but rather dynamic (Jones & Evans, 2013). Their relative importance changes over time, influenced by economic, social, and environmental transformations (Jones & Evans, 2013). Over the last six decades, the central areas of many cities around the world have experienced profound changes in their urban

functions, which derived in the economic, social and physical deterioration of these areas (Law, 1993; Martin & Mason 1988). In his seminal work, Law (1993) described the typical process of inner city decline, undergone by many North American and British cities in the post-war period. Although the context might differ, the changes experienced by many historic quarters in Latin America over the last six decades correspond to a large extent with that process (Hanley & Ruthemburg, 2005).

The inner city decay process is described by Law (1993) as follows: Traditionally, cities used to be structured around their centres. These concentrated all the key activities: ports, railway stations, commercial companies, financial institutions, and government agencies were located in central areas. Over the second half of the last century, the increasing availability of motor vehicles and infrastructure developments made transport easier and faster, what enabled cities to sprawl outwards. Subsequently, the higher income sectors of the population moved to the suburbs, attracted by the newer and more spacious houses and the better standards of living. Following the residential decentralization, the commercial, professional, and administrative activities that were concentrated in the centres also started to move to the suburbs. As a result of this process city centres ended up being inhabited by the least affluent. This situation determined a low return for real estate in these areas, discouraging landlords from investing in the maintenance of buildings, and leading to the physical deterioration of these quarters. This process also had profound social consequences for inner cities, which are reflected in the conditions of poverty, social exclusion, and unemployment that are common in many of these areas before their regeneration (Law, 1993; Roberts, 2008). Those issues are a defining characteristic of many Latin American historic quarters (Carrión, 2001)

Governments of a wide array of cities around the world have devoted huge amounts of resources to the formulation and implementation of urban regeneration policies for reversing the aforementioned issues (Carrión, 2001; Smith, 2007; Wise, 2016). Cities have adopted different strategies for regenerating their historic quarters, such as promoting the development of retail, housing, office

buildings and leisure and tourism activities (Smith 2007; Tiesdell Oc & Heath, 1996). For the case of this research, we will focus on the latter approach.

This research aims to explore the role of tourism in the regeneration of historic urban quarters, taking the case of the Old City of Montevideo (OCM) as a case study. The OCM is the historic centre of Montevideo. Over the last six decades, it has experienced a strong process of urban change that closely resembles the classic process of inner city decay described above (Abín Gayoso, 2012; Carrizo & Arocena, 2005). As a result of it the quarter lost its economic centrality and experienced a severe social and physical deterioration (Abín Gayoso 2012; Bonilla, 2001). Since the 1980s the Municipality of Montevideo (MM) has undertaken a series of actions to reverse the aforesaid issues, and protect the quarter's built heritage (Bonilla, 2001; Carmona & Varela 2006).This work focuses on the two urban regeneration plans implemented by the MM in the quarter in the last two decades, which represent the most comprehensive efforts made to date to enhance the OCM's economic, social and physical conditions.

To address the above-mentioned aim, the following research questions were posed: (i) Which has been the role of tourism in the urban regeneration policies formulated and implemented over the last two decades? (ii) To what extent did the policies take advantage of the potentialities of tourism for the regeneration of historic quarters? (iii) What have been the main achievements and flaws of the policies implemented in terms of capitalizing on tourism's potential for regeneration?

For providing a context to this research, the literature on tourism and urban regeneration, regeneration of historic urban quarters, and regeneration policies in the OCM is reviewed. In addition, a general outlook of the OCM is provided. Successively, the most relevant documents of the last two regeneration plans implemented in the quarter are analyzed, to understand how tourism was approached by policy-makers, and to what extent the potential of tourism for urban regeneration was considered. Additionally, a series of expert interviews are analyzed for understanding to what extent the implemented policies exploited the potential of tourism for urban regeneration, and for exploring their perceptions

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about the main achievements and flaws of the policies implemented. Finally, the main conclusions of the study are presented, and some policy recommendations for the future are put forward.

Literature review

This section sets a foundation for the present study, by critically reviewing the literature on urban regeneration and tourism, and urban regeneration of historic urban quarters. Particular attention is given to the available research about the experience of other Latin American cities, and to the studies about the regeneration policies implemented in the OCM.

Urban regeneration and tourism

Urban regeneration is a relatively new concept, which arose in the second half of the last century (Jones & Evans, 2013). It first appeared as a response to the post-war decline that many North American and European cities experienced (Tiesdell et al., 1996; Wise, 2016). Then it further developed as a way of addressing the deindustrialization process suffered by most developed economies in the late 1970s and 1980s as a consequence of global economic restructuring (Smith, 2007; Tiesdell et al., 1996; Wise, 2016). Although it entails much more than the transformation of city centres, these areas have received most of the attention (Jones & Evans, 2013).

A wide variety of definitions of urban regeneration is available in the literature. Typically, these conceptualize urban regeneration as the planned government efforts to reverse the economic, social, physical and environmental problems faced by certain areas as a result of urban change (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2009; Jones & Evans, 2013). For the purpose of this research, we will adopt the much-cited definition suggested by Roberts (2008). He describes it as:

> *"The comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental conditions of an area that has been subject to change."*

(p.27)

As it will be exposed in the following section, tourism has an enormous potential for the economic, social and physical revitalization of decayed inner areas. For this reason, dozens of cities around the world based their regeneration efforts in the development of this sector (Smith, 2007; Wise, 2016).

The academic literature about urban regeneration through tourism is relatively well developed. Much of it consists of case studies from the USA, the UK, and continental Europe to a lesser extent. Cases as the regeneration of Baltimore's Port, Liverpool's waterfront, Birmingham Jewel quarter, Manchester's Castlefield, or the centres of Bilbao and Barcelona have been extensively studied (Fontan Kohler, 2013; Gonzalez, 2011; Tiesdell et al., 1996). Despite the fact that many Latin American cities have also made remarkable efforts to regenerate their historic quarters over the last couple of decades, the academic research in this context is not abundant.

Some lessons can be learnt from the studies about the cases of Quito, Salvador, and Guayaquil, all of which gave tourism a central role in their regeneration strategies. The first case provides useful lessons about the importance of providing good-quality and safe public spaces for enabling the social appropriation of historic quarters (Hanley & Ruthemburg, 2005). It also exemplifies the positive impacts of the regeneration of these areas over the locals' sense of pride, and its potential for strengthening social cohesion between urban residents from different social classes and ethnicities (Hanley & Ruthemburg, 2005). Additionally, the experience of Salvador makes clear the necessity to devise mechanisms to prevent the expulsion of residents from the regenerated areas, and the importance of attracting private investment to these areas as a key for the long-term sustainability of the regeneration efforts (Sant'Anna, 2001). Finally, the case of Guayaquil makes evident the dangers of overlooking the residents' needs when designing the regeneration strategies. The emphasis given in this case to developing services and infrastructure for tourists had devastating effects on the inhabitants' lives, expelling locals from public spaces and displacing many local workers from the quarter (Andrade, 2005).

It must always be considered that the ultimate goal of the regeneration efforts should be the improvement of the quality of life of urban residents (Colantonio & Dixon, 2011; Tsenkova, 2002). Tourism-led regeneration actions must be designed to serve the necessities of both tourists and locals, and seek their integration (Martin & Mason, 1988). That does not only improves the life quality of local residents but also enhances the long-term sustainability of the regeneration efforts (Martin & Mason 1988; Nasser, 2003). For these reasons, it is commonly agreed in the literature that the local community should have a say in the process of formulating and implementing the regeneration policies (Orbasli, 2000; Swarbrooke, 2000).

The findings of the cases mentioned above studies should be taken with caution because, as Tiesdell et al. (1996) acknowledge, the experience gained by a specific historic quarter is unlikely to be transferable elsewhere. There is not a unique formula for regeneration. It is heavily dependent on specific local conditions as leadership, politics, history, and culture (Tiesdell et al., 1996).

As regards to the case of the OCM, there are a number of academic studies about the regeneration policies applied in the quarter over the last three decades. While none of them addresses the role of tourism, they provide useful insights into the main obstacles that urban regeneration policies faced, and about their major accomplishments. Firstly, Delgado Dopazo (2004) made a comprehensive review and analysis of the policies applied in the OCM from 1990 to 2004. The author identified the need to repopulate the area as one of the main preconditions for its successful regeneration and highlighted the little impact that the applied policies in this regard had. She identifies the improvement of safety conditions and the public realm as the most urgent requirement for attracting new residents to the area. Carrizo and Arocena (2005) studied the social component of the *Old City renews*[1] programme. The authors identified bureaucratic hurdles in the MM as one of the main hindrances to the success of the programme. By contrast, the high levels of community involvement, and the boost in the pride and sense of belonging of the

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[1] This programme combined the training of unemployed locals in restoration skills with the regeneration of buildings and public spaces of the old city.

local residents were identified as the main achievements of the programme. On the other hand, Carmona and Varela (2006) studied the effects of the development of pedestrian ways in the area, which has been a fundamental component of the regeneration policies applied in the OCM since the late 1980s. They evaluated this strategy as highly successful, highlighting the high social appropriation of these public spaces, and their success in attracting economic activities and inducing the physical regeneration of their surroundings. Finally, Berdía and Roland (2008) studied the evolution in the approach to regeneration in the OCM over the last three decades. They argue that despite the increasing importance given by the MM to the regeneration of the Old City, it is still necessary to have a qualitative leap forward in order to achieve a genuine regeneration of the area. For accomplishing this, these authors argue that it is fundamental to increase the involvement of the relevant economic, social and political actors in the regeneration process.

Unlike most cities in Latin America that base their regeneration strategies in their colonial heritage (Carrión, 2001), Montevideo centred the efforts for regenerating its historic centre in the development of the cultural sector and cultural tourism (MM, 2012). The use of cultural tourism for the regeneration of historic quarters is an area of the literature that is particularly well developed (Miles & Paddinson, 2005; Ryberg-Webster & Kinahan, 2014). Over the last three decades, this strategy has achieved a remarkable popularity (Miles & Paddinson, 2005; Richards & Wilson, 2007). Diverse cities such as Dundee, Istanbul, and Osaka centred their urban regeneration strategies in the development of cultural infrastructure and events (Di Domenico, C. & Di Domenico, M. 2007; Kana, 2012; Uyzal & Özden, 2011). The promotion of cultural activities and the development of cultural anchor institutions, such as museums and theatres, are often regarded in the literature as highly effective for drawing visitors and attracting visitors and investment to the quarters that are being regenerated (Law, 1993; Ryberg-Webster & Kinahan, 2014). Also, the development of the cultural sector is often considered as essential for improving the negative image commonly associated with these areas before their regeneration (Tiesdell et al 1996; Miles & Paddinson, 2005).

Despite the above, it must be acknowledged that the development of the cultural sector is not a panacea for urban regeneration (Miles & Paddinson, 2005). In many cases, short-sighted approaches which focus on the economic returns of regeneration undermine the value of local culture for the quarter's residents (Miles & Paddinson, 2005). If not strongly connected with the local identity and sense of place, urban regeneration through culture and tourism can result in bland, placeless quarters (Smith, 2007). Additionally, it is sometimes argued that the impact of costly cultural venues over the regeneration of decayed areas could be exaggerated by local governments since there is not a clear evidential basis for assessing their benefits (Miles & Paddinson, 2005).

In the case of the OCM several efforts have been made over the last two decades to consolidate its cultural centrality. To begin, Uruguay's most emblematic theatre was refurbished and reopened in 2004 (IMM, 2014). Besides, five new museums were created in the quarter (IMM, 2013)**.** Moreover, the *Adela Reta* Auditorium, the country's largest cultural complex, was opened on the border of the OCM in 2009 (Presidencia, 2009). In addition, the first two editions of the Biennial of Montevideo were held in different venues across the quarter (De la Cruz, 2014). This approach to regeneration has also been adopted by other Latin American cities, such as Buenos Aires and Mexico City to revitalize their decayed inner areas (Dinardi, 2015; Kinai & Ortega-Alcázar 2009). However, there is a severe dearth of academic research about this topic in the Latin American Context (Dinardi, 2015).

Understanding tourism's potential for the regeneration of historic urban quarters

Historic urban quarters are characterized for being relatively small areas within cities that show historic integrity and cohesion, and can be identified by clear boundaries or a distinct character (Tiesdell et al, 1996). These form a highly heterogeneous group since a wide variety of places with different features in terms of age, size, population, and state of preservation can be categorized as such (Carrión, 2001). Usually, these places act as points of reference and symbols of the past for the inhabitants of the cities in which they are embedded (Carrión, 2001;

Nasser, 2003; Tiesdell et al., 1996). They also have a fundamental role in the construction of national and local identities (Nasser 2003; Yuen, 2005). The strong symbolic and identitarian roles of the OCM for the Uruguayan society are widely acknowledged in the literature (Berdía & Roland, 2008; Delgado Dopazo, 2004).

The interest in revitalizing these quarters is relatively recent. It first appeared in Europe and North America in the 1960s, often as a consequence of the campaigns of informal middle-class pressure groups that raised awareness of the threat that large-scale demolitions and gradual dereliction represented for urban heritage (Nasser, 2003; Tiesdell et al. 1996). Since then, the importance of regenerating these quarters on the agendas of national and local governments around the globe grew steadily (Carrión, 2001; Smith, 2007). The regeneration of historic urban areas occupies now a place of privilege in the policies of a wide array of cities (Carrión, 2001; Clarck & Corten, 2011, Montgomery, 2003). In addition, over the last two decades international organizations such as the UN, the World Bank, and the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) have recognised the great importance of revitalizing these quarters in the developing world, given the high potential of their heritage resources for collaborating with the economic and social development of the cities in which they are embedded (Najd, Ismail, Maulan, Yunos, & Niya, 2015; Gutman, 2001).

As Tiesdell et al. (1996) acknowledge in their seminal work *Revitalizing Historic Urban Quarters,* public policies aimed at preserving these quarters are essential, since the market often fails to protect them. In an uncontrolled market, the economically obsolete buildings that characterize decayed historic quarters would either be abandoned or demolished (Tiesdell et al., 1996). However, society deems them as worthy of preservation for their historical, cultural, architectural, and sense of place values (Tiesdell et al., 1996). Therefore, their destruction or decay would result in a loss of welfare (Tiesdell et al., 1996). Besides, governments are the only actors that can create the environment needed in these cases for enabling private investment, community participation, and individual initiative (Serageldin, Schluger & Martin-Brown, 2000).

Tourism has an inherent potential for allowing the regeneration of historic quarters in a sustainable way, and therefore it is often at the core of urban policies in this area (Nasser, 2003). It can collaborate with the physical, economic, and social dimensions of urban regeneration (Law, 1992; Nasser, 2003). Besides, the historic legacy, character, and sense of place of these quarters provide an excellent foundation for its development (Tiesdell et al., 1996).

There is a consensus in the literature that the economic revitalisation of historic quarters is a *sine qua non* condition for their successful regeneration (Nasser, 2003; Tiesdell et al., 1996). As Tiesdell et al. (1996) acknowledge, the decay that characterises many historic quarters results from the mismatch between the services offered by the physical fabric, and the demands from contemporary economic activities. Therefore, any attempt to revitalize these areas should seek to attract new activities to make use of their built environment (Roberts 2008; Tiesdell et al., 1996). Besides, it would be unrealistic to expect the sustainable regeneration of these quarters relying solely on public funds (Tiesdell et al., 1996). In this context, tourism is typically considered to provide the economic justification for the expensive task of regenerating historic quarters (Martin & Mason, 1988; Orbasli, 2000).

To begin, tourism contributes to the diversification of the economies of historic quarters (Tiesdell et al., 1996). Besides, its development is often considered in the literature as fundamental for attracting investment to these areas, not only to tourism related activities but also to other sectors, which is essential for the successful regeneration of these quarters (Galdini, 2007; Swarbrooke, 2000; Tiesdell et al., 1996). In addition, it produces considerable tax revenues, which are essential to sustain heritage conservation (Galdini, 2007; Nasser, 2003). Furthermore, as a labour intensive industry, tourism has a great potential for employment creation (Swarbrooke, 2000; Orbasli, 2000). This is especially relevant for this study as many historic centres in Latin America, including the OCM, are characterised for the low income and job insecurity of their inhabitants (Carrizo & Arocena, 2005). One of tourism's main virtues in this dimension is that it requires significantly less capital investment for each new job position created than most of the other economic

sectors (Cuckier, 2002). Moreover, as most of it jobs have low skill requirements, tourism has a great potential for employing vulnerable segments of the population, such as inexperienced young people, or women wishing to return to the labour market (Cukier, 2002; Swarbrooke, 2000; Tiesdell et al., 1996). These are precisely the groups facing the highest rates of unemployment in the OCM (MM, 2004b).Finally, tourism also favours small-scale entrepreneurship, what endows it with a great potential for poverty alleviation (Holden, 2012).

Nevertheless, the development of tourism in historic centres does not automatically translate into an improvement of the economic conditions of the most vulnerable population, as Fontan Kohler (2013) shows for the case of Manchester. Mechanisms for ensuring the equitable access to the economic benefits of tourism should be thoroughly planned as part of the regeneration plans (Nasser, 2003).

Tourism also offers a wide array of social benefits to historic urban quarters. Firstly, it enhances local pride and self-esteem, as locals see that their quarter is considered to be worthwhile by tourists (Swarbrooke, 2000). It also stimulates the development of new services and infrastructure that can be enjoyed by both tourists and locals (Swarbrooke, 2000). In addition, it is often argued that the preservation of urban heritage, often made possible by tourism, strengthens the sense of community and shared identity within cities (Serageldin & Shluger, 2000). Besides, the attraction of people and revitalization of pedestrian life make these areas safer places (Tiesdell et al, 1996). This last point is fundamental for this study, as safety issues are one of the main obstacles to regeneration identified in the literature, both in the general context of Latin America (Andrade, 2005; Dammert, 2006), and in the case of the OCM in particular (Delgado Dopazo, 2004).

The development of tourism also collaborates with the improvement of these quarters' image as liveable places to visit and live in (Galdini, 2007; Tiesdell et al., 1996). In the first place, that is essential to attract new businesses to historic urban areas (Craggs, 2008; Tiesdell et al., 1996). Besides, the improvement of the image of these quarters that usually derives from tourism development helps to attract new middle-class residents, what makes these neighbourhoods more diverse and

contributes to reverse the stigmatization suffered by many of these areas before their regeneration (Craggs, 2008). That is highly relevant to the case under study since the OCM has suffered a severe process of depopulation and over the last five decades (Abín Gayoso, 2012; Delgado Dopazo, 2004). While the area had a population of around 39.365 in 1963, only 12.555 lived there in the year 2011 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2012; MM, 2011). This process is identified by Carmona and Varela (2006) as being associated with the impoverishment of the quarter's image.

Regarding the physical dimension, it is widely agreed in the literature that the development of tourism enables the restoration and recycling of derelict land and buildings (Craggs, 2008; Nasser, 2003; Swarbrooke, 2000). Historic buildings in the core areas of these quarters are typically restored to provide services such as accommodation, entertainment, and shopping for tourists (Zukin, 1995). In addition, the derelict wharves, factories, docks, and railway installations, usually present in the fringes of historic quarters, are often renewed for leisure purposes, without sacrificing their heritage qualities (Craggs, 2008; Law, 1993). The UK's experience provides some interesting examples in this regard. The development of tourism proved to be an effective strategy for the regeneration of Liverpool's waterfront (Avery, 2007; Martin & Mason, 1988). Through the introduction of cultural attractions, speciality shopping, and eating and drinking services, this derelict place was transformed into a thriving area, popular among tourists (Avery, 2007; Martin & Mason, 1988). Similarly, the once run-down area of Castlefield, in Manchester, was transformed into a prominent tourist area by developing cultural and catering services in the old railway station and nearby warehouses (Fontan Kohler, 2013; Tiesdell et al 1996).

The OCM has plenty of buildings and land waiting to be converted into new uses. To begin, many obsolete wharves that once served the port's activity are located in the quarter (Trier, 2004). Besides, the building of the country's largest railway station and its associated constructions lay abandoned on its fringes (Cisnero, 2014). The presence of diverse commercial and residential buildings of high architectural value in a poor state of preservation is also a defining feature of the OCM (Fernandez

2013; Urwicz 2015). Additionally, the quarter is characterised by the abundance of wasteland, as a result of the high number of buildings demolished under the late 70s real estate boom that was never replaced (Bonilla, 2001, Delgado Dopazo, 2004). Considering the aforesaid, it is evident that tourism has a great potential for enabling the regeneration of the OCM physical environment.

Despite the above-described benefits of tourism for the regeneration of historic urban quarters, its development does not come without problems. One of the most common critiques of this regeneration approach is that the high volume of tourists that some historic quarters receive has an erosive effect on the urban fabric, and puts the local infrastructure under significant pressure (Orbasli, 2000). In addition, overcrowding disrupts local lifestyles and undermines the attractiveness of these areas (Galdini, 2007; Orbasli, 2000). It should be always considered when planning to develop tourism in historic quarters that an over exploitation of urban heritage will only result in the degradation of this resource (Nasser, 2003; Orbasli, 2000). Rises in the prices of goods and services are also among the most common issues in regenerated historic quarters (Galdini, 2007; Nasser, 2003). Also, some authors argue that the high competition between cities for attracting tourists often leads to the reinterpretation and redefinition of their local culture, to become attractive to tourist demand (Galdini, 2007; Nasser, 2003). The issues mentioned above often result in the annoyance of the local community, and their rejection of the tourism activities (Galdini, 2007; Orbasli, 2000). If not managed properly, they can seriously threaten the long-term sustainability of tourism in historic centres (Nasser, 2003).

Gentrification is another of the most extensively discussed issues in the literature about historic quarter's regeneration through tourism (Ryberg-Webster & Kimahan, 2014; Smith, M. & Smith, K. 2000; Tiesdell et al., 1996). When operations of revitalization take place, these central areas of cities, characterized by their heritage richness and central location, start gaining relevance for their potential for real estate development and touristic exploitation (Diaz Parra & Rabazco Pozuelo, 2013). As a result, the price of properties rises significantly, and the most vulnerable sectors of the population are forced to abandon these areas (Skoll & Korstanje, 2014). A clear example of this process is presented by Gotham (2005) for the case of

New Orleans' French quarter. As a consequence of tourism development, the mostly African-American low-income residents were pushed out of it. Despite the prominence of this issue in the literature, the study of this complex phenomenon for the case of the OCM is beyond the purpose of this research. It must be highlighted, however, that Diaz Parra and Rabazco Pozuelo (2013) consider that there has not been a significant increase in the real estate prices in the case of the OCM as a result of the regeneration policies implemented in the quarter. In addition, these authors identified the Uruguayan traditional cooperative housing scheme[2], relatively well developed in the OCM, as an effective mechanism for preventing the displacement of low-income residents from the area.

From reviewing the literature, it is evident that there is a need for further research about the regeneration of historic quarters through tourism in the Latin American context. Notwithstanding the great popularity of this approach to regeneration in the policies applied in the continent and the great emphasis given to the regeneration of historic quarters by many prominent international development organizations, the literature on this topic is still at a nascent stage. The dearth of the literature is especially critical in the case of the OCM. Despite the importance given to tourism in the policies implemented, and the relevance of the quarter as a tourist attraction, no research has been carried out to date on the role of tourism in the regeneration of the area. The development of more academic studies in this area is fundamental, given their key role in informing policy making (Sanderson, 2002). Even the MM highlighted the necessity of developing more research about the urban regeneration of the OCM as an input to the policy-making process (MM, 2012).In the light of the above, this study will contribute to bridging the existent gap in the literature.

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[2] Housing cooperatives are a long standing social movement in Uruguay. These are usually integrated by medium and low income people that contribute with capital and labour to the construction of houses (Bertullo et al, 2003). These kinds of initiatives are actively promoted by both the Uruguayan legislation and the MM (Delgado Dopazo, 2004).

The Old City of Montevideo profile

Montevideo is the capital and largest city of Uruguay. Additionally, it is the most popular destination for tourists visiting the country (Ministerio de Turismo, 2015). The Old City is Montevideo's historic centre. It is located on a peninsula, surrounded by the River Plate and the Bay of Montevideo, occupying an area of approximately 10 hectares (Hegoburu, 2009). Montevideo was founded in this location by the Spanish in the early 18th century(Bonilla, 2001; MM, 2010). The area of the OCM used to be the whole city, and it was fortified until 1829 when the walls were demolished for enabling its expansion (Bonilla, 2001).

A wide variety of economic and cultural activities coexist in the OCM. It is home to the country's financial centre, its main port, important government agencies, and a wide variety of companies (Abín Gayoso, 2012). Numerous museums, art galleries, cafes, restaurants and entertainment facilities are also located in the quarter (Abín Gayoso, 2012). In addition, the quarter is one of the main attractions for tourists visiting Montevideo (Hegoburu, 2009)

As regards to the social dimension, the area is characterized by its high heterogeneity (Abín Gayoso, 2012; Delgado Dopazo, 2004; Hegoburu, 2009, MM, 2011). People of high socio-economic level coexist with a majority of low-income inhabitants (Abín Gayoso, 2012). Vulnerable groups such as migrant communities and homeless people also inhabit the quarter (Abín Gayoso, 2012; MM BID, 2011). In addition, while the area has only around 12.000 inhabitants, it receives three times this number of people every day that go there to work (Carmona & Varela, 2006).

The Old City is defined by its rich architectural heritage, exhibiting a wide range of styles within its small area (MM, 2010). Colonial structures coexist with eclectic, neoclassical, art nouveau, and art deco buildings (MM, 2010, Bonilla, 2001). However, much of the OCM's built environment has undergone a severe process of degradation over the last six decades (Abín Gayoso, 2012; Carrizo & Arocena, 2005).

Interest in regenerating this quarter was triggered at the beginning of the 80s by a group of young architects and students, who raised awareness of the magnitude of the loss of heritage that the demolitions allowed under the military dictatorship represented (Berdía & Roland 2008). As a result of this group's actions, the importance of protecting the quarter was recognized by the city's government, and policies for preserving and regenerating the area have been applied since then (Berdía & Roland, 2008). These followed the three phases identified by Song and Oc (2013). The first actions were re-active, focusing on stopping heritage losses (Bonilla, 2001). Then urban policies adopted a more pro-active approach, giving more importance to the improvement of the public realm, and the repopulation of the area (Bonilla, 2001). Finally, over the last couple of decades more integral policies were introduced, giving greater importance to the economic, social and physical dimensions regeneration (MM,2012; Berdía & Roland, 2008).

This work focuses on the two urban regeneration plans implemented by the MM in the OCM in the last two decades. The first one is the *Special Plan for the Old City of Montevideo*, and the second plan is the *Programme of Revitalization for the Old City of Montevideo*. For the sake of simplicity, we will refer to them as regeneration plan 1 (RP1) and regeneration plan 2 (RP2).

Methodology

This is a policy-oriented research that focuses on urban regeneration policies in historic quarters in order to understand their approach to tourism and to develop recommendations for the future (Johnston & Plummer, 2005; Powers, 2013). A single case study was chosen as the research design because, despite presenting problems of generalization, it allows to develop deep insights of the process under study (Flick, 2009; Punch, 2014; Woodside, 2010). Considering the aim of this research and the highly specific nature of cities' political and administrative profiles this study design is particularly suitable (Parker, 2004). While the findings of multiple case studies are usually considered in the literature as more robust in terms of generalization (Bryman, 2004; Yin, 2003), those are not suitable for

observing a case as a whole, and in all its complexity (Flick, 2009). While the findings of this work are context-dependent and cannot be generalized, valuable practical lessons can be learned for future regeneration policies in Montevideo, and other settings with similar characteristics (Flyvbjerg, 2004; Mayring, 2007).

The historic centre of Montevideo was chosen for this study because it is a well-defined area, with a high touristic potential, which has undergone a series of regeneration policies over the last three decades. In addition, Montevideo is the researcher's native city, which greatly facilitates the essential task of gaining access to the relevant people and information (Patton, 1990; Silverman, 2005).

This research is conceptually framed by realism. Under this approach, knowledge is conceived as a social and historical product (Robson, 2011). Social reality is considered as existing not only in the mind but also in the world (Miles, Huberman & Saldaña, 2014; Sayer, 2004). Furthermore, this approach conceives reality as consisting of "structures that are themselves sets of interrelated objects and of mechanisms through which those objects interact" (Sobh & Perry, 2005, p. 1199). The context in which those interactions take place is considered as highly influential of their results (Sobh & Perry, 2005). Therefore, realism is especially suitable for approaching the study of the open and uncontrolled situations that characterise social science (Robson, 2011; Sayer, 2004). When the matter of the research are public policies, realist studies offer rich insights of how "mechanisms" work, taking into account the relevant stakeholders, and the specific context of each situation (Pawson & Tilley, 2004, p.6). The effectiveness of policies dealing with the regeneration of historic quarters is particularly dependent on the specific contexts in which these are implemented (Tiesdell et al 1996). Hence, the realist approach is particularly appropriate for the present study.

Qualitative methods have been chosen for conducting this research as they are particularly suitable for exploring and understanding complex systems, needs, and behaviours, what is essential in policy-related studies (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994). In addition, qualitative methods fit especially well to this study, as the nature of its

research question determined the use of large amounts of textual data (Bernard, 2000; Flick, 2009)

Methods

This research combines the analysis of policy documents and semi-structured interviews using qualitative content analysis. The combination of methods is fundamental to achieve deeper insights when doing case studies (Woodside, 2010). Krippendorff (2013, p.24) defines content analysis as "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts [...] to the context of their use". This research technique was chosen as it presents a number of advantages that make it especially suitable for the case of this study.

To begin with, content analysis can reliably cope with large masses of textual data (Flick,2014; Krippendorff, 2013). Besides, a further advantage of this method as compared to other approaches to textual analysis is that the context of the material is always taken into account in the analysis (Krippendorff, 2013; Mayring, 2014; Robson, 2011). This is especially relevant for this study, as the analyzed data was collected from a variety of stakeholders involved in the regeneration of the Old City of Montevideo, and the development of tourism in the area. In addition, as content analysis can be applied to textual data in a wide variety of formats, it facilitates the comparison of the results of the analysis of the documents and the interviews (Bryman, 2004; Krippendorff, 2013).

Within the different qualitative content analysis techniques, structuring content analysis was the one selected for this study. It was chosen in order to filter out, condense and analyze the particular aspects of the documents and interviews that are relevant to answering the research questions (Flick, 2014; Flick, Kardoff, & Steinke, 2004).

The policy documents and the interviews were analyzed separately. Firstly, the documents were analyzed in order to investigate their approach to tourism in the context of the regeneration of the OCM, and the extent to which tourism's potential

for collaborating with the regeneration of the area was considered**.** Later the interviews were analyzed, for exploring the experts' perceptions about the approach to tourism in the regeneration policies at the implementation level, and their opinions about the policies' main achievements and flaws.

Sampling

Policy Documents

Documents are a particularly rich source of information for analyzing policies (Patton, 1990). Additionally, document analysis has the advantage of being an unobtrusive method (Flick, 2014; Robson, 2011). For this research, a document corpus was constructed using purposeful sampling. This is a non-probability sampling technique whose purpose is "to select information-rich cases whose study will illuminate the research questions" (Patton, 1990. p.169). In particular, the critical case sampling strategy was chosen. That sampling technique consists of selecting those cases that are "particularly important in the scheme of things" (Patton, 1990. p.174). Whereas generalisation is more restricted with this strategy (Flick, 1990), it allows the in-depth study of the texts that contribute the most to answering the research question (Patton, 1990). While all the analyzed documents are in Spanish, relevant sections have been translated to English, paraphrased and quoted in the discussion and findings section. A description of the documents analyzed is presented in Appendix B, and the translation of their contents is available in Appendix C.

Interviews

Semi-structured interviews with experts were conducted for complementing the document analysis. Expert interviews are used mostly when information is needed from "Staff members of an organization with a specific function and a specific (professional) experience and knowledge" (Flick, 2009, p. 166). Therefore, this method is particularly fruitful when the matter under study involves public policies (Abels & Behrens, 2009; Meuser & Nagel, 2009). In the case of this research, expert

interviews were of paramount importance to gain a deeper understanding of the approach to tourism in the regeneration policies, and about their effectiveness for developing tourism in the OCM (Robson, 2011).

The selection of the interviewees was done purposively, seeking for the persons that offered the richest insights into the matter of the research (Flick, 2009). The researcher defined the characteristics of the experts to be included in the sample, which are: to have been involved in the design and application of the regeneration policies for the OCM, or to have occupied directive positions in organizations involved in the development of tourism in the area over the last two decades (Flick 2009; Patton, 1990). The experts were selected from a variety institutions, both public and private, in order to bring different perspectives into the research (Wroblewski & Leitner, 2009). For more details about the Interviewees see appendix D.

Semi-structured interviews were considered the most appropriate interviewing technique for the case of this study. These are flexible enough for enabling the addition and modification of questions during the interview (Robson, 2011), but allowing to make efficient use of time, which is essential when interviewing experts (Flick, 2009; Littig, 2009).

Coding and Categorising

In structuring content analysis the dimensions to be extracted from the texts are defined deductively (Kohlbacher, 2006; Mayring, 2014). For this study, the categories and themes were developed based on the literature on the urban regeneration of historical city centres, and from previous studies about regeneration policies in the Old City of Montevideo (Mayring, 2014). Successively, the texts were run-through for marking the categories and extracting them (Mayring, 2014). These were revised before analyzing the 50% of the material, and some of them were discarded as a result (Mayring, 2014). No significant ambiguous situations were faced when assigning the categories, and therefore it was not

necessary to develop coding rules (Mayring, 2014). Finally, the material extracted from the texts was summarized and analyzed (Mayring, 2014). This process was applied separately to the documents and the interviews, and the results were later contrasted.

Despite structuring content analysis relies exclusively on deductive category assignment, when reading the documents as a whole special attention was given to the possible presence of relevant dimensions that were not incorporated in the categories and themes extracted from the literature (Mayring, 2014). However, no relevant areas were found.

Discussion and findings

The results from the analysis of both the policy documents and the interview transcripts are presented below.

The role of tourism in the urban regeneration policies

The two plans analyzed aim to improve the OCM's economic, social, and physical conditions (MM, 2004a; MM, 2012). They have basically the same objectives which are invigorating the OCM's economy, repopulating it, improving the living condition of its residents, protecting and valorising its heritage and consolidating its cultural and touristic centrality (MM, 2004a; MM, 2012). However, as we will see, each plan gave tourism a different role in the regeneration process.

In order to answer the first research question, the *Tourism* theme was defined. The theme was applied to the policy documents and the interview transcripts. The results of the analysis are as follows.

Theme A: Tourism

The first plan gives an important role to tourism when defining its vision. It claims that it seeks to "Enhance the OCM's image within Uruguay, and consolidate it outside the country for attracting tourism" (MM, 2004b, p.5.). However, little

attention is given throughout the plan to how that aim should be pursued. Despite the fact that cruise and business tourism are identified as key opportunities for the economic regeneration of the quarter (MM, 2004a), no mentions of specific actions intended to develop these areas are made in the plan. The only two relevant projects for enhancing the touristic potential of the quarter that appear in the plan are the extension of the pedestrian way system in order to connect the two most important touristic nodes of the OCM, and the development of a touristic walkway in the port's area. The latter of these actions was never executed. All in all, despite the plan states that it aims to attract tourism, it lacks a strategy for its development. Tourism has a secondary role in the plan. Its development is seen as a possible consequence of the physical regeneration of the area (Forte, 2009).

By contrast, tourism has a vital role in the regeneration strategy of the RP2. Its development is identified in this plan as one of the three pillars for the successful regeneration of the area, along with its repopulation and the consolidation of its financial and governmental centrality (MM, 2012). Furthermore, in this plan "the local economic development strategy is based mainly on the tourism industry" (IADB, 2008, p.5).

As an additional means for assessing the role given to tourism in the plans, a frequency analysis of the *tourism* theme was undertaken (Mayring, 2014; Robson, 2008). The difference of the sector's role in the plans was clearly reflected in the results. While this theme appeared only ten times in the four documents that comprise the RP1, it came up forty-six times in the three documents of the latter plan.

When consulted about the evolution in the approach to tourism in the regeneration policies implemented, there was an agreement amongst the experts that the sector has received considerably more attention under the latter plan. For instance, one of the respondents said that it is evident from the applied policies under the second plan that "the importance of tourism for the regeneration of the OCM has been internalized by the MM" (E1).

 The second plan adopts cultural tourism as the strategy boosting the regeneration of the OCM (IADB, 2008; MM, 2012). It conceives that the development of tourism in the quarter should be "closely related" to the promotion of cultural activities, and considers the latter as "vital for attracting national and international visitors to the OCM" (IMM, 2012, p.3). While the first plan also gave great emphasis to the development of cultural activities, these were conceived as independent from tourism. No mentions about the relationship between the two sectors appear in the documents.

There was a consensus among the interviewees that the new tourism development strategy was reflected in the policymaking. In this sense, one respondent declared that the actions taken under the second plan reflect that "the municipality is now aware that if there is something the OCM can offer as a destination, it is cultural tourism" (E2). In addition, two of the experts highlighted in this regard that this strategy was reflected in the increased offer of cultural activities and events in the quarter (E1, E2).

The expansion of the OCM's cultural infrastructure was also emphasized by the respondents, in terms of its effectiveness for attracting both tourists and locals to the area. Particular emphasis was given in this dimension to the restoration and reopening of the *Solis* Theatre, accomplished under the first plan, and the opening of the *Adela Reta* auditorium occurred under the second. In this regard, one of the respondents commented: "those are two powerful cultural nodes that attract both Uruguayans and foreigners to the quarter" (E1). Their effect over the economic revitalization of the area was also emphasised by two of the respondents. For instance, one of them commented: "these venues are proving to be essential for the revitalization of businesses in the area", and added later "a lot of restaurants and bars are opening, as people stay in the quarter after the shows and go dining or for a drink" (E2). However, other respondent warned that the effect of these two nodes is geographically concentrated, and does not expand to the rest of the quarter. In addition, the role of the new museums was also emphasised by one of the respondents, who consider it as "one of the main attractors for cultural tourists" (E2). Finally, one of the interviewees declared that "the development of

the cultural sector is helping to reverse the negative image of the quarter related to crime and drugs issues, and prostitution" (E1), what corroborates the literature about the role of culture in the regeneration of historic quarters (Miles & Paddinson, 2005; Tiesdell et al 1996).

From the above, it is evident that there was an evolution in the policy approach to tourism. To begin, this sector has considerably increased its centrality in the regeneration plans. While tourism had a rather secondary role in the RP1, its development is at the core of the new regeneration plan. Furthermore, there was a clear evolution in the strategy for its development. The lack of a tourism development vision that characterized the first plan clearly contrasts with the marked cultural tourism strategy adopted in the second one. According to the experts, the evolution of the role of tourism in the regeneration policies was reflected at the implementation level, especially in the increased offer of cultural activities and events. However, despite the lack of a tourism development strategy of the first plan, it must be acknowledged that some of the actions implemented under it were regarded as successful for attracting tourism. For instance, the *Solis* Theatre and four of the new museums were opened under the RP1.

[Insert figure 1 here]

Regeneration policies and tourism development: Capitalizing its potential?

For answering the second research question three categories were developed, namely *Economic*, *Social*, and *Physical*. These were defined based on the main dimensions of the definition of urban regeneration adopted[3]. Moreover, these are the main areas identified by Martin and Masons (1988) in which tourism can collaborate with urban regeneration.

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[3] The environmental dimension was excluded because it was not identified as a relevant area for the case of the OCM in the literature about urban regeneration in the quarter.

Within these categories, themes were extracted from the literature considering both their importance in the context of regenerating historic quarters through tourism and their relevance for the case of the OCM. These were applied to the regeneration plans' documents and the interview transcripts, in order to understand to what extent the potentialities of tourism for urban regeneration were exploited. The results of the analysis are presented below.

[Insert Table 1 here]

Category A: Economic

This category is formed by the two main areas in which the development of tourism can collaborate with the economic dimension of the regeneration of historic quarters, namely, job creation and investment attraction (Jones & Evans, 2008; Tiesdell et al., 1996).

Job creation

This is a central element of most historic centre regeneration plans, and the ones analyzed in this study are no exception to this (Mason, 2005; Orbasli, 2000; Tiesdell et al, 1996). The employment issues faced by the OCM's population are extensively reviewed in the RP1. Job insecurity and high unemployment rates among young people and women were identified as the main problems (MM, 2004b). Moreover, the consultancy study commissioned by the MM under the RP1 plan found that local residents are largely excluded from the economic activities of the OCM, particularly from those related to tourism (Oikos, 2004). Accordingly, the development of employment policies for tackling these issues was considered as fundamental for enabling the regeneration of the OCM in this plan.

Several actions were taken under the RP1 to promote the integration of the most vulnerable sectors of the local population to the Job market. For instance, training courses for unemployed residents were imparted, a job-seeking platform was set up, and a micro-loan scheme was created to finance small job-creating projects (Hegoburu, 2009). The most relevant employment programme consisted in the provision of temporary jobs and training courses in areas related to the physical

regeneration of the quarter such as restoration and construction techniques (Hegoburu, 2009). However, despite the widely acknowledged potential of tourism for employing inexperienced young people and women, no specific actions were taken to promote jobs in this sector (Cukier,2002; Swarbrooke, 2000; Tiesdell et al, 1996). That is even more surprising considering that the consultancy study commissioned by the MM under this plan highlighted tourism-related activities as the ones with the highest job creation potential (Oikos, 2004).

The Second plan also defined job creation as one of its main objectives, but unlike the RP1, it emphasized the importance of tourism for achieving this aim (IADB, 2008). Nevertheless, this dimension received little attention throughout the plan. That arguably responds to the fact that unemployment was no longer a pressing issue when the plan was written. In fact, the unemployment rate was at its lowest point in five decades in 2011 and 2012 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2016)

When consulted about the access of residents to jobs in the tourism sector the respondents were sceptical. For instance, one participant commented "it is not as in other destinations, where it is evident that the locals are working in the tourism sector...That does not happen in the OCM". In the same line, other respondent commented: "there is still much to do for enabling the local community to benefit from jobs in tourism." Finally, other interviewee declared that "creating training courses directed to vulnerable residents would be important to enable their access to jobs in the tourism sector"(E3).

Investment attraction

It is widely acknowledged in the literature that attracting investment to historic quarters is fundamental for enabling both their economic and physical regeneration (Law, 1993; Tiesdell et al., 1996). The two plans studied defined this as one their core objectives.

The first plan conceives the attraction of investment to the real estate sector as the key for enabling the physical improvement of the quarter (MM, 2004a). For doing so, the plan emphasizes the need to develop a set of incentives for promoting

investment in the refurbishment and recycling of buildings in the area (MM, 2004a). However, no mentions to incentives or other measures beyond the real estate sector are made. Investment attraction is seen more as a requirement for the refurbishment of the quarter, than as part of the economic development strategy of the area. This issue falls within the broader lack of an economic development strategy that characterises this plan.

The little vision of the RP1 for attracting investment to the area beyond the real estate sector was also evident when analyzing the interview transcripts. For instance, one participant commented: "there was a great growth in the gastronomic and entertainment sector ten years ago...but it was not planned, it was organic", and reflected afterwards: "the sector later collapsed because of the lack of planning...The local government authorized the opening of massive entertainment facilities in other parts of the city, in the outskirts, without thinking about the effects over the Old City" (E2).

The RP2 also gives considerable importance to the attraction of real estate investment as a way of improving the physical environment (MM, 2012). Nevertheless, it recognizes that the revitalization of the OCM "requires the development of a base of innovative, dynamic, and competitive enterprises" (MM, 2012, p.4). For achieving so, this plan emphasizes the necessity of promoting the creation of small and medium enterprises through the development of financial and legal incentives, and training programmes (IADB, 2008, MM, 2012). In this context, particular emphasis is given to the promotion of those projects that provide tourism infrastructure and services, and to those that expand the cultural offer (IADB, 2008). Despite the above, none of the interviewees were aware specific incentives created under this plan.

When consulted about ways for attracting investment to the tourism sector of the OCM the expert's views were dissimilar. On the one hand, one of the respondents claimed that defining new incentives is "without any doubts necessary". In particular, this respondent argued that "legal incentives for the attraction of more cultural and artistic activities should be defined, as other cities in the world do with

their cultural districts" (E2). On the other hand, another participant expressed that: "the question is not about creating more incentives, it's about being more creative and audacious" (E1). This interviewee critiqued the conservative vision of business people in the tourism sector of the OCM, claiming that "they are excessively focused on the traditional transport, accommodation, and catering activities". In the same line, this respondent reflected: "there is plenty of room for the development of cultural products, as for example products related to tango, to candombe, to the carnival...Entrepreneurs should dare to invest more on these". Finally, the last expert, who specializes in this area, argued that the key factor for attracting more investment to the quarter is to continue with the infrastructure improvement policies, giving the example of pedestrian ways as a success case in this regard (E3).

Overall, from the analysis of the dimensions of this category it can be argued that there was an evolution in the policy approach to the economic aspects of tourism development in the OCM. However, while this evolution was evident at the planning level, it was not clear in the policies implemented. In the first plan tourism's potential for employing the most vulnerable sectors of the OCM's population was largely overlooked. In addition, investment promotion policies under the RP1 were conceived exclusively as a way to for funding the physical refurbishment of the quarter. None of these dimensions were conceived as part of a wider strategy for the economic regeneration of the quarter. A marked bias towards the physical dimension of regeneration was evident in both themes. On the other hand, the job creation potential of tourism, and the importance of promoting investment in the sector were recognized in the RP2. However, no evidence of specific actions in these dimensions was found.

Category B: Social

This category is formed by the *Safety* and *Education/Training* themes. Despite the several implications of tourism development in the social dimension of urban regeneration, improvements in these two areas were identified in the literature as

the most relevant for enabling the successful regeneration of the OCM (Delgado Dopazo, 2004).

Safety

As Tiesdell et al. (1996) acknowledge, the attraction of people and revitalization of pedestrian life associated with tourism development make historic urban areas safer. This effect was highlighted by one of the respondents as a positive outcome that the attraction of visitors had in the case of the OCM (E2). However, unlike other themes in this analysis, safety is more a precondition for tourism development than an area in which this activity collaborates with regeneration.

Safety issues are considered in both plans as a key obstacle for the regeneration of the OCM in general, and for the development of tourism in particular. This is not surprising since the severity of these issues is widely acknowledged in the literature about the regeneration of the OCM (Delgado Dopazo, 2004; Carmona & Varela 2006). Unlike most of the analyzed dimensions, tourism development was an important reason behind policies in this area since the RP1. Both plans suggested actions for improving safety conditions, such as creating specially surveilled routes across the quarter for enabling the transit of tourists, and increasing the coordination of the MM with the Home Office for applying safety policies (MM, 2004a; IADB, 2008). However, as agreed by all the respondents, it was not until recently that a significant progress in this dimension was made.

In a pioneering action in the Uruguayan context, a CCTV system of 400 cameras was installed in the area in 2013 (Ministerio Del interior, 2013). This caused a sharp reduction in the number of crimes registered in the area, what transformed the quarter it the safest one in Montevideo in less than a year (Ministerio Del interior, 2013). This improvement is clearly reflected in the official statistics. The number of crimes decreased by 46% in the first 2 months after the installation of the CCTV system , as compared with the figures of the previous year for the same months (Ministerio del Interior, 2014)

All the respondents highlighted the magnitude of the improvement in the safety conditions that resulted from the installation of the surveillance cameras, even before being asked about this dimension. In this line, one of them expressed: "nowadays one can stroll around the OCM at night and feel safe" (E2). The respondents also agreed about the positive effect that this is having for the economic regeneration of the quarter. For instance, of them commented: "one can see that more restaurants and bars are now opening during the night…That's a symptom of the improvement in the safety conditions" (E2). This last point was also highlighted by another respondent (E3). The positive impact of the achievements in this dimension for repopulating the quarter was also mentioned by one of the Interviewees (E3). Finally, there was an agreement amongst the interviewees that the improved safety conditions are proving to be fundamental for the development of tourism. In this regard, one interviewee commented: "some years ago walking tours had to be accompanied by a police officer, but now that is not longer necessary," and concluded later: "now the OCM is completely safe for being transited by tourists"(E1).

Education/ Training

Both of the plans analyzed highlighted the need to promote job training programmes as part of their strategy for the socio-economic revitalization of the OCM (MM, 2004a; IADB, 2008). As Carrión (2005) acknowledges, policies in this area are fundamental for enabling the most vulnerable residents of historic urban quarters to benefit from the regeneration efforts. The most relevant actions in this regard were the ones executed under the RP1. Different courses and training programmes aimed to increase the employability of vulnerable residents were executed under this plan. The most noteworthy endeavour in this dimension was the implementation of an educational programme that offered six-month practical courses, in areas such as construction, masonry, and blacksmithing (Hegoburu, 2009). Under this programme, 72 local students participated in the refurbishment of 36 facades, the creation of a 400-metre pedestrian way, and the installation of decks in the exterior of some bars and restaurants (Hegoburu, 2009).

Despite the high potential of tourism to employ the most vulnerable sectors of the OCM's population, no specific actions to promote their employability in this area were undertaken (Cukier, 2002; Swarbrooke, 2000; Tiesdell et al., 1996). That can be seen as a flaw of the plan, as the development of a well-trained tourism workforce is fundamental for enhancing the competitiveness of the sector, and for maximising the possibility of having a successful economic regeneration (Thomas & Long, 2001). The focus of the training programmes in developing the type of skills needed for enabling the physical regeneration of the quarter illustrates the mentioned bias of the RP1 towards this dimension.

The second plan also called for the development of training programmes aimed at vulnerable sectors of the local population, but unlike the first one, it put tourism at the core of these (IADB, 2008). However, no training courses were brought to reality, probably a consequence of the above-mentioned low unemployment context that characterized the country when the RP2 was developed and implemented.

When consulted about the educational dimension, one of the respondents strongly emphasized the necessity of developing specific programmes to enable vulnerable sectors of the local population to access to jobs in the tourism sector (E3). The other two respondents drew attention to the improvement on the educational offer in areas related to tourism occurred in Montevideo over the last decade. However, this is of little relevance for enhancing the employability of the local vulnerable groups, since the programmes enumerated by the two respondents are mainly university courses or short training courses imparted in private educational institutions. It would be very unlikely for them to access to these courses.

Overall, from the perspective of exploiting tourism's potential for urban regeneration, we can say that the achievements of the regeneration policies in the social dimension are uneven. On the one hand, the improvement in the safety conditions achieved under the RP2 is a milestone in the regeneration process. It provides the basis not only for the development of tourism, but also for the attraction of other economic activities, and for the repopulation of the quarter. In

addition, it significantly enhances the living conditions of the local residents. On the other hand, however, tourism's potential for benefiting the most vulnerable sectors of the local population was not capitalized. The implementation of training courses in tourism-related areas would have been of great importance for enabling the most vulnerable sectors of the local population to benefit from the development of tourism (Carrión, 2005). Also, it would also have been essential for enhancing the sector's competitiveness (Thomas & Long, 2001)

Category C: Physical Environment

This category is formed by the *Infrastructure* and *Built heritage preservation* themes. These are usually identified in the literature as the main dimensions in which the development of tourism can collaborate with the physical regeneration of historic quarters (Mason, 2005; Swarbrooke, 2000, Tiesdell et al., 1996).

Infrastructure

When analyzing the *infrastructure* theme, a strong focus on the improvement of the public realm emerged from both the documents and the interviews. Public investment in this area is usually at the core of urban regeneration plans (Law, 1993). Two main areas stand out from the data analyzed in this dimension, namely, pedestrian ways and public spaces.

The consolidation of the OCM as an area of pedestrian priority was one of the core objectives of both plans. This is something that has been at the centre of the urban policies applied in the quarter since the late 80s (Carmona & Varela, 2006). The RP1 established that four streets would be converted to pedestrian ways. However, this only happened in two of the cases. The most noteworthy action in this regard was the 400-metre expansion of the *Sarandí* pedestrian way. As a result of it, the two most important touristic areas of the OCM were connected. Unlike most of the analyzed actions executed under the RP1, tourism development was one of the main reasons behind this project. One of the interviewees highlighted the effectiveness of this action for enabling the smooth flow of locals and tourists between the touristic nodes, and for enhancing their connection with the rest of

the city (E1). Furthermore, another participant remarked the positive impact of this project on attracting investment to the area. These types of actions are often considered in the literature as more efficient for attracting investment than financial incentives (Rojas, 2001). Despite this, there was an agreement amongst the experts that advancing in the transformation of the OCM into a pedestrian area is essential.

The need to enhance the available public spaces and to develop new ones was the other main dimension that emerged from the analysis of this theme. The RP1 suggested that priority should be given to the development of linear parks and in the waterfronts of the OCM. This idea is particularly interesting since waterfronts developments are often regarded as effective for the revitalization of historic port quarters, and for attracting tourism (Gonçalvez & Thomas, 2012; Jones, 2007; Miles, 2005). In this regard, one of the respondents suggested that the development of a new park in the area of the *España* square, on the border of the OCM with the *River Plate,* would be essential to consolidate the revitalization of the south-east sector of the quarter. Despite the above, no significant projects in this dimension were undertaken. It must be considered, however, that this kind of developments can require investing huge amounts of resources (Miles, 2005), what make them difficult to justify when there is a need to invest in other such as education and health facilities, or housing (Swarbrooke,2000).

Finally, one of the interviewees reflected about this dimension: "it is not only about creating new public spaces, but activities should also be organized to revitalize the existent ones, and to attract tourist to them"(E1). As Tiesdell et al., (1996) acknowledge, a quality physical environment provides the stage, but it is the presence of people that transforms regenerated historic quarters in living and organic parts of the cities in which they are embedded. For doing so, one respondent suggested that more cultural, artistic and gastronomic activities in public spaces should be promoted (E1) Despite this, there was an agreement amongst the respondents that there has been a considerable expansion in the cultural activities organized in the OCM under the RP2.

Built heritage preservation

The conservation of the built heritage of the Old City is evidently a core element of both regeneration plans (MM, 2004b; IADB, 2008). However, their approaches to this area drastically differ. On the one hand, the first plan adopted the idea that "heritage conservation acts as a catalyst for the regeneration of the area" as a "guiding principle" of its regeneration strategy (MM, 2004 b, p.1). This plan conceives the restoration of the built heritage as a precursor for the regeneration of the area.

As Tiesdell et al. (1996) acknowledge, the physical revitalization of a historic quarter may precede the economic one, as part of a short-term strategy intended to attract investment and induce economic revitalization. However, these authors warn that the failure to achieve the latter would only result in a temporary, unsustainable revitalization. Considering the lack of economic vision that characterizes the RP1, as mentioned in the *economic* category, this approach to regeneration excessively focused on the physical dimension constitutes an evident flaw in the plan.

On the other hand, the second plan shows a much more integral approach to the conservation of the built heritage. It conceives it as closely related to the local economic and social dimensions of regeneration (IADB, 2008). In particular, it considers that the process of heritage regeneration in the old city should be developed hand in hand with the development of tourism and cultural activities for ensuring its long-term viability (MM,2012).

Some noteworthy actions for the conservation of the OCM's built heritage were made under both plans. The most paradigmatic intervention under the RP1 was without any doubts the refurbishment and of the *Solis* Theatre. Since its reopening in 2004, it has become an iconic attraction of the OCM, receiving currently over 40.000 visitors a year on its guided tours (MM, 2014). Concerning this, one of the interviewees declared: "the *Solis* Theatre has become a big tourist attraction...You can see that it is permanently being visited by tourists" (E1).

As regards to the second plan, the most prominent heritage preservation action was the restoration of the emblematic *Cabildo[4]*. That is one of the most important colonial constructions remaining in Montevideo, and it is located in a place of high tourist affluence (Cabildo de Montevideo, 2016). Its restoration project included strong social considerations, giving particular importance to engagement of the community with the city's heritage (Cabildo de Montevideo, 2016). For promoting that, several activities were organized in the renewed building for people of all ages (Barizzoni, 2015).Finally, it is worth mentioning that the importance of this preservation action for enhancing the tourist appeal of the area in which the *Cabildo* is located was highlighted by one of the interviewees (E2)

Despite the achievements above, some problematic areas were recognized by the interviewees in this theme. One of them identified "the presence of ruinous empty buildings in the OCM" as a "big issue," and added: "the municipality has tried to tackle it, for instance by increasing taxes to them... But it's a complicated issue... It is difficult to find the owners" (E1). On the other hand, two respondents emphasized the need to regenerate some iconic buildings that are currently in a ruinous state as a way to trigger the revitalization of decayed areas in the neighbourhood and gave the example of the former faculty of humanities, and the old *central* railway station (E1, E3). However, there are some legal and administrative hindrances for regenerating those iconic buildings that are beyond the scope of this study (Fernandez; 2013; Cisnero, 2014).

Overall, a significant evolution in the policy approach to the physical dimension of regeneration emerged from the analysis of this category. Policymakers have now fully acknowledged tourism's potential for underpinning the physical improvement of the quarter in the urban regeneration planning. While the emphasis given to tourism in the *infrastructure* dimension was even between the two plans, there has been a remarkable improvement in the policy approach to heritage preservation.

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[4] The *Cabildo* is a colonial building with an extraordinary historical importance for the country. This was the seat of government during the colonial era, and of the first governments after the independence. It is also the place where the country's declaration of independence was signed.

That is no longer considered a precondition for the quarter's regeneration, but rather an integral component of the process, closely tied to the economic and social aspects. However, despite the fact that the link between tourism and heritage preservation was not recognized in the first plan, the case of the refurbishment and reopening of the *Solis* Theatre accomplished under the first plan proved to be successful in integrating those dimensions. Finally, it was recognized by the interviewees that there is still room for further actions in both of the areas considered

Conclusion

The present paper presents some contributions to the current understanding of urban regeneration of historic quarters through tourism in the Latin American context. In particular, it sheds some light on the potential of the development of cultural tourism as a strategy for boosting the regeneration of historic urban areas, in a region in which tourism-led regeneration strategies are almost exclusively associated with the exploitation of colonial heritage (Carrión, 2001). That could be a useful lesson for those cities in the region whose historic quarters are not characterized by their rich colonial past. This study also illustrates the importance of solving safety issues, a common concern in Latin American historic quarters, as a precondition for both the development of tourism and the regeneration of these areas. Finally, it raises some concerns about the consequences of overlooking the implementation of mechanisms for enabling the most vulnerable residents of historic urban quarters to access to jobs in the tourism sector. Despite the aforesaid, it must be considered that the results of this study are highly context-dependent.

The analysis of the findings reveals that there has been a substantial evolution in the role given to the tourism sector in the policies for regenerating the OCM. Its development had a rather secondary character under the first plan. The physical regeneration of the quarter was the primary aim of this plan, and tourism development was conceived mainly as a consequence of it. Conversely, the second

plan gave tourism a central role in the regeneration efforts, basing its economic development strategy on the development of this sector. Moreover, the absence of a tourism development strategy that characterises the first plan strongly contrasts with the marked cultural tourism approach of the latter one. There was a consensus amongst the experts that the evolution in the plans' approach to tourism was reflected in the policies applied in the quarter. They gave special emphasis to the increased interest in developing the cultural sector, in terms of its effect on attracting both tourists and locals to the quarter.

When analyzing the extent to which the policies took advantage of tourism's potential to collaborate with the different dimensions of urban regeneration, a different picture emerged. The evolution in the approach to tourism in the plans was crystal clear in all the dimensions considered, with the exception of safety and infrastructure. These areas already showed certain tourism development vision since the first regeneration plan. However, the emphasis given to tourism development in the second plan was only partly reflected in the policies implemented.

Some of the policies implemented under the RP2 made significant contributions for enabling a further development of the tourism sector. For instance, the improvement of the safety conditions constitutes a watershed in the regeneration process. It provides the basis for the economic regeneration of the quarter, in general, and for tourism development in particular. In addition, it enhances the living conditions of residents and promotes the quarter's repopulation. However, more actions could have been taken for exploiting the potential of tourism in the economic and social dimensions of regeneration. To begin, although the promotion of investment in this sector was emphasized in the plan, no evidence of actions undertaken in this regard were found. In addition, much more could have been done for enabling the access of the most vulnerable groups of the local population to the benefits of tourism. Despite the plan established the development of employment and training programmes aimed at these groups, no significant actions in this regard were taken. That could be seen as a flaw in the policies implemented

since these sectors of the population are considered by the experts as being largely excluded from the tourism job market.

On the other hand, the data from the interviews suggests that despite the lack of tourism development vision of the first plan, some of the actions implemented under it were very efficient in taking advantage of tourism's potential to collaborate with the urban regeneration historic quarters. To begin, the refurbishment and reopening of the *Solis* Theatre corroborates the literature on tourism's potential to contribute to the restoration and maintenance of urban heritage (Craggs, 2008; Law, 1993; Zukin,1995), and to enable the provision of services that can be enjoyed by both tourists and locals (Swarbrooke, 2000). It also illustrates the potential of cultural anchor institutions to collaborate with the regeneration of their surroundings (Law, 1993; Ryberg-Webster & Kinahan, 2014). In addition, the extension of the pedestrian way system implemented under the first plan proved to be effective for enhancing the mobility of both tourists and locals around the quarter, enhancing its vitality, and for attracting investment to the area. That supports the literature that tourism development can be the economic justification for the development of infrastructure that benefits both tourists and locals (Swarbrooke, 2000; Tiesdell et al., 1996), and that the improvement of public spaces acts as a powerful catalyst for attracting investment to these areas (Rojas, 2001).

From the above, it can be argued that while tourism has now a central role in the urban regeneration policies at the planning level, there is still much to do for promoting its development and taking advantage of its potentialities. To begin, further actions for consolidating the OCM as a cultural destination would be important, since the development of cultural tourism showed positive impacts over the quarter's regeneration. Besides, continuing the transformation of the OCM into an area of pedestrian priority and enhancing its public spaces could be positive for attracting both visitors and investment to the area. Finally, the development of mechanisms for enabling the most vulnerable residents from tourism development would also be of paramount importance

Limitations and call for further inquiry

This research used a small sample of experts that is not representative of the perceptions of the wide range of stakeholders involved in the regeneration of the OCM (Jung, Lee, Yap, & Ineson, 2015). While the sample used is considered adequate for an initial study of tourism's role in the regeneration of the OCM's, the researcher recognises the need to expand it to other of the stakeholders involved in the quarter's regeneration.

Although one of the experts interviewed is a resident of the area, it would have been highly important to have deeper insights into the perception of the local community about the regeneration actions. Efforts to interview representatives from associations of local neighbours were done, but it was not possible to get in contact with them. That determined that some critical dimensions such as community participation and the locals' perception of tourism development had to be left out of the analysis. In addition, their participation would have been useful for gaining a deeper understanding of the extent to which locals benefit from the development of tourism. Further research in the dimensions above would be fundamental to inform future policy making.

This study focused on the positive effects of tourism development on the regeneration of the OCM. Despite the fact that no negative impacts of the development of this sector emerged neither from the interviews nor the review of the literature about the regeneration of the quarter, it would be important to investigate further in this area.

Acknowledgments

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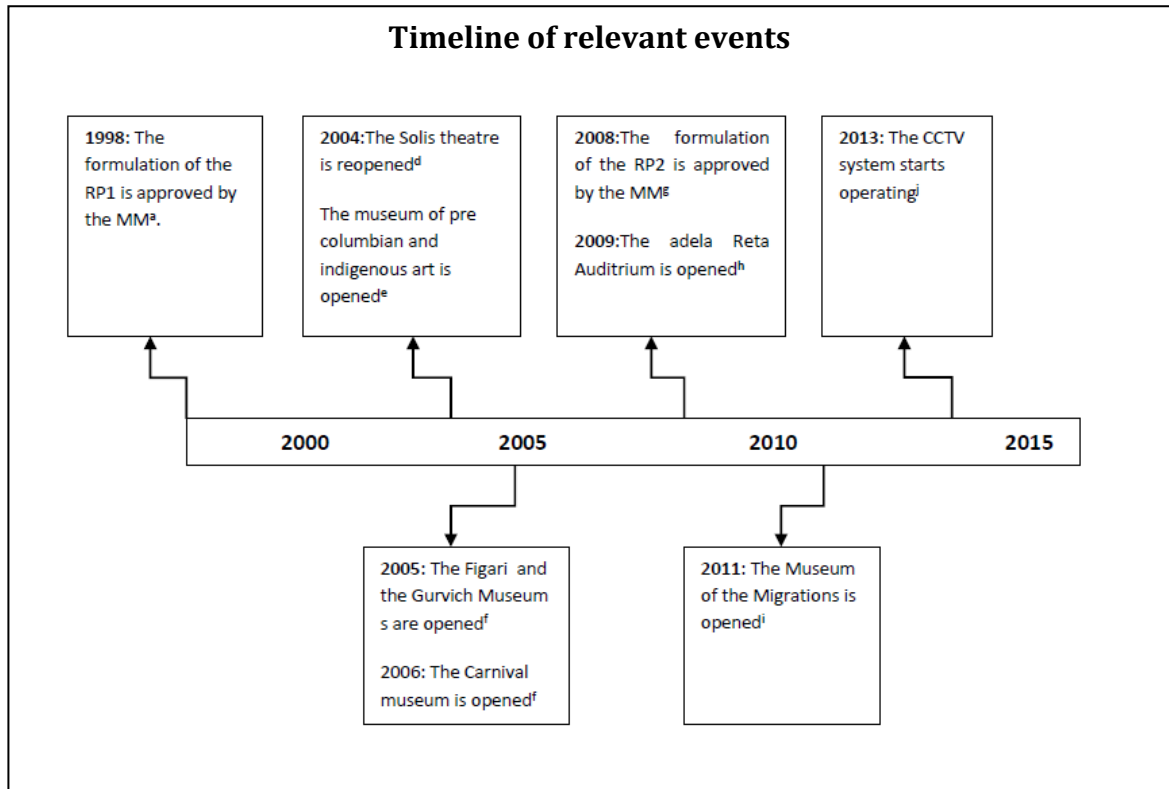Woodside, A. (2010) *Case study research: Theory, methods, practice*. Bingley: Emeral

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Figure 1

Timeline of relevant events

1998: The formulation of the RP1 is approved by the MM[a].	2004: The Solis theatre is reopened[d] The museum of pre columbian and indigenous art is opened[e]	2008: The formulation of the RP2 is approved by the MM[g] 2009: The adela Reta Auditrium is opened[h]	2013: The CCTV system starts operating[j]

2000	2005	2010	2015

2005: The Figari and the Gurvich Museum s are opened[f]

2006: The Carnival museum is opened[f]

2011: The Museum of the Migrations is opened[i]

a- IADB, 2008
b- MM, 2004
c- MM, 2004
d- MM,2014
e- MM,2013
f- MM,2013
g- IADB, 2008
h- Presidencia, 2009
i- MM,2013
j- Ministerio del Interior, 2013

Table 1

Categories and themes emerged from the literature	
Theme A: Tourism	
Category A: Economic	Emergent themes: • Job creation • Investment attraction
Category B: Social	Emergent themes: • Safety • Education/Training
Category C: Physical Environment	Emergent themes: • Infrastructure • Built heritage preservation

Extended Materials

Literature review

Introduction

This chapter critically reviews the literature on urban regeneration, regeneration of historic urban quarters, and regeneration of historic urban quarters through tourism. Firstly a brief description of the Old City of Montevideo (OCM) will be presented in order to set the background for this research. Secondly, the processes of urban change and inner city decay will be presented, and the ways in which these affected the OCM will be discussed. In the third place, the concept of urban regeneration will be introduced, and its applications to historic urban quarters will be explored. Successively, the main potentialities and challenges of tourism as a driver of historic quarter's regeneration will be exposed. Finally, the conclusions of this review will be presented and the main research questions of this study will be introduced.

Setting the background for this research: The context of the Old City of Montevideo

Montevideo is Uruguay's capital and its largest city. It is also the most popular destination for tourists visiting the country (MINTUR, 2015). The Old City is Montevideo's historic centre. It is located on a peninsula, surrounded by the River Plate and the Bay of Montevideo. It occupies an area of approximately 10 hectares (Hegoburu, 2009) Montevideo was founded in this location by the Spanish between 1724 and 1726 (Bonilla, 2001; IMM, 2010). The area of the OCM was once the whole city, and it was fortified until 1829 when the walls were demolished for enabling its expansion (Bonilla, 2001).

A wide variety of economic and cultural activities coexist in the area. It is home to the country's financial centre, its main port, important government agencies, and a wide variety of companies (Abín Gayoso, 2012). Numerous museums, art galleries, cafes, restaurants and entertainment facilities are also located in the quarter (ibid). In addition, the quarter is one of the main attractions for tourists visiting Montevideo (Hegoburu, 2009)

As regards to the social dimension, the area is characterized by its high heterogeneity (Abín Gayoso, 2012; Delgado Dopazo, 2004; Hegoburu, 2009). People of high socio-economic level coexist with a majority of low-income inhabitants (Abín Gayoso, 2012). Vulnerable groups such as migrant communities and homeless people also inhabit the quarter (Abín Gayoso, 2012; IMM, 2011). In addition, while the area has only around 12.000 inhabitants, it receives three times this number every day, that go there for working (Carmona and Varela, 2006)

The Old City is defined by its rich architectural heritage, counting with a wide range of styles within its small area (IMM, 2010). Colonial structures coexist with eclectic, neoclassical, art nouveau, and art deco buildings (IMM, 2010, Bonilla, 2001). However, much of the OCM's built environment has undergone a severe process of degradation over the last six decades (Abín Gayoso, 2012; Carrizo and Arocena, 2005).

Since the beginning of the 1980s, the regeneration of the area has been at the core of municipal policies (Bonilla, 2001). These have addressed the social and economic issues faced by the quarter, as well as those related to heritage preservation. This study will focus on the policies applied in the area since the year 1998 when the formulation of the first comprehensive plan for the regeneration of the area was approved by the Municipality of Montevideo (IADB, 2008).

Urban change and city centre dereliction

Cities have always had a variety of functions. They are centres of trade, culture, social interaction, logistic nodes and places of residence (Roberts, 2008). These functions are not static, but rather dynamic. As it will be exposed to the case of the OCM, their relative importance changes over time, influenced by economic, social, and environmental transformations (Jones and Evans, 2013). These changes have a direct impact on the type of infrastructure and facilities required (Roberts, 2008). As a result, particular urban districts often find that their facilities become obsolete, as they are no longer adequate to the current needs (Ibid).

In his much-cited work, Law (1993) describes the typical process of inner city decay. This was experienced by many British and North American cities in the post-war period (Law, 1993; Martin and Mason 1988). It also affected some cities in continental Europe, but to a

lesser extent (Law, 1993; Martin and Mason 1988). The changes undergone by many historic centres in the South American context over the last six decades including the OCM correspond to a large extent with this process (Carrizo and Arocena, 2005; Hanley and Ruthemburg, 2005). Law (1993) describes it as it follows: Traditionally, cities used to be structured around their centres. These concentrated all the key activities. Ports, railway stations, commercial companies, financial institutions, and government agencies were located in central areas. In addition, industries and warehouses that needed to be close to the transport nodes were located on the fringes of the city centres. Over the second half of last century, this structure started to change. The increasing availability of motor vehicles and infrastructure developments made transport easier and faster, what enabled cities to sprawl outwards. The higher income sectors of the population moved to the suburbs, attracted by the newer and more spacious houses and the better standards of living. Following the residential decentralization, jobs and services also started to move to the suburbs. In addition, many industries found that there was not enough space for expanding in the centres and relocated themselves outside cities. As a result, city centres ended up being inhabited by the least affluent. That determined a low return for real estate in these areas, what discouraged landlords from investing in the maintenance of buildings. In addition, transport, wholesaling and industrial activities on the fringes of the centres also declined, leaving behind their land and derelict buildings.

In the case of Montevideo, the Old city maintained to a large extent its financial and administrative centrality. Unlike most historic port cities, it also maintained partly its transport and logistics centrality as its port was not relocated (Trier, 2004). However, the changes in the infrastructure requirements derived from the introduction of the shipping container determined that old wharves and warehouses were no longer needed, and many became derelict (Trier, 2004). In addition, the central railway station, on the fringe of the OCM stopped its services to passengers in 1988 undermining the transport centrality of the area (Araya et al 2013). In the year 2003, it closed definitely leaving behind its magnificent building and associated, warehouses and land (Cisnero, 2014). On the other hand, the decline of the residential function was particularly severe in the OCM. While it had a population of around 39.365 in 1963 (IMM, 2011), it had only 12.555 inhabitants in 2011 (INE, 2012).

Building dereliction, physical decay, and obsolete infrastructure are the most visible symptoms of urban change on historic centres (Roberts, 2008; Law, 1993). However, the

described process has also profound social consequences, which are reflected in the conditions of poverty, social exclusion, unemployment and job insecurity that characterize many of these areas before their regeneration (Roberts, 2008; Law, 1993). In the OCM informality and unemployment among women and young people were identified as particularly severe (IMM, 2004). Safety issues are one of the most serious problems of historic quarters both in the South American context (Dammert, 2006), and in the case of the OCM (Delgado Dopazo, 2004). These have devastating effects over historic quarters, as they discourage investment, repel tourism, and have a detrimental effect on the life quality of the residents (Carrión, 2001). As it will be exposed in the following sections, public intervention through urban regeneration policies is fundamental in order to reverse the above-mentioned problems.

Urban regeneration

Urban regeneration is a relatively new concept, which arose in the second half of last century (Jones and Evans, 2013). It first appeared as a response to the post-war decline that many North American and European cities experienced, and then further developed as a way of addressing the deindustrialization process suffered by most developed economies in the late 1970s and 1980s as a consequence of the global economic restructuring (Wise, 2016; Smith, 2007; Tiesdell et al, 1996). Although it entails much more than the transformation of city centres, these areas have received most of the attention (Jones and Evans, 2013).

A wide variety of definitions of urban regeneration is available in the literature. Typically, these conceptualize urban regeneration as the planned government efforts to revert the economic, social, physical and environmental problems faced by certain areas as a result of urban change (Jones and Evans, 2013; DCLG, 2009) For the purpose of this research we will adopt the much cited Robert's definition. He describes it as:

> "*The comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental conditions of an area that has been subject to change.*"

> (2008, p.27)

It is widely agreed in the literature that the ultimate goal of the regeneration efforts should be the improvement of the quality of life of urban residents (Tsenkova; 2002; Colantonio and Dixon, 2011). This should not be overlooked when regenerating urban areas through tourism (Andrade, 2005). Regeneration in these cases must be designed to serve to the necessities of both tourists and locals, and seek their integration (Martin and Mason, 1988). This does not only improves the life quality of local residents but also enhances the long-term sustainability of the regeneration efforts (Martin and Mason 1988; Nasser, 2003).

Regeneration of historic urban quarters

Historic urban quarters are characterized for being relatively small areas within cities that show historic integrity and cohesion, and can be identified by clear boundaries or a distinct character (Tiesdell et al, 1996). These form a highly heterogeneous group, as a wide variety of places with different features in terms of age, size, population, and state of preservation can be categorized as such (Carrión, 2001). Usually, these places act as a symbol of the past and as a point of reference for the inhabitants of the cities in which they are embedded (Carrión,2001;Nasser, 2003;Tiesdell, et al, 1996). They also have a fundamental role in the construction of local identities (Carrión, 2007; Yuen, 2005; Nasser 2003). The strong symbolic and identitarian roles of the OCM for the Uruguayan society are widely acknowledged in the literature (Berdía and Roland, 2008; Delgado Dopazo, 2004).

Interest in revitalizing these quarters is relatively recent. It first appeared in Europe and North America in the 1960s, often as a consequence of the campaigns of informal middle-class pressure groups that raised awareness of the threat that large-scale demolitions and gradual dereliction represent for urban heritage (Tiesdell et al, 1996; Nasser, 2003). Since then the importance of regenerating these quarters on national and local government's agendas around the world steadily grew (Smith, 2007, Carrión, 2001). It occupies now a place of privilege in the urban policies of a wide array of cities of every continent (Clarck and Corten, 2011; Carrión, 2001). In addition, over the last two decades international organizations such as the UN, the World Bank, and the Inter-American Development Bank had recognised the great importance of revitalizing these quarters in cities of the developing world, given the high potential of their heritage resources for collaborating with development in the cities in which they are embedded (Najd et al, 2015; Gutman, 2001)

As Tiesdell et al (1996) acknowledged in their seminal book *Revitalizing Historic Urban Quarters,* public policies aimed to preserve these quarters are essential as the market often fails to protect them. In an uncontrolled market, the economically obsolete buildings that characterize historic quarters would either be abandoned or demolished (Tiesdell et al,1996). However, society deems them as worthy of preservation for their historical cultural, architectural, and sense of place values (ibid). Therefore, their destruction or decay would result in a loss of welfare (Ibid). In addition, governments are the only actors that can create the needed environment for enabling private investment, community participation, and individual initiative (Serageldin et al, 2000).

In the case of Montevideo, the interest in the regeneration of the OCM was triggered at the beginning of the 80s by a group of young architects and students, which raised awareness of the magnitude of the heritage loss that the demolitions allowed under the military dictatorship represented (Berdía and Roland, 2008). As a result of their action, the importance of protecting the quarter was recognized by the city's government (ibid). Policies for preserving and regenerating the area have been applied since then. These followed the three phases identified by Song and Oc (2013). The first actions were re-active, focusing on stopping heritage losses (Bonilla, 2001). Then urban policies adopted a more pro-active approach, giving more importance to the improvement of the public realm, and the repopulation of the area (ibid). Finally, the last couple of decades saw the introduction of more integral policies, which set a greater emphasis in the social and economic dimensions of the regeneration (IMM, 2012, Berdía and Roland, 2008). There are a number of academic studies about the regeneration policies applied in the OCM over the last three decades. While none of them addresses the role of tourism, they provide useful insights into the main obstacles that urban regeneration policies faced, and about their main achievements.

To begin, Delgado Dopazo (2004) made a comprehensive review and analysis of the policies applied in the OCM from 1990 to 2004. The author identified the need to repopulate the area as one of the main preconditions for its successful regeneration and highlighted the little impact that the applied policies in this regard had. The improvement of safety conditions and the public realm are identified by her as the most important requirement for attracting new residents to the area. Carrizo and Arocena (2005) studied the social component of the "Old city renews"[5] programme. Bureaucratic hurdles in Montevideo's

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[5] This programme combined the training of unemployed locals in restoration skills with the regeneration of buildings and public spaces of the old city.

municipality were identified by the authors as one of the main hindrances to the success of the programme. By contrast, the high levels of community involvement, and the boost in the pride and sense of belonging of the local residents were identified as the main achievements of the programme. On the other hand, Carmona and Varela (2006) studied the effects of the development of pedestrian ways in the area, which was a fundamental component of the regeneration policies applied in the OCM. They evaluated this strategy as highly successful, highlighting the high social appropriation of these public spaces, and their success in attracting economic activities and inducing the physical regeneration of their surroundings. Finally, Berdía and Roland (2008) studied the evolution in the approach to regeneration in the OCM over the last three decades. They argue that despite the increasing importance given by Montevideo's municipality to the regeneration of the Old City, it is still necessary to give a qualitative leap forward in order to achieve a genuine regeneration of the area. For accomplishing this, these authors argue that it is fundamental to increase the involvement of the relevant economic, social and political actors in the regeneration process.

As Montevideo's municipality acknowledges, a further development of the academic literature about the urban regeneration of the OCM is fundamental in order to better inform policy making (IMM, 2012). Considering the high tourist appeal of the area and the strategic role that tourism occupies in the Old City's regeneration policies the study of the role of this sector in the regeneration of the area appears to be especially important. The importance of filling this gap in the literature will be even more evident when we consider the multiple benefits that tourism offers to urban quarter's regeneration in the next section.

Tourism and urban regeneration

For regenerating urban areas that have undergone a process of decay it is essential to attract new activities to these places (Tiesdell et al 1996). Cities have adopted different strategies for regenerating these areas such as promoting the development of retail, housing, office buildings and leisure and tourism activities (Tiesdell et al 1996, Smith 2007). For the case of this research, we will focus on the latter approach.

The literature on urban regeneration through tourism is relatively well developed. Much of it consists of case studies from the USA, the UK, and continental Europe to a lesser extent.

As mentioned above, these are precisely the places where the issue of inner city decay first appeared (Martin and Mason, 1988, Law, 1993). Cases as the regeneration of Baltimore's Port, Liverpool's waterfront, Birmingham Jewel quarter, Manchester's Castlefield, or the centres of Bilbao and Barcelona are extensively studied (Gibson and Hardman, 1998; Tiesdell et al 1996; González, 2011). Despite many South American cities have also made remarkable efforts to regenerate their historic quarters, the academic research in this context is not so developed.

Some lessons can be learnt from the available studies such as the case of Quito, Guayaquil or Salvador. All of these cases gave tourism a central role in their regeneration strategies, what makes them especially relevant to inform this research. The former one provides useful lessons about the importance of providing good-quality and safe public spaces for enabling the social appropriation of historic quarters (Hanley and Ruthemburg, 2005). It also exemplifies how the regeneration of these areas has positive impacts over the locals' sense of pride, and its potential for strengthening social cohesion between urban residents from different social classes and ethnicities (ibid). On the other hand, the case of Guayaquil makes evident the dangers of overlooking the resident's needs when designing the regeneration strategies. The emphasis given in this case to developing services and infrastructure for tourists had devastating effects on the local's resident's lives, expelling locals from the public areas, such as parks and squares, and displacing many local workers (Andrade, 2005). Finally, the experience of Salvador makes clear the necessity to devise mechanisms to prevent the expulsion of the local residents from the regenerated areas, and the importance of engaging the private sector in the regeneration as a key for its long-term sustainability (Sant'Anna, 2001).

The findings of these case studies should be taken with caution because, as Tiesdell et al (1996) acknowledge, the experience gained by a specific historic quarter is unlikely to be transferable elsewhere. There is not a unique formula for regeneration. It is heavily dependent on specific local conditions as leadership, politics, history, and culture (Ibid).

An area of the literature that is exceptionally well developed is the use of culture and arts for the regeneration of historic quarters (Ryberg-Webster and Kinahan, 2014; Miles and Paddinson, 2005). This strategy is closely related to tourism development (Smith, 2007). It typically includes promotion of cultural events and activities, and the creation of cultural anchor institutions such as museums, theatres, and costly iconic buildings (Law, 1993; Ryberg-Webster and Kinahan, 2014; Uyzal and Özden, 2011). These play a central role in

attracting people to these quarters and enhancing their vitality (Montgomery, 2003). That is fundamental for transforming these quarters in living, organic parts of the cities in which they are embedded (Tiesdell, et al, 1996; Tsenkova, 2002). Besides, they are important for improving the cities' images (Uyzal and Özden, 2011; Wilks-Heeg and North, 2004). Finally, it is sometimes suggested that this strategy also collaborates with the alleviation of the stigma often associated with the residents of decayed urban quarters (Miles and Paddinson, 2005).

Over the last three decades, the use of culture and arts in urban regeneration policies has achieved a remarkable popularity (Miles and Paddinson, 2005; Richards and Wilson, 2007). Diverse cities such as Dundee, Istambul, and Osaka focused their urban regeneration policies in the development of cultural infrastructure and events, as a way of regenerating their decayed historic areas (Uyzal and Özden, 2011; Di Domenico and Di Domenico 2007; Kana, 2012). In the case of the OCM several efforts have been made over the last decades to improve its cultural centrality. Uruguay's most important theatre was reopened, and 5 museums were created (IMM, 2014; IMM, 2013) In addition, the first two editions of the Biennial of Montevideo were held in different venues around the quarter (De la Cruz, 2014) Whether these efforts were successful for the regeneration of the OCM will be addressed in this research.

Despite the above, it must be warned that the development of culture and arts is not a panacea for urban regeneration (Miles and Paddinson, 2005). In many cases, short-sighted approaches focused on economic returns of regeneration undermine the value of local culture for the quarter's residents (ibid). If not strongly connected with the local identity and sense of place, urban regeneration through culture and tourism can result in bland, placeless quarters (Smith, 2007). In addition, successful cases are usually replicated by other cities, what results in the multiplication of similar quarters around the world and undermine their tourist attractiveness (Richards and Wilson, 2007). Finally, it is sometimes argued that the impact of these costly developments could be exaggerated by local governments as a result of the absence of a clear evidential basis for proving their benefits (Miles and Paddinson, 2005).

Understanding the role of tourism in the urban regeneration of historic urban quarters

As Nasser (2003) acknowledges, tourism has an inherent potential for enabling the regeneration of historic quarters in a sustainable way, and therefore it is often at the core of urban policies in this area. It can collaborate with the physical, economic, and social dimensions of urban regeneration (Law, 1992; Nasser, 2003). Besides, the historic legacy, character, and sense of place of these quarters provide an excellent foundation for its development (Tiesdell, et al 1996).

There is a consensus in the literature that economic revitalization is a *sine qua non* condition for the successful regeneration of historic quarters (Nasser, 2003; Tiesdell et al, 1996). As Tiesdell et al (1996) acknowledge, the decay that characterises many historic urban quarters results from the mismatch between the services offered by the physical fabric, and the demands from contemporary economic activities. Therefore, any attempt to revitalize these areas should seek to attract new activities to make use of their built environment (Tiesdell et al, 1996; Roberts 2008). Besides, it would be unrealistic to expect the sustainable regeneration of historic quarters relying solely on public funds (Tiesdell et al 1996).In this context, tourism is typically considered to provide the economic justification for the expensive task of regenerating historic quarters (Orbasli, 2002; Martin and Mason, 1988).

 To begin, tourism contributes to the diversification of the economies of historic quarters (Tiesdell et al 1996) Besides, it attracts investment to these areas and brings foreign currency (Swarbrooke, 2000). In addition, it produces considerable tax revenues, which are essential to sustain heritage conservation (Galdini, 2007; Nasser, 2003). As a labour intensive industry, tourism has a great potential for employment generation (Swarbrooke, 2000). Special attention will be given to this area in this study, as historic centres in South America, including the OCM, are characterised for the low income and job insecurity of their inhabitants (Carrizo and Arocena, 2005). One of its main virtues in this regard is that job creation in this sector requires significantly less capital investment than in other industries (Cuckier, 2002) Furthermore, as most jobs have low skill requirements, it has a great potential for employing vulnerable sectors of the population, such as young inexperienced people, or women wishing to return to the labour market (Tiesdell, et al, 1996; Cukier,2002; Swarbrooke, 2000). As mentioned above, these are precisely the group facing the highest rates of unemployment in the OCM .Tourism also favours small-scale entrepreneurship, what gives it a great potential for poverty alleviation (Holden, 2012).

Nevertheless, it must be warned that the development of tourism in historic centres does not automatically translate into an improvement of the economic conditions of the most vulnerable population, as Fontan Kohler (2013) shows for the case of Manchester. Mechanisms for ensuring the equitable access to the economic benefits of tourism should be thoroughly planned as part of the regeneration plans (Nasser, 2003).

One common critique of regeneration policies through tourism is that policies had been traditionally focused on the economic dimension (Wise, 2016). Most of them were centred in maximising visitor expenditure, employment creation, and the multiplier effect (Smith, 2007) Over the last couple of decades, however, social, cultural and environmental aspects started gaining importance in the regeneration policies, playing now a fundamental role in them (Wise, 2016; Smith, 2007; Cento Bull and Jones, 2006). As it will be shown in the following paragraphs, tourism has a great potential to improve the conditions of historic quarters in all these dimensions.

Tourism also offers a wide array of social benefits to historic urban quarters. To begin, It enhances local pride and self-esteem, as locals see that their quarter is seen as worthwhile by tourists (Swarbrooke, 2000). It also stimulates the development of new services and infrastructure that can be enjoyed by both tourists and locals (ibid). In addition, it is often argued that the regeneration of urban heritage strengthens the sense of community and shared identity within cities (Serageldin and Shluger, 2000). Besides, the attraction of people and revitalization of pedestrian life make these areas safer places (Tiesdell, et al, 1996). This last point is fundamental, as safety issues are one of the most common obstacles identified for achieving regeneration both in the South American context (Dammert, 2006), and in the case of the OCM (Delgado Dopazo, 2004).

Tourism also collaborates with the improvement of the image of these quarters as liveable places to visit and live (Galdini,2007; Tiesdell, et al, 1996). On the one hand, this is fundamental to attract new businesses to these quarters (Craggs, 2008; Tiesdell, et al, 1996). On the other, it collaborates to attract new middle-class residents, what makes the neighbourhood more diverse and helps to remove the stigma usually associated with these areas before their regeneration (Craggs, 2008). This last point is highly relevant to the case under study, as the OCM suffered a severe process of depopulation over the last five decades (Abín Gayoso, 2012; Delgado Dopazo, 2004). While the area had a population of around 39.365 in 1963, it constantly decreased over the following decades (IMM, 2011). According to the information of the last available census, only 12.555 persons live in the

OCM in the year 2011 (INE, 2012). This process is identified by Carmona and Varela (2006) as being closely related with the impoverishment of the quarter's image.

Despite some efforts have been made by the local government to revert the aforementioned process, such as the recycling of derelict buildings into social housing, and the provision of flexible home loans, the achievements in this area are still limited (Delgado Dopazo, 2004;Abín Gayoso 201). A further development of touristic-cultural activities could help in reversing the decrease in the OCM's population. As Forida (2002) suggested in his much-cited work, a vibrant cultural scene is fundamental for attracting highly-educated and creative professionals. This is identified by the author as the key for the economic growth of cities in the post-industrial age. Achievements in this regard would not only be important for its regeneration but would also collaborate with the alleviation of Uruguay's quantitative housing deficit (IADB, 2011).

Regarding the physical dimension, it is widely agreed in the literature that the development of tourism enables the restoration and recycling of derelict land and buildings (Craggs, 2008; Nasser, 2003; Swarbrooke, 2000). Historic buildings in the core areas of historic centres are typically restored for providing services such as accommodation, entertainment, and shopping to tourists (Zukin, 1995). In addition, the derelict wharves, factories, docks, and railway installations, usually present in the fringes of historic quarters, are often renewed leisure purposes, without sacrificing its heritage qualities (Craggs, 2008; Law, 1993). The UK's experience provides some interesting examples in this regard. The development of tourism proved to be an effective strategy for the regeneration of Liverpool's waterfront (Martin and Mason, 1988; Avery, 2007). Through the introduction of cultural attractions, speciality shopping, and eating and drinking services, this derelict place was transformed into a thriving area, popular among tourists (Avery, 2007; Jones, 2007; Martin and Mason, 1988). Similarly, the once run-down area of Castlefield, in Manchester, was transformed into a popular tourist area by developing cultural and catering services in the old railway station and warehouses (Fontan Kohler, 2013; Tiesdell et al 1996).

The OCM counts with plenty of buildings and land waiting to be converted into new uses. As mentioned above, several obsolete wharves and railway installations are situated on its fringes. The presence of diverse commercial and residential buildings of high architectural value in a poor state of preservation is also a defining feature of this quarter (Urwicz 2015; Fernandez 2013) Besides, the OCM is characterised by the abundance of wasteland, as a result of the high number of buildings demolished under the late 70s real estate boom that

were never replaced (Bonilla, 2001; Delgado Dopazo, 2004). Considering the aforementioned, it is evident that tourism has a great potential for enabling the regeneration of the OCM physical environment.

Despite the above-described benefits of tourism for historic urban quarters, its development does not come without problems. One of the most common critiques of this regeneration approach is that the high volume of tourists that some historic quarters receive has an erosive effect on the urban fabric, and puts the local infrastructure under significant pressure (Orbasili, 2002). In addition, overcrowding disrupts local lifestyles and undermines the attractiveness of these areas (Galdini, 2007;Orbasili, 2002). It should be always bared in mind when planning that an over exploitation of urban heritage will only result in the degradation of this resource (Nasser, 2003; Orbasili,2002). Rises in the prices of properties and goods are also among the most common issues in regenerated historic quarters (Galdini, 2007; Nasser, 2003). In addition, some authors argue that that high competition between cities to attract tourists often leads to the reinterpretation and redefinition of their local culture, in order to become attractive to tourist demand (Galdini, 2007; Nasser, 2003). This often results in the annoyance of the local community, and their rejection of the tourism activities (Galdini, 2007; Orbasili, 2002). If not managed properly, these issues can seriously threaten the long-term sustainability of tourism in historic centres.

Gentrification is the most extensively discussed issue about historic quarter's regeneration through tourism (Ryberg-Webster and Kimahan, 2014; Smith and Smith, 2000). When operations of revitalization take place, these central areas of the cities, characterized by their heritage richness and central location, start gaining relevance for their potential for real estate development and touristic exploitation (Diaz Parra and Rabazco Pozuelo, 2013). As a result, the price of properties rises significantly, and the most vulnerable sectors of the population are forced to abandon these areas, as they cannot afford the higher rents (Skoll and Korstanje, 2014) A clear example of this process is presented by Gotham (2005) for the case of New Orleans' French quarter. As a result of tourism development in the quarter, the mostly African-American low-income residents were pushed out of it. In spite of the importance of this issue in the literature, the study of this complex phenomenon for the case of the OCM is beyond the purpose of this research. It must be highlighted, however, that Diaz Parra and Rabazco Pozuelo (2013) consider that there has not been a significant increase in the real estate prices in the case of the OCM as a result of the regeneration policies. In addition, the authors identified the traditional the mutual-help cooperative

housing scheme[6], relatively well developed in the OCM, as an effective mechanism for preventing the displacement of low-income residents of the area.

Finally, it is worth highlighting that when efforts to regenerate a historic quarter are made, the public sector should play a leading role in developing the tourist strategy, providing and managing public open spaces, developing and maintaining attractions and creating incentives for the private sector to invest in these areas (Tiesdell et al, 1996).It should also promote the cooperation between private sector actors, in order to guarantee the coherence of their actions (Law, 1993).

Concluding thoughts and research questions

From reviewing the literature about urban regeneration, regeneration of historical quarters, and the role of tourism in these processes, key concepts and issues have emerged. These will provide the academic underpinning of the research project, and assist in establishing the research questions.

Exploring the literature on urban change and inner city dereliction was useful to have a better understanding of the causes behind the process of decay experienced by the OCM over the last six decades. On the other hand, reviewing the literature on urban regeneration of historic quarters was important to understand the importance of public action in these areas, and to understand the different economic, social and environmental issues suffered by them. Finally, exploring the literature about the role of tourism in the regeneration of urban quarter was fundamental for developing a deep understanding of the various dimensions in which this activity can collaborate with the regeneration of these areas, and the main drawbacks that can be associated with this kind of strategy.

From reviewing the literature it is evident that there is a need for further research about the regeneration of historic quarters through tourism in the South American context. Regardless of the great popularity of this approach to regeneration in the regeneration

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[6] The mutual-help cooperative housing scheme is a long standing social movement in Uruguay. These cooperatives are usually integrated by low-income people, which contribute with capital and labour to the construction process (Bertullo et al, 2003). This kind of initiatives are actively promoted by both the Uruguayan legislation and Montevideo's municipality (Delgado Dopazo, 2004)

policies applied in the continent, and the great emphasis given to them by international development organizations, the literature on this topic is still in a nascent stage. This is even more evident in the case of Montevideo. Despite Regeneration policies in the OCM have been applied over the last three decades there are only a few academic studies about them. Even the Municipality of Montevideo highlighted the necessity of developing more academic research in this area for better informing policy-making (IMM, 2012). The gap in the literature is especially severe in the case of tourism. In spite of its centrality in regeneration policies, and the importance of the quarter as a tourist attraction, not even a single study addressed its role in the regeneration process. In the light of the above, this piece of research will be important to collaborate with bridging the existent gap.

The following research questions emerged from this work:

- What has been the role of tourism in the regeneration of the Old City of Montevideo?

- To what extent urban policies in the Old City of Montevideo took advantage of the potentialities of tourism for regeneration?

- What have been the main achievements and flaws of urban and tourism policies in this area?

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Methodology

This is a policy-oriented research that focuses on urban regeneration policies in historic quarters in order to understand their approach to tourism and to develop recommendations for the future (Johnston & Plummer, 2005; Powers, 2013). A single case study was chosen as the research design because, despite presenting problems of generalization, it allows to develop deep insights of the process under study (Flick, 2009; Punch, 2014; Woodside, 2010). Considering the aim of this research, and the highly specific nature of cities' political and administrative profiles, this study design is particularly suitable (Parker, 2004). While the findings of multiple case studies are usually considered in the literature as more robust in terms of generalization (Bryman, 2004; Yin, 2003), those are not suitable for observing a case as a whole, and in all its complexity (Flick, 2009). Besides, as Yin (2003, p.47) acknowledges, conducting multiple case studies "can require extensive resources and time beyond the means of a single student or independent research investigator". While the findings of this work are context-dependent and cannot be generalized, valuable practical lessons can be learned for future regeneration policies in Montevideo, and other settings with similar characteristics (Flyvbjerg, 2004; Mayring, 2007).

The historic centre of Montevideo was chosen for this study because it is a well-defined area, with a high touristic potential, which has undergone a series of regeneration policies over the last three decades. In addition, Montevideo is the researcher's native city, which greatly facilitates the essential task of gaining access to the relevant people and information (Patton, 1990; Silverman, 2005).

This research is conceptually framed by realism. Under this approach, knowledge is conceived as a social and historical product (Robson, 2011). Social reality is considered as existing not only in the mind but also in the world (Miles, Huberman & Saldaña, 2014; Sayer, 2004). Furthermore, this approach conceives reality as consisting of "structures that are themselves sets of interrelated objects and of mechanisms through which those objects interact" (Sobh & Perry, 2005, p. 1199).

The context in which those interactions take place is considered as highly influential of their results (Sobh & Perry, 2005). Therefore, realism is especially suitable for approaching the study of the open and uncontrolled situations that characterise social science (Robson, 2011; Sayer, 2004). When the matter of the research are public policies, realist studies offer rich insights of how "mechanisms" work, taking into account the relevant stakeholders, and the specific context of each situation (Pawson & Tilley, 2004, p.6). The effectiveness of policies dealing with the regeneration of historic quarters is particularly dependent on the specific contexts in which these are implemented (Tiesdell et al 1996). Hence, the realist approach is particularly appropriate for the present study.

Qualitative methods have been chosen for conducting this research as they are particularly suitable for exploring and understanding complex systems, needs, and behaviours, what is essential in policy-related studies (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994). In addition, qualitative methods fit especially well to this study, as the nature of its research question determined the use of large amounts of textual data (Bernard, 2000; Flick, 2009)

Methods

This research combines the analysis of policy documents and semi-structured interviews using qualitative content analysis. The combination of methods is fundamental for achieving deeper insights when doing case studies (Woodside, 2010). Krippendorff (2013, p.24) defines content analysis as "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts [...] to the context of their use". This research technique was chosen as it presents a number of advantages that make it especially suitable for the case of this study.

To begin with, content analysis can reliably cope with large masses of textual data (Flick,2014; Krippendorff, 2013). Besides, a further advantage of this method as compared to other approaches to textual analysis is that the context of the material

is always taken into account in the analysis (Krippendorff, 2013; Mayring, 2014; Robson, 2011). This is especially relevant for this study, as the analyzed data was collected from a variety of stakeholders involved in the regeneration of the Old City of Montevideo, and the development of tourism in the area. In addition, as content analysis can be applied to textual data in a wide variety of formats, it facilitates the comparison of the results of the analysis of the documents and the interviews (Bryman, 2004; Krippendorff, 2013).

Within the different qualitative content analysis techniques, structuring content analysis was the one selected for this study. It was chosen in order to filter out, condense and analyze the particular aspects of the documents and interviews that are relevant to answering the research questions (Flick, 2014; Flick, Kardoff, & Steinke, 2004).

The policy documents and the interviews were analyzed separately. Firstly, the documents were analyzed in order to investigate their approach to tourism in the context of the regeneration of the OCM, and the extent to which tourism's potential for collaborating with the regeneration of the area was considered. Later the interviews were analyzed, for exploring the experts' perceptions about the approach to tourism in the regeneration policies at the implementation level, and their opinions about the policies' main achievements and flaws.

Sampling

Policy Documents

Documents are a particularly rich source of information for analyzing policies (Patton, 1990). Additionally, document analysis has the advantage of being an unobtrusive method (Flick,2014; Robson, 2011). When analyzing documents it is essential to consider who has produced them, in which context, and for whom (Flick, 2014; Robson, 2011). For this research, a document corpus was constructed

using purposeful sampling. This is a non-probability sampling technique whose purpose is "to select information-rich cases whose study will illuminate the research questions" (Patton, 1990. P.169). In particular, the critical case sampling strategy was chosen. This consists of selecting those cases that are "particularly important in the scheme of things" (Patton, 1990. p.174). Whereas generalisation is more restricted with this strategy (Flick, 1990), it allows the in-depth study of the texts that contribute the most to answering the research question (Patton,1990). While all the analyzed documents are in Spanish, relevant sections have been translated to English, paraphrased and quoted in the discussion and findings section. The translation of the contents of the documents analyzed is available in appendix C.

Interviews

Semi-structured interviews with experts were conducted for complementing the document analysis. Expert interviews are used mostly when information is needed from "Staff members of an organization with a specific function and a specific (professional) experience and knowledge" (Flick, 2009, p. 166). Therefore, this method is particularly fruitful when the matter under study involves public policies (Abels & Behrens, 2009; Meuser & Nagel, 2009). In the case of this research, expert interviews were of paramount importance to gain a deeper understanding of the approach to tourism in the regeneration policies, and about their effectiveness for developing tourism in the OCM (Robson, 2011).

The selection of the interviewees was done purposively, seeking for the persons that offered the richest insights into the matter of the research (Flick, 2009). The researcher defined the characteristics of the experts to be included in the sample, which are: to have been involved in the design and application of the regeneration policies for the OCM, or to have occupied directive positions in organizations involved in the development of tourism in the area over the last two decades (Flick 2009; Patton, 1990). The experts were selected from a variety institutions, both public and private, in order to bring different perspectives into the research (Wroblewski & Leitner, 2009). The interviewees were found by the researcher using the contact details on the different institution's websites (Littig, 2009). When

selecting them, priority was given to directors of organizations formed by a variety of tourism-related entities, as they would presumably have broader perspectives of the sector's evolution. For more information about the experts interviewed see appendix D.

Semi-structured interviews were considered the most appropriate interviewing technique for the case of this study as they are flexible enough for enabling the addition and modification of questions during the course of the interview (Robson, 2011), but allowing to make efficient of time, which is essential when interviewing experts (Flick, 2009; Littig, 2009). The translation of the interview guide used containing the questions and prompts is available in appendix F.

The interviews were conducted using *Skype* video call software given that the researcher did not have availability to travel to Montevideo to perform them. Video interviews were chosen over telephonic ones, as they permit the transmission of a wider range of non-verbal cues (Jewitt, 2012). Despite the fact that these interviews have a number of disadvantages as compared to face-to-face ones, these are not a problem when the social cues of the interviewee are not central to the research, as in the case of this study (Robson, 2011).

All the interviews were conducted in Spanish, as it is both the researcher's and the experts' native language. These lasted between twenty-five minutes and an hour. Before conducting them the purpose of the research was explained, issues of confidentiality and consent were discussed, and permission to record was requested (Brinkman & Kvale, 2006). All the respondents authorized the use of the information collected from the interview for this study by signing a consent form. For the translation of the document signed by the respondents see appendix I. The interviews recordings, notes and transcripts were stored in a password protected memory stick (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). The translation of the transcript of one of the interviews is available in appendix G.

Coding and Categorising

In structuring content analysis the dimensions to be extracted from the texts are defined deductively (Kohlbacher, 2006; Mayring, 2014). For this study, the categories and themes were developed based on the literature on urban regeneration of historical city centres, and from previous studies about regeneration policies in the old city of Montevideo (Mayring, 2014). Successively, the texts were run-through for marking the categories and extracting them (Mayring, 2014). These were revised before analyzing the 50% of the material, and some of them were discarded as a result (Mayring, 2014). No significant ambiguous situations were faced when assigning the categories, and therefore it was not necessary to develop coding rules (Mayring, 2014). Finally, the material extracted from the texts was summarized and analyzed (Mayring, 2014). This process was applied separately to the documents and the interviews, and the results were later contrasted.

Despite structuring content analysis relies exclusively on deductive category assignment, when reading the documents as a whole special attention was given to the possible presence of relevant dimensions that were not incorporated in the categories and themes extracted from the literature (Mayring, 2014). However, no relevant areas were found. The categories and themes used are available in table 1.

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Appendix A

Aims and objectives

Aim: To critically evaluate the role of tourism in the regeneration of historic urban areas in order to learn lessons for the future taking the Old City of Montevideo as a case study.

Objectives:

1 - To review the relevant literature on urban regeneration, regeneration of historical urban areas through tourism, and the existent studies about the regeneration of the Old City of Montevideo.

2- To identify the different urban regeneration policies and projects that took place in the Old City of Montevideo over the last 20 years.

3- To determine whether and how the regeneration initiatives influenced the development of tourism.

4- To analyze the existing documents about regeneration policies and projects implemented in the defined time span. A maximum of three plans will be considered.

5- To realize between 3 and 5 interviews to relevant actors based on the outcomes of the documental analysis.

6- To draw conclusions and develop a set of recommendations as appropriate in light of the findings.

Appendix B

Documents analyzed

Regeneration Plan 1: *Special Plan for the Old City of Montevideo* (SPOCM) (1998 -2007)	• Information report – SPOCM (2003) • Management report- SPOCM (2003) • Regulation report- SPOCM (2003) • Territorial Ordination report- SPOCM (2003) • 'OC Renews' conference report (2009) • 'The OCM: Touristic, Cultural and Historic Space' consultancy study (2004)
Regeneration Plan 2: *Programme of Revitalization for the Old City of Montevideo* (PROCM) (2008- 2016)	• Strategy and management report - PROCM (2012) • Operation plan - PROCM (2008) • Economic development strategy and management model - PROCM (2008)

Appendix C

Translation of the contents of the documents analyzed

Regeneration plan 1- 'Special plan for the Old City of Montevideo'

Information Report

- Introduction
- Mission and Vision
- Territory
- Urban Structure
- Architectural and Urban Heritage
- Mobility
- Population, Society, and Housing
- Management Strategy
- Zones of Homogeneous Problematic
- Cartography

Management Report

- Orientating Principles of the Management Strategy
- Management Model
- Paths of Action
- Economic Development Strategies
- Repopulation, Housing and Social Development Strategies
- Mobility Improvement Strategies
- Priorities and Stages

Regulation Report

- Introduction
- Current Situation
- Objectives
- Regulation Structure
- Modes of Regulation Application

Territorial Ordination Report

- Ordination Principles
- Territorial Model
- Heritage Inventory

- Public Space and Mobility
- Built Environment
- Zone Regulation
- Areas of Integral Regeneration
- Zone Projects
- Quantitative summary
- Cartography

'OCM Renews' Conference Report

- Introduction
- The 'OCM Renews' Programme
- Main Actions
- The Workshop
- Rehabilitation of the Public Space
- Training Courses, Microloans and Technical Support for Job Creation
- Generating Public Policy Knowledge
- Social Communication
- Main Lessons
- Main Challenges
- Perspectives for the OCM

'The OCM: Touristic, Cultural, and Historic Space' consultancy study

- Summary
- Introduction
- Methodology
- Characterization of the Tourism Sector
- The Old City Quarter: Socioeconomic Characterization
- Tourism in the Local Economy
- Proposal of Tourism Development
- Final Considerations
- Bibliography

Regeneration Plan 2- 'Programme of Revitalization for the Old City of Montevideo'

Strategy and management report

-Revitalization Strategy
- Vision

-Strategy Principles and Main Objectives
-Management Model
-Lessons from the International Experience
-General Proposal
-Proposal Components
-Implementation Process

Operation Plan

- Background
- Objectives
- Plan Description
- Cost and Funding
- Implementation
- Beneficiaries
- Risks
- Environmental Consideration

Economic development strategy and management model

- Introduction
- Background
- Objectives
- Actions
- Characterization of the Study

Appendix D

Interviewees' profiles[7]

M. Sc., BA Adriana Careaga

- Director of 'Montevideo Bureau', the city's tourism promotion organization, integrated by public and private actors of the tourism sector.
- Director of the 'Espacio Cultural Al pie de la Muralla', an organization that develops cultural and educational activities mainly related to the Old City's heritage.
- Vice president of ICOFORT , the International Scientific Committee on Fortifications and Military Heritage
- Resident of the Old City of Montevideo

Dr. Antonio Carámbula

- Director of Uruguay XXI – Uruguay's investment and trade promotion agency
- Former vice minister of Uruguay's Ministry of Tourism
- Former Director of the 'Plan for the regeneration of the Old City' of the Municipality of Montevideo

NP. Bruno Tripodi

- Director of 'Paseo Cultural Ciudad Vieja', a civic association that promotes the development of cultural and artistic activities in the Old City of Montevideo in order to develop tourism and revitalize the area. The association is supported by a wide array of companies involved in the quarter's tourism sector.
- Director of 'Asociación de amigos del Museo de las Migraciones', an organization aimed to promote the realization of cultural activities in one of the most important museums of the Old City of Montevideo.

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[7] The Identity of the experts was not reveled in the discussion and findings section with the exeption of those cases in which the experts' specific position was especially relevant for the analysis.

Appendix E

Interview guide

Turismo

¿Cómo evalúas la evolución del turismo en la Ciudad Vieja (CV) en las últimas dos décadas?

¿Cuáles consideras los principales obstáculo**s** para su desarrollo?

¿Consideras que hubo un cambio en el enfoque hacia el sector turístico entre el primer y segundo plan de regeneración urbana?

¿Se notó a nivel de las políticas aplicadas? ¿En que áreas?

Cultura

¿Consideras que hubo un cambio en el enfoque hacia el sector cultural entre los dos planes?

¿Cuales consideras los principales obstáculos al desarrollo de emprendimientos turístico-culturales?

¿Cómo evalúas las acciones de mejora de la infraestructura cultural realizadas en la CV en las últimas dos décadas en cuanto a su impacto sobre el sector turístico? (Teatro *Solis*, Nuevos Museos)

Empleo

¿En qué grado se beneficia la población local de empleos en el sector turístico?

¿Encuentran las empresas del sector turístico en la CV dificultades para conseguir trabajadores calificados? ¿Qué necesidades hay en materia de calificación?

Educación

¿Consideras que sería necesario desarrollar cursos de capacitación laboral en áreas relacionadas con el turismo?

Inversión

¿Consideras que las políticas de regeneración actuaron como catalizador para promover mayor inversión en el área?

¿Se definieron incentivos a l inversión en el sector turístico en la CV en las últimas dos décadas?

¿Consideras necesaria la creación de incentivos específicos para promover la inversión en el sector turístico en la CV?

Conservación del patrimonio

¿Cómo evalúas las acciones de conservación del patrimonio llevadas a cabo en la CV durante las últimas dos décadas en cuanto a su impacto sobre el turismo? (*Cabildo, Solis*, Palacio Gómez)

¿Cuáles te parecen las necesidades más urgentes en esta área?

¿Cuáles te parecen los mayores obstáculos para la regeneración física de la CV?

Infraestructura

¿Fue efectiva la expansión del sistema de peatonales para ampliar el área recorrida por los turistas dentro de la CV?

¿Cuáles consideras las necesidades más urgentes en esta área?

Seguridad

¿Cómo evalúas la evolución de la seguridad en la CV?

Appendix F

Translated interview guide

Tourism

How do you evaluate the evolution of the tourism sector in the Old City of Montevideo (OCM) over the last two decades?

What do you consider the main obstacles for tourism development in the OCM?

Do you consider that there was a change in the approach to tourism between the two last regeneration plans?

Was this change noticeable in the policies implemented? In which dimensions?

Culture

Do you consider that there was a change in the approach to the cultural sector in the policies implemented under the last two regeneration plans?

What do you consider the main obstacles for the development of the cultural sector in the OCM?

How do you evaluate the expansion of the OCM's cultural infrastructure in terms of its impact on tourism? (*Solis* theatre, new museums)

Employment

To what extent does the local population of the OCM benefit from jobs in the tourism sector?

Do the companies in the tourism sector find any difficulty in finding skilled staff? In which areas?

Education

Do you consider that it would be necessary to develop job training courses related to tourism?

Investment

Do you consider that the regeneration policies implemented acted as a catalyst for attracting investment to the OCM?

Are you aware of any incentive for attracting investment to the tourism sector created under the last two regeneration plans?

Do you consider necessary to define incentives for attracting investment to the tourism sector of the OCM?

Heritage Conservation

How do you evaluate the heritage conservation actions undertaken in the OCM over the last two decades in terms of their effect on tourism? (*Solis* theatre, *Cabildo*, Gómez palace)

What do you consider the most urgent needs in this area?

What do you consider the main obstacles for the physical regeneration of the OCM?

Infrastructure

Was the extension of the pedestrian way system effective for expanding the area of the OCM visited by tourists?

What do you consider the main needs in this dimension?

Safety

How do you evaluate the evolution of the safety conditions in the OCM?

Appendix G

Translation of the transcript of one of the interviews conducted

Before starting every interview a brief introduction to the research project was done, confidentiality aspects were discussed, and permission for recording was requested. The following is the translated transcript of one of the interviews performed.

Me: So...To begin, I would like to know your perception about the evolution of tourism in the OCM over the last two decades?

Expert 1: Well... I think that since the early 90s the old city has changed a lot. I would say a decade ago in the old town there was a big affluence of young people to the quarter, there were many clubs, bars, and restaurants in the quarter, and that attracted tourism. Then the entertainment locus for young people moved way to other areas of the city.

Me: Good...For this study I am working with the last two regeneration plans implemented in the OCM over the last two decades. Do you consider that there has been a change in the approach to tourism between the two last regeneration plans?

Expert 1: Yes... Absolutely..I think there has been an evolution in the policy approach to tourism over the last 20 years… Without any doubts...the importance of tourism for the regeneration of the OCM has been internalized by the MM, and that is reflected in the actions of the MM.

Me: Ok, was that noticeable in specific actions?

Expert 1: Yes it was...In fact, the creation of the tourist police, with specific training to cater to tourists is an example of the importance given to tourism...It is also clear from all the cultural activities that have been organized in the Old City...and in other dimensions as well... There was an evolution to the approach to tourism, and we can say that that is reflected in the policies, both at the national and local level.

Me: Ok, thank you...And..What do you perceive as the main obstacles to the development of tourism in the OCM?

Expert 1: Well... I believe that what is needed is to create synergies between the different actors of the sector… and more creativity. I think the problem is that entrepreneurs want immediate results, but it is necessary to learn to think in the medium and long term.

Me: Ok, I see.. .Anything else?

Expert 1: Well...[Laughs] I think that Uruguayan people have a quite corporative way of thinking...that makes it extremely difficult to work in networks. But... you know, that's fundamental in this sector! It is necessary to have more cooperation between the different stakeholders of the tourism sector in order to create new products, and to attract more tourists. And.. Yes, I would say that thinking only in the short-term is one of the main obstacles.

Me: Thank you, now I would like to move to the cultural dimension. Do you consider that there was a change in the approach to the cultural sector in the policies implemented under the last two regeneration plans?

Expert 1: Well... In the past couple of years a lot of activities have been promoted. For instance bonfires for the 'San Juan' eve were made the last two years, and that attracted a lot of people from other neighbourhoods, and tourists as well.

Me: I see...

Expert 1: Well...Many things have been done, for instance, every may the 'museum day' is organized. This is an important action for fostering the regeneration of the area, thousands of people come to the quarter for this event. There was also a race organized in the quarter, that attracted a lot of people... The 'running my wall 'one. But, going back to the cultural area, I want to highlight that a lot has been done regarding the coordination between the different actors of the cultural area. Networks of museums, of tourist activities, of cultural activities have been organized, and this Foster the creation of synergies.

Me: Ok, good...

Expert 1: There is another very positive aspect about it...The development of the cultural sector is helping to reverse the negative image of the quarter related to crime and drugs issues, and prostitution... people usually had that image about the Old City, but not anymore! There are also policies, mostly municipal policies, for regenerating the physical environment of the area, and also for creating pedestrian ways. Besides, the area, unlike others of Montevideo, is always clean, is constantly being cleaned. All these actions help to regenerate the quarter and to attract both national and international tourists...

Me: Ok, thank you. To what extent does the local population of the OCM benefit from jobs in the tourism sector?

Expert 1: Well...Not much...This is precisely one of the areas in which we need to work. The development of tourism should benefit the locals, but there is still much to do in this area.

Me: And...Do the companies in the tourism sector of the OCM face difficulties for finding skilled personnel?

Expert 1: Well, in the last few years there was a great improvement in this topic. There are now undergraduate courses in tourism management in the Catholic University and in the University of the Republic. I think that.. tourism is now conceived as something that it is studied, that can be researched, and not so much as an amateur activity as it was conceived before in Uruguay.

Me: Ok, and which do you consider the main necessities in terms of skills faced by companies in the tourism sector?

Expert 1: I believe that this is a process... There are people graduating from the new university courses, but it is a slow process.
We definitely need to improve the language level of the people working in the sector. Mostly English and Portuguese. I believe that improving the level of Portuguese is fundamental. You know.. Brasilian accounts for a huge percentage of the tourists received by the city

Me: Ok, thank you. Do you consider that the regeneration policies acted as a catalyst for investment?

It's hard to tell... It is like discussing if the egg or the chicken came first.

Me: Ok...Do you consider that it would be necessary to develop further incentives for attracting investment?

Expert 1: Look...I believe that what needs to be done for attracting more investment is to develop the cultural offer of the area. What happens is that many business people in the tourism sector in Uruguay still being very conservative... they still thinking in tourism exclusively in terms of the traditional activities of transport, accommodation, and catering, and do not consider the possibility to develop cultural ventures... the matter is not about creating more incentives, it's about being more creative and audacious! There is plenty of room for the development of cultural products, as for example products related to tango, to candombe, to carnival...Entrepreneurs should dare to invest more on these!

Me: Ok, I see...

Expert 1: On the other hand, if a tourist wanted to go for coffee to the OC on a Sunday, it would be really hard to find a place to have it...There are very little places open on Sundays and at night. We should think about this issue from the perspective of the business owners. For being open they need to have a public. It is therefore fundamental to attract people to the area by increasing the cultural

activities available. This is one of the main challenges we have, creating cultural products as a trigger for the tourism value chain.

Me: What do you consider the most urgent needs regarding heritage preservation?

Expert 1: I think that the presence of ruinous empty buildings is a big issue in the Old Ciy! On the one hand heritage buildings are being regenerated...but this strongly contrasts with the presence of abandoned ruinous buildings!

Me: I see...

Expert 1: For instance, the 25 de Mayo bakery just refurbished a gorgeous building, a 3- floor building.. . but it is surrounded by ruinous constructions!   The MM has tried to do things to solve the problem.. . they did.. for instance, I think they wanted to raise the taxes for ruinous buildings.. but is difficult to find the owners. There is an intention to revitalize them, but there is still much to do.

Me: And...Was the extension of the pedestrian way system effective for expanding the area of the OCM visited by tourists?

Expert 1: Yes, absolutely! Very effective..it was a very important development for enhancing the mobility of tourists and locals in the quarter.

Me: How would you evaluate the actions for improving the cultural infrastructure of the quarters in terms of their impacts on tourism? (*Solis* theatre, cabildo, new museums).

Expert 1: The *Solis* and the Auditorium are essential for attracting visitors to the Old City... Those are two powerful cultural nodes that attract both Uruguayans and foreigners to the quarter... They are very important for attracting tourism. For instance... you can see that in the case of the *Solis* t. There are guided visits all the time, you can see that it is always packed with tourists! The *Adela Reta* auditorium is another example... All the spectacles are always fully booked.

Me: What do you consider the main needs in this dimension?

Expert 1: Well... I believe that...It is necessary to take more advantage of the public spaces.. for instance developing a waterfront park in the area of the España square... you know, the south of the quarter, would be ideal to consolidate the regeneration of that area. For example, and open air theatre would be great! That space has so much potential! The new development bank is building their office close. A park there would be ideal. It would be good for attracting young people, like in the new *Seregni* square...But, it is not only about creating new public spaces, activities should be organized to revitalize the existent ones, and to attract tourist to them. Much more could be done to revitalize the area of the *Zabala* square...

Some efforts have been done... but I believe that developing more cultural activities... And more gastronomic activities...That is needed to revitalize the public spaces... It is important not only for attracting tourists but also for attracting visitors from the rest of the city.

Me: How do you evaluate the evolution of the safety conditions in the OCM?

Expert 1: Well...Since last year the 100 blocks of the OCM are monitored by a CCTV system. This had an extraordinary impact on the safety conditions. I would say... look... One could think that the official statistics can be too optimistic. These say that crime descended by over 40 percent . But I believe, without fear of being wrong, because i live in the OC, i am talking to you right now from the heart of the OC, that the crimes that occurred in the area ten years ago do not happen anymore. What does that mean? That the OCM is now a safe place to be transited by tourists. Besides, the police give an immediate response to any inconvenience one could face. I mean, it is evident that it is a safe are to transit, one feels safe. Now I will talk about safety as director of "Al pie de la muralla". We have been doing walking tours in the OC since many years ago. Some years ago walking tours had to be accompanied by a police officer, but now that is not longer necessary! Before we were afraid of going to certain zones of the quarter... Because it was not safe... Now we don't need that. We can perfectly do the tours in our own. It's true that there is sill being drug addicts in the OCM.. You see them. But there are not more robberies. Now the OCM is completely safe for being transited by tourists

Me: Well... to finish I would like to ask you if there are any other actions that you consider necessary for developing tourism in the OCM?

Expert 1: Well...I believe that other ways to travel around the historic quarter should be offered. For instance, we could have horse carts as other cities have.. I think that would be picturesque.. we need to give a greater emphasis to our colonial heritage...But.. What I really consider ideal is to have boat tours from the OC to the fortress of 'El Cerro'… crossing the bay of Montevideo. But well...That exceeds the historic centre. I also think that we should think about new gastronomic activities for attracting people to the area...mostly on weekends... On Sundays. The OCM has, as all the historic quarters, a special charm. But it is necessary to keep on working for reversing the image of the quarter as a decayed and unsafe place. There are still many areas of the quarter that need to be regenerated. But I don't mean 'regenerated' as a shop window for tourists. These areas need to be vital places, fully integrated to the rest o the city. But yeah, there is still a lot to do to consolidate the OC as a destination on its own within Montevideo.

Appendix H

Consent form

Hoja de Consentimiento

- Estoy de acuerdo en formar parte de este estudio que tiene como fin investigar el rol del sector turístico en la regeneración de la Ciudad Vieja de Montevideo.
- Felipe me ha explicado satisfactoriamente el propósito de este estudio, y me ha solicitado realizar una entrevista.
- Entiendo que la información recogida será utilizada exclusivamente para propósitos académicos.
- Entiendo que no serán utilizados mi nombre ni ninguna otra información que pueda identificarme, a menos que autorice específicamente su uso.
- La información suministrada será incluida en el proyecto de investigación de máster de Felipe, que será leído y evaluado por tutores de la Universidad de Brighton.
- La información suministrada podrá ser incluida en futuras publicaciones académicas con fines exclusivos de investigación.
- La información de la entrevista se guardará en una memoria externa protegida con contraseña.
- Entiendo que puedo abandonar el estudio en cualquier momento.

Nombre: ……….

Firma: …………………………………………………………

Appendix I

Translated Consent form

Participant Consent Form

- I agree to take part in this research, which aims to study the role of tourism in the regeneration policies applied in the Old City of Montevideo.
- Felipe has clearly explained me the purpose of this research and has invited me to take part in an interview.
- I understand that the information collected will only be used for academic purposes.
- I understand that my name or any information that could identify me will not be used unless I specifically authorize its use.
- The information provided will be used for Felipe's master's dissertation, which will be assessed by lecturers of the University of Brighton.
- The information provided may be included in future academic publications for research purposes only.
- The interview data will be stored in a password protected memory stick.
- I understand that I am free to withdraw from the research project at any time.

Name: ……….

Signature: ………………………………………………………………

Appendix J

Instructions for authors of the Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events

Instructions for authors

Thank you for choosing to submit your paper to us. These instructions will ensure we have everything required so your paper can move through peer review, production and publication smoothly. Please take the time to read and follow them as closely as possible, as doing so will ensure your paper matches the journal's requirements. For general guidance on the publication process at Taylor & Francis please visit our Author Services website.

This journal uses ScholarOne Manuscripts (previously Manuscript Central) to peer review manuscript submissions. Please read the guide for ScholarOne authors before making a submission. Complete guidelines for preparing and submitting your manuscript to this journal are provided below.

Contents list

- About the journal
- Peer review
- Preparing your paper
- o Word limits
- o Style guidelines
- o Formatting and templates
- o References
- o Checklist
- Using third-party material in your paper

- <u>Submitting your paper</u>
- <u>Publication charges</u>
- <u>Copyright options</u>
- <u>Complying with funding agencies</u>
- <u>Open access</u>
- <u>My Authored Works</u>
- <u>Article reprints</u>

About the journal

Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events is an international, peer reviewed journal, publishing high-quality, original research. Please see the journal's <u>Aims & Scope</u> for information about its focus and peer-review policy.

Please note that this journal only publishes manuscripts in English.

Peer review

Taylor & Francis is committed to peer-review integrity and upholding the highest standards of review. Once your paper has been assessed for suitability by the editor, it will then be double blind peer-reviewed by independent, anonymous expert referees. Find out more about <u>what to expect during peer review</u> and read our guidance on<u>publishing ethics</u>.

Preparing your paper

Word limits

Please include a word count for your paper.
A typical paper for this journal should be no more than 6000 words; this limit includes tables; references; figure captions; footnotes; endnotes.

Style guidelines

Please refer to these <u>style guidelines</u> when preparing your paper, rather than any published articles or a sample copy.

Please use any spelling consistently throughout your manuscript.

Please use single quotation marks, except where 'a quotation is "within" a quotation'. Please note that long quotations should be indented without quotation marks.

Formatting and templates

Papers may be submitted in any standard format, including Word. Figures should be saved separately from the text. To assist you in preparing your paper, we provide formatting templates.

Word templates are available for this journal. Please save the template to your hard drive, ready for use.

A LaTeX template is available for this journal. Please save the template to your hard drive, ready for use.

If you are not able to use the templates via the links (or if you have any other template queries) please contactauthortemplate@tandf.co.uk

References

Please use this reference guide when preparing your paper. An EndNote output style is also available to assist you.

Checklist: what to include

1. **Author details**. Please include all authors' full names, affiliations, postal addresses, telephone numbers and email addresses on the cover page. Where available, please also include ORCiDs and social media handles (Facebook, Twitter or LinkedIn). One author will need to be identified as the corresponding author, with their email address normally displayed in the article PDF (depending on the journal) and the online article. Authors' affiliations are the affiliations where the research was conducted. If any of the named co-authors moves affiliation during the peer-review process, the new affiliation can be given as a footnote. Please note that no changes to affiliation can be made after your paper is accepted. Read more on authorship.

2. A non-structured **abstract** of of no more than 250 words. Read tips on <u>writing your abstract</u>.

3. You can opt to include a **video abstract** with your article. <u>Find out how these can help your work reach a wider audience, and what to think about when filming</u>.

4. 5 to 6 **keywords**. Read <u>making your article more discoverable</u>, including information on choosing a title and search engine optimization.

5. **Funding details**. Please supply all details required by your funding and grant-awarding bodies as follows:

   For single agency grants: This work was supported by the[Funding Agency] under Grant [number xxxx].

   For multiple agency grants: This work was supported by the [funding Agency 1]; under Grant [number xxxx]; [Funding Agency 2] under Grant [number xxxx]; and [Funding Agency 3] under Grant [number xxxx].

6. **Disclosure statement**. This is to acknowledge any financial interest or benefit that has arisen from the direct applications of your research. <u>Further guidance on what is a conflict of interest and how to disclose it</u>.

7. **Biographical note.** Please supply a short biographical note for each author. This could be adapted from your departmental website or academic networking profile and should be relatively brief.

8. **Geolocation information.** Submitting a geolocation information section, as a separate paragraph before your acknowledgements, means we can index your paper's study area accurately in JournalMap's geographic literature database and <u>make your article more discoverable to others</u>.

9. **Supplemental online material.** Supplemental material can be a video, dataset, fileset, sound file or anything which supports (and is pertinent to) your paper. We publish supplemental material online via Figshare. Find out more about <u>supplemental material and how to submit it with your article</u>.

10. **Figures.** Figures should be high quality (1200 dpi for line art, 600 dpi for grayscale and 300 dpi for colour, at the correct size). Figures should be saved as TIFF, PostScript or EPS files. More information on <u>how to prepare artwork</u>.

11. **Tables.** Tables should present new information rather than duplicating what is in the text. Readers should be able to interpret the table without reference to the text. Please supply editable files.

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Updated September 2016

Appendix K

Copies of Communication requesting access to people and information

Entrevista- Tesis regeneraci'on CV 📁 Recibidos x

Felipe Suárez <felipesuarezgiri@gmail.com>
para acarambula ▾

26 jul. ☆

Estimado Antonio,

Te escribí hace unos días para pedirte si podía realizarte una breve entrevista por skype para mi tesis de maestría.

Quería consultarte si podríamos coordinar la misma para algún día de la semana del 1 al 5 de Agosto.

Te envío adjunto un archivo con los temas sobre los que me gustaría consultarte.

Desde ya muchas gracias.

Un cordial saludo,

Felipe Suárez

W Temas pregunts....

Consulta ▾

Felipe Suárez <felipesuarezgiri@gmail.com>
para Bruno.trípodi ▾

20 jul. ☆

Estimado Bruno,

Me encuentro cursando la Maestría en Turismo y Desarrollo Internacional de la Universidad de Brighton en el marco de una beca de la Agencia Nacional de Investigación e Innovación.

Estoy realizando mi tesis sobre el rol del turismo en la regeneración de la Ciudad Vieja de Montevideo.

Si fuese posible, me gustaría poder realizar una breve entrevista por skype con algún integrante del PCCV. Creo que sería muy valioso para mi investigación contar con su participación.

En caso de que pudieran participar les enviaría los temas sobre los cuales me gustaría consultarles con anticipación.

Por supuesto su participación puede ser anónima si así lo prefiriesen.

Desde ya muchas gracias.

Un cordial saludo,

Felipe Suárez

Consulta 🟨 `Recibidos` x

Felipe Suárez <felipesuarezgiri@gmail.com>   15 jun.
para presidencia ▾

Estimada Adriana,

Me encuentro cursando la maestría en turismo y desarrollo internacional de la Universidad de Brighton, en el marco de una beca de la Agencia Nacional de Investigación e innovación.

Estoy comenzando a escribir mi tesis sobre el turismo y la regeneración de la Ciudad Vieja de Montevideo.

Me gustaría poder realizar una breve entrevista vía Skype con algún integrante de Montevideo Bureau en los próximos meses. Creo que sería muy interesante contar con la participación de este organismo.

En caso de que pudieran participar en este proyecto de investigación, les enviaría los temas sobre los que quisiera consultarles con anticipación. Por supuesto su participación puede ser anónima si así lo prefiriesen.

Desde ya muchas gracias, y aguardo su respuesta.

Un cordial saludo,

Felipe Suárez

Consulta 🟨 `Recibidos` x

Felipe Suárez <felipesuarezgiri@gmail.com>   27 jun.
para irene.lois, mara.oleaurre ▾

Estimadas,

Me encuentro cursando la maestría en turismo y desarrollo internacional de la Universidad de Brighton, en el marco de una beca de la Agencia Nacional de Investigación e innovación.

Estoy comenzando a escribir mi tesis sobre el turismo y la regeneración de la Ciudad Vieja de Montevideo.

Me gustaría poder realizar una breve entrevista vía Skype con algún integrante de la Comisión Especial permanente de la Ciudad Vieja en los próximos meses. Creo que sería muy interesante contar con la participación de la CEPCV en este proyecto de investigación.

En caso de que pudieran participar, les enviaría los temas sobre los que quisiera consultarles con anticipación. Por supuesto su participación puede ser anónima si así lo prefiriesen.

Desde ya muchas gracias, y aguardo su respuesta.

Un cordial saludo,

Felipe Suárez

Consulta - Programa de revitalización de la Ciudad Vieja de Montevideo

Felipe Suárez <felipesuarezgiri@gmail.com>   10 jul.
para BIDUruguay ▾

Estimados,

Me encuentro cursando la maestría en Turismo y Desarrollo Internacional de la Universidad de Brighton, en el marco de una beca Chevening-ANII.

Estoy comenzando a escribir mi tesis sobre el turismo y la regeneración de la Ciudad Vieja de Montevideo.

Quisiera consultarles si hay algún documento sobre los resultados de la cooperación técnica financiada por el BID para desarrollar la estrategia y plan de acción para la revitallización de la Ciudad Vieja.

Desde ya muchas gracias.

Un cordial saludo,

Felipe Suárez

University of Brighton

June 2016

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Re: Felipe Suárez

Felipe is currently registered as a student on our MSc Tourism and International Development degree. As part of the course he is required to submit a final project thesis. The focus of Felipe's research is *Tourism and urban regeneration in historic areas: the case of the Old City of Montevideo.*

As Felipe's supervisor I would be very grateful for any assistance you are able to offer him. He is a hard working and conscientious student who is very committed to his research.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if you should require further information.

Thank you, in advance, for any assistance you are able to give to Felipe.

Yours faithfully,

Catherine Palmer   PhD MA BSc (Hons)

Principal Lecturer