

# BALANCING GROWTH AND CONSERVATION



## THE CASE OF CARTAGENA DE INDIAS

Photo: General View of Cartagena  
Source: Alcaldía de Cartagena de Indias 2019<sup>1</sup>

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The information and opinion contained in this publication are the authors' and do not represent the views of the University of Pennsylvania



## FOREWORD

The report contains the results of the authors' fieldwork conducted as part of the seminar-based course *Urban Regeneration in the Americas: The Conservation and Development of Urban Heritage Areas* conducted jointly by the Programs in Historic Preservation and City and Regional Planning of the Stuart Weitzman School of Design at the University of Pennsylvania during the Spring Semester of 2020. The course explored emerging issues in the rapidly changing urban heritage conservation research and practice field, particularly those related to implementing a growing international consensus on the significant role played by urban heritage in the social and economic development of communities. City governments and investors increasingly use adaptive rehabilitation approaches to put the urban heritage to contemporary uses. This trend—that answers to the growing demand for residential, retail, craft production, and office space in historic neighborhoods of cities of all sizes—often conflicts with the interest of urban communities to preserve their intangible and tangible heritage. The ensuing issues are at the cutting edge of the research and practice of urban heritage conservation, city planning, urban design, and architecture, making their study suited for a multi-disciplinary approach. The course allowed the graduate students to individually and collectively explore selected issues confronted by conservationists, urban planners, landscape architects, and architects in turning the urban heritage into a social and economic development resource. The course included three parallel streams of work: lectures, seminar discussions, and a field study structured in ways that they support each other. The *lectures* introduced concepts and discussed the issues involved in integrating the urban heritage in the social and economic development process of communities. The *seminar* section allowed the students to examine selected issues in the conservation of urban heritage sites concentrating on problems commonly faced by cities in the Global South but retaining a global view. In the *field-study* section, students were able to pursue their research, planning, or design interests in the historic center of Cartagena de Indias in Colombia, a Latin American urban heritage site inscribed in UNESCO's World Heritage List.

The city and port of Cartagena played a prominent role in the colonial trade within the Spanish Empire in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Cartagena is the capital of the state of Bolívar and has a population of about 990,000 occupying an area of 240 square miles. The city plays an important role in Colombia's economy for its port, industrial and tourism activities. Tourism expanded rapidly from the 1970s boosted by the attraction of the Historic Center declared a National Monument in 1959 and inscribed in the World Heritage List (WHL) of the United Nations Education, Science and Culture Organization (UNESCO) in 1984. The Historic Center of Cartagena faces challenges that impact its patrimonial and socio-economic function and compromise the long-term sustainability of

the conservation efforts carried out in the last 50 years by the Central Government, the Municipality, and the private sector. The solution to these problems requires public policy, planning, and urban design interventions to regulate development and promote public-private cooperation. The course explored a selected set of issues through seminar discussions and fieldwork in Cartagena. The results of this academic endeavor are included in the different parts of the present report. The body of the report is made of six chapters prepared by the students based on the fieldwork and addressing pressing issues including the accessibility and integration of the historic center with the rest of the city; displacement of local population by mass tourism encouraged by the dominant “tourism-oriented” development narrative; the presence and contribution of afro-Colombian communities in the historic center; the use of public spaces by mass tourism; the regulation of rapid change in the historic center; and the opportunities offered by tactical interventions in addressing some of the issues. The report includes the results of the seminar work as inserts and boxes in the different chapters as pertinent or complementary to the discussion.

The work completed by the students does not intend to be a comprehensive analysis of the challenges and opportunities offered by this remarkable World Heritage Site. The main aim is contributing to a conversation about issues not normally discussed in Cartagena by providing a rationale for assigning them a priority in the debate, making structured presentations of the main themes that can be discussed, and suggesting viable paths to find solutions. The bulk of the work contained in this report was conducted before the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic were felt in Cartagena (the second half of March 2020) and that greatly affected the functioning of the Historic Center that up to that date was densely occupied and heavily used by mass international recreation-oriented tourism activities. At the time of preparing this report (late May of 2020), it is not possible to predict the long-term consequences for the Historic Center of this global event. The short term impacts are briefly discussed in the closing chapter “A Path for Sustainability” and they point to a reduction in the density of use of public spaces and open areas of the center a trend that would align with a central conclusion of the fieldwork pointing to the need to rebalance the use of the historic center with its carrying capacity implying a reduction in the density of usage.

The lecturer and the students are grateful for the support provided by the Fundación del Centro Histórico de Cartagena (Cartagena Historic Center Foundation) and the Universidad Jorge Tadeo Lozano during the field visit to the historic center and the subsequent discussions and the preparation of the field report. Their contributions were invaluable for attaining the goals of the course and for the preparation of this report.

Eduardo Rojas  
Lecturer

# ACRONYMS

ASOPRADUCE	Asociación de Productores Agrícolas Orgánicos y Tradicional Dulces y Servicios Etno-Turísticos de Palenque / Association of Organic Agricultural Goods, Sweets Traditional and Ethno-touristic Services of Palenque
BIC	Bienes de Interés Cultural / Cultural Assets
CEDEC	Cámara de Comercio de Cartagena / Cartagena Chamber of Commerce
CCCI	Centro de Convenciones Cartagena de Indias / Cartagena Convention Center
CONACULTA	Consejo Nacional de Cultura y las Artes (México) / National Council for Culture and the Arts
CNT	Corporación Nacional de Turismo / National Tourism Corporation
DANE	Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadísticas / National Department of Statistics
FEM	Fundación Educación Multidimensional / Multidimensional Education Foundation
ECH	Empresa del Centro Histórico / Quito Historic Center Development Corporation
FICCI	Festival Internacional de Cine de Cartagena de Indias / International Film Festival of Cartagena de Indias
HUL	The historic Urban Landscape approach
ICOMOS	Consejo Internacional de Monumentos y Sitios / International Council on Monuments and Sites
ICP	Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña / Institute of Puerto Rican Culture
INAH	Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (Mexico) / National Institute of Anthropology and History
INBA	Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes (Mexico) / National Institute of Fine Arts
IPCC	Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de Cartagena / Cartagena Cultural Heritage Institute
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
MBOs	Membership-Based Organizations
PEMP	Plan Especial de Manejo y Protección / Special Management and Conservation Plan
PEUAT	Plan Especial Urbanístico de Alojamiento Turístico / Special Urban Plan for Tourism Accommodation
POT	Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial / Territorial Management Plan
PPPP	Public, private and people partnership
SHPO/OECH	Oficina Estatal de Conservación Histórica de Puerto Rico / Puerto Rico State Historic Preservation Office
SITCAR	Sistema de Información Turística de Cartagena / Cartagena Tourism Information System
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Science, and Culture Organization
VUT	Vivienda de Uso Turístico / Tourism Use Housing
WHL	World Heritage List
WIEGO	Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing
ZTL	Zona a Traffico Limitato / Areas of Limited Vehicular Access

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# 1 EVOLUTION OF A WORLD HERITAGE SITE

Eduardo Rojas



Figure 1.1 - Cartagena in South America  
Source: Rojas 1999:43<sup>2</sup>

The city of Cartagena is located in the Colombian Caribbean Coast Region and forms part of a rapidly growing system of cities that also includes Barranquilla and Santa Marta. This system of cities provides services to the population and contains industrial poles, large port-related activities, and expanding tourism activities. The cities and towns of the region are expanding over a resource-rich but ecologically fragile territory full of marshes and wetlands at the mouths of large rivers.

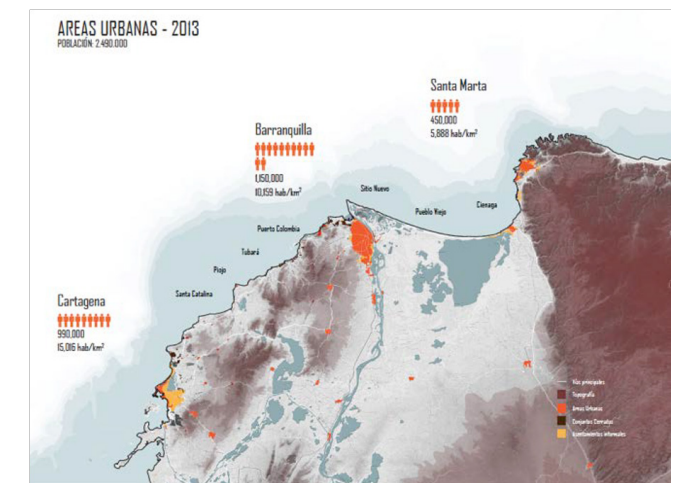


Figure 1.2 - Colombia, Caribbean Region, urban areas in 2013  
Source: Bermudez and Huang 2015<sup>3</sup>

**Cartagena, from a Jewel of the Spanish Colonial Crown to a Sprawling City**

Established in 1533 by Don Pedro de Heredia, the city and port of Cartagena played a prominent role in the colonial trade within the Spanish Empire in the 16th, 17th, and 18th Centuries. Initially, the city was an important trade link between the rich interior of the territory of the Viceroyalty of New Granada and Spain. Later the port of Cartagena was also the place where the colonial authorities stored the products that Spain exported from the territories of the Viceroyalty of Peru (that arrived in the city crossing the Panama Isthmus) while they were waiting for transfer to Spain. From Cartagena sailed one of the squadrons of merchant and warships that joined those coming from Veracruz to form the Fleet that assembled in Havana to cross the Atlantic protecting the riches transported from America to Spain from the attacks of pirates or (in times of war) from Dutch, French or English ships. Throughout the centuries the Spanish authorities built a system of forts and defensive walls that make Cartagena a notable example of colonial military engineering. The city enclosed by the walls is today's Cartagena's Historic Center—a UNESCO's World Heritage site.

After independence from Spain in 1810, the city experienced a gradual decline further fostered by competition from the neighboring port of Barranquilla (located at the mouth of the Magdalena River, the main waterway connecting the interior of Colombia with the Caribbean Sea). Notwithstanding the decline, the economic and demographic growth that occurred in the latter part of the 19th and early 20th Centuries—and that expanded the city beyond the walls—was still reliant on the government and private services offered by the Historic Center. Although the center was no longer “all the city” was still the “core” of the city, and to a certain extent, still it is “the center” of a sprawling city. In the middle of the 20th Century, the National Government attempted to reverse the economic decline by the establishment of a petrochemistry-based industrial complex South of the city (as part of national induced-industrialization programs), reinforcing the role of the city as the main Caribbean naval base, and promoting the development of tourism. During the subsequent

period of economic growth, most developments took place outside the Historic Center. Two trends fueled the ensuing urban sprawl: (a) the relocation of the well-off households seeking the comforts of new garden-style neighborhoods to new urbanizations initially in the Manga neighborhood (in the early 20th Century) and latterly to development areas along the coast; and (b) the settlement of the less favored households that occupied land of little value in the periphery. In the second half of the 20th Century, the city also experienced rapid population growth fueled by migrations from rural areas affected by guerrilla activities in the immediate interior. The new population made a living mainly through informal activities and settled in illegally occupied areas in the periphery. In 2015, 26% of the population of Cartagena suffered income-related poverty placing the city among the poorest in the country although the city is one of the premier contributions to the country's gross national product coming from dynamic sectors like industry, tourism, seaports, and construction.<sup>4</sup> The rapid expansion of the city's urbanized territory was not accompanied by the necessary investments in infrastructure and services creating significant shortages of basic sanitation (potable water, sewerage, and drainage) and other urban services, a problem that continues to this day. Data for 2016 show that over 70% of houses in Cartagena face shortages of sanitation, quality of building materials, and reasonably good access to jobs and public services of health and education. An estimated 23,000 houses need improvements and over 35,000 households were using unsuitable shelters or sharing a house with other households.<sup>5</sup>

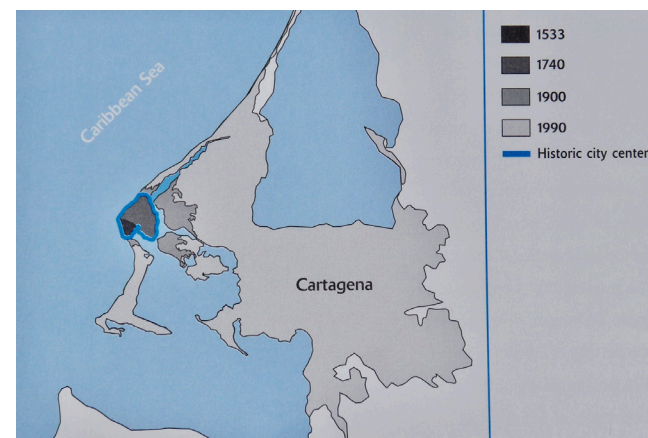


Figure 1.3 - Historical evolution of Cartagena  
Source: Rojas 1999<sup>6</sup>

The sprawl-led urban growth pattern of the second half of the 20th Century left the Historic Center in an eccentric urban position that undermines its importance as a commercial and service center for the local population. However, the center still retains the main civic and administrative activities connected to the city and departmental governments and part of its commerce still serves the low-income population. The departure of the high-income population together with the loss of the commercial and service activities that supply them led to the gradual economic, social, and physical deterioration of the Historic Center.

**The Historic Center**

The Historic Center of Cartagena is a well-defined area enclosed by the colonial wall located at the northwest end of the city and surrounded by the Caribbean Sea, bays, and lagoons. In 2016 the Center had a population of about 14,000 inhabitants in an area of 1.9 square miles, less than 2% of the 2016 population of the city. In 2007 the Center offered 26,000 places of employment—approximately 9% of the formal jobs offered in the city—and contributed about 12% of the added value generated by the urban economy. The diversity of functions of the Historic Center is reflected in the variety of land uses where government, commercial, and tourism services mixed with residences, second homes or tourist rental housing<sup>7</sup> According to the Cámara de Comercio de Cartagena CEDEC (Cartagena Chamber

of Commerce) and based on data provided by the Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadísticas, DANE (National Department of Statistics) in February of 2020 more than half (59%) of the labor force of Cartagena was employed in the informal sector and between 32% and 46% (depending on the source) of the companies operating in Cartagena are informal (not officially registered and do not pay taxes).



Figure 1.4 - Historic Center Neighborhoods  
Source: Rojas 1999<sup>8</sup>

**Table 1.1 Recent evolution of the population of the Historic Center by neighborhoods 2009-2016**

Neighborhood/year	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Centro	3,755	3,763	3,832	3,894	3,982	4,046	4,108	4,173
Getsemaní	5,669	5,722	5,804	5,883	5,937	6,002	6,071	6,140
San Diego	3,533	3,565	3,619	3,669	3,715	3,761	3,808	3,856
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>12,957</b>	<b>13,050</b>	<b>13,255</b>	<b>13,396</b>	<b>13,634</b>	<b>13,809</b>	<b>13,987</b>	<b>14,169</b>

Source: PEMP 2017

**The World Heritage Site and the City**

The Historic Center contains the main concentration of heritage assets of the city that include forts and walls, religious and civic monuments, colonial streets, squares, and public spaces, and numerous houses and commercial buildings of different periods. The slow economic and demographic development of the Historic Center in the 20th Century preserved a large part of the colonial buildings and public spaces. Early in that century, the local government attempted to improve the connection of the Historic Center with the rest of the city by demolishing a part of the walls. These activities were discontinued as a result of the heritage protection actions initiated by the National Government in the late 1950s that halted the destruction of the walls and rehabilitated emblematic monuments. These actions created the institutional and regulatory bases for subsequent conservation efforts. In 1984 UNESCO included the Historic Center and the fortification system of Cartagena in the World Heritage List (WHL) based on its universal value as “...an eminent example of the military architecture of the 16th, 17th and 18th Centuries, the most extensive of the New World and one of the most complete...” and by its historic role as “...an essential link in the route of the West Indies. The property fits within the general theme of world exploration and the great commercial maritime routes.”

The second half of the 20th Century witnessed a significant effort to preserve the material heritage of Cartagena’s Historic Center involving public and private investments. The leadership came from the National Government that invested in the rehabilitation and conservation of the system of walls and fortresses, rehabilitated buildings for public services, and conserved the public spaces and emblematic monuments to preserve the historic and aesthetic values of Cartagena. Aiming at diversifying the economy of the city, the National Government financed the construction of a convention center to support tourism development. Although much of Colombia was not a foreign tourist destination until the 21st Century due to decades of violence, Cartagena has been a tourist hotspot since the 1980s. Before the UNESCO World Heritage Site designation in 1984, Cartagena was already home to



Figure 1.5 - The fortifications in the Historic Center of Cartagena  
Source: Alcaldía de Cartagena 2014<sup>10</sup>

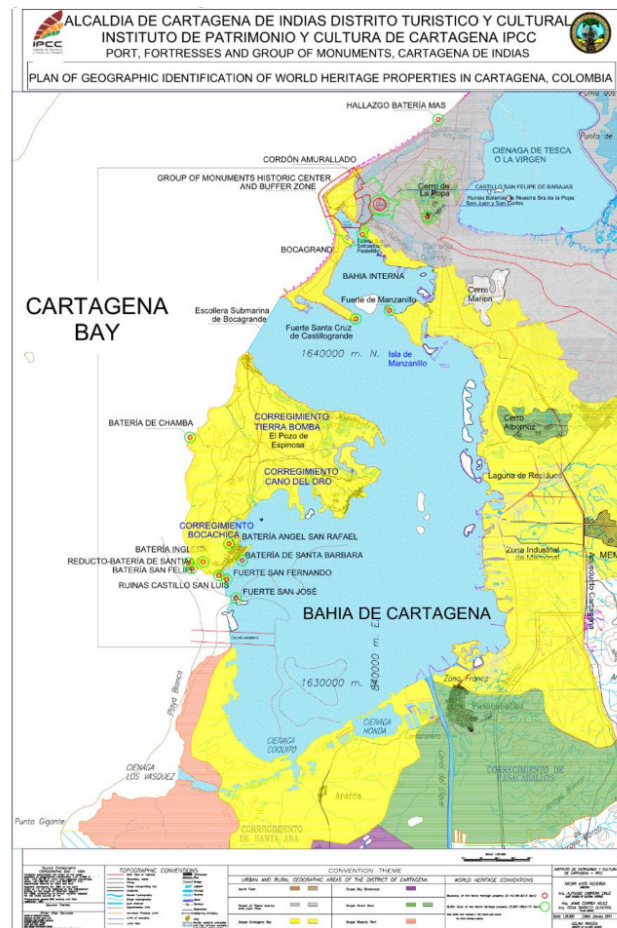


Figure 1.6 - World Heritage properties in the Cartagena Bay  
Source: Rojas 1999<sup>11</sup>

the first Hilton hotel in Colombia and the Caribbean Music Festival.<sup>12</sup> In 1991, Cartagena was declared the touristic and cultural district of Colombia. Over the decades the number of annual visitors to Cartagena has continued to grow, as access by air and sea has become widely available options. Cartagena de Indias’ Cruise Ship Terminal serves 30 cruise ship lines and welcomes 97 percent of passengers who arrive in Colombia by sea.<sup>13</sup> Real estate development in the 21st Century continued in earnest in Bocagrande and spread North to Crespo and new subdivisions like Serena del Mar that offer “gated community style” facilities. These new developments contrast sharply with the urban conditions of most neighborhoods in the East and South expansion areas of the city. The inequalities in income and living conditions among neighborhoods in Cartagena and the subsequent social tension and pressures on the public budget are factors that will affect public sector decision making in many years to come, most likely reducing the priority of issues affecting the Historic Center in the municipal and national agenda.

In the last quarter of the Twentieth Century, the



Figure 1.7 - Real estate developments in Bocagrande



Figure 1.8 - Living conditions in one peripheric neighborhood of Cartagena  
Source: Cartagena de Aguas, 2017 Master Degree Studio, Landscape Architecture Program, University of Pennsylvania

attraction of the city’s heritage induced members of the cultural elite of Colombia and some wealthy foreigners to rehabilitate heritage houses as second homes in the Centro neighborhood of the Historic Center and encouraged the expansion of tourism in the coastal area of Bocagrande. Later in the process, private investors rehabilitated buildings for tourism-related services and business in the San Diego neighborhood including small houses and the adaptive rehabilitation of religious convents into hotels. More recently this process extended to the Getsemani neighborhood. This private investment process is regulated by the heritage conservation ordinances adopted by the city.<sup>14</sup> As a result, today the three historic neighborhoods of the Historic Center—Centro, San Diego, and Getsemani—have a good level of physical conservation. However, there are social actors in Cartagena that report systematic violations to the conservation regulations including overbuilding and the loss of the typological character of the heritage properties. Frequently the public spaces in the Historic Center are overcrowded and observably used beyond their capacity. A related issue is a stress on the infrastructures prompted by the increase in users in the historic center. Regular flooding and clogging of the sewerage system occur. Additionally, commercial and residential garbage accumulates, and streets appear dirty due to the lack of municipal capacity to collect and dispose of garbage and maintain streets that are heavily used by residents and visitors.

The good physical conservation of the Historic Center contrasts with the poor physical condition of most neighborhoods where low-middle and very low-income households live. These areas lack basic infrastructure, good access to the rest of the city, have precarious housing, and lack security of tenure. The areas immediately surrounding the Historic Center are affected by these problems, particularly those bordering water bodies. Most of these households make a living in informal activities often in the Historic Center or its immediate surrounding areas. For the bulk of Cartagena’s population, the Center is mostly an enclave for the rich or for foreign tourists where at best some can make a meager living but that for the majority does not provide much.





Figure 1.9 - Heritage sites in the Historic Center  
Source: Rojas 1999<sup>15</sup>

**Table 1.2 Cartagena, distribution of tourism accommodation 2017**

Neighborhood	# of establishments	Rooms	Percent of the total number of	
			establishments	rooms
Bocagrande	83	5,938	20.9	45.3
Centro- San Diego	109	1,727	27.3	13.2
Getsemaní	73	878	18.3	6.7
North areas	22	1,418	5.5	10.8
Marbella-Crespo	18	682	4.5	5.2
Barú and Rosario Islands	41	753	10.3	5.7
Non touristic areas	54	1,714	13.5	13.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>401</b>	<b>13,110</b>		

Source: SITCAR 2017 <sup>16</sup>

In the last decades, tourism establishments and second residences steadily grew in the areas surrounding the Historic Center (Boca Grande, Marbella-Crespo) and more recently in the Getsemaní neighborhood significantly changing the uses and demographics of this traditionally low-income section of the Historic Center. The spatial distribution of tourism rooms in

Cartagena shows that the Centro, San Diego, and Gestemaní neighborhoods concentrate nearly half of the tourism establishments of the city but supply only one-fifth of the total supply of rooms. The bulk of the supply concentrate in the neighborhoods outside the Historic Center (Bocagrande, Marbella-Crespo, and the northern areas). Given that there is an average of

2.5 beds per room in Cartagena, the 2,605 rooms in the Historic Center provide accommodation for a maximum of 6,500 persons. The data underestimate the supply as it does not include establishments with pending or non-renewed licenses. Half of the establishments are small (less than 30 rooms) and 17% of medium size (30 to 100 rooms). Big hotels (100 + rooms) represent only 7% of the establishments yet supply half of the rooms available in the Cartagena.

In the last 10 years, high-impact recreational and tourism activities (like discotheques, bars, and open-air concerts and festivities) expanded rapidly in the Historic Center despite being considered incompatible with residential and regular commercial and services activities by the existing urban legislation, the Urban Territorial Management Plan (Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial 2001 POT 2001).<sup>17</sup> These mostly nocturnal activities are also linked to the proliferation of illegal activities (micro-traffic of drugs, brothels and street prostitution, street thefts) and with informal subsistence activities (street selling of goods and food) taking place in the public spaces. The proliferation of these activities has taken place mostly unchecked by the local authorities and is believed to be the principal reason for the flight of residents and a decline of the commerce and traditional hotels and tourist-related services with the consequent losses for the economic and social life in the Historic Center. Numerous social actors are concerned with these developments and advocate for a more pro-active attitude on the part of the Municipality to re-balance the economic and recreational activities in the Historic Center to levels compatible with the carrying capacity of the public spaces and the needs of the residential and traditional commercial, service, and tourism activities.

The control of urban development in the Historic Center is in the hands of the Municipality and originally guided by Ordinance 6 issued in 1992 latterly incorporated in the 2001 Territorial Management Plan (Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial POT). The Ordinance sets occupation and rehabilitation rules for properties in the heritage area which are supervised by a group of “urban curators” that are independent conservators licensed by the Municipality to review the projects

and make recommendations. However, the Ordinance lacks detailed regulations for its implementation leaving many aspects open to interpretation that sometimes lack thoroughness. Furthermore, the areas near the Historic Center do not have clear urban development regulations, a result of the more than 15 years of delay in approving the new Territorial Management Plan (POT) for the city required by the national legislation. There are Special Heritage Management Plans (PEMP) for the city walls and the San Felipe Fortress however they are not yet fully enforced. The shortcomings of the planning instruments and development control procedures led to the construction of buildings that are not consistent with the preservation of the universal heritage value of the site. These deficiencies have been highlighted by UNESCO, which has asked the Municipal and National Governments for the urgent approval of a Protection and Management Plan for the Historic Center.<sup>18</sup>

**Heritage Conservation Challenges**

*The function of the heritage site in the contemporary city.* The Historic Center plays a significant role in the creation of wealth in the city. The success of the tourism development of Cartagena and the history and quality of the material heritage of its Historic Center attracted private investments to the rehabilitation of buildings as ‘prestige’ second homes and for tourist use (hotels, seasonal and short-term rental housing, restaurants, places of recreation and tourism services). In recent years, cruise ship visits to Cartagena have increased, expanding the number of short-term visitors to the city. The economic value of the Historic Center for the city goes beyond tourism and culture. The commercial and service establishments of the Center represent a sizable source of formal employment to the population of Cartagena and the inflow of users and visitors to the Center provides opportunities for informal economic activities to prosper.

A consequence of the investment in second homes and tourism-related establishments is the displacement of the original residents and traditional workers of the San Diego and Getsemaní neighborhoods and stigmatized the Historic Center in the view of the local population

as a place for tourists and foreigners, gentrified and separated socially, economically and physically from the city. Although the Historic Center still retains the functions of government and many public services and commerce that serve the entire city, there are fewer and fewer houses accessible to the local population and fewer shops and services that meet their needs. Reportedly the inhabitants of Cartagena see little use in the interior of the walled city and the rest of the area included in the List of World Heritage Sites since it does not offer them opportunities for housing and social interaction. There is a growing psychological and functional distancing of the population of the city with its Historical Center. The low-income population sees the Center as an opportunity to obtain sporadic income through informal activities that already make intense use of the public spaces.

Many of the intangible heritage of Cartagena no longer find a place in the Historic Center, except as sporadic tourist-oriented displays. The gentrification of the Getsemaní neighborhood (the neighborhood where many traditional artists and craftsmen resided) stimulated their departure to other neighborhoods of the city. There is an easily observable loss of cultural variety and the over-specialization of the Historic Center in tourism that is devaluing its heritage and is stressing its public and private assets.

The tourism activities—that include recreation and entertainment—make intense use of the Historic Center and its public spaces as scenery for music, dance, and 'al fresco' dining activities displacing residential and cultural activities that require less density-of-use in the public spaces. There is a growing conflict of uses in the Historic Center where recreational and entertainment activities that bear a close association with illegal activities clash with traditional residential, cultural and urban services activities. Many social actors—merchants, tourism entrepreneurs, residents, academics, members of non-government organizations, and government officials—are calling for a solution to this conflict, several advocating the strict enforcement of existing urban heritage conservation regulations that protect not only the typology of buildings but also their use. The lenient enforcement of heritage preservation

and urban development control regulations in the Historic Center is blamed for these conflicts.

The management of the CHC has to take account of these problems as they affect the long-term sustainability of the conservation effort. A citizenry disconnected from its Historic Center is unlikely to support the preservation and the use of public resources to this end. Likewise, the sporadic occupants that tourism attracts can conflict with the needs of the permanent users of the CHC, residents, merchants, offices, religious, and other urban services. The government entities with responsibility for the Historic Center are still debating policy measures, and urban planning and urban design interventions to reduce the incidence of these problems and mitigate their negative effects. There are calls for enhanced public-private cooperation in addressing these issues but not many effective institutional arrangements in place to foster such cooperation.



Figure 1.10 - Contemporary developments near Castillo de San Felipe in the WHL designated heritage area  
Source: ICOMOS 2017<sup>19</sup>

*Multiple impacts of the buffer area on the heritage site.* The territory that borders the heritage site has great importance in its future. At present, the public spaces surrounding the walls are intensely used by the inhabitants of Cartagena. The areas that face the lagoons that surround the Historic Center at the foot of the Castillo de San Felipe and around the El Cabrero lake fulfill various functions for the city and attract a large population. Development in these areas is not well regulated nor receiving significant investments. Recent real estate operations in the surroundings

of the Castillo de San Felipe have generated much controversy and are the subject of a UNESCO report on their impact on the heritage site. The area also provides critical accessibility services to the Historic Center playing a major role in public transportation and the provision of parking space.

The management of the areas adjacent to the heritage site presents the Municipality with a challenge that goes beyond the urgent approval of the Territorial Management Plan (POT) that regulates the use and the buildings in these areas. What happens in these territories will have a significant impact on the integration of the Historic Center with the rest of the city and the integrity of the conservation of its heritage.

*The management of urban development in the heritage site.*

The building control regulations for the Historic Center (Ordinance 6 included in POT 2001) follows the principles of typological management of the adaptive rehabilitation of heritage buildings to guide the conservation and adaptation of heritage properties to contemporary needs. They are based on a study of the different building typologies present in the Center and provide recommendations on the extent of transformations that would retain the characteristics of each typology that gives them their heritage value. The management of these regulations is left to the Urban Curators that work with landowners and developers to ensure that they are properly used in specific cases. However, no clear rules are governing these interactions leaving the application of these conservation tools subject to interpretation by the multiple interest holders involved in the process. The weakness of the system also shows when confronted with proposals to build modern structures in the Center and the need of the public authorities to add contemporary infrastructures and services in the closely regulated heritage area. Although the system is credited with the successful adaptation of many buildings to contemporary uses is also criticized for an alleged lax approach to the regulation of modern additions to heritage buildings and public spaces. The opportunities for conflict increase due to the development pressures on the Center coming from the development of the tourism



Figure 1.11 - Barrio Centro, flooding  
Source: Alcaldía de Cartagena 2019<sup>20</sup>



Figure 1.12 - The potential impact of sea-level rise by the end of the 21st century (3 meters)  
Source: Gu et.al. 2017<sup>21</sup>

and entertaining industries. The Municipality is blamed for not properly regulating the uses of rehabilitated buildings allowing market forces to reign in the proliferation of bars and discotheques and the private use of in many emblematic public spaces of the Center.

*Mitigating the impacts of climate change.*

The Historic Center of Cartagena is very vulnerable to the effects of climate change. Low lying areas close

to the sea and other water bodies confront growing risks of flooding and the permanent loss of heritage assets, public spaces, and land. More frequent and stronger storms will greatly tax the city's drainage system already affected by informal development, poor maintenance, and lack of expansion increases the risk of inland flooding. The social and economic impacts of these events are significant. They will affect the areas generating the majority of the city's wealth and where the bulk of social and residential services of the city are located.

### The Future

Promoting the social, economic, and physical integration between the city and the heritage site requires attracting new social actors and functions to the Historic Center and efficiently regulate the activities that emerge as a result of this integration. It also requires physical and functional integration of the areas adjacent to the Historic Center to accommodate the needs of the population and other economic and social activities of local interest. Of importance for this process is the use of public properties to fulfill

functions of public interest and encourage private actors to contribute to these objectives. Mitigating and preventing the impacts of climate change presents medium and long-term challenges in cities such as Cartagena that are exposed to rising sea levels and the higher incidence of catastrophic events such as hurricanes and tidal waves.

The joint effect of all these problems present long-term challenges to city managers. They range from those related to the full implementation in Cartagena of the international agreements and charters for the conservation of the urban heritage that calls for an enhanced role of the urban heritage in the socio-economic development of the local communities to issues concerning the management of the negative impacts of climate change. Shorter-term concerns including the social, economic, and physical integration of the Historic Center to the life of the city and the management of the public spaces need urgent attention for the effective management of the heritage site for the benefit of the local population and the preservation of its universal values.

## 2 CONNECTIONS AND ACTIVE HISTORIES

In physical terms, the Historic Center is easily accessible for only a small portion of the urban population of Cartagena. The majority of citizens that go to the Center need to spend over one hour and often two hours to get there from the most remote neighborhoods and only after two or three changes in modes of transportation and relatively large expenses for the low-income population. Given that mobility provides a frame of linkage as a measurement of equity<sup>3</sup> it can be concluded that the reduced accessibility to the Historic Center from the rest of the city represents a significant form of exclusion as effectively only a few *Cartagenos*<sup>4</sup> can regularly access the socio-cultural and economic benefits of the heritage site. Cartagena's low-income neighborhoods are, nonetheless, vibrant and self-reliant communities that can attain significant progress on their own if only the city government takes care of the problems that they cannot solve by themselves. Critical services include better transportation to access sources of employment available in the city; improved potable water, sanitation, and drainage services; and neighborhood health and education services. However, better transportation is only one of the tools to improve access to the Historic Center by all citizens. They also need to break the cultural barriers separating

the tourism centered heritage area from the survival-oriented informal neighborhoods.

The study suggests that defining cultural values of the many city neighborhoods outside the Historic Center can be put into play to reestablish social links with the core heritage area. Cultural and productive activities linked to these values can activate many of the Center's public spaces that then become tools to reintegrate neighborhood life within the Historic Center. Guiding this study is the question of how cultural planning can supplement physical mobility and other physical interventions in streets, squares, and parks to create interdependence and citizen-control in urban heritage areas that are experiencing over-tourism. The vision is of a Historic Center that serves locals as well as tourists, with easy and affordable connections to and from the rest of the city so that the Center's cultural and economic benefits circulate evenly across Cartagena's neighborhoods. Under these conditions, the Historic Center will support social and economic vitality across the city and all the residents of Cartagena will hold a stake in activities and opportunities available within the heritage area.

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## LINKAGE, MOBILITY AND CREATIVE PLACEMAKING BEYOND CARTAGENA'S HISTORIC CENTER

Emily Jacobi

The inquiry and proposals of this chapter have two aims. First, summarize the existing conditions of mobility, linkage, and neighborhood formation through the city of Cartagena studying the daily challenges faced by the local population to move in Cartagena that reflect and deepen the social stratification of the city. This analysis is nourished by the fieldwork completed in Cartagena that explored how community groups use tourism to bring resources back into the neighborhoods through informal and intangible culture. The second aim is to make recommendations rooted in the urban planning tools of community development that may counter the exclusion impacts of the over-touristification of the Center. The exclusionary processes banish local socio-cultural values of history, myth and cultural practices from the Historic Center as residents have few spaces there to share and tell stories, art, and culture from across the city. As a result, tourists in Cartagena learn very little about communities beyond the walls gaining sparse knowledge of the genius loci, or the living spirit, of the city.<sup>5</sup> This study suggests that expanding communal knowledge-based on latent histories and collective experiences can deepen city residents' cultural involvement in the Historic Center. It is suggested that interventions rooted in creative placemaking and community development principles can break the current cultural focus of the Historic Center on an elitist and Spanish colonial-centered narrative that mimics the development patterns of the city for the past half-century. They can also open up the economic development focus of the last two decades privileging the tourist visitor while excluding and ill-serving the city's poor. Recommendations will largely consist of tools to build and enhance local knowledge and cultural activities as the starting point for facilitating connections to the Historic Center from other city neighborhoods. The challenge to linkage is to effectively reframe how communities across the city use, relate and benefit from the Center.

### Linkage and Tourism

Tourism is the dominant economic driver in Cartagena and centered in the Historic Center and the Bocagrande, Manga, and Crespo neighborhoods.<sup>6</sup> Residents from across the one million inhabitant city travel long hours each day to access both formal and informal workplaces in the Historic Center. Vendors, hospitality workers, music makers, shopkeepers, students, and government workers make the journey from their homes across the city to the Historic Center every day. The informal economy in the heritage area also contributes to a significant portion of the city's workforce.<sup>7</sup> In conversations during the fieldwork many residents—from a hostel owner in the Getsemani neighborhood to drumming music teachers in the San Francisco neighborhood—described a city divided and stratified.<sup>8</sup> One city that works for tourists and the wealthy who can share in the increasingly privatized socio-cultural amenities offered in the Historic Center, and the other, consisting of the city's diverse workforce spread out across the vast Cartagena's urbanized territory, facing harsh living and working conditions with little protection and access to city services and cultural benefits even though many rely on work in the Historic Center to subsist. The city of Cartagena sprawls out from the Historic Center from which is separated by the city's fortification walls. Many neighbors struggle to maintain basic infrastructure, lack healthcare access, and educational opportunity but they also have thriving commercial corridors, well-frequented transit stations, and extensive community assets that are rendered invisible to visitors who do not travel beyond the walls.

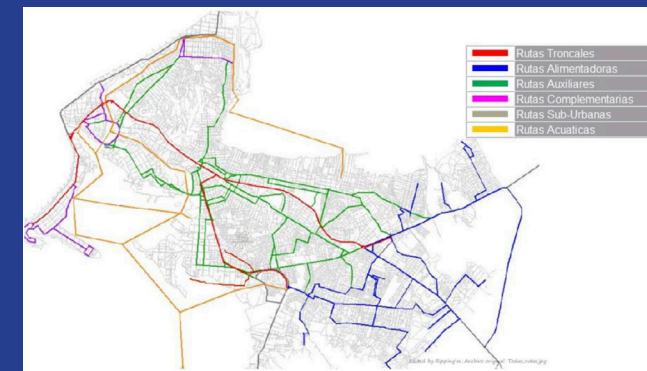
The centralization and territorial focus of the tourist economy in Cartagena persisted as the city expanded outside the Colonial walls initially to formal neighborhoods like Bocagrande but mainly spreading formally and informally along a vast territory framed by

### Box 2.1

## TRANSCARIBE PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION SERVICE IN CARTAGENA

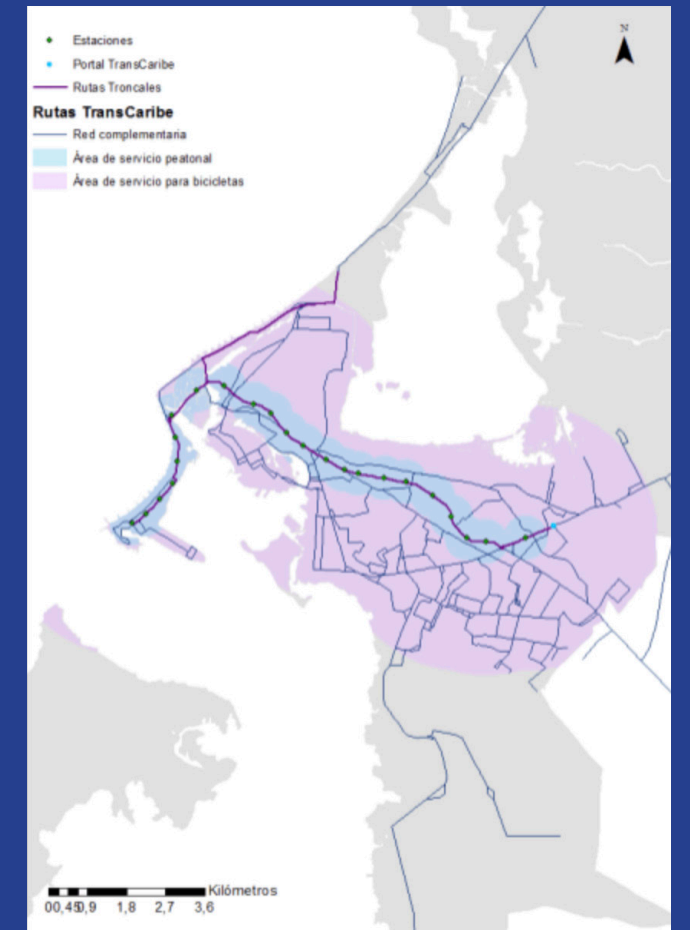
TransCaribe is a bus rapid transit (BRT) system that operates in the city of Cartagena, Colombia since 2016. The system serves a route of 10.5 kilometers (6.5 mi) with bus lanes running along with Avenida Pedro de Heredia from the El Portal terminal to the Historic Center and has 16 station stops along the route. The system operates 150-passenger articulated buses powered by compressed natural gas. Buses can use "troncales" dedicated bus lanes along the avenues, and "pre troncales" running partly on dedicated lanes and partly along the other vehicle lanes of the streets. There are few feeder routes, so the territorial coverage of the system is limited to a few blocks from the "troncales" and "pretroncales".

The system in operation is part of a long-term integrated public transportation plan for the City that will also include sub-urban buses and aquatic transport along the harbor and lagoons.



Public Transportation Plan of Cartagena

Source: ColombialInfo.org TransCaribe in Cartagena



The territorial coverage of the TransCaribe BRT system

Source: Institute for Transportation Development Policy 2017 How BRT TransCaribe Improved Transport in Cartagena, Colombia. September 06, 2017

multiple lagoons and canals. By the mid-20th century, Cartagena's population boomed as conflict died down throughout the nation. National and local government entities invested to boost a tourist economy, transforming the Historic District and neighboring beach communities into a destination to satisfy the preferences of a specifically Western tourist ideal.<sup>9</sup> Attracting tourists and offering them a consumable myth of Colombian and Caribbean culture emerged as a core sector for the city's economy, complementing and at times outpacing its oil industry, port activities, and naval shipbuilding sectors. This process of turning towards the tourist and readying the city for a consumptive visitor took precedence over infrastructure financing and economic development across the city. Yet, tourism as a source of income generation does not reach and benefit residents equally. As the Center boomed, particularly

after entering into the UNESCO World Heritage List, the neighborhoods outside the walls were largely left to care for themselves.<sup>10</sup>

The challenge of linkage and access between Cartagena and the Historic Center rests on the fractured relationship between residents of the city and the tourist-focused core. While over-tourism and gentrification are challenges within the center, reducing attractions for tourists can threaten the livelihoods of vendors and hospitality workers who participate in the tourist economy under conditions of precarity.

### Creative Placemaking, Community Development, and Linkage

Creative Placemaking is a strategy to build networks for

integrating neighborhood life across cities and builds on the legacies of Community Action Groups. These strategies of social linkage cultivate new collective histories and work to transcend social barriers by improving connections between the neighborhoods and public spaces. They can be used within the Historic Center; however, they must be paired with actions to improve the integration of the Historic Center with the rest of the city. Placemaking in the Historic Center would support interdependence by creating new collaborations between community actors.

Creative Placemaking is defined by the Urban Land Institute of the Americas as, “an approach to help build strong, healthy cities by promoting the integration of arts and culture in community revitalization.” The ULI writes further, “Creative Placemaking describes a comprehensive community development approach that intentionally embeds arts, culture, and community-engaged design into strategies to revitalize and stabilize communities.”<sup>11</sup> The concept of Creative Placemaking is easy to dilute and coopt, but when practiced critically, it can be a productive way to build local knowledge in the physical environment while expanding opportunities for residents to strategically participate and shape their communities. United States architect and planner, Andrew Zichter’s critiques and definitions of Creative Placemaking, he locates its potential to be “a politics of place-based in mutual learning and discursive and productive disagreement.”<sup>12</sup> Placemaking is often seen as the use of art and culture in public space to recover a sense of place when that intangible sense is lost or rendered invisible. The methodology of creative placemaking and “place-keeping” is drawn largely upon the context of the United States as a neighborhood planning strategy. However, placemaking is implemented in Historic Districts worldwide. In Cartagena’s Historic Center placemaking can provide an opportunity to involve community groups from across the city in shaping the cultural and physical environment of the Historic Center. While placemaking is not a replacement for investment in infrastructure and economic development, it can spark a short-term and low-cost ways to build webs of grassroots involvement and citizen power within neighborhood contexts. The goal of placemaking is not to put a bandage over social fissures through cultural programming but to spark a

participatory process to better involve residents in crafting public space and public policies.

In Cartagena, Placemaking would offer a framework for involving residents from across the city as social actors in the Historic Center through imbuing public spaces with art, music, storytelling, and collective memory. This form of reconnection requires a planning process that involves core leaders, organizers, and students from across the city, not only as creators but as local knowledge builders and grassroots planners. Currently, the Historic District functions for a tourist gaze and consumption. Beginning a program for placemaking would offer a shift towards involving residents, thereby softening the challenge of linkage to and from the center. The aim of placemaking and place-keeping in telling the stories of *Cartageneros* across the city is to open up breathing room within the urban form to allow for the creation and cultivation of new and non-static history and heritage. The recommendation of creative placemaking as a tool to soften barriers to linkage and access, rests on the creation of a neighborhood-wide task force, representing and involving the interests of residents from different classes and workforce sectors in the activities and cultural experiences of the Historic Center.

Placemaking provides opportunities to instill citizen control over activities and policies that impact land use, economic policy, and public space use within the Historic Center. Citizen Control is defined by Sherry Arnstein as “the involvement of citizen decision making in ways that are not placative or exploitative.”<sup>13</sup> By shifting power to neighborhood groups to examine how their needs could be better met by public policy and programming, placemaking could provide opportunities to build networks of communal involvement across the city. This participatory style of planning could work well in surveying communities to be the best determinants of their diverse needs, uses, and problems with the current state of the Historic Center. With a bottom-up planning process, communities can be involved in a more democratic use of public space. This would bring neighborhood life into the Center, by involving community members from across the city as emboldened stakeholders.

## Box 2.2

### FIELDWORK IN THE SAN FRANCISCO NEIGHBORHOOD

During my fieldwork in Cartagena, I spent an afternoon in the neighborhood of San Francisco with community leader Jairo and his brother, Manuel. Together they founded a music school, Fundacion Cultural CyTambó, where they teach drumming, guitar, and singing to children after school within their living spaces. San Francisco is located 4 miles from the Historic Center. I initially wanted to spend time in San Francisco to understand how communities adjacent to the Historic Center accessed the district. San Francisco had historically been the study area of international NGOs and international development projects and interest for alternative tourism. I wanted to learn more about the relationship between tourism, economic security, and how neighborhood life related to activity within the Historic Center.



Logo Fundación CyTambó

The neighborhood of San Francisco is adjacent to the canal of Cartagena near the airport, divided from the Historic Center by the Highway. The neighborhood developed as a semi-formal and informal community in the 1960s occupied mostly by low-income households with a mix of formal and informal housing, schoolyards, and several neighborhood parks. San Francisco has a community-run police station and vibrant commercial corridor. Jairo’s story is not reflective of all *Cartageneros*, yet his relationship to his neighborhood and the Historic Center reflects the challenges and barriers to equitable economic participation and urban development in the city.

Jairo works several jobs within the Center, one of which is as a drummer and music-maker. He began to organize amongst other vendors and music makers to maintain a legal status to drum



Street scene in the San Francisco Neighborhood

publicly through the Historic Center after he was removed from residential areas.

Jairo and his colleagues often travel to the Center for hours a day to drum. This cultural practice is their livelihood, while also providing a sense of culture and heritage within the Historic Center.

Drumming has roots of resistance in Cartagena. Drums have historically been used as an expression of solidarity and political mobilization, recalling Afro-Latin legacies of slave insurrection. Drumming is also contested as noise police and nuisance within the Historic Center, hitting upon legacies of racism and exclusion. In weaving this act of intangible culture as resistance within the Historic District, their work demonstrates an instance where labor in the historic district for tourist consumption and culture and community building in the neighborhood coexist and intertwine. His work with the music school in providing an outlet for children age 4-17 in the neighborhood, also demonstrates the use of art and intangible heritage to build programming and opportunity within the neighborhoods. These interconnections exist between neighborhoods and the district, yet the city of Cartagena does not currently put a value on their contribution to both the sense of heritage within the district and as vital social services through the rest of the city. In his community, he coordinates this after school program, acquiring instruments for students, teaching various levels, and providing a space for children to continue their learning.

In spending time listening to Jairo discuss his community, he noted a strong sense of pride and collective responsibility. He also demonstrated the importance of sharing music with his life and work. Reflecting on this fieldwork experience, it became clear that intangible heritage is a useful tool to improve connections between residents across the city to the Historic Center. Reflecting further on community development within Cartagena, the collective stories of the tools leaders in the barrios used to build political power reflect a way to celebrate communal vibrancy back into the Historic District.



Street scene in the San Francisco Neighborhood

### Placemaking Opportunities in the Historic Center

*Placemaking in the Neighborhoods.* In cooperation with local actors, placemaking activities can spread evenly between the Historic Center and the neighborhoods. Forging these connections is necessary for ensuring placemaking extends to neighborhood development. For example, a performance held by the drumming school in Plaza San Diego in the Historic Center can also be repeated for friends and family within public spaces in the San Francisco neighborhood. By using spaces within the neighborhood and the Historic center, the distance between the two can be collapsed through culture and community participation. These joint endeavors contribute to establishing a renewed narrative of who the Historic Center is for. In this telling of Cartagena, the Historic Center reflects the vibrancy of surrounding communities. Tourists can experience and enjoy these activations of public spaces, but they transcend their short time in Cartagena. It is of crucial importance to the planning process that these stories and focus areas are driven by what residents themselves desire to share and express about their communities.

*Placemaking and Transit.* Transportation stations are gathering places for residents. They also facilitate the population flow through the city. Transportation stations provide unique opportunities to use the city's points of connection to build cultural vitality. In this proposal, placemaking can be used to bring art and storytelling to points of connection through the city. BRT stations are sheltered, providing space to imbue benches, wall space, and music-making to transit connection. A program integrating art through the bus routes can support the city's informal vendors while giving opportunity for a community informed process to shape physical public spaces. Neighborhood actors can come together to create murals celebrating local community leaders and historic community identity. This concept of activating space into common space reconfigures who is recognized and valued within the physical form.

*Placemaking and Signage.* Within Cartagena's Historic District, signage and art indicating the presence of

neighborhoods beyond the Historic District would also work to tell a new story of the city. These interventions can be stationed in transitory spaces within the Historic Center, where tourists come and go, and where key public events are held. Plaza San Diego, the Cruise Ship entrance, and the bus station in La Matuna are ideal intervention sites for increased signage.

### Conclusion

These recommendations are by no means comprehensive solutions to support linkage and access within the entirety of Cartagena. Yet, they provide an opportunity to address culture and mobility as a joint challenge through improving community participation in the regeneration of the Historic Center. Cartagena's history of neighborhood development and community development can be harnessed to improve the accessibility of the historic district for residents from across the city. The incorporation of new social actors as community stakeholders with decision-making power can help to distribute the benefits of the Historic Center citywide.

### Box 2.3

## ACTIVATING LIVING HISTORIES IN GETSEMANI

In 2016 and 2019 the inhabitants of the Getsemani neighborhood staged protests and community events within Plaza Trinidad. The events gathered community members from all ages to take part in protest through collective memory, sharing diverse and multi-generational stories of life in the neighborhood. Residents gathered to protest what they viewed as the joint gentrification and touristification of their neighborhood. While older residents struggle to age in place, they worry the memories of this historically income diverse, residential neighborhood, steeped in living memory of the city's history of resistance to slavery, would be erased and over commodified as residents are displaced and pushed out to make room for tourist-supporting businesses and accommodation. This protest action works as a tool of placemaking and joint resistance. The actions also supported by a coalition of community leaders, ranging from academics to elders to residents. Oral storytelling presents a way to "activate public spaces," while creating a new opportunity for social connections to form and regenerate. Community members regularly gather in the square to tell stories

and socialize, activities disrupted by common rough behavior on the part of the masses of tourists visiting the neighborhood.



Protests in Getsemani in 2016  
Source: El Universal

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2 Orlando Deavila Pertuz 2019 Community Action, the Informal City, and Popular Politics in Cartagena (Colombia) in Niall Geraghty and Adriana L. Massidda (editors) *Creative Spaces: Urban Culture and Marginality in Latin America*. London, Institute of Latin American Studies (116)

3

4 *Cartagenero* is the colloquial name used for the citizens of Cartagena.

5 Cartagena Como Vamos Report, 2018

6 Cartagena Como Vamos report, 2018 suggests that up to 70% of the economic activity in the Historic Center is tourism-related, an order of magnitude similar to figures of about 60% mentioned in breakout discussions during the Cartagena fieldwork.

7 Fieldwork discussion with Manuel, a paraphrase of the concept of "two Cartagena's"

8 Cartagena Como Vamos report, 2018

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11 Urban Land Institute, web multiple authors. <https://uli.org>

12 Zitcer 1997 op.cit. (4)

13 <https://citizenshandbook.org/toc.html>

# 3 A COMPREHENSIVE NARRATIVE FOR THE HISTORIC CENTER

The emphasis on tourism marked the last 50 years of city development. Although anchored in the Historic Center most tourism-related real estate investment has taken place in Bocagrande, Manga, and more recently in the Crespo and the island of Baru. In the Historic Center, the trend, initially led by high-income sectors that restored houses in the Historic Center as second residences, was followed latter by upper-middle-income families that acquired apartments in historic properties as second homes. This process made a notable private contribution to the conservation of the colonial material heritage that complemented the efforts by the National Government that conserved the fortifications and major monuments. More recent investments have focused on temporary accommodations for short stays and other hospitality endeavors that respond to the branding of the Historic Center as a place of recreation in a colonial setting.

The narrowly defined narrative for the Historic Center does not take advantage of the full potential of the site to benefit all the population of Cartagena. The territory occupied by the city and its Historic Center has a variety of socio-cultural values some with potential economic use values that allow for the promotion of a much wider and complex set of narratives to attract users and investors. These narratives can support a new vision for the development of the city and the implementation of interventions that boost the social and economic integration of large segments of the population to the development and preservation of the heritage values of the city.

## CARTAGENA “LA HEROICA”

Nour Jafar  
Kimberly La Porte

### The Exclusionary Effect of the Tourism Narrative

The focus on tourism within Cartagena, Colombia began in the early 1960s, as President Lleras Restrepo deemed it a national priority.<sup>1</sup> The *Corporación Nacional de Turismo* CNT (National Tourism Corporation) was initiated as the main entity in charge of attracting investment within the tourism sector of the country, and Cartagena was the crown jewel. Tourism was seen as a way to rectify Colombia’s image of violence and drugs to a more welcoming sun and sand destination. The development initially targeted Bocagrande, focusing on the narrow peninsula’s beaches. This prompted the development of infrastructure that tourism hotels, as well as real estate investments in the neighborhood. The investment came from the Colombian elite and reputedly from illegal sources like drug traffickers,<sup>2</sup> who helped develop high rises, hotels, and condominiums. Cartagena was branded as a beaches and fun destination,<sup>3</sup> and as a result, discotheques, casinos, travel agencies, hotels, restaurants, and jewelry stores began to sprout up in the neighborhood in attempts to keep up with touristic interests. The neighborhood became known as “New Miami” due to the many white high rises filling up its skyline.



Figure 3.1 - Skyline of Bocagrande illustrating similar aesthetics to Miami, Florida.  
Picture by Nour Jafar

Bocagrande began changing over time, as many of the hotel towers began to transform into permanent second residences for the elite. This alteration in demographics transformed the population’s sense of permanence, as the area shifted from short term visitors to long term interest holders as recurrent residents in the area using Bocagrande as the setting for their second homes. This demographic shift pushed most of the tourists out of the neighborhood and into the neighborhoods of the Historic Center: Centro, San Diego, and Getsemaní. While not fully cleared of short-term visitors, Bocagrande began to concentrate tourism facilities into a limited area to maintain control over where tourists would venture into the neighborhood. This concentration allowed for more manageable surveillance of the area and policing of the short-term visitors.<sup>4</sup> “Bocagrande’s sparse poor population was more easily ejected from the peninsula.<sup>5</sup>” Initially, the wealthy built grand villas in the neighborhood, but more recently, there has been a shift towards living within apartments. Villas require several laborers to maintain the grounds and housekeeping within the estate, ranging from gardeners to housekeepers, chefs, and nannies. Within the apartment complex, many tasks have been eliminated or require a single person to maintain the home due to its smaller footprint.<sup>6</sup> Present-day Bocagrande is quieter than it was during its touristic peak in the 1980s, most streets empty of tourist facilities are quiet: only the presence of housekeepers walking dogs or maintaining landscaping outside.<sup>7</sup> The working class within this neighborhood are of lower-income Afro-Colombian roots.

The tourist facilities within the neighborhood are concentrated along a central main street, one block inwards from the beach. Along this corridor are large commercial complexes, casinos, restaurants, and tourism agencies; and several plastic surgery clinics. The commercial content along the corridor centralizes

around familiar names and functions for tourists, like beachwear and large name franchises, or pastiche restaurants that try to imitate a specific theme.<sup>8</sup> Everything within this strip is familiar, reminiscent of other tropical locations that they might have visited before.<sup>9</sup>



Figure 3.2 - One of the numerous casinos found in Bocagrande. Picture by Nour Jafar



Figure 3.3 - Lubnan, a restaurant in Bocagrande boasting pastiche designs. Picture by Nour Jafar

The exclusionary effect of tourism does not simply revolve around the expulsion of lower-income populations from the area. The tourism industry in Cartagena focuses on the commodification of culture, specifically Afro-Caribbean Colombian. When advertising what Cartagena has to offer, there is always a backdrop of Afro-Caribbean culture on brochures and marketing content. The depiction is usually of either as a fisherman, a Palenquera<sup>10</sup>, or any character that would be simplified into a subservient role. The content provided strips away any culture of

Afro-Caribbean Colombians and simply commodifies them as an exotic backdrop to the tourists' vacation. This is further personified through Paseo en Chiva, a guided tour bus that departs from Bocagrande and targets all the main attractions in the historic center since 1980.<sup>11</sup> The bus is a cultural symbol itself, as its original use was on farms from the countryside. During the day, tours set out with a guide that provides the most basic facts about each destination and focuses on setting a colonial narrative. The tour itself asks the visitors to imagine themselves as European colonialists, and how they would be discovering Caribbean culture. Guides further commodify the city as a set to a pastiche act by telling tourists that "You will be the main actors."<sup>12</sup> The concentration of content that the Chiva guides focus on does not revolve around the actual history of the Historic Center. There is almost a complete disregard for the history of the fortifications, or other key sites on the trip, solely focusing on delivering tourists to vendors that have signed agreements with the tourist agency running the trip. There is a direct focus on stopping at specific locations and directly in front of stores that have promised commission to the guide as tourists always tend to buy keepsakes from their vacations. Stops on the route focus also on photo opportunities with cultural 'actors,' whether they are Palenqueras, craftsmen, or anything that further commodifies Afro-Caribbean culture.

While tourism drives Cartagena's economy, there is a disconnect between that influx of money and the people of the city. The economy of the city follows a colonial narrative as well. The idea of extraction and exportation is commonplace, investors get richer while the lower-income population does not reap any benefits from this economy.<sup>13</sup>

### Gentrifying Tourism

Cartagena has suffered from gentrification lately driven by the rapid growth of tourism-related activities (for a discussion of gentrification see Annex B). Gentrification within the city is not confined to the displacement of residents alone. 'Touristification,' or gentrifying tourism is defined as "a process of socio-spatial change in which neighborhoods are transformed according to the needs

of affluent consumers, residents, and visitors alike.<sup>14</sup> There has been a steady increase of foreign visitors to Cartagena over the years, growing from 50,000<sup>15</sup> annually in 2002 to over 3 million<sup>16</sup> in 2017, which has led to the expulsion of lower-income residents from the historic center.

Long before the gentrification of the historic center expelled lower-income residents from the area, other forces changed the demographic concentration of Cartagena. In the early 20th Century the city lost its population dramatically as residents moved to Barranquilla. Cartagena's population dropped dramatically from 25,000 to 8,000 as more people moved to find economic stability, leaving behind a very vacant historic center.<sup>17</sup> The late 1960s saw the return of some of the elite into the historic center, as they began to renovate older buildings as second homes. These renovation projects ignited the gentrification process within the historic center.<sup>18</sup> Other buildings have been taken over by lower-income residents through squatting after abandonment, while other restoration projects were taken on through private investments to create 5-star hotels. Vacant buildings, however, remains a major issue within the center.

With the increase of hotels and restaurants within the neighborhoods of Centro and San Diego, the concentration of tourist activities shifts away from Bocagrande and to the center. As conservation regulations come into place to preserve the buildings within these neighborhoods, tourism became the dominant use in the Historic Center.<sup>19</sup> This further diminished the diversity of uses within the area, effectively limiting the space occupiers to short term visitors.

With the influx of tourists and the businesses that thrive on that economy, such as cafes, restaurants, and discotheques, there have been numerous sighting of private security forces hired by businesses to police the area that tourists flock to. This policing is to provide a 'safe space' for tourists to enjoy the beauty of the picturesque Cartagena without the interference of the reality of the city. The security force is to monitor residents and vendors from 'harassing' the tourists

through charging for unwanted musical performances, vendors walking around selling trinkets, as well as impoverished populations trying to make a living through selling items or begging for loose change.



Figure 3.4 - Plaza Santo Domingo at night. Picture by Nour Jafar

Within the historic center, the restaurants around tourist hotspots cater to familiar tastes that coincide with the typical international market. Menus of the establishments surrounding Plaza Santo Domingo have identical menus, with servers attempting to attract business through verbally advertising their western menu of pasta, pizzas, and sandwiches with exuberant pricing that only tourists would pay for and could afford. Alongside identical menus, some establishments follow kitsch designs that have no relationship to the context of the city.



Figure 3.5 - KGB Bar, a Soviet themed bar located in San Diego. Picture by Nour Jafar

The issue within the historic center can be summed up



within one term: over-tourism. The rise of mainly North American tourists within the center has bred new issues for Cartagena’s historic landscape, as they made up over 20% of the tourists in 2018<sup>20</sup>. The consumption of the city through superficial means has led to non-existent day life outside of a few museums and trips to nearby islands and has given birth to a chaotic nightlife that is disrupting life for the *Cartageneros*.

**Exclusion via Tourism Chaos**

Disruption of life for locals within Cartagena is a byproduct of touristification. There is a stark difference between the streets of the historic center during the day and at night. During the day, quiet crowds are roaming the city and exploring major sites that are only open during the day, such as Castillo San Felipe, Las Bóvedas, and trips to Baru and other islands nearby. The night scene, however, is drastically different. Most young travelers visit Cartagena for an extremely affordable vacation, in a city branded as a party city with enticing discotheques, legal prostitution, and a notorious drug market.

Loud blaring music from discotheques and disorderly tourists roaming the streets at night is commonplace within the historic center. Throughout the area, numerous clubs are frequented mainly by tourists and blare loud music late into the night. Surrounding these clubs, there is an underground drug market.<sup>21</sup> Drug traffickers and dealers target younger tourists who linger around clubs and bars, offering them lucrative prices for ‘high-quality cocaine’ or if that does not pique



Figure 3.6 - Las Bóvedas, a historic dungeon turned into souvenir shops that attract tourists. Picture by Nour Jafar

their interest, marijuana as it is a softer drug that more people would be tempted to buy.

This tourism chaos mostly takes place in the Centro and San Diego neighborhoods, and it is threatening to spread into Getsemaní. The neighborhood of Gestemani is currently undergoing a gentrifying process led by new hostels and RB&B managed short term housing and facilities for short-term visitors would use,

like the odd concept of Beer & Laundry that provides in one place integrated services of food, drink and cloth washing for tourists<sup>22</sup>, and mural arts covering the walls of the buildings in the neighborhood in attempts at making it more attractive to visitors. However, there have been considerable efforts from the residents of this neighborhood to resist gentrification. There has been pushback by the locals in attempts to curb touristification of their neighborhood. In February 2020, there was a protest led at Plaza de La Trinidad by residents against the chaos that tourists were inflicting upon their neighborhood. This subsequently caused the shutdown of the plaza for two weeks. Afterward, local police forces patrolled the area to keep an eye on the tourists and to make sure the plaza stayed safe for the residents. This is an opposite reaction to policing and who is being secured when compared to San Diego and Centro. Here, the security forces are looking out for the wellbeing of the permanent residents, while in San Diego and Centro, private security teams are out protecting business assets such as tourist comfort zones.

**Mitigating the Impacts of Touristification**

Since the 16th century, Cartagena served as one of the most prominent fortified port cities in the Spanish Caribbean and was a node in a wider global network of colonial trade. Despite its independence from Spanish rule obtained in 1811, Cartagena, like many other Caribbean cities, has continued to grapple with systemic issues of power, class disparity, and racial bias.<sup>23</sup> In recent years the economic and socio-cultural imbalances have intersected in a way that has prioritized the interests of passing tourists over the needs of invested residents. The Historic Center today appears to analysts as an exploited resource in need of an intervention to reset its course towards a sustainable and inclusive future. The recent events concerning the COVID-19 pandemic and its consequent threat to the mass tourism market, make it more pressing for Cartagena to reconsider how it will use its heritage values and identity in moving forward.

The Historic Urban Landscape Approach (HULA), recommended in 2011 by UNESCO, offers a conceptual framework that facilitates a “repositioning” or “rebranding” of Cartagena (for more details on the HULA see Annex A). At the core of its definition, the notion of the “historic urban landscape” acknowledges both the temporal and spatial layers in the development of historic cities and the many values embedded within them. Thus, the Historic Center becomes just one node in a much more complex narrative of the continually evolving heritage of Cartagena and its current form, another stage in a dynamic process of change.

In addition to structuring the idea of the historic urban landscape, the UNESCO HUL Recommendation also outlines a toolkit for planning and managing the conservation of urban heritage areas gleaned from traditional urban conservation and planning methodologies. The toolkit `is comprised of community engagement tools, knowledge, and planning tools, regulatory systems, and financial tools. These components contribute to the formation of an integrated approach, one that can be tailored in response to the specifics of the locale in which it is applied.<sup>24</sup> The broad categories of tools ultimately facilitate an environment

**Box 3.1  
SEX WORKERS IN CARTAGENA. OBSERVATIONS FROM THE FIELDWORK.**

Within the plaza of the clock tower, groups of sex workers are seen working in the area at night. Their clientele focus is mainly North American tourists, where the language is no longer a barrier because of technology. The young ladies are seen utilizing Google Translate on their phones to communicate with their clients. While prostitution is legal in Colombia, there is a large problem concerning the sexual exploitation of minors within Cartagena’s sexual tourism industry. Due to the fear of stigmatization, the issue has long been ignored in fears of losing annual visitors should this problem be

addressed publicly.<sup>1</sup> In 2009, the NGO Renacer<sup>2</sup> founded “La Muralla Soy Yo!,” a campaign that aims to educate the public about this issue, as well as aims to prevent, report, and prosecute those who exploit children in sex trade.

1 Frölich, Nicole. “Cartagena Takes Action against Sex Tourism: DW: 12.03.2020.” DW. Deutsche Welle, March 13, 2020. <https://www.dw.com/en/cartagena-takes-action-against-sex-tourism/a-52704120>.  
2 <https://fundacionrenacer.org>

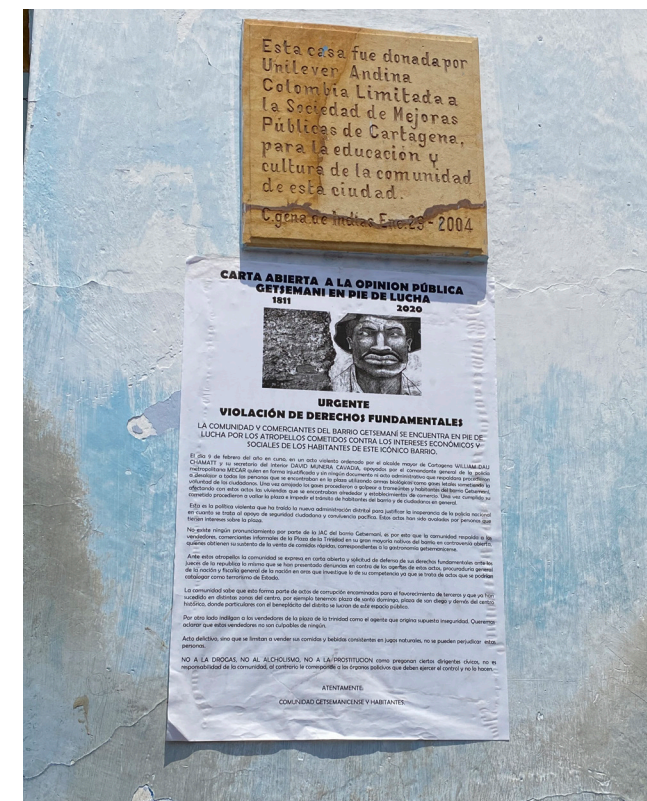


Figure 3.7 - A protest poster calling to attention, located in Plaza de La Trinidad in Getsemaní. Picture by Nour Jafar

in which equilibrium amongst the many values and interest holders of historic cities can be achieved.

The Historic Urban Landscape approach informs the following cultural programming proposal, structured to reframe the stereotypical experience of the tourist inside the walled city of Cartagena. It is presented as a prototypical community engagement tool that empowers “a diverse cross-section of stakeholders to identify key values in their urban areas, develop visions, set goals, and agree on actions to safeguard their heritage and promote sustainable development. These tools should facilitate intercultural dialogue by learning from communities about their histories, traditions, values, needs, and aspirations and by facilitating mediation and negotiation between conflicting interests and groups.”<sup>25</sup>

### Cultural Empowerment as Community Engagement

This proposal aims to provide both a repository and a platform for the oral traditions and visual cultures of *Cartageneros*, in line with the community engagement initiatives recommended by UNESCO in the Historic Urban Landscape Approach. Culture-led interventions, like the one suggested herein, introduce subtle behavioral shifts in the ways users and interest holders interact with the historic built environment. In doing so, a field study was conducted in Cartagena, Colombia from March 8th to March 14th. During this time, we observed the use of the 18th Century landmark La Torre del Reloj (“Clock Tower”), which serves as the gateway between Plaza de Independencia and Plaza de Los Coches, as a canvas for projections. In the surrounding area, speakers loudly played music, while residents and tourists alike played, bartered, and otherwise passed time.

Based on conversations with local organizations of concerned neighborhood residents, this scene reflected the fact that the Historic Center of Cartagena had been over-adapted to accommodate and attract tourism. A point of superficiality had been reached at the expense of residential quality of life. A central issue thus emerged: the concentration of tourists in the Historic Center had rendered its resources as beautiful



Figure 3.8 - Projections on La Torre del Reloj in Cartagena, March 11, 2020.  
Picture by Kimberly La Porte

empty containers inherited from the past, rather than relevant symbols of an encompassing heritage narrative. Accordingly, the proposal that follows is subtle: the suggestion is to simply update, expand, and elevate the current urban public programming that we observed as already established in Cartagena.

In consideration of the fact that Cartagena hosts the Festival Internacional de Cine de Cartagena de Indias FICCI (International Film Festival of Cartagena de Indias), the longest-running international film festival in Latin America, there is significant potential for this institution to enter in partnering with like-minded organizations to implement this initiative. First, it is proposed to create an accessible database of community-contributed films, images, and recordings to serve as an archive of memories, heritage, and identity from current and former *Cartageneros*. Opportunities for intersection with goals of the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Tourism may also be available. Further research in this area is recommended.

These materials could be projected using readily available-technologies on sea-facing sections of the fortifications that enclose the Historic Center. Seating could be arranged in the green areas that already exist here, and which are currently used informally for recreation. Implementing programming around the outside of the Historic Center, rather than within the Historic Center, is intended to dilute the current

level of the “Intramuros” concentration of tourism. It is also structured to attract a diverse audience. On one hand, the projections appeal to the nostalgia of the *Cartagenero*, literally layering memories of the recent past over heroic tributes of history. On the other hand, it provides an interactive, learning-based experience for tourists to understand the spirit of the city they have come to encounter.

Finally, this kind of cultural intervention has the potential to become a fundraising event that might directly benefit the maintenance of the historic walls. It engages directly with tourists, but also leverages the resources of the Historic Center to attract new governmental, nonprofit, and community partnerships. All of these new stakeholders become potential sources for financial support and become directly invested in continued material care of the site.



Figure 3.9 - The proposed projection of archival documentary film on the sea-facing fortifications of Cartagena.  
Rendering by Kimberly La Porte



Figure 3.10 - Sea-facing sections of the 16th-century fortifications of Cartagena, March 14, 2020. These green spaces are underutilized and undermanaged. Caged lights illuminate the wall at night.  
Photo by Kimberly La Porte



Figure 3.11 - Satellite map of the Historic Center of Cartagena, showing locations to accommodate film screenings.  
Base map from Google, areas of interest highlighted by Kimberly La Porte.

### A Renewed Sense of Place: *Cartagena La Heroica*

The heritage of the urban area of Cartagena and its Historic Center is complex, informed by its status as a colonial trading port, its relation to administrative centers in the interior of the country, its Afro-Colombian population, and its newly-arrived residents from both neighboring countries and around the globe. While historic assets have been successfully positioned to attract tourists and the wealthy, there remains significant potential to use these resources in a way that includes and promotes a much more diverse range of narratives and stakeholders, and in turn may attract diverse, sustainable streams of investment.

A renewed sense of place in Cartagena and its Historic Center is thereby delivered under the identity of “*Cartagena La Heroica*.” This identity (or “brand”) taps into an already established heritage narrative of independence in the city, one that easily resonates with communities within Cartagena and in its surrounding areas like Palenque. *Cartagena La Heroica* provides a cohesive way of understanding the city as a whole while acknowledging the diversity of the parts that comprise it. While *La Heroica* is born out of the story of the city, at that time comprised of the Center, San Diego, and Getsemaní neighborhoods, it highlights the resilient, engaging, multicultural characteristics that unify Cartagena and its territory. The reactivation of the notion of *La Heroica* serves to empower those communities with deep ties to the city.

This branding strategy is a measured one formulated to balance the self-identification of *Cartageneros* and the perception of tourists. The benefits of thoughtful branding are numerous: differentiation with competitors and tourist education are just a couple. A strategy that goes beyond fonts and logos, as suggested for the concept of “*Cartagena La Heroica*,” is essential. The strategy must connect directly with “elements related to social identity, community, and sustainability of the destination,” incorporating the history of the place with its hope for the future.<sup>26</sup>



Figure 3.12 - The Noli Me Tangere statue is dedicated “A Cartagena Heroica,” commemorating the resistance of the city to Spanish conquest, in El Camellón de los Mártires in Cartagena. Photo sourced from mapio.net

Finally, branding strategies may also be worked to reposition a city that has become overwhelmed by tourism, as is seen in Cartagena. The programming proposal and strategy suggested above are examples of what some researchers may label as “retrograding.” Retrograding may be defined as an initiative that is rooted in “personal nostalgia related to an individual’s



Figure 3.13 - A store in Cartagena uses the “La Heroica” identity in its signage, March 13, 2020. Photo by Kimberly La Porte



Figure 3.14 - A pharmacy in Cartagena uses the “La Heroica” identity in its promotional marketing, March 13, 2020. Photo by Kimberly La Porte

memories and/or shared nostalgia concerning historical events or a specific period in history ... Most of the brands studied are following a retro branding strategy which involves combining old-fashioned forms with cutting-edge functions, updating the product to harmonize past and present.”<sup>27</sup> Researchers have found that these types of strategies work particularly

well with recent Special Interest Tourism activities and in acknowledgement of the fact that many cities rely on revenue generated by visitors.<sup>28</sup>

### Final Remarks

The fieldwork in Cartagena, Colombia, and its Historic Center was largely observational, intending to identify sources of conflict impacting the heritage resources in the city. It became clear rather quickly that an explosion of mass tourism facilitated by adaptation of the port city to accommodate cruises had led to a disconnect between the material heritage and the collective memory of *Cartageneros*.

Therefore, this dual-part proposal has aimed to suggest both an immediate action to catalyze shifts in use and value paradigms of the Historic Center, as well as to provide a long-term inclusive framework for the comprehension and management of Cartagena as the sum of its parts. The influence of these types of branding strategies in the management of tourism and the empowerment of communities has been well-documented in academic and professional literature, underscoring the potential of urban heritage to contribute towards a sustainable future.

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# 4 SPACE AND THE EMBODIMENT OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

## LAS PALENQUERAS DE SAN BASILIO DE PALENQUE

Dara M. Epison

*“Somos reconocidas como un patrimonio viviente. Lo que llevamos encima no es solo una pollera y una palangana con frutas y cocadas. Es también una herencia cultural que viene desde el pueblo de Palenque, patrimonio intangible de la humanidad. Los miles de turistas que llegan al año a esta ciudad deben saber que Palenque vive, y somos nosotras las portadoras de ese legado.”*

— Dorina Hernández, líder *palenquera*

*“We are recognized as a living heritage. What we carry is not just a skirt and a basin with fruit and coconut. It is also a cultural heritage that comes from the town of Palenque, an intangible heritage of humanity. The thousands of tourists that come to this city each year should know that Palenque lives, and we are the bearers of that legacy.”*

— Dorina Hernández, a *Palenquera* leader<sup>1</sup>

After the demolition of the city Market located next to the Bahía de Los Pegasos to build the Convention Center, the “*Palenqueras*”—traders of local food products from the village of San Basilio de Palenque—lost their place in the Historic Center and resorted to informal vending on the streets and sidewalks of Cartagena. The loss of a ‘place in the city’ was compounded by the changes in their dresses and commercial habits gradually imposed by the development of mass tourism in the heritage area. Many *Palenqueras* can now be seen adorned in the colors of Cartagena’s flag and, not solely reliant on the selling of Palenque’s products anymore, make a living out of posing for tourists’ pictures. This ‘commodification’ of the intangible cultural heritage of Colombians is but one of the many cases of such a process taking place in the city of Cartagena.

### ***The Palenqueras***

Before visiting the city of Cartagena (de Indias) for the first time in March of 2020, I attempted, as much as possible from a great distance away, to immerse myself in the city’s history and culture. As a United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) -designated World Heritage Site known for

its intricate fortification system, group of monuments, and port, Cartagena is spilling over with an abundance of “outstanding universal value” that hinges on the sixth criterion for which its inscription on the World Heritage List is based: according to UNESCO, “Cartagena, together with Havana and San Juan, Puerto Rico was an essential link in the route of the West Indies. The property fits within the general theme of world exploration and the great commercial maritime routes.”<sup>2</sup> The commercial activity referenced in this description is Cartagena’s “essential” role in the importation of enslaved Africans beginning in the sixteenth century until the official abolition of this practice in 1851. As the major port for the importation of slave labor for the Spanish crown in South America, it is believed that at least one million enslaved black bodies entered the port of Cartagena.<sup>3</sup>

Despite the critical presence of black bodies in the formation of Cartagena’s identity as the “jewel” of the West Indies and Colombian crown, the enslaved are only mentioned as an un-interrogated aside in the UNESCO description of Cartagena’s universal value, as “[fueling] much of the economic activity of the city.”<sup>4</sup> This superficial accounting for the existence of

Afro-Colombians is reflected in the symbolic presence of Palenqueras in the city's imagination. Travel blogs commonly introduce these women within their description of Cartagena's attractive elements as follows (emphasis added):

A mosaic of tropical, sun-drenched tones greets visitors wandering the labyrinthine streets of the Caribbean city of Cartagena in Colombia. The UNESCO-designated walled old town, packed with amber yellow historic buildings, dates back to the colonial era in the 16th century. Today, the old city in Cartagena retains clear connections to the most iconic Colombian symbols. Amongst them, and arguably the most emblematic, are the *"palenqueras,"* who wear vibrant ruffled dresses and carry bowls of tropical fruit.<sup>5</sup>

At the start of my weeklong stay in Cartagena's Historic Center, surrounded by the city's historic fabric, culture, and commercial activity is largely driven by tourism, I was immediately drawn to these groups of Black women carrying bowls of fruit but mostly selling tourists the opportunity to be photographed with them. These women, so-called *"Palenqueras"* because of their connection with a *"Palenque"*<sup>6</sup>—in this case, the village of San Basilio de Palenque—has become a tourist icon in Cartagena and abroad. Eroticized and exoticized representations of them are sold in souvenir shops throughout the city, and their image is used in tourism brochures, websites, and blogs. As Joel Streicker writes in his article *"Spatial Reconfigurations, Imagined Geographies, and Social Conflicts in Cartagena, Colombia"* published in 1997:

Called "joyful" and poor but "happy" in the few portions of text mentioning their existence, blacks are visually depicted as fruit sellers on the beach, folkloric dancers at a tourist show, and fishermen silhouetted against the setting sun, while tourists are portrayed as white. For the most part, however, blacks appear in the tourist literature merely as part of the picturesque backdrop for tourist fun, taking a secondary role even to the city's beaches and colonial architecture.<sup>7</sup>



Figure 4.1 - Palenqueras Go, Guía del Ocio  
Photo by Tu Guía de Cartagena 2011

This iconization—or process of iconizing—often takes place outside of the control of the subject (or object). And, the *Palenqueras* are not immune to this process of othering and fixing icons in place and time for the sake of the tourist gaze. Within and beneath this othering, however, I cannot help but identify a great deal of agency in how that gaze is directed and used. Indeed, what we might read in the quote from Ms. Dorina Hernández is an expression of that agency—an articulation of heritage as living, breathing, and embodied, and not solely resulting in cultural products (icons) to be bought and sold. This agency is reflected in how the *Palenqueras* organize themselves and their work. They are rarely seen working within the Historic Center alone, preferring instead to function as a group with one or two of the women acting as representatives of the unit.

As *"living heritage,"* the *Palenqueras* have, throughout their long occupation of public space in Cartagena, managed to emerge from the backdrop of amber-

colored walls to become an essential strand in the cultural fabric that makes up the city. Despite this, the public presence of the *Palenquera* in Cartagena has been a tenuous one. By uncovering the process through which their emergence as bearers of Colombia's cultural legacy takes place, how might we shape a less fragile future for these black female bodies in public space?

### Palenque, the "Walled City"

The village of San Basilio de Palenque—which roughly translates to "walled city"—was founded sometime in the sixteenth century (the exact date remains unknown) by Benkos Biohó, a former African king from the territory of either the actual Democratic Republic of Congo or Angola, who was sold into slavery and escaped from the port of Cartagena in 1599. He fled his captors into the swamps just to the South of Cartagena and went on to form an army of escaped captives who settled in the area around the Montes de María, forming *palenques* where they developed their own economic, social, and cultural structures. The formerly enslaved maintained their African oral and musical traditions, including the only Spanish-Bantú language spoken on earth, known as Palenquero and influenced by the Kikongo language of Angola and the Congo. The "walls" that made up these communities were constructed to provide refuge for the escapees until, in 1691, the Spanish Crown issued a Royal Decree officially freeing Palenqueros from slavery. This decree would have the unintentional effect of making these groups the first free groups of Africans in the Americas. Of all the *palenques* in Latin America, only San Basilio de Palenque (also known as Palenque), located approximately 31 miles southeast of Cartagena, survives to this day. Thanks, in great part, to the preservation of its intangible socio-cultural heritage and historic significance, Palenque was declared a UNESCO Masterpiece of Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity in 2005.<sup>8</sup>

Although Palenque has achieved what no other town of its time had yet managed to achieve, it still has its problems. With limited access to resources, the town was (and still is) extremely poor. Despite their World Heritage designation, Palenque (population of 3,762 in

2007) is one of the most isolated, marginalized, and impoverished communities in Colombia: 76.7% of its residents live below the poverty line and 50.4% do not have access to water and sewage services, among some indicators.<sup>9</sup> This poverty and marginalization have forced almost half of its population to migrate to Cartagena and Barranquilla.

This migratory pattern is mirrored in the daily journey of the *Palenqueras* into Cartagena's center: as hard times befell Palenque, many women "decided to get creative" and make the pilgrimage to Cartagena to sell what the village had in abundance—produce.<sup>10</sup> Early on, some of the women wore "regular street clothing like shorts..." and all "sold fruits like salmon-hued zapotes, pear-like sapodillas, and luscious crimson red mangoes," operating both on the streets of Cartagena and in the city market located near the Muelle de Los Pegasos, the old port on the Bahía de las Ánimas.<sup>11</sup> In the early 1980s, the Centro de Convenciones Cartagena de Indias (Conventions Center of Cartagena de Indias) was built on the site of the city's old market. Joel Streicker describes this space as follows:

"Sprawling, crowded, garbage-strewn, the old market was also a central place of popular-class life in the heart of the colonial city, a place where both rich and poor did their marketing... the building on this site is a material statement of the city elite's international pretensions: the local, the popular, was bulldozed to erect a building that would serve the local elite's international (and national) clientele."<sup>12</sup>



Figure 4.2 - The Market at the Muelle de Los Pegasos 1919  
Photo: Fototeca Histórica de Cartagena

The combined destruction of the old market and ever-increasing reliance of the local economy on the tourist dollar forced the Palenqueras to significantly adjust what they sold and where they sold it:

“Today, the palenqueras of Cartagena vie for the attention of visitors and photographers while wearing their brightly-hued ruffled dresses, handmade jewelry, and headscarves. On their heads, they balance bowls of beautifully arranged tropical fruit or coconut-based sweets made from centuries-old recipes, as they walk through the city streets. Head to Plaza Santo Domingo, Plaza de Los Coches, Puerta del Reloj, Calle del Arzobispado, or Plaza de San Pedro Claver, and you’re sure to glimpse their colorful attire. “They are the outward, visual manifestation of a much deeper palenque history of resilience and love of freedom,” [award-winning chef and cookbook author Maricel] Presilla says.<sup>13</sup>

The *Palenqueras* represent much more than Palenque history. Their relationship to the city of Cartagena has transformed them into one of Colombia’s biggest icons. Promotional brochures from postcards and tourist brochures prominently feature the women, their basins, and colorful dresses. Each year, the day after a Miss Colombia is crowned, she poses with a *Palenquera* on the beach—a tradition said to ensure good luck.<sup>14</sup>

While Cartagena and its tourism stakeholders benefit from the *Palenqueras*, the women have received very little in return. Their income, which fluctuates with the tourist season, depends on the sales of fruits, sweets, and the tips they get from tourists after posing for a picture. They receive no economic compensation from the use of highly essentialized, stereotypic images of them or their culture in various touristic media. Blanca Alejandra Camargo writes, “...several *Palenqueras* mentioned during informal on-site conversations how often people tell them they saw pictures of them in brochures, magazines, posters, and other media, pictures they did not consent to be used or distributed for any purpose.”<sup>15</sup> They also lack government-sponsored healthcare and social security, as they are part of the informal economy of Cartagena.



Figure 4.3 - Palenquera Protest\_2019  
Photo by Wilfred Arias. Originally published in *El Heraldo*.

This lack of protection resulted in a significant public protest on March 27 of 2019 when Angelina Cassiani, one of the often chosen to be pictured with statesmen and Miss Colombia pageant winners, was harassed and fined by police for selling her produce in the same spot she has operated as a vendor for close to two decades.<sup>16</sup> Carrying signs that read “*Somos Patrimonio de la Humanidad*,” “*Respeto*,” “*El Vendedor Informal Es Legal*,” and more, the *Palenqueras* embodied the spirit of the Noli Me Tangere statue erected in 1911 in Centenario Park on the centennial of Cartagena’s declaration of independence.<sup>17</sup> Translating to the warning, “Touch Me Not,” the statue symbolically came to life and joined the *Palenqueras*, formal and informal vendors, activists, and representatives who marched through the street to demand that the Cartagena police and Mayor’s office allow them to do their jobs, “a tradition throughout the city.”<sup>18</sup>

For his part, the mayor of Cartagena, Pedrito Pereira, pointed to *La Confianza Legítima*, recently-won legislation that grants vendors the right to carry out commercial activities in the public realm, to underscore the value of the demonstration. This right, however, is limited in cases where the activity is deemed to be “unduly,” a judgment that has come under scrutiny for its lack of clarity and inconsistent application.<sup>19</sup>

### Summing Up

To overcome barriers, informal workers need to be organized and their organizations need to be legally recognized and officially represented in collective

### Box 4.1

## PHILIPPINES PALENQUE MAKARARATING BA TAYO SA PALENGKE? ‘(THEN) SHALL WE GET TO THE MARKET?’

In the Philippines, permanent wet or public markets are known as *palengkes*. As a Tagalog variant on the Spanish word *palenque*, the translation is directly related to its meaning in the Colombian context—a wooden palisade or stockade and, by extension, the area enclosed by such a structure for defense, public festivals, or some other purpose. The permanence of the *palengke* is of great significance here; temporary markets are referred to as *talipapas* in the Philippines and, therefore, perform an entire role in this society.<sup>1</sup>

“A palengke is usually composed of several dozen stalls arranged in rows under a shared roof. Management is usually by the local governmental units whose jurisdiction encompasses the physical location of the markets. Certain pieces of legislation, however, such as the Cooperatives Code (RA 7160) and the Agriculture and Fisheries Modernization Act (RA 8435) have prescribed that management of the markets be accomplished through cooperatives.”<sup>2</sup>

Along with their permanence, their physical structure (under a shared roof) and administrative structure (through cooperative management) function as a metaphorical and actual model for organizing informal commercial activity in the public domain in other parts of the world. As amended in February of 2009, Article 2 of the Philippine Cooperative Code of 2008 states (emphasis

added):

“It is the declared policy of the State to foster the creation and growth of cooperatives as a practical vehicle for *promoting self-reliance and harnessing people power towards the attainment of economic development and social justice*. The State shall encourage the private sector to undertake the actual formation and organization of cooperatives and shall create an atmosphere that is conducive to the growth and development of these cooperatives.”<sup>3</sup>

The clarity with which this code functions and is manifested in the everyday life of the Philippines has thwarted the kind of social unrest that the lack of clarity around the principle of *Confianza Legítima* has garnered in Colombia.<sup>4</sup> This assessment does not overlook the recent and very real threat that shopping malls and supermarkets have had on the *palengke*, but it does acknowledge just how much more powerful organized bodies are than individual actors in their attempts to stand up to real and perceived threat(s). In this context, what the Philippine Cooperative Code does and that *La Confianza Legítima* does not, is codifying and, therefore, legitimize organized labor. This legitimization does not just rest on trust in the system’s ability to work on behalf of its citizens—it puts measures in place to ensure its efficacy.

1 “Palengke,” Wikipedia, last modified April 29, 2020, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palengke#cite\\_note-RAE-5](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palengke#cite_note-RAE-5).

2 Ibid.

3 “Fourteenth Congress: Second Regular Session,” The LawPhil Project, Arellano Law Foundation, accessed on May 2, 2020, [https://lawphil.net/statutes/repacts/ra2009/ra\\_9520\\_2009.html](https://lawphil.net/statutes/repacts/ra2009/ra_9520_2009.html).

4 Alsema, “Cartagena’s iconic fruit sellers furious after police insist on clamping down on street vendors.”

bargaining, policymaking, and rule-setting processes. They need to be able to participate in the development of appropriate policies, laws, and regulations that recognize, validate, and integrate their work and livelihoods. Organizing gives the poorest segments of the working class—those working in the informal economy, especially women—a way to be heard by decision-makers who can affect their lives. And, membership-based organizations (MBOs)—trade unions, associations, cooperatives—help street vendors navigate their relationship with the authorities, build solidarity, and solve problems with other vendors. Several have developed innovative ways to work with cities to keep the streets clean and safe while

gaining a secure livelihood for vendors. According to the international organization, Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO), the many benefits of organizing are:<sup>20</sup>

### Economic Benefits

- Organizing allows workers to use their collective strength to negotiate better wages and conditions.
- Organizing allows workers to receive better prices from those who buy their products.
- Organizing helps workers pool their limited resources and increase their access to financial resources.

### Political Benefits

- Organizing confers greater visibility and validity on informal workers, which in turn gives them influence in policy arenas.
- Social Protection Benefits
- Organizing allows informal workers to access existing social protection systems.
- MBOs can offer improved support systems for their members.
- MBOs are at the forefront of improving working conditions, including fostering occupational health and safety (OHS) approaches for informal workers.

### Intangible Benefits

- Organizing's positive effects can lead to improved self-esteem and both social and personal empowerment among informal workers.
- Informal workers are affected by forces at the local, national, regional, and international levels, so workers must organize at all levels.

*Palenqueros* have long been described as strong and resilient. It is this very spirit and identity that has enabled their survival to this day. As Blanca Alejandra Camargo writes, "Aware of the interest that they generate among national and international tourists, and tired of being treated like a tourist commodity, they do exert agency to increase their benefit from tourism and protect their cultural heritage."<sup>21</sup> *Palenqueros* (and *Palenqueras*) have founded an association to protect their rights and cultural identity and, in the village of San Basilio de Palenque, such associations as the Large-scale Producing Association of Organic Agricultural Goods, Sweets Traditional and Ethno-touristic Services of Palenque (ASOPRADUCE), formed in 2008, have mobilized to not only function as an ethno-tourism agency but also as a union that enables the *Palenqueras* to function as an organized body in the selling of their wares.<sup>22</sup>

At the scale of this particular cultural and ethnic group, the association appears to function well. However, as recently as March of 2019, the limits of this association were tested when confronted with the misapplication of state power. One year later, in the face of a global

pandemic, the international forces that are underscored as an intangible side-effect of organizing have become terrifyingly real. Resiliency, in an age where the threats are both tangible and intangible, now requires a more robust and multi-pronged way of thinking about cooperation. This approach can only be made stronger by a government's willingness to support its citizens in organizing themselves.

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- 7 Joel Streicker, "Spatial Reconfigurations, Imagined Geographies, and Social Conflicts in Cartagena, Colombia," *Cultural Anthropology* 12, no. 1 (February 1997): 112.
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# 5 TOURISTIFICATION AND DISPLACEMENT

Through an informal economy that makes up approximately 45% of the local economy, tourists have become the supplier of income for many of the workers in Cartagena.<sup>1</sup> The city has welcomed touristification as a source of income whose reach extends beyond the informal economy and into formal businesses as well as local government. Since the historic center's designation as a World Heritage Site in 1984, there has been a pattern of local players ignoring the repercussions that come from over-reliance on foreign and seasonal capital. The city has reached a tipping point in which it can no longer ignore the drastic change in Cartagena's built environment caused by this foreign influence, as pieces of the city's urban fabric are losing their identity due to invasive development and uses

## THE IMPACT OF TOURISM DRIVEN GENTRIFICATION ON AFFORDABLE HOUSING: THE TALE OF FOUR CITIES

Nour Jafar

Gentrification is defined as “a process of socio-spatial change in which neighborhoods are transformed according to the needs of affluent consumers, residents, and visitors alike”<sup>2</sup> (for a discussion of the concept see ANNEX B). Touristification, or tourism-based gentrification, has a similar effect severely impacting the affordable housing stock of a neighborhood. Solutions to this problem are few and mostly local. This chapter will explore case studies of cities that suffer from tourism-based gentrification and its impact on the affordable housing stock. For reasons of interest and availability of information the cases selected include New Orleans (United States of America), Cartagena (Colombia), Jerusalem (Palestine and Israel), and Kuwait City (Kuwait). Each case study explores different influencing factors leading to diverse outcomes due to touristification: New Orleans' Vieux Carre explores the displacement of affordable single-family homes to the real estate market and tourism-based commercial gentrification; the Historic Center of Cartagena suffers from over-tourism and is treated as nothing more than a party destination; the Old Quarter of Jerusalem faces high amounts of tourism whilst being an active conflict zone; Lastly, the case of Kuwait City is a case of gentrification in hopes of targeting a touristic audience, but actively impacting the affordable housing stock.

### Vieux Carre, New Orleans

New Orleans' Vieux Carre, also known as the French Quarter, was designated as a historical district in 1937, and until the 1970s, it was the city's sole historical district.<sup>3</sup> This district has battled numerous gentrifying factors throughout the decades: activists fighting a national expressway in the 1960s, as well as preservationists and residents actively fighting against the intrusion of fast-food restaurants, mall-like shops, and chain clothing stores, or anything that caters

exclusively to tourists.<sup>4</sup> With constant preservation efforts in place for Vieux Carre, the National Trust for Historic Preservation listed this neighborhood in its 10 most endangered places in the country as there is an encroaching commercial growth that threatens.

Residential and cultural gentrification are the two main displacement factors within this neighborhood. Although national franchises have not made an appearance within the neighborhood, other developments geared towards tourism has taken over the area. “In recent years, residents and [neighborhood] organizations have lamented the increase of hotels, bed and breakfasts, time-shares, condominiums, and large entertainment clubs.”<sup>5</sup> As the tourism industry expands in Vieux Carre, demographics begin to shift as median incomes and property values both begin to increase. Wealthier tenants begin to move in and rents increase, effectively displacing the lower-income residents. Single-family residences then are rehabilitated into luxury condominiums, further catering to the tourism industry rather than the residents.<sup>6</sup>

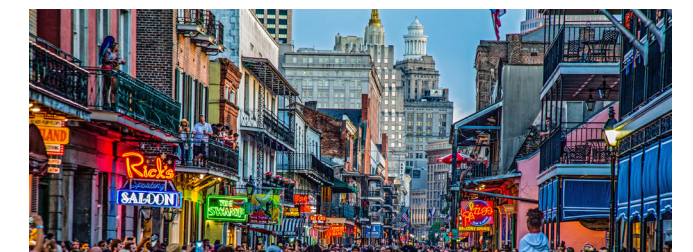


Figure 5.1 - Tourists flooding Bourbon Street, New Orleans<sup>7</sup>

The overall branding of Vieux Carre is that of an entertainment destination: the urban regeneration of the city prompted hardcore tourism marketing, drawing in crowds since the 1960s.<sup>8</sup> State policy encouraged the gentrification process to battle blight, as it fortified the tourism industry and strengthened Louisiana's economy. The land was cleared and sold to private developers, creating upscale urban housing for higher-



income 'gentry,' displacing the poor and working class. The second wave of gentrification came through public-private partnerships and tax abatements/increment financing which focused on museums, art galleries, and historic preservation, as well as residential gentrification. This time, residential gentrification targeted attracting tourists rather than higher-income permanent residents. Historically, it was a diverse neighborhood, but more recently the locals have been replaced by an expendable tourist population.

### Cartagena de Indias

In Cartagena, touristification is spreading through its Historic Center. The discussion covers the differences among two neighborhoods affected by tourism-based gentrification Bocagrande and the Historic Center.<sup>9</sup>

Bocagrande was the first neighborhood to gentrify, beginning in the 1960s. Numerous beach developments went up within this strip, branding the neighborhood as a 'sun and sand' touristic destination. Tall white skyscrapers catered to the temporary vacationing crowds, as they consisted of hotels with private pools and expensive condominium developments. At the street level, numerous fast-food franchises were located not too far apart from each other down the main inner road running through the neighborhood. Other facilities consisted of casinos, plastic surgery clinics, and travel agencies, indicating the demands of the clientele that frequented this neighborhood. Not many locals are seen strolling through its streets, but are found at the public beach, or walking dogs outside of the condominiums while the tourists were at their private hotel pools.<sup>10</sup>

The Historic Center has more recently gentrified, noticing a spike in boutique hotels and temporary rentals in 2000 onwards.<sup>11</sup> There has not been a sense of displacement within this neighborhood in terms of affordable housing as there is a high vacancy rate. Residents with higher-incomes moved out of the center to different neighborhoods leaving behind their homes where many lower-income residents moved in. Many of these homes remain abandoned today. The issue with the historic center is it suffers from tourists solely



Figure 5.2 - Active nightlife of locals and tourists in Plaza de la Trinidad, Getsemani, Cartagena.

Photo: Nour Jafar

consuming its wild nightlife through loud discothèques, prostitution, as well as illicit activities.<sup>12</sup> These activities can be seen in the large public plazas inside the city walls, as well as along the streets separating Centro from Getsemani and La Matuna.

### Jerusalem

The city of Jerusalem is considered a holy city for all three Abrahamic religions, prompting large religious tourism crowds. The historic city has seen the displacement of its residents in numerous forms because of occupation, and in hindsight, tourism-based gentrification. In this sense, gentrification takes place in all three forms: residential, commercial, and cultural. This gentrification attracts tourism through its religious historic center, and Birthright Israel, which targets mainly young American Jews.

While the displacement of residents is a highly polarized topic considering the political scene in Palestine, the true gentrifying force in tourism is cultural gentrification. "Holidaymaking and traveling have been used as propaganda tools to justify colonization and spread truths about colonizer and colonized."<sup>13</sup> As a city with a famous historic center, there are numerous guided tours, but not all tour guides are licensed by the Israeli government. The government grants guide certifications, yet it is noted that Palestinians do not receive them because of the narrative they provide during their guided tour. Israeli guides tend to romanticize the colonization, depicting harmony within

the area, and Palestinian guides show the reality of the occupational narrative.

Displacement within Jerusalem was in phases. Originally, the migration of Jews into Palestine through *Aliyah* started in the late 19th Century and continued to the 1940s with the rise of Nazis in Europe. Displacement began in 1948 with the Balfour Declaration and the arrival of diaspora Jews and Holocaust survivors. This displacement period continued until the 1967 war. Several more phases of diaspora-based displacement occurred over the years from different geographical areas. Touristic displacement began around 2005, with a large migration of American Jews.<sup>14</sup> This time around, it caused displacement within Jerusalem of Arab Israelis, who are usually of a lower economic class in comparison to their American Jewish replacement counterparts.

### Kuwait City

Kuwait City has seen numerous changes within the previous century. As a relatively young country, what would have been considered the historic center was removed almost completely through urban renewal in the 1960s and 1970s to welcome a more modernized master plan of the capital.<sup>15</sup> The remnants of the old historic center are a handful of buildings supposedly protected by the National Council for Culture, Arts and Letters through the Law of Antiquities.

While other previous case studies noticed gentrification through incoming touristic activities, Kuwait City is gentrifying in hopes of attracting a touristic audience. This gentrification is not only displacing residents from their homes but is also demolishing architectural heritage. Kuwait's 2030 vision<sup>16</sup> includes becoming the "Food Capital of the World," noted in the surge of small local cafes and restaurants emerging within the financial district in Kuwait City. This vision is attempting to attract tourism to Kuwait as a new economic factor, trying to step away from complete petroleum dependence. The location of these businesses is concentrated within Souk Al Mubarakiya, and the modernist towers located in its periphery. The Souk is one of the last remaining historically preserved structures from pre-oil Kuwait

and is facing large gentrifying threats because of this vision.<sup>17</sup>

The Souk itself is known for its vendors that have been at the market for four decades, selling their produce, livestock, and gold. Currently, the ones facing immediate threat are the livestock and produce merchants, as they are seeing a rise in their rents due to the nearby cafes renting spaces and increasing the property value. This effect is also seen in the modernist buildings surrounding the Souk. Just behind the Souk is Al Sawaber, a large state-subsidized housing complex, which was listed as a Modern Heritage Monument by the World Monument Fund. The complex had suffered years of abuse through gentrifying surroundings,<sup>18</sup> constantly being painted to be a threat to society.<sup>19,20</sup> Numerous factors<sup>21</sup> led to the deterioration of this large affordable housing project, but the gentrifying factors surrounding the neighborhood was called the public outcry for its demolition.

### In Sum

Tourism-induced expulsion of residents and commercial activities within historic centers is a common factor within the previously explored case studies. The common factor between all four cities is the lack of protection through jurisdiction to attempt to curb these gentrifying factors. It appears to be an inevitable consequence of developing the economy. One way to possibly slow down the displacement of locals due to increasing property value would require large contributions from local governments through rent subsidies to support residents and entrepreneurs that would face displacement. Alternatively, cities can adopt restrictive ordinances limiting the percentage of the housing stock that could be devoted to short term tourism-oriented rentals, as Barcelona has done.

The economic transformations have not been beneficial to those being displaced, as the market does nothing to compensate for their displacement. It posts more economic strain on the residents, as it forces them to relocate to other districts while still possibly holding the same employment. This creates an economically burdened society. The loss of affordable housing

within the historic center is difficult to mitigate, as soon as gentrification takes place and no government subsidies are introduced to reduce displacement, there

is no possibility to return to the center as it becomes impossible to afford.

### Box 5.1

## BARCELONA: SPECIAL URBAN PLAN FOR TOURISM ACCOMMODATION (PEUAT)<sup>1</sup>

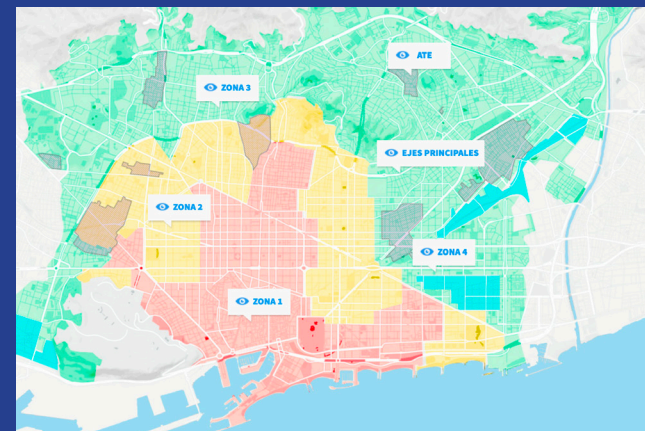
The expansion of tourism in Barcelona led to rapid growth in the supply of housing accommodation for tourists, particularly the self-catering type known as Tourism Use Housing (Vivienda de Uso Turístico VUT). These are houses that owners cede—directly or indirectly—to third parties for temporary use in a recurrent fashion in exchange for money or other economic return. The number of VUT increased very rapidly in the last decade reducing the availability of long-term rental housing for the city residents leading to an escalation in rent prices and the subsequent disappearance of affordable housing in the city leading to growing social unrest.

In 2019 the Municipal Government (Ayuntamiento de Barcelona) approved an urban ordinance oriented to manage the growth and location of tourism-oriented housing by limiting the permits for this use of the housing stock and eliminating the informal use of houses for this purposes. The Special Urban Plan for Tourism Accommodation (Plan Especial de Alojamiento Turístico PEUAT) regulates the opening of tourism-oriented housing including self-catering accommodations, hotels, apart-hotels, hostels, youth hostels, and temporary communal residences. The city is zoned according to the presence of this type of accommodations and their impacts on public spaces and the availability of urban amenities. The PEUAT identifies four types of zones ranging from extremely saturated areas (zones 1 and 2), saturated areas (zone 3), and tourism accommodation expansion areas (zone 4).

The main aims of the PEUAT are: (a) reduce tourism pressure in the center of the city; (b) retain the supply of affordable housing in the city responding to civil unrest for the growing housing scarcity and rise in prices; (c) diversify and equilibrate the land uses in the different neighborhood avoiding the over-concentration of temporary housing in any given neighborhood; and (d) ensure access to affordable housing to all citizens. The PEUAT regulations allow the Municipality to authorize a new VUT in a non-saturated area only if one VUT is closed or consolidated in a saturated area. This Ordinance represents a high level of intervention in the free operation of the real estate market of the city and is controversial for its impacts on the cost of tourism accommodation and its effects on the competitive advantages of Barcelona in the growing tourism market of Europe.



Evolution of Tourism Oriented Housing (VUT)



Restriction Zones

Source: PEUAT



Protests in Barcelona

Photo: The Independent

<sup>1</sup> Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, 2019 Plan Especial Urbanístico de Alojamiento Turístico (PEUAT) <https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/pla-alotjaments-turistic/es/>

The negative impact of gentrification, although it cannot be avoided, it can be mitigated. It will require government intervention and will be easier to implement if policies for the promotion of tourism and other commercial developments in historic centers are participatory and explicitly considers the interests of established communities in the area. Likewise, the negative impacts of gentrification are less when mitigation programs focus their efforts on fully preserving and improving the physical and social structure of the areas. The vulnerable position of tenant residents should be carefully considered. Of particular importance are interventions directed to provide them access to affordable rental housing and rental workspace for craft persons and merchants to ensure maximum tenant retention in the area. These programs generally require

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- Ibid.
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- Photo: Richard A. Weaver, Vieux Carre-Bourbon St Evening Skyline, May 28, 2016, photograph, 5,760x2,187 pixels, Wikimedia Commons, May 24, 2020, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Vieux\\_Carre-Bourbon\\_St\\_Evening\\_Skyline\\_\(NRHP-29651\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Vieux_Carre-Bourbon_St_Evening_Skyline_(NRHP-29651).jpg).
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- The historic center is the neighborhoods within the walled city, comprising of San Diego and Centro.
- Collected from observational fieldwork during the trip
- Sairi T. Pineros, 2017 "Tourism Gentrification in the Cities of Latin America: The Socio-Economic Trajectory of Cartagena de Indias, Colombia," in *Tourism and Gentrification in Contemporary Metropolises: International Perspectives* New York: Routledge, 75–103.
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- Unpublished fieldwork an: interview with a behavior analyst at Kuwait's Authority of Planning

support from the national or regional government to cover these subsidies or program cross-subsidies financed by the overall project income. The international experience indicates that rent control has been counterproductive, so work must be done within the conditions established by the free play of market forces with innovative modalities of housing and workspace provision for the residents and workers. In any case, in circumstances of very active touristification processes it may not be possible to retain the entire population of low-income residents. In these cases, clear guidelines regarding compensation and the proper application of consultation and social support procedures in the event of forced relocation should be an integral part of the regulatory framework under which urban conservation and development operates.

- Unpublished fieldwork: current research regarding gentrification with Kuwait University's architecture department
- Nour Jafar. 2017 "The Death and Life of Kuwait City," in *T-Square Magazine* 19, 59-63.
- Al Sawaber Complex is referred to as Kuwait's Pruitt Igoe.
- Asseel Al-Ragam, 2013 "The Destruction of Modernist Heritage: The Myth of Al-Sawaber," in *Journal of Architectural Education* 67, 243-252. DOI: 10.1080/10464883.2013.817167
- This was collected from fieldwork while surveying the complex before it was cleared of its residents. Not all sublet apartments were facing this situation. Women's apartments had a maximum of 6-8 roommates. Further questioning with the expatriate residents gave me two conclusions: most of them did not have legal paperwork, and avoided talking to me thinking I was working as an undercover law enforcement officer, and that most men interviewed would not let their daughter stay at the complex because of what they've seen (sexual assault, prostitution rings, drug trafficking). There was an attempt to save the complex through the College of Architecture at Kuwait University, mainly an initiative led by past alumni, myself, and Dr. Asseel Al-Ragam. There are currently 4 lawsuits still in court fighting the demolition charges as they violate the law of antiquities as it was recognized by the World Monument's Fund as a modernist heritage site, as well as fighting charges of corruption. Demolition of the complex began even after 14 families would not leave their apartments. The government stripped them of their homes without retribution like the other residents who sold their property back to the state. This information was gathered by interviews and phone conversations with one of the residents who refused to leave, and video recordings of the violations by the contractor hired to demolish the complex. During the demolition process, a collection of RPG missiles was found in one of the abandoned buildings, as reported by the Arab Times. We speculated that these were left behind from the suicide bombing of 2015 of the mosque adjacent to the complex. We assumed the terrorist group used the complex as their meeting point since it was abandoned for the most part.

# 6 PUBLIC SPACE USE IN THE HISTORIC CENTER

Public spaces in the Historic Center are gradually acquiring specialized uses to cater to the needs of a smaller diversity of social actors. In the Centro and San Diego neighborhoods, most public spaces are taken over by tourism-related commercial activities. Residents have a shrinking presence a process that is reducing the attractiveness of the public places depriving visitors to interact with the Cartagenos and participate in the local life and culture. Neighborhoods like Getsemani—whose communities are fighting to retain some of the public spaces for their use (as is the case of the Plaza de la Trinidad)—are more the exception than the rule. What is more common in the Historic Center is the rapid “privatization of the public spaces” a process of turning “the commons” into the “private preserve” of a few high cash-generating activities: bars, discotheques, restaurants, boutique hotels, and spas and sporadic profitable events like public parties, music concerts, festivals, and fairs. This trend is turning the material heritage of a World Heritage Site into the scenery for private profitable endeavors that extract economic value from the heritage site without clear returns to society. Employment generation—the most commonly alleged return of this approach to urban heritage exploitation—provides

meager salaries for a small proportion of the local population to the loss of the majority that is gradually prevented (excluded) from enjoying the flows of socio-cultural benefits that the heritage site can provide. The public spaces play a central role in allowing all citizens to enjoy and benefit from the socio-cultural values of the heritage site: the historic value of the places; the aesthetic value of the public spaces and buildings; the social value of the gathering places in the walled city, just to mention a few.<sup>1</sup> Re-conquering the public spaces for the local users and turning these unique assets into a resource for the social and economic development of the citizens of Cartagena—as advocated by the latest international agreements<sup>2</sup>—requires a profound change in perspective in the way they are currently managed: from profit-centers for a minority to places of cultural engagement of the whole city.

## A CULTURE LOST IN SPACE

Ifrac Asif  
David Nugroho

Cartagena’s rich culture is intertwined in its built environment and people. Its public spaces reach beyond the walls of the historic district, through a network of distinct parks, plazas, and streets. For generations, the public spaces of the Historic Center have been utilized by its residents with each generation adding a layer of change and marking their cultural stance. From vendors of fresh fruits signaling their arrival with the distinct sound of bells ringing, musicians singing and strumming their guitars along the corridors, and merchants shouting their signature phrases, the streets and plazas of the Historic Center have continued to accommodate many users in its public spaces. The newest layer, however, has brought about a sudden change for the public realm. As tourism has grown to become the major sector of the local economy, generations of cultural activities present in these spaces have diminished. With the loss of culture and heritage, the universal value that has been the foundation of Cartagena’s World Heritage Site designation continues to decrease.

The values that are at risk make up pieces of Cartagena’s culture and history; found in the social and built environment of the public realm of the

Historic Center. In the entrance to the heritage site, evening noise from tourist venues pollutes Plaza de Los Coches, preventing all that cannot tolerate it from using the space. As local musicians perform, their listeners are harassed by vendors of trinkets while rappers approach and follow any bystander that they seem willing to donate money for a rehearsed and repetitive jumble of words. Within the Centro and San Diego neighborhoods, the plazas belonging to the churches, that once served as a gathering place of local families, have been claimed by restaurants. As the built environment is privatized, the preservation of historical buildings and structures that highlight Spanish settlement in Latin America are lost to new development. With the loss of local businesses and community organizations—that are critical in how space is treated and managed—social actors that traditionally have looked after these spaces are disappearing from the Historic Center. As local users disappear from the public realm so do their stories. These stories are often the most fulfilling aspect of any cultural visit, and yet the stage where these stories are told is being replaced by vendors who attempt to sell this very culture through souvenirs.

### Box 6.1

## URBAN ACUPUNCTURE

Urban Acupuncture theory is a participatory planning approach that provides an alternative to investor-led urbanism and motivates residents of neglected neighborhoods to engage in place-making. Participatory planning is considered a valuable tool for place-making in locations where market forces overshadow the residents’ abilities to make decisions about their right to the city. Urban acupuncture actions are small-scale, bottom-up projects that foster community building. The process brings out points of engagement of dwellers in a local community in small actions within

the micro-urban environment, to create a diversity of content in public spaces. Through research about the needs of the residents in the historic center and consideration of their perspective in the planning process, targeted actions are recommended to change public spaces and improve the residents’ quality of life.

<sup>1</sup> Bostjan Bugaruc. *Urban Acupuncture Treatment: Implementing Communication Tools with Youth in Ljubljana*.

Cartagena's Historic Center has suffered from overutilization caused by an extractive tourist economy. Continued investment in retail spaces within the historic district by foreign brands (such as Salvatore Ferragamo and Ermenegildo Zegna) price out local businesses. The use of land for locals within the historic district is being extracted. These foreign businesses reap the influx of income from tourists and send it offshore without it being cycled through the local economy. This has caused the local economy to move into the only space left—public spaces. Thus, causing the privatization of public space, as locals seek to get their piece of the money coming from tourists, further causing the overutilization of the public realm. Through this, the historic center has exchanged the social benefits of parks and plazas for economic gain through privatization. There are two forms of privatization in the historic district—privatization through paying for space and privatization through reducing access to use the space. Under the first form, those that do not pay for space (for instance by paying for consumption in a table) do not have full access to it. Under the second form, certain uses limit use by others. For example, the privatized use of the space for outdoor restaurant seating reduces the available space for open and free public sightseen; also the associated activities linked to a restaurant and dancing place, cause a noisy environment that limits the free use of the public space to those who can withstand the commotion. The effect of privatization scales up throughout the public spaces that make the collective public realm. Examples abound, bars in Bastions, tables in public squares, entertainment events in public spaces, noisy events occupying streets, harassment of passersby by street vendors, and rappers. The most heavily affected areas are those in the central area of the Historic Center, in plazas such as Plaza Santo Domingo and Plaza de Los Cochés.

The understanding of public space as an open and accessible place for all<sup>3</sup> has been lost through the poor management of the public realm by the city. This has caused reduced use and, in some cases, complete removal of access to places of gathering, social life, and commerce for residents. The squares in which children have played with their friends and neighbors

sit in the evenings for gossiping and social interaction have become places of upscale restaurants that cater to tourists and visitors. The operation of the market forces will not solve this problem, more likely will worsen the situation until the negative externalities of saturation will eventually expel the profitable users of the public spaces with significant losses for the city.<sup>4</sup> This chapter addresses these issues using the Urban Acupuncture strategy as a framework for regenerating urban heritage areas in Cartagena.

### Responding to the Privatization of Public Spaces

With the privatization of public spaces, caused by the economic driver that is the tourism industry, Cartagena's essence as a World Heritage Site is diminishing. Plazas, parks, streets, and sidewalks are the core of the urban public spaces being the nodes, points of junction, and the convergence of paths, events, and journeys in the Historic Center are losing value. The social value of public space is wide-ranging and lies in the contribution it makes to 'people's attachment to their locality and opportunities for mixing with others, and in people's memory of places.<sup>5</sup> Familiarity, of faces and voices, can bring about trust and a sense of community. This trust takes time to form, as its users are often diverse and unique. In a dense residential city, the collective courtyard and shared public spaces hold value in being the locale where interactions occur and continue to grow into the culture. In contrast, the loss of trust has no time limitations; it can occur because of a single instance or over the accumulation of events. The disappearance of locals from the public realm, caused by constant misuse and overutilization by the tourist industry, has created a center whose public spaces lay dormant during the day as vendors now have claimed many of these spaces for selling merchandise and souvenirs.

The spaces themselves are not dominated by the presence of tourists but they are oriented for tourists, as street corners have been claimed by vendors of souvenirs, and storefronts now have workers who stand outside their entrance and wait for pedestrians to lure in. This loss of space extends beyond the built environment as the English language has claimed space on menus,

signs, and flyers, reducing the presence of the Spanish language. Although spaces are still available for local use, this space is now perceived by some residents as a barrier that impedes the materialization of a sense of belonging and feelings to reassert a right to use the space. In the Historic Center exists an underlying claim to the use of designated areas, such as benches and furniture, by vendors and merchants. Those who have been there the longest lay claim to the corner, sidewalk, or even shade. This disruption of a shared space for all has forced locals to seek other public spaces, increasingly further away from the Historic Center.

The reclamation of the public realm as a place for all users, both residents and visitors, through policy and design interventions offers the opportunity to bring back the layers of rich cultural uses that previously existed in the space. For the preservation of tomorrow, Cartagena must address its issues of overuse and mismanagement of public spaces today, and find a balance between past, present, and future uses of the public realm. The present chapter suggests policies and programs that can guide the sustainable management of public spaces in Cartagena by identifying issues and opportunities in the actual and potential use of existing assets, and establishing potential partnerships to sponsor the future of these spaces, the Chapter suggests a framework of inclusive planning and design to provide a basis from which entities and residents of the city can use to re-establish a balance in the public realm.

The proposals are applied to four sites that are representative of the public spaces of the Historic Center—Plaza San Diego, Plaza Santo Domingo, Plaza de Los Cochés, and Parque del Centenario—and encompass a comprehensive set of policy, programs, and design interventions that understands that these spaces are parts of the same collective public realm. Only through inclusive planning, that addresses the issues present throughout the historic center, can the city begin to remediate the externalities overutilization, privatization, and misuse has caused. Through remediation, the regeneration of the space can bring about lasting improvements in the economic, physical, social, and environmental conditions of the historic

center that has been subject to change.<sup>6</sup> Public spaces in the historic center can be used as a catalyst for urban regeneration through inclusive planning and citizen participation.

### Methodology

For a week in March 2020 fieldwork was conducted to familiarize ourselves with the Historic Center as well as to gain a better understanding of the users and the social and economic life of the public spaces. To this purpose, site visits were conducted to various public spaces, four of which were chosen as case studies for further research and analysis. Comprehensive photographic documentation and site plans of these sites were conducted during the site visit. Meetings and interviews were conducted with local professionals and specialists to gain a better understanding of the complexities and issues the public spaces in the historic center are encountering. After the site visit, the data gathered was evaluated to identify key issues in public spaces in the Historic Center and opportunities were explored that could address those issues. Best practices in the design and regeneration of public spaces are analyzed, and modified to be adapted to Cartagena.

On-site observations of public spaces in Cartagena studied how different social groups interact in public spaces and whether the presence of a group affects the use of public space by other groups. The study further analyzes the diversity of users in public spaces in Cartagena and their interactions among themselves and with other social groups in public spaces. Social actors in public spaces in the historic center and their values associated with the heritage were identified.

Observations on-site revealed that there are two distinct social groups in public spaces, the locals and the tourists. Most of the activities and interactions among these groups in public spaces are driven by commerce and tourism. The majority of the users in the cases studied range from young people to middle age (15 to 60 years). The study further reveals that there is a lack of diversity of age groups, with the absence of children and senior citizens due to a lack of diversity of activities for all age groups.

**Table 6.1 Social actors and the heritage values of the public spaces that they value**

Social Actors	Values (as defined by Throsby 2011 <sup>7</sup> )
1. Government - National - Regional	Inheritance Value
2. Scholars and cultural groups - The Foundation - NGOs	Historic and Cultural Values
3. Communities - Local - National - International	Social Value
4. Household & Entrepreneurs	Economic / Use Value
5. Private Real Estate Developers	Economic / Use Value
6. Local Users - Residents - Security Personnel - Vendors - Taxi Drivers - Sex Workers	
7. Tourists	Historic and Cultural Values

Source: Author elaboration

**Case Studies**

Four public spaces in Cartagena have been studied as pilot projects for implementing the urban acupuncture treatments through a participatory planning process, as well as complimentary design and programming recommendations. These diverse case studies are geographically widespread throughout the historic center and provide a wide range of complexities to be analyzed (Figure 1). Plaza San Diego and Parque del Centenario are cases of public spaces in Cartagena dominated by the locals whereas Plaza Santo Domingo

is dominated by tourists, and Plaza de Los Coches is shared between the two groups. Together, these four cases provide an understanding of the broad range of issues that the historic center is facing. These complex issues are caused by excessive tourism and the subsequent friction between tourists and the local population. Our recommendations seek to address these issues by providing a framework of management policies, program proposals, and design interventions.



Figure 6.1 - Location of the Case Studies.

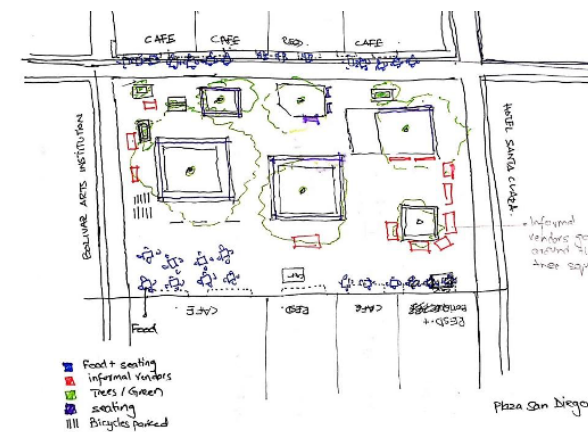


Figure 6.2 - Sketch of Plaza San Diego. Source: Ifrah Asif

*Plaza San Diego*

San Diego is a small informal plaza in the historic center that acts as a gathering place for the locals and the tourists. In the 1750s, this land was a fruit orchard to the Governor Francisco Bahamón de Lugo. It laid between the Convent of San Diego (now the University of Fine Arts) and the nunnery of Santa Clara de Assisi (now Hotel Santa Clara). The square is bounded by cafes, restaurants in the north-south direction, and by the Bolivar University of Fine Arts and Hotel Santa Clara in the east-west direction and is surrounded by single-lane roads on three sides.

The plaza is designed around trees that act as nuclei and provide shade and seating spaces. With a calm and quiet ambiance during the day, the square provides a comfortable place for the locals and the tourists to rest and relax. Even though there is a diversity of users present in Plaza San Diego ranging from locals to tourists, observations on site revealed that space was dominated by the locals during the day.

**Table 6.2 Users and their activities in Plaza San Diego**

Users	Activities
1. Locals	Sit and relax, chat, eat
2. University Students	Relax, draw, paint, play music, chat, eat
3. Restaurant and café owners & staff	Work
4. Vendors of food and merchandise	Sell products
5. Taxi drivers	Sit and wait
6. Palenqueras	Sit, walk by
7. Tourists	Shop, sit and relax

Source: Author elaboration



Figure 6.3 - Social life in Plaza San Diego; the plaza has a diversity of users.  
Source: Ifrah Asif

There is a lack of cultural activities in the plaza. Also, observable is a lack of ownership of space by the locals resulting in them taking little responsibility towards the place, an attitude that is not only observable just in the square but in the Historic Center in general.

Making use of the presence of the locals in the plaza to build communication between the local community and design professionals, various strategies are recommended.

1. *Activation of a “Reclaim the city” initiative to create a liaison between design professionals and the local community to build communication.*

A participative bottom-up process that helps generate a sense of ownership and responsibility towards public spaces in the local community using co-design tools. These tools include the community in the design process through conducting workshops and asking simple questions like, “help us analyze this space” or “how would you prefer this space?”. Including the locals in the design and planning process would result in more receptive and positive response when interventions are carried out in public spaces.

2. *Collaborate with the Bolivar University of Fine Arts in the plaza and include students in the planning process.*

Encouraging collaboration through community engagement tools such as events, meetings, and workshops help build communication between the professionals and the local community. The presence of the Bolivar University of Fine Arts in the Plaza can be used as an anchor generating for cultural and educational activities in the historic center. Once established, the liaison can be further extended to other institutions in not just Cartagena but other cities in Colombia.

*Plaza Santo Domingo*

Plaza Santo Domingo is a large Spanish style plaza situated at the intersection of Calle 35 and Carrera 3, a block away from the western wall of the historic district. With a rich history dating back to the start of the construction of Convento de Santo Domingo in 1551<sup>8</sup>, the plaza has served as a gathering place for the church. Priests would give sermons from its balcony as followers gathered in the plaza. In its origin, the plaza served the purpose of the church and its convent, the latter is now home to the Cultural Center of the Spanish Consulate. As the uses of the surrounding buildings changed, so too has the plaza. Today, the plaza is open and flat with a single tree situated at the center and surrounded by multi-storied residential and commercial buildings on all sides. Restaurants are located on the southeastern corner with tables and chairs occupying a large area of the plaza. Without any public seating or greenery, the northern part of the plaza remains mainly empty of users.



Figure 6.4 - Plaza Santo Domingo

**Table 6.3 Users and their activities in Plaza Santo Domingo**

Users	Activities
1. Restaurant Customers	Sit, wait, eat, drink, talk
2. Restaurant and café owners and staff	Work, advertise to visitors
3. Vendors of souvenirs	Sell products such as jewelry
4. Musicians	Sing and play music for restaurant customers
5. Taxi drivers	Stand and wait

Source: Author elaboration

The leasing of public space through permits has created a legal right for these establishments to use the space over other users. In Plaza Santo Domingo, approximately half of the space is now leased to restaurants who have extended their dining service outdoors through placing tables, chairs, and umbrellas in the square. Although the seating does not cover the entirety of the plaza, it has caused the rest of the area to remain vacant of all activity apart from souvenir vendors who occupy the sole remaining public seating area. Through lack of a balanced approach to welcoming tourism, while preserving equitable access and use of the space, all local-oriented activity in the plaza has disappeared. Without a trace of the lively plaza as it was in the past, the rich history of gathering in the space now only remains in the history book and memories of those who once used it.

The plaza’s current state is oriented for tourists, as restaurants and vendors seek to attract those who enter the plaza with menus and trinkets. The assortment of tables and chairs act as a barrier to desired pathways while creating a feeling of a pay to use environment. This pay to use feeling has caused those who enter the plaza to make an abrupt decision on whether it’s worth it to use the space or not. Although many tourists do decide to sit down for a meal or drink, local users have strayed away from this plaza.

In its recent past, Plaza Santo Domingo was once known as a residential plaza, highly used by local families, from children to adults and seniors. The plaza provided a sanctuary of public space for various activities from playing soccer to reading a newspaper under the shade on a warm afternoon. The plaza also served as the setting to celebrate new years, as families would bring chairs, blankets, and food to enjoy the night with friends and family.



Figure 6.5 - Plaza Santo Domingo; privatization of public space<sup>9</sup>

To reestablish the plaza’s lively local atmosphere while finding a balance with the restaurants that seek to have outdoor seating, the following issues must be addressed:

1. A lack of public seating in the plaza
2. Poor lighting that leads to underutilized spaces
3. Restaurants and stores that are solely tourist-oriented
4. The encroachment of restaurants beyond their allotted space
5. Vacant residential units

The following interventions are recommended.

1. *The creation of a public spaces fund that would help pay for maintenance, improvements, and support local artists to perform in the plaza.*

The source of the fund would be derived from the current permit collection from restaurants who rent out space in the plaza. The fund will support design changes to the square and help incorporate programming that aims to recreate a space in which locals feel welcomed to use. Through reinvesting the income from permitting fees to fund public spaces, a program is created from which a healthy partnership can be built off.

The program can set a precedent from which the competition between local and tourist-oriented uses of public spaces can seek a mutually beneficial relationship. The implementation of design and infrastructure changes and the return of local culture into these spaces will create an atmosphere that is welcoming to locals while creating an enjoyable dining experience for customers of the restaurants.

The public spaces fund seeks to establish an equilibrium in the square that benefits both parties. As the plaza approaches this equilibrium, a variety of user experiences will be supported.

2. *Implementation and enforcement of a noise ordinance and outdoor dining curfew.*

To reestablish Plaza Santo Domingo as a place for all, management of the plaza must address the externalities caused by the private dining experience in the space. Noise travels far in the dense historic center and can be enough to prevent any prospective renters from moving into the neighborhood.

Implementing a noise ordinance and outdoor dining curfew of 10 pm during high tourist seasons and 9 pm for off-seasons will set a precedent for the transition of the space back to mixed residential and commercial use. Implementing noise ordinances and curfews in specific areas of the historic district can support the coexistence of uses in residential and commercial corridors.

3. *The proposal for a weekend day market in Plaza Santo Domingo.*

A weekend day market provides an opportunity to revitalize the plaza with local food vendors, musicians and artists, activities for children, and a safe environment for families. Welcoming local food vendors can bring about healthy competition with the restaurants, sparking the plaza as a culinary hotspot. The event has the potential to catalyze locals to return to the square and serve as a recurring theme that promotes this process. Gathering the neighborhood in one place can spark a conversation of nostalgic memories and can go a long way as the reclamation process continues.



Figure 6.6 - Rendering of Day Market proposed in Plaza Santo Domingo  
Source: David Nugroho

*Plaza de Los Cochets*

Plaza de Los Cochets is located at the center of the historic district and serves as the primary entrance to the walled city. The plaza’s form is flat and shaped as a triangle, with the statue of the city’s founder, Pedro de Heredia, in the middle. The fortifications of the wall align with the eastern edge of the plaza, as the Torre Del Reloj watches over Plaza de la Paz and into Getsemani. A single traffic lane lines up with the western edge of the plaza, as vehicles and carriages slowly make their way through pedestrians and bystanders. Once home to the slave market during Spanish colonialism, it was where African slaves would be brought to be auctioned off to wealthy residents



Figure 6.7 - Plaza de Los Cochets during the day  
Source: David Nugroho

During the day, users walk through the plaza to travel from the center of the walled city to its periphery and vice versa, without many users choosing to stay in the space. However, at night the plaza is lively and vibrant, serving as a setting for cuisine and entertainment for both locals and tourists. Formal establishments

consisting of bars and restaurants lay claim to the ground floor commercial spaces surrounding the square, capitalizing on the high pedestrian traffic. Public seating is located along the wall aligning with the sparse trees present.

**Table 6.4 Users and their activities in Plaza de Los Cochets**

Users	Activities
1. Tourists	Walk around the plaza seeking entertainment
2. Restaurant and Bar Staff	Advertise to passersby
3. Vendors of Souveneirs	Sell products such as jewelry
4. Musicians/Rappers	Sing and rap to tourists, seek donations
5. Taxi drivers	Stand and wait
6. Sex Workers	Advertise themselves in the plaza
7. Police Officers	Monitor the plaza
8. Carriage Drivers	Wait for customers

Source: Author elaboration

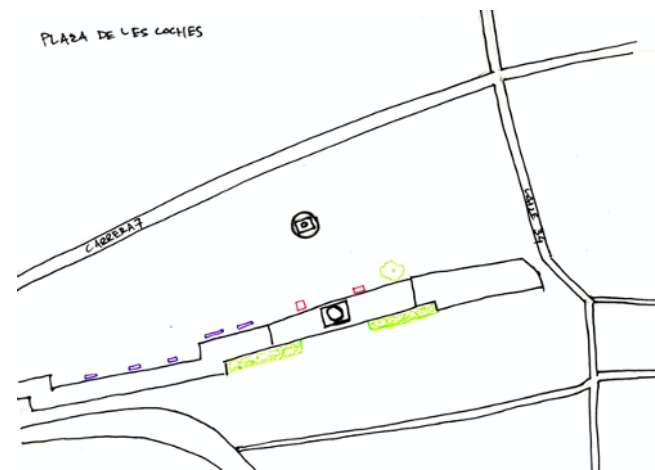


Figure 6.8 - Sketch of Plaza de Los Coches  
Source: Ifrah Asif

As the temperature cools down at night the plaza comes alive, with hundreds of people coming to use the space. Many come to socialize with friends, some sell beverages and souvenirs, while others are seeking prostitutes who use the space to advertise themselves. There is a diverse mix of locals and foreigners present in the plaza on any given night. It tends to be more of an adult crowd, as the presence of prostitutes and the open selling of alcohol by informal vendors create an atmosphere that does not welcome children and families. Although the square is highly used for diverse purposes, it lacks a holistic identity that leads to competition within the space. Currently, its main use is to advertise the plaza as an attraction to reap the economic influx that comes with it.

The opportunity of the plaza lies in its asset as the historic gateway, welcoming neighboring residents, and travelers into the walled city. The current use dismisses the opportunity to capitalize on the grandeur of walking under the Torre Del Reloj to see this magnificent plaza and introduce visitors into the city. Through programs and events, the overutilization of the plaza can be subdued, and a younger, family-friendly presence can be supported. The following recommendations emerge from this analysis.

1. *Creating a public-private partnership between local institutions and international events.*

Cartagena garners many large-scale events that bring international sponsors into the historic district. As these events only occur yearly, establishing partnerships and sponsorships with local institutions would allow the benefit of these events to bring in year-round activities for residents and visitors alike. Finding the right local partner, who already has an established track record of successful projects and a framework to expand these projects, is key.

A possible local partner that meets this criterion is Fundación por la Educación Multidimensional FEM (Multidimensional Education Foundation). Located half a kilometer from the plaza, in the heart of the historic district, this non-profit organization has strong ties to the public realm and the communities its projects seek to improve. Through projects such as “Captura Tu Cultura” (Capture your Culture), a contest organized by FEM to collect the different expressions of the Independence Holidays on social networks, through the hashtag #CapturaTuCultura,<sup>10</sup> FEM has sponsored culturally enriching programs in Cartagena. Additionally, FEM sponsors MUICA the Muestra Itinerante de Cine Africano, (Itinerant Africa Cinema Exhibition) a Colombian film festival that connects the Global South through African cinema and comes to Cartagena once a year.

With a successful record of supporting local and national initiatives, FEM can be a great candidate to take upon further projects through potential partnerships with international organizations and events.

2. *Invite local and visiting artists and artisans from surrounding areas.*

Through the public-private partnerships created by connecting international events to local organizations and institutions, the sponsorship of weekly local events in Plaza de Los Coches and its neighboring Plaza de la Paz can be created. Through this, the plazas can host various events to highlight local culture through incorporating art installations, musical performances, and acting and dancing by students from local universities and schools.



Figure 6.9 - Rendering of Mural Showcase proposed in Plaza de Los Coches  
Source: David Nugroho

A proposed event for Plaza de Los Coches is a mural showcase, inspired by the street art in Getsemani. Providing a canvas for students from Institución Universitaria Bellas Artes y Ciencias de Bolívar and local schools will brighten up the plaza with colorful art that draws attention to how students perceive their city. The recommendation is to provide blank canvases for students to paint in the Plaza, garnering support, and inspiration from those who walk through the square. The murals can follow weekly themes that highlight all aspects of Cartagena - past, present, and future. A theme for the first showcase can be “The Gateway to the Future of Cartagena”. With the students being the future of the city, a showcase of how they see the city and its public realm evolving will inspire thought-provoking conversation on the use and treatment of the plaza.

A proposed event for Plaza de la Paz is a music and storytelling showcase through partnerships with two of the largest events of the year - Festival de Música and Festival Internacional de Cine de Cartagena de Indias. Storytelling through the integration of music, dance, and acting can bring alive the history of Cartagena. As the entrance to the walled city, Plaza de la Paz serves as the physical introduction to the historic center; therefore, an introduction through a story of its history fits well into this setting.



Figure 6.10 - Rendering of music, dance, and play event proposed in Plaza de la Paz  
Source: David Nugroho

*Parque del Centenario*

Parque del Centenario (Centennial Park), also known as Parque de la Independencia Independence Park), was built in 1911 to celebrate Cartagena’s Independence Day, and to commemorate those who lost their lives during the revolt for independence in Colombia. The park is located in Getsemani, one of the neighborhoods in Cartagena that is still pushing back on excessive tourism.

Centenario Park has witnessed 200 years of Cartagena’s history and has been synonymous with progress, neighborhood, sport, community but also with abandonment and isolation. The French style park was designed by Pedro Malabet who used the Luxembourg Gardens in Paris as his inspiration. The park is centered around a monument, commemorating the Independence of Cartagena, along with other design features such as a water body and pavilions. The area of the water pond and its vegetation occupied almost a quarter of the plaza, which used to be a place of recreation of the young and the old at one time where turtles, fish, herons, Geese and ducks in the pond were admired by everyone. Little by little, they disappeared due to abandonment and today only a few fish survive. The park originally also had a playground for children. The basketball court in the park used to be a small boxing arena where all kinds of championships





Figure 6.11 - Parque del Centenario  
Source: David Nugroho

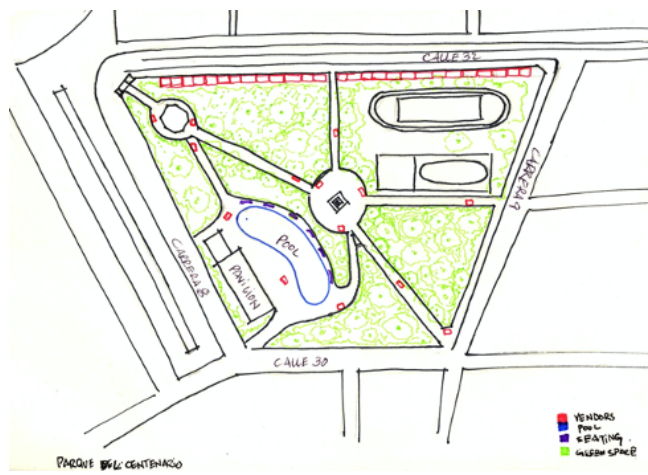


Figure 6.12 - Sketch of Parque del Centenario in historic center of Cartagena  
Source: Ifrah Asif

were held between neighborhoods, high schools, universities, and institutions.

Even though there is still a significant presence of the local community in the park, the public space seems to have lost touch to its history. There is a lack of management and design guidelines addressing issues to context, climate, and culture. A lack of variety of spaces has led to a lack of diversity of users and their interactions among themselves.

The analysis led to the following recommendations:

*1. A management plan for the park*

A cultural heritage management plan for Park Centenario that recognizes, protects and preserves the history of the park. The plan will enable key stakeholders to reach a consensus on formulating comprehensive design guidelines for the park. A plan that guides stewardship, interpretation, recreation, and management of the public space.

*2. Comprehensive design guidelines relevant to the culture, context, and climate*

The usability of open spaces is enhanced if urban environments are comfortable, the climate is appropriate and the pollution (noise, air, etc) are under control. The environmental component of sustainable open spaces.

**Table 6.5 Users and their activities in Parque del Centenario**

Users	Activities
1. Locals	Sit and relax, eat
2. Families	Sit, eat, relax
3. Vendors of food and merchandise	Sell products
4. Workers	Sit, eat, sleep
5. Tourists	Sit, walk, take photographs

Source: Author elaboration

The use of interactive water features, designed not just for aesthetic purposes, would provide opportunities for people to interact among themselves as well as with their surroundings. Guidelines for seating spaces that are not just designed for viewing but interaction would further provide opportunities for public interaction. Lighting design guidelines would help in achieving a sense of security in the park, especially at night.

*3. Create a children's playground to increase the diversity of users*

Historical analysis reveals the existence of a space for children in the park, which is recommended to be restored to encourage families in the park. The presence of children in a public space along with their parents adds a sense of responsibility towards this space by the people, which could be used to create a sense of ownership. These spaces increase the diversity of users and provide opportunities for interaction in not just the children but also among their parents.

**In summary**

Cartagena's public realm has suffered from externalities caused by misuse and overutilization of spaces without proper channels of addressing these issues. Locals bear the cost of the decisions made by the tourist industry. Through privatization of public spaces that

have gone unchecked and the subsequent pushing away of locals, the distinct parks, plazas, and streets have succumbed to the deterioration of its collective community asset. Through the implementation of a public spaces fund, the economic gain of privatized spaces can be shared to make improvements and sponsor events in the public realm. The goal is to find an equilibrium in which locals and visitors can not only coexist but create a community that mutually benefits from the use of the space. Continuing this approach to involve international institutions and foundations to remain involved with the city even after their yearly events are over creates a partnership that remediates an extractive economy and promotes an integrated approach to the use of the city's public realm.

Through establishing policies, programs, and guidelines for sustainable management of the public realm, with heavy involvement from residents and the community, a framework can be created to guide Cartagena into its next transition. A public realm that balances the social needs of the community and supports the economic endeavors of formal and informal industries will highlight the city as a World Heritage Site that is proud of its history and prepared for its future.

**Endnotes:**

- 1 For a more comprehensive discussion of the socio-cultural and economic values of the urban heritage see Throsby 2012 Heritage Economics: A Conceptual Framework in Gido Licciardi and R. Amirtahmesebi (editors) 2012 *The Economics of Uniqueness* Washington, D.C. The World Bank (45-74)
- 2 UN-HABITAT 2016 *The New Urban Agenda* Nairobi, United Nations Human Settlements Program UN-HABITAT <http://habitat3.org/wp-content/uploads/NUA-English.pdf>
- 3 UNESCO. 2017 *Inclusion Through Access to Public Space*. Paris, United Nations Education, Science and Culture Organization, <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/urban-development/migrants-inclusion-in-cities/good-practices/inclusion-through-access-to-public-space/>
- 4 There are many cases of market-driven collapses of entertainment districts due to the negative externalities generated by saturation of the space with these activities. They are not fully documented in the literature, but some are well known, like the "Red District" of Amsterdam (see Box 8.2) or the *Avenida Suecia*

- 5 Nicholas Dines. Public Spaces, Social Relations, and Wellbeing in East London.
- 6 Roberts, P., and H. Sykes. (2008). *Urban Regeneration: A Handbook* London, Sage (17)
- 7 David Throsby 2011 Heritage Economics: A Conceptual Framework in Licciardi, G. and R. Amirtahmesebi (editors) *The Economics of Uniqueness* Washington D.C. The World Bank (pages 45-74)
- 8 Cartagena de Indias. *Convento de Santo Domingo*. 1995-2005. <<http://www.cartagenacaribe.com/dondeir/sitiosdeinteres/santodomingo.htm>>
- 9 Source: Andrew Dier, *Plaza de Santo Domingo*. Plaza to Plaza: A Cartagena Walking Tour. <<https://www.moon.com/travel/outdoors/plaza-to-plaza-a-cartagena-walking-tour/>>
- 10 "#CapturaTuCultura." Fundación por la Educación Multidimensional (FEM). Accessed May 5, 2020. <http://www.femcolombia.com>

# 7 MANAGING RAPID CHANGE

Cartagena adopted the conservation regulations contained in *Acuerdo 6* of 1996 quite early in the process of protecting the material heritage. This was a pioneering approach in Latin America, allowing the adaptive rehabilitation of heritage buildings according to their typologies and carrying capacity. The essence of this approach is still contained in Section 8 of the 2001 Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial POT (Territorial Management Plan), that together with the Plan Especial de Manejo y Protección *PEMP Murallas* (Special Management and Conservation Plan for the Murallas) are the only legal documents in force today. Early arguments against the rigidity of *Acuerdo 6* that required the retention of the original use of the heritage buildings seem to have gained the higher ground. Currently, former residential buildings are allowed to be turned into shops, restaurants, and discotheques. The City is now facing a rapid proliferation of commercially oriented uses of the material heritage dominating the land uses in the Centro and San Diego neighborhoods, promoting gentrification and rising coexistence conflicts with residential and cultural activities.

## POLICIES AND REGULATIONS FOR THE PROTECTION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE IN CARTAGENA, COLOMBIA

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Kathie Brill

The City of Cartagena, Colombia, is a hub of cultural heritage that represents physical and social and cultural evolutions within the context of Colombia. As the City becomes an increasingly popular tourist destination, more pressure is put on the historic center to accommodate the influx of visitors. As a major Spanish colonial trade city, the historic center is rich with buildings, plazas, and the massive fortifications that tell the narrative of the City. As threats of climate change and new development threaten the integrity of historic resources it is up to the government and local organizations to come together and manage change in the built environment. To ensure the protection of historic resources, public policy is a crucial tool to regulate and enforce the preservation of historic buildings and land use to ensure that existing communities are given access to resources and have a role in the development of the City. Cartagena currently has a few pieces of legislation that regulate the historic built environment.

The fortifications and other few sites around the City are the only historic resource fully protected by the National government. To increase the level of protection for all historic resources and to proactively managing the rapidly changing built and cultural environments, management policy must be revised and strengthened. Currently, a disconnect exists between the national and local governments, which detracts agency from management policy. Without active communication and collaboration between local and national cultural agencies, the role of preservation policy and enforcement is unclear. To create a more robust management system and preservation process, governments also need to partner with local non-profits and community organizations to gain support for their protection initiatives. Collaboration between public and private actors will increase trust in the government and allow for future policies and initiatives to reflect the needs residents in the face of ongoing neighborhood

change and an exploitive real estate market that caters primarily to tourists. This section describes existing policies in Cartagena, their downfalls and provides recommendations for policy revisions and additional regulation to encourage the preservation, conservation, and rehabilitation of cultural heritage in Cartagena. By expanding the definition of cultural heritage, increasing communication between heritage agencies, strengthening enforcement, and improving financial incentives and the generation of funding for preservation, Cartagena will be able to manage change in the historic environment effectively.

### Existing Heritage Policies in Cartagena de Indias

The Structure of the Colombian Government is based on two main levels, the National Government and the Departmental Governments composed of Districts and Municipalities (often cited as "Territorial" in acts and regulations). Departmental Governments are equivalent to State Governments in the U.S. Municipalities are local governments with a Mayor and a City Council who respond to the Departmental Governor and Legislature. Districts are autonomous administrative, legal and political entities with almost the same power as a Department and are run by a Mayor and a City Council. Colombia has ten designated districts, including Bogotá, as the District Capital. Cartagena de Indias was established as a Cultural and Touristic District under Article 356 of the Colombian Constitution of 1991, designated as a National Heritage Site since 1959 (Law No. 163 of 1959) and a World Heritage City since 1984.<sup>1</sup>

The Republic of Colombia has a centralized heritage regulatory framework. The National Government is at the top and the Government of the District of Cartagena de Indias at the bottom. The following list of regulations are the current enabling statutes for the legal protection of cultural heritage in the country:

**Table 7.1 Colombian Preservation Regulations of Cartagena's Urban Heritage**

Regulation	Purpose
Constitución Política de Colombia de 1991 Political Constitution of Colombia of 1991	Establishes the State's responsibility for the protection of the heritage
Ley de General de Cultura / General Culture Act - Ley 297 del 7 de agosto de 1997	Umbrella law providing the bases for special legislation concerning heritage
Ley 1185 de 2008	Amendments to the Ley General de Cultura
Decreto 763 de 2009	Specific regulations for the Ley General de Cultura
Resolución 0983 de 2010	Establishes Specific interventions and limitations for cultural assets (Bienes de Interés Cultural -BICs)
Decreto 1080 of 2015	Establishes specifications for the Planes Especiales de Manejo y Protección / Special Management and Protection Plans (PEMP)
Decreto 1911 de Noviembre 2 de 1995 Decree 1911 of 2 November 1995	Special Management and Protection Plans for the Walls of 2017
Decreto 977 de 2001	Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial (POT) (2001-2011) / Territorial Management Plan
Acuerdo 001 de Febrero 4 de 2003	Creation of the Instituto de Patrimonio y Cultura de Cartagena (IPCC) / Institute of Culture and Heritage of Cartagena by the City Council

Source: Author elaboration

The Colombian Political Constitution (Constitución Política de Colombia) recognizes the importance of cultural heritage and its preservation. It establishes in its Article 72 that Cultural Heritage is under the protection of the Government (National and Local levels).<sup>2</sup> In Chapter 3, Article 313, Subarticle 9, the constitution states that territorial governments are encouraged to adopt regulations for the preservation and defense of ecological and cultural heritage.

The Ley General de Cultura (General Culture Act) Ley 297 del 7 de agosto de 1997, and its amendments from the Ley 1185 de 2008 (Act 1185 of 2008); create the National Ministry of Culture, the Consejo Nacional de Patrimonio Cultural (National Council of Cultural Heritage) and a Sistema Nacional de Cultura (National System of Culture). The Act also establishes the concept of Bienes de Interés Cultural (Assets of Cultural

Interest) or BIC at the National, Department, District and Municipal levels, which is comprised of movable and immovable heritage including building, sites, archaeological sites and artifacts, objects, works of arts and documents. The law establishes two lists at the national level; the National Register of Assets of Cultural Interest, which provides full protection for cultural heritage, and an Inventory of Cultural Heritage Assets, which is an inventory of eligible assets to the National Register. The National Council of Cultural Heritage, using recommendations of the Ministry of Culture's Directorate of Heritage, approves the inclusion of sites, buildings, and any other cultural assets to the National Register. The Act also establishes the requirements for a Plan Especial de Manejo y Protección (Special Management and Protection Plan) or PEMP for any designated Bienes de Interés Cultural at the National or Territorial levels. The PEMPs are management

instruments regulated by the Ministry of Culture that outline the necessary actions to protect, conserve, and provide sustainable development for BICs both at the National level and within Departments, Districts, and Municipalities. Decree 1080 of 2015 establishes specifications for the development of PEMPs. Within the Act, there are imposed fines and penalties for any damages to Cultural Heritage in its Article 15 and financial incentives for the Nation's Cultural Heritage on Article 56.

Article 57 of the Act establishes the Sistema Nacional de Cultura (National System of Culture), which is a national network of public agencies, non-profits, and the private sector that support the development and management of national culture, which is coordinated and regulated by the Ministry of Culture. The following entities are included as part of the National System: the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia (Colombian Institute of Anthropology and History), the Colombian National Archives, the Caro & Cuervo Institute, the Consejo Nacional de Patrimonio Cultural (National Council of Cultural Heritage), the Municipal, District or Departmental Councils of Culture and Public and Private entities which foster, develop and finance cultural activities. Lastly, the General Culture Act creates the Consejo Nacional de Cultura (National Council of Culture) that serves as an advisory body to the National Government and the Ministry of Culture for general cultural affairs. Article 60 also enables the creation of Departmental, District, and Municipal Councils of Culture, which serve as links between territorial governments and civic groups to allow the development and execution of policies for cultural heritage.

The Ministry of Culture has a Directorate General of Cultural Heritage (DGCH), which designs, proposes, and enforces the policies, plans, strategies, programs, and projects for the proper management, recording, inventory, research, conservation, presentation, social use, promotion and dissemination of cultural heritage. Among other functions, the DGCH coordinates and proposes both the declaration of Assets of Cultural Interest at the national level to the National Council of Cultural Heritage and nominations to the World

Heritage List to the UNESCO. The Directorate General of Cultural Heritage also has an appointed official who works directly below him who manages the World Heritage Sites within the council.

The Decree 763 of 2009 aids the General Culture Act of 1997 establishing specific regulations toward cultural heritage such as the general responsibilities of the Ministry of Culture to manage the Assets of Cultural Interest at the National and Territorial Levels as well as the criteria and procedures for the declaration of Assets of Cultural Interest and the contents and responsible parties for their development of Especial Protection and Management Plans (PEMPs). Other provisions include eight general principles for the types of intervention projects on buildings and sites designated as Assets of Cultural Interest. This provision is a register of qualified professionals for intervention projects on Cultural Interest Assets and specific incentives for the conservation and maintenance of cultural heritage.

Decree 1911 of November 2, 1995, declared certain fortresses and groups of monuments located outside the Historic Centre as Bienes de Interés Cultural / Assets of Cultural Interest in the Historic Periphery. Included are the San Felipe de Barajas Castle and side battery system –on the Island of Manga, the Fort of San Sebastián del Pastelillo—and the Bay the Fort of Manzanillo. Also included are the Santa Cruz Castle, the Fort of San Fernando de Bocachica and its side battery system, the vestiges of San Luis Castle, the ruins of the Santiago batteries, San Felipe and Cambacu batteries, the side battery system of Santa Barbara and Angel San Rafael, and the Fort of San José de Bocachica and the remains of productive structures.

The General Culture Act of 1997 establishes the hierarchy of PEMPs over any of the Departmental, District, and Municipal heritage regulations. Most prominently protected in Cartagena are the historic walls surrounding the City. Before diving into Cartagena's local heritage policies, The Plan Especial de Manejo y Protección of the Walls approved in 2017 must be discussed. The Walls and Fortifications of Cartagena de Indias are National Assets of Cultural Interest

designated by the National Government. Within the National government is the Ministry of Culture, the office in charge of the management and protection of all walls, fortifications, and adjacent areas around the City. From 1992 to 2012, the Sociedad de Mejoras de Obras Públicas de Cartagena de Indias managed the walls and fortifications in an inter-administrative agreement between the National Government and a local non-profit. Once that agreement ended in October 2012, the Ministry of Culture established a 5-year agreement with the Escuela Taller de Cartagena de Indias under the Contrato Interadministrativo de Comodato No. 2199 of 2012. The agreement was extended in October 2017 with the Contrato Interadministrativo de Comodato No. 2907 of October 17, 2017. The Decreto del Alcalde (Decree of the Mayor), No. 981 of July 30, 1992, created the Escuela Taller as an autonomous public agency. The management agreement includes the walls around the City, the Castillo San Felipe de Barajas, and the Fortifications at Tierrabomba. In January 2020, the Ministry of Culture and the Mayor of Cartagena agreed to modify the Contrato Interadministrativo de Comodato with the Escuela Taller to designate an independent administrator for the Fortifications. As of May 2020, it is unknown how this plan will be framed.

The Plan de Ordinamiento Territorial 2001-2011 -POT (Territorial Management Plan 2001-2011) and the Acuerdo 001 of February 4, 2003, provides the City's heritage regulatory framework.<sup>3</sup> The Plan de Ordinamiento Territorial was established in 2001 by the Decree 977 of the Mayor of Cartagena. The POT, in its Article 15, Subarticle 2, recognizes the conservation of immovable cultural heritage and natural resources as prioritized elements of the City's identity and strength for the development of sustainable activities. Part VIII, known as Regulations of the Historic Center, Influence Areas, and Historic Periphery, establishes the conservation and protection areas for immovable cultural heritage, defines instances of institutional management of cultural heritage, and establishes a List or Catalogue of District monuments, incentives for cultural heritage and sanctions. The designated areas for conservation and protection of immovable cultural heritage as defined in the POT are the Centro Histórico- Barrios Centro, San Diego, Getsemaní, their

adjacent área, and the historic periphery that includes Barrio de Manga, Barrio el Cabrero, Convento de la Popa, and adjacent areas. Other areas consist of the Fuertes de la Bahía, Escollera de Bocagrande, Zona Norte, Barú, Tierra Bomba, and the Castillo de San Felipe de Barajas.

The Acuerdo 001 of February 4, 2003, which creates the Instituto de Patrimonio y Cultural de Cartagena-IPCC (Institute of Heritage and Culture of Cartagena), establishes more specific regulations regarding the conservation of cultural heritage in the City. The Acuerdo 001 also creates and defines the District System of Culture regulated by the IPCC. The system is comprised of the Consejo Distrital de Cultura de Cartagena (Cartagena District Council of Culture), the Comité Técnico de Patrimonio Histórico y Cultural (Technical Committee on Historic and Cultural Heritage), a Mixed Fund for the Promotion of Culture and the Arts of Cartagena, the Academia de la Historia de Cartagena de Indias (Academy of History of Cartagena de Indias), the Escuela Taller de Cartagena de Indias, and all public and private entities that develop, finance or promote cultural activities.

This regulation creates the Instituto de Patrimonio y Cultura de Cartagena de Indias (IPCC), which serves as an autonomous administrative agency, serving the functions as the *de facto* local 'Ministry of Culture' and governing all cultural affairs in the City. The IPCC has a Board of Directors with broad powers and a General Director (all appointed by the Mayor) in charge of executing all related policies and overseeing the cultural heritage of the City. Under the IPCC, there is a Cultural Heritage Division with a Director, which is the office in charge of the protection of cultural heritage at the district level and works closely with the Technical Committee on Historic and Cultural Heritage. The Comité Técnico de Patrimonio Histórico y Cultural (Technical Committee on Historic and Cultural Heritage) is a technical advisory body for the IPCC and the City Government. This Technical committee provides recommendations for all cultural heritage regulations and endorsements for intervention projects on individual historic buildings and the historic center. On the other side, the Consejo Distrital de Cultural

was established as required by the General Culture Act of 1997 and advise the city government on general cultural affairs. The council provides a space for the City government and civic groups to collaboratively develop a cultural policy for the City.

The Acuerdo 001 also defines the Assets of Cultural Interest (BIC) of the District, how they are cataloged, the process and requirements for their declaration by the Mayor. It also establishes the General Register of Assets of Cultural Interest for Cartagena de Indias (Local Register). Lastly, the Acuerdo also creates specific incentives for the protection of immovable heritage in the City and defines fines and penalties for any violations of current law and regulations.

Other public agencies at the city level are the Secretary of Planning of the District Government of Cartagena and the Management of the Historic Center of Cartagena de Indias, created in 2017. The ICOMOS Report of 2017 mentions that the Management of the Historic Center of Cartagena de Indias was a linking institution responsible for managing the Historic Center with the Tourism Corporation (Corpoturismo) for tourism development, in an agreement institution of a mixed nature – public and private. It is unknown if this agreement continues through 2020.

### Current Issues

In 2016, a Habitat III Regional Report of Latin America and the Caribbean presented a summary of the governance conditions of Latin American Countries. Some of the pressing issues that Latin American countries, including Colombia, face in their governance structures are the lack of reliable data, inequality, the lack of citizen participation, and corruption. Even more, the report highlights the need for the region to strengthen public management and expand its administrative capacity.<sup>4</sup> A general set of observations in the heritage regulatory framework of Cartagena confirms these observations.

This report identifies five specific issues in the heritage regulatory framework of Cartagena, which includes:

- There is a limited definition and scope of cultural heritage in current regulations
- Lack of data about the built environment and demographics in the City
- Regulations are too broad, outdated, overlap, or provide serious loopholes
- Lack of enforcement and clear regulations leads to corruption
- Lack of sustainable concepts in heritage regulations

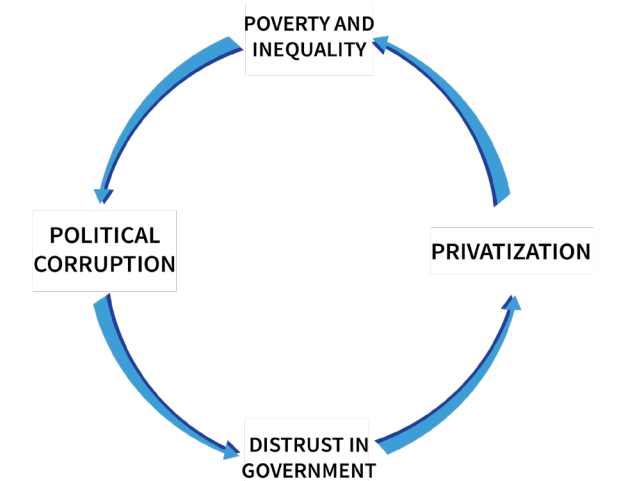


Figure 7.1 – The Cycle of Inequality and Privatization  
Graphic by K. Brill, & H. Berdecía-Hernández, 2020.

One of the main issues is the gap between national heritage regulations and Cartagena's heritage regulations. How is that Cartagena still uses a POT from 2001? This gap is explained considering the development of policies at the National level vs. policies at the local level. When the General Culture Act of 1997 was initially enacted, the City government adopted the law wording on the POT of 2001 and the Acuerdo 001 of 2003. Amendments to the Act of 1997 and successive specific regulations came between 2008 and 2011 (figure 2). When analyzing this timeline, it is crucial to consider that it usually takes one to three years for local governments to incorporate national changes in their policies. During this period of national policy revision, Cartagena entered in a tumultuous political decade where city mayors and administrations changed frequently. Since 2011, the POT needed revisions along with many other policies, but the political turmoil and extensive bureaucratic processes prevented these changes from being implemented.

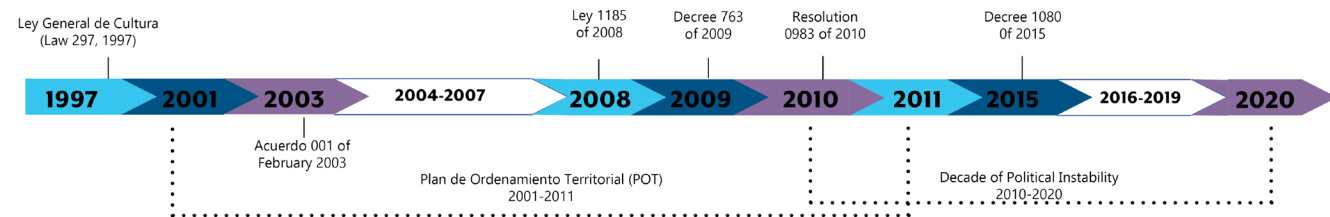


Figure 7.2 - Timeline of heritage policies in Cartagena, Colombia  
Graphic by K. Brill, 2020

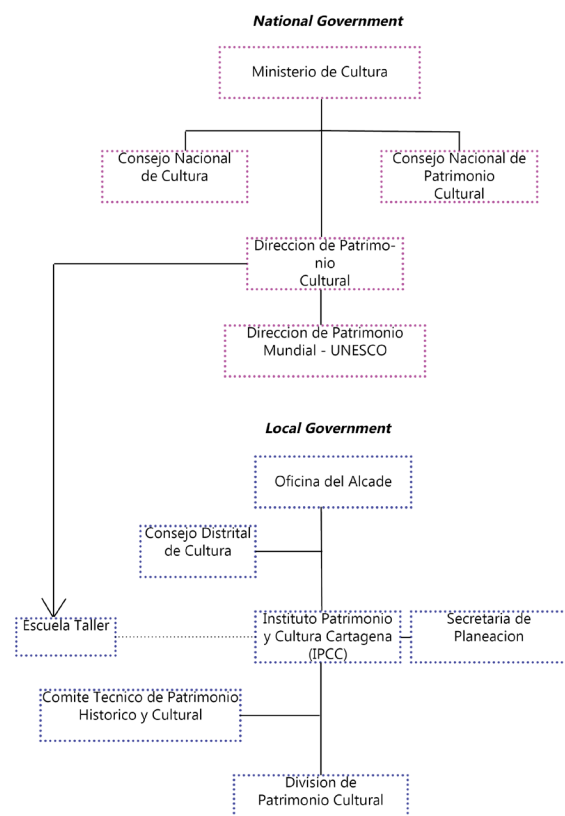


Figure 7.3 Organization of cultural heritage governance at the national and local levels  
Graphic by K. Brill, 2020

### Limited definition and scope of cultural heritage

Cartagena de Indias was designated as a World Heritage City by UNESCO in 1984. This designation presents a series of challenges, especially in the development of heritage policies and regulations. After an extensive evaluation of current regulations in the City and the National level, the existing policies prioritize the conservation and protection of Spanish colonial and early 20th Century architectural heritage. This is not uncommon as the City developed and refined its policies to protect its cultural heritage as required by UNESCO in 1984. Since the recommendations by UNESCO and

ICOMOS are focused on certain monuments, the other styles of architecture, such as mid-century modern architecture, are left out of policies, perceived cultural values, and are excluded from marketing campaigns to attract tourism. Thus, neighborhoods such as La Matuna that host a wide variety of modern architecture, are at a disadvantage because the fabric in this area is not eligible to receive protection from cultural heritage legislation.

Additionally, the Decree 763 of 2009, which establishes the criteria for the Declaration of Assets of Cultural Interest (Bienes de Interes Cultural -BIC), considers only fabric centered criteria such as antiquity, authorship, authenticity, materials and technology, form, state of conservation, environmental context, urban context, and physical context. The inclusion of criteria for the socio-cultural context is not commonly considered for cultural heritage. This issue is exacerbated by the failure of current national regulations to provide enough flexibility for territorial governments to enact their own set of criteria for the declaration of BICs. As these criteria only consider historic, aesthetic, and symbolic value (as explicitly stated in the Decree), other contemporary concepts of heritage values are ignored, resulting in a limited scope for managing Assets of Cultural Interest.

The way governing bodies think about cultural heritage, and what certain groups include and exclude from cultural narratives, directly impacts the creation of heritage policies. There is a pressing need in Cartagena to start recognizing an expanded scope of heritage values and types of architecture not only in the historic center but around the whole City. By doing so, more groups and voices will become integrated into protecting and enjoying the City's cultural heritage. This change of perceptions is necessary to forge a new, more robust, and innovative heritage management framework.

### Lack of data about the built environment and demographics in the City

In developing this research, we found out that there are three different websites with land use, geographical demographics, and more. The question is, which source is the most trusted? These examples show that existing information sources are decentralized and that access to accurate information may be a challenge. Transparency and access to trusted data are fundamental to the development of coherent policies and regulations.

### Laws and Regulations

In analyzing the current laws and norms for the protection of cultural heritage in Cartagena de Indias, we found various issues. First, some regulations are too broad, and the power to control and regulate urban cultural heritage is currently spread between different agencies. Second, there is a disconnect between city agencies, which leads to confusion and inefficient regulatory processes. Third, the functions of the local agencies and national agencies have too much overlap and require more distinct roles in governance. These issues led to irregularities in administrative procedures and corruption.

In 2003 the Cartagena's City Council enacted the Agreement 001 of February 4, 2003, which created the Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de Cartagena (IPCC) with specific powers to oversee and regulate the built heritage in the historic City.<sup>5</sup> After 17 years, the IPCC is in limbo. Lack of proper funding and personnel halted the creation of internal dependencies dedicated to regulating the City's urban heritage. This situation caused the city administration to scatter the regulatory responsibilities of the IPCC to other municipal agencies such as the Secretaria de Planeación Distrital.<sup>6</sup> The coordination between the Secretary of Planning and the IPCC is not clear. As a result, the IPCC's role is weakened as the principal local agency managing cultural resources. Another example of the duplicity of responsibilities is in the Acuerdo 001 of 2003, which states that both the IPCC and the Consejo Distrital de Cultura are advisory bodies for cultural affairs to the city government, possibly creating conflicts.

Furthermore, no institutional mechanisms are connecting the national and local levels, which would allow the different local and national agencies to manage cultural resources jointly. Locals appear to resist intervention from the National Government. In a legal battle, the Consejo de Estado de Colombia (Supreme Court of Colombia) resolved that the national monuments in Cartagena would be co-managed by the national and local city governments. This decision, along with the political instability, exacerbated tensions existing between the two administrations. The locals accuse the national government of controlling their heritage from Bogotá. In response, the national government took control of most of the monuments, which is a testament to the lack of transparency and political turmoil in managing the city affairs.<sup>7</sup> The lack of representation of any UNESCO designated site or City in the National Council of Cultural Heritage established in the General Culture Act of 1997 worsens the situation. Lastly, there are significant loopholes in the co-management of public spaces and influence areas around National Assets of Cultural Interest, such as the walls, since the Cartagena government established through regulations their right to manage public spaces. However, national law and the Fortifications' PEMP of 2017 establishes the management of adjacent areas to the Ministry of Culture through the Escuela Taller.

The process for the development of Planes Especiales de Manejo y Protección as established by law has many issues. For example, in the development of National PEMPs, local government is not included in the process of creating the plan. There is only a non-binding process in which the local government can give comments and suggestions to the Ministry of Culture. On the other hand, PEMPs are developed by different groups and agencies, resulting in a lack of cohesion. There is no overarching format or structure for these documents. For example, the PEMP for the fortresses and architectural structures of the bay was developed by the General Directorate of Cultural Heritage of the Ministry of Culture. The City Government is developing other PEMP for Assets of Cultural Interest, and property owners develop others. Even though there is a process of public hearings and public participation, the development of PEMPs by different parties can

lead to confusion and a lack of clear policy for the management and conservation of cultural heritage. Lastly, the question of how accessible the process of developing a PEMP is for under-resourced people and groups. If a working-class family would like their historic house to be designated as an Asset of Cultural Interest, would they have the resources to develop a PEMP as required by law? How accessible is the protection of cultural heritage in the City and the nation? Is the protection of cultural heritage seen only for scholars and professionals? Or for the enjoyment of the people of all classes and races?

Other issues with current regulations are their ability to negate the problems with tenants of properties in the historic center. Many property owners left the City and rented their property to low-income families for decades. Those owners are now many years later wanting to return to the City and reclaim their property, leaving the low-income families to be displaced. Usually, the families reclaim the rights of the property, and current regulations have serious loopholes preventing the solution for this issue.

Current regulations are too restrictive for new additions in historic buildings, opening the door for developers and contractors to do whatever they want, knowing there will be no consequences. Lastly, the number of political appointees to the boards and heads of agencies is problematic. In the last few decades, Mayors and city administration changed very abruptly, preventing any projects from moving forward.

*Lack of enforcement for regulations leads to transparency issues.*

In Cartagena, the lack of a coherent and uniform heritage protection framework and clear policies allowed market forces to become exploitive and control everything. Developers tend to overuse buildings in the Historic Center by using a designation of intangible heritage only. This kind of designation often serves as a “loophole” to build additions to accommodate more people/visitors. Additionally, the permit system does not function adequately since the current system is decentralized run by independent licensed ‘Urban curators’, poorly supervised. A Curador Urbano certifies

that any undertaking on a historic property complies with the current regulations. The process gets complicated when the Secretaría de Planeación evaluates the project, since the reviews take longer than expected.

*Poor enforcement*

When current city regulations are not updated along the same timeline as National laws and regulations, loopholes are created. The distribution of responsibilities between agencies is not precise, which leads to weak enforcement. There are penalties and fines for breaking the law; however, the process of enforcing the law in court takes a lot of time and money. Because the enforcement process is costly and burdensome, the City avoids dealing with it and, as a result, is very lenient toward violations. Similarly, the approval of projects is also a tenuous and expensive process; therefore, there is not a lot of pushback when people do not comply. There are also loopholes regarding fines and penalties imposed by the General Culture Act of 1997. These loopholes affect how laws are applied and who is responsible for enforcing them. The fines and penalties at the district level are low, which facilitates developers continuously violating regulations. Current regulations ban certified professionals who do not comply with the law from working on heritage conservation projects for a period of time, a practical policy on a long-term basis.

*Lack of sustainable concepts in heritage regulations*

Lastly, since the regulations are not updated with current trends of the heritage conservation field, absent from them are concepts related to sustainable development, such as ‘carrying capacity’ for the City. Sustainability is mostly considered for climate change and urban development policies in the City, but not for heritage conservation.

**Heritage Governance Recommendations**

*Pathway to needed changes*

Before engaging in a necessary reform process of the heritage regulatory framework, some considerations are required:

- Rethinking and expanding definitions of cultural heritage by approaching heritage as a fluid concept instead of a static one. Also, expand the

definition of historic and incorporate city-defined and recognized historic buildings and landscapes that are not in the historic center.

- Self-Evaluation Assessment – The local administration, communities, civic groups, and property owners must identify what policies, regulations, and management processes work and learn from these experiences to improve the current heritage legal management framework. A SWOT analysis is recommended as part of the evaluations, is a strategic planning tool used to help identify strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats of the current legal framework.

- Clear Information – Since gathering the correct and trustful information, a Community Task Force, or Committee for Data Collection that can identify trustful sources of data, gathering existing data, surveying the City for new data, and compiling all the information is needed. Having a clear and cohesive source of information is vital to inform decision making and the implementation of new regulation and policy.

- Comply with UNESCO’s recommendations for research – As part of the previous consideration for needed information.

- Develop a study that can consider the tangible and intangible values of the property, the state of conservation of every single immovable property, their use, and the socio-economic situation of owners and residents, among other issues. This is crucial to define new policies.

- Reflect on how to enhance the participation of local citizens in the development and decision-making processes. This includes how procedures and regulations can be adaptable, transparent, and accessible for all citizens regardless of their social-economical background and how to eliminate barriers and bureaucratic processes that induce corruption.

Guides for needed changes – The following intends to propose a shortlist of recommendations for proper reforms in the heritage regulatory framework of Cartagena. The final improvements need to respond to the needs of the local civic groups, residents, and the private sector to achieve sustainable management and development of Cartagena as an urban heritage city:

- Clear the existing overlapping, define regulations, and consolidate regulations to the IPCC instead of dispersing power throughout many different agencies. Eliminate duplicity in responsibilities and Boards. For example, the District Council of Culture could take the role of the Board of Directors of the IPCC.

- Strengthen the Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de Cartagena (IPCC) and decrease the number of political appointments. Strengthen the technical staff of the Institute of Heritage and Culture of Cartagena (IPCC), incorporating professionals specialized in the conservation of architectural and urban heritage. The City Government must create the remaining offices under the Cultural Heritage Division.

- Follow the Acuerdo 001 of 2003, Increase public spending and resources for the IPCC along with strengthening policies. Define and limit the regulatory powers of other local agencies with IPCC. Strengthen communication between IPCC and other local agencies.

- Strict transparency regulations and policies - these will come with more simplified and defined regulations/regulators

- National Policy - Policies from the Ministry of Culture must be developed by compromise/binding agreements between local government and local communities. Cooperation between parties. A binding agreement between the City government and the Minister of Culture, which outlines the responsibilities between the two parties and compromises, is recommended. There is a need to establish and institutionalize a

permanent communication body of agreement by organizing an Executive Committee or a similar body for decision-making and property control and monitoring.

- Re-instate a Central Permits Office under the Secretaría de Planeación Distrital. This office should have its Technical Committee on Heritage Conservation, in which the IPCC shall have significant participation.

- Rearrange the process for the development of PEMP's to make it more flexible and accessible, eliminate funding barriers and bureaucratic processes. Propose timetables, clearly, and efficiently coordinating all issues involved in the conservation of the property.

- Encourage greater public access to prominent and emblematic buildings in the Historic Center currently used for private or formal functions, to increase opportunities for the community to enjoy and learn from these buildings of significant heritage value.

- Proposal for creating a National Coalition of Heritage Cities of Colombia - share information, resources, concerns, and provide recommendations on heritage policies to the Ministry of Culture. This can include a request for the permanent representation of these cities and sites on the National Council of Cultural Heritage.

- Promote the creation of Public-People-Private Partnerships for the conservation and rehabilitation projects in the Historic Center, favoring traditional residents, whether institutional or private, having financial difficulties keeping their property on its traditional and new uses.

These recommendations intend to serve as a guide. More specific issues need to be identified and evaluated by the public, civic and private sectors in a collaborative and open participatory process.

## Financial Incentives and Organization

### *The relevance of Financial Incentives in the Protection of Cultural Heritage*

For the protection of cultural heritage resources, financial incentives are a way to encourage individuals, organizations, and private companies to invest in their rehabilitation. They are a powerful tool to strengthen public policy and enforce responsible stewardship and diligent conservation work on historic fabric. A stigma exists around the value of existing buildings underused or in poor condition due to neglect. Costs and niche professional knowledge that is often required in the restoration and rehabilitation of a historic building can be intimidating and appear undesirable to potential buyers and developers. Financial incentives, in conjunction with other municipal regulation and educational tools, are useful in enticing private actors to invest in the preservation of heritage.

Financial incentives are often used in urban areas under-used, experiencing blight, vacancy, or economic decline. For the case of Cartagena, the objective is to explore how financial incentives can tackle problems of an over-used historic center and disproportionate development pattern in the City at large. These patterns include maintaining a small-scale historic center and superfluous construction of high-rise real estate in the adjacent neighborhoods. To tackle this problem, incentives should target the redistribution of existing wealth and encourage investment in the extant fabric instead of new construction.

Opportunities arise when incentives provide a sustainable way of generating profits from the cultural heritage, by promoting the continued use and improvements within historic centers. Adaptive re-use projects often have a longer timeframe to achieve the desired financial return than new development (usually about 5-10 years). However, the lifespan of historic buildings tends to be greater than that of new construction, and the money put into repair and conservation work will ultimately go further. The creation of tax incentives will lower the initial costs of rehabilitation to help investors, developers, and individuals to produce greater rates of return in a more

desirable amount of time. The idea is that the incentives will change the mindset of the market from viewing preservation as a burden to seeing it as an asset to both the urban environment and their bank accounts.

Generating investment from private actors for the rehabilitation of cultural resources provides relief for the public sector (government) and institutions from restoring private properties that are designated historic. When private owners neglect designated buildings, the government often steps in to provide emergency stabilization or maintenance work to prevent loss of fabric. This issue is also linked to the lack of enforcement, as discussed in the previous section but, it is a testament to the power that monetary ramifications and incentives can have to encourage the maintenance of historic buildings.

Another benefit of financial incentives is that they will make rehabilitation more accessible to other interested groups and individuals to be part of the urban heritage conservation process. Many individuals, non-profits, and organizations may not have the resources to engage in the purchase and rehabilitation of historic buildings but, robust tax incentives provide financial relief. Incentives may give these groups the means to participate in the preservation process and result in a diversity of uses that departs from the hospitality industry.

Diversity in the rehabilitation of historic fabric is mostly based on the scope of the built environment considered historic and is eligible to receive financial incentives. "In historical centers, the first actions are often the restoration of major monuments in the public or religious domain. Only a few years ago, the effort concerned monuments with a touristic character primarily, commonly with technical and financial assistance from international aid organizations. Where such monuments did not have a pronounced touristic character, they were used for hosting public services (town halls, administrative and educational services), or cultural services and facilities, such as libraries, museums, theatres, etc."<sup>8</sup> With tax incentives in place, the goal is to generate increased investment from the private sector. As previously mentioned, governments, particularly in Cartagena, bear the financial burden of stewarding

historic buildings. Additionally, there is a lack of heritage financial resources or tax credits for property owners in the City. The pilot program for tax credits ended in 2015 and was only available for residents of the City.<sup>9</sup>

Along with expanding the concept and definition of cultural heritage, more buildings may be considered historic and be eligible to receive incentives for their rehabilitation. Once a city moves past the initial prioritization of preservation iconic monuments and institutional buildings, they can identify and prioritize the conservation of other heritage assets that may not be as visually obvious. With more formally recognized and prioritized historic fabric, private actors can use financial incentives to invest in multiple types of income-producing uses such as housing, mixed-use commercial and residential, or other commercially based revenue-producing ventures. These incentives will be oriented to promote the urban regeneration of the Historic Center, complementing the conservation of heritage buildings and public spaces.

Other than tax incentives and direct monetary transfer, the government has the opportunity to create funding through grant or loan programs opportunities either publicly provided or through partnerships with non-profits and other civic groups. These funds can be used to support short- and long-term preservation projects through the terms of agreements between applicants and the granting organization. Grant and loan programs have the power to create RFPs or applicant guidelines that dictate the types of projects that are eligible for funding. Guidelines for project eligibility will help to diversify other building uses to combat issues with the monopoly of tourism-related industries and businesses. Often, grants are given to projects that are community-oriented and promote public programming, artist engagement, or some type of civil service. The incorporation of available programming and services into the urban fabric of the Historic Center will give a reason for more local residents to spend time there.

### *Existing Financial Incentives in Cartagena*

In the current legislation, there are a few existing financial incentives for conservation. The following are the incentives and their provisions:

Table 7.2 Cartagena, Incentive for the Conservation and Maintenance of Assets of Cultural Interest<sup>10 11</sup>

Regulation	Incentives
Decreto 763 de 2009 / Decree 763 of 2009 - Regulations of the General Law of Culture (Enacted by the Ministry of Culture) Article 77: Incentives for the Conservation and Maintenance of Assets of Cultural Interest	<p>Tax deductions are available to property owners for all expenses related to the development of PEMPs, including hiring or qualified professionals, (up to 100 monthly minimum wages), materials, supplies, and equipment if the Local agency and expenses approve the PEMP on maintenance and conservation works (up to 5 years).</p> <p>To receive the deductions, the projects and materials must be approved by the Ministry. Official receipts for materials and labor must be provided to the Ministry and authorized. Completed work is also assessed and must be up to standard to receive the deduction.</p>
Acuerdo 01 - 2003 - Creation of the IPCC (Enacted by Cartagena City Council) Chapter IV – Incentives for the Protection of Immovable Heritage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Incentives focused on Colonial Architectural Heritage</li> <li>- Heritage assets are first evaluated then, a package of tax exemptions is applied to the asset.</li> </ul>
Article 72 – Describes an appeal process for property owners to the IPCC	<p>Incentives by Type:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Architectural Typology – Historic typology - 20% Exemption</li> <li>- Intervention Category – 5%, 7%, or 10% exemption depending on if it is a full restoration, façade restoration, or just a minor rehabilitation.</li> <li>- Uses – 10% to 30% exemption if the building has any Institutional use, economic use, residential use, and mixed-use.</li> <li>- State of Conservation of building fabric – 5% up to 15% exemption depending on the state of the fabric.</li> <li>- Adjustment to Physical intervention regulations– in accordance with the impact and fulfillment of current urban regulations – 5% up to 15% exemption.</li> <li>- Type of Cultural Interest Asset – <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>National – 10%,</li> <li>District/Local – 5%</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
Article 73 – Tax Exemption on Restoration Projects/ Construction	<p>Full restoration 70% New Construction 20%</p>
Article 75 – Periods for Incentives	<p>Every two years; removable and does not establish a coordination process between the Secretary of the Treasury, Office of City Planning, the Geographic Institute, and IPCC.</p>

Source: Author elaboration

It is positive that there are some existing incentives for rehabilitation. However, there are many issues and holes within them. Beginning with Article 77 of Decree 763, the scope of available deductions is broad and covers most of the expenses associated with building conservation. While there is an inspection process for tax incentive eligibility, there is no description of the process or its enforcement. Approval of the project and authorization of the materials and construction services are mentioned but would be more effective if a clear application process was described.

Holes exist in the failure to mention who will be inspecting the property and how often, and what will happen if the applicant fails to comply with adequate conservation standards. Additionally, the incentive does not provide an amount for the deduction. It appears that the amount is dependent on the project and its expenses, but a range of cap on the available deductions per expenditure would be beneficial to the public. Without explicit mention of the tax deduction amounts, there is nothing for applicants to hold the Ministry accountable for, resulting in the manipulation of the system by both the public and the Ministry.

Articles 72-75 of Acuerdo 01 provide more explicit information about the incentives offered but still does not provide information about the application process or condition standards for cultural assets. First, the document does not describe which taxes will be exempt, property taxes? Land taxes? Construction and labor taxes? Without this information, the numbers have little meaning to a person reading through it and will hinder the public's ability to understand the type of agreement they would be entering. To qualify for the exemptions, the applicant must understand how to submit an application and what information is required of them regarding the rehabilitation project. Are there guidelines for the types of conservation work that are needed? Limitations on the types of materials enforced by historic designation? Does the building have to be designated historic to qualify?

Similar to 763, Acuerdo 001 does not provide an enforcement process. Inspections of the work being completed and the requirement of a proposal and

documentation of the conservation process are critical elements to hold applicants accountable for their projects. Without strict enforcement of the tax exemption eligibility process, applicants may not adequately restore the buildings and instead take the incentives and provide minimal maintenance after that.

One last concern is that the IPCC does not have “teeth” to enforce preservation and conservation of cultural resources. The existing disconnect between the national and local governments results in an inability for the IPCC and local council to properly implement strong regulations surrounding the protection of cultural heritage. With this in mind, the tax incentives may prove to be challenging to provide as well as enforce at the local level.

#### *Recommendations for financial incentives and organization*

a. Create more substantial tax incentives. As described, the tax incentives that exist provide some financial relief for property owners but do not have the enforcement systems put in place to hold people accountable for the conservation work they are proposing to do. An application and proposal process needs to be established for conservation and rehabilitation work on historic buildings. Also, regular inspections to the property should be required for the applicant to receive the incentive.

b. Tax new construction on the building itself based on square footage, instead of just the land. These additional taxes can be explicitly allocated to the protection of cultural heritage and public services.

c. The creation of a revolving loan or grant fund. Using land and property taxes on new construction, a % of those taxes can be put into a revolving fund. The fund will be administered to qualifying properties by the government through an application process. The fund should be specifically for the rehabilitation of historic buildings and solicit applicants through an RFP that outlines the conservation standards and potential uses of the building explicitly.



d. Reintroduce tax abatement for historic properties.

e. Introducing fines and increased taxation on vacant properties. Substantial penalties for the vacancy of buildings or increased taxes on buildings that are left vacant will encourage property owners sitting on a vacant property to either sell the building to a capable steward or incentivize them to begin the rehabilitation process and reactivate the building. Harsher enforcement of these violations is required to get owners to comply. These financial penalties, combined with rehabilitation tax incentives, will accelerate the process of dealing with the vacancy and encouraging owners to invest in rehabilitation.

f. Implement more substantial fines for not complying with regulations, including stronger enforcement to get violators to pay and comply.

g. Create a grant program specifically for the rehabilitation of historic buildings in partnership with a non-profit organization. The program should provide specific guidelines for the types of rehabilitation work that needs to be done on the building and community-oriented or accessible uses that will benefit members of the local population.

h. Examine potential development rights agreements with private developers. For example, developers can acquire development rights from historic buildings in exchange for a percentage of their investment put into rehabilitation for the historic building. This type of agreement appeals to developers to gain air rights and square footage for their projects while simultaneously supporting conservation and rehabilitation. It is essential to pursue this type of symbiotic relationship to move toward an equilibrium between private capital and public benefit.

i. Increase transparency. The government should post examples of successfully completed projects that took advantage of tax incentives or

grant programs to show the public the benefits of preserving heritage. Examples can be posted on their website or incorporated into educational programming and workshops provided by the agency or by a non-profit or community-based organization.

### Conclusions

Cartagena has extensive issues in the management and regulatory processes of its urban heritage and also lacks financial incentives and programs to facilitate the protection of cultural resources. With regulatory responsibilities are scattered through municipal agencies, information regarding due process and the public procedure gets buried and is unclear. This disconnect allows both government officials and city residents to evade any obligation to enforce or comply with the law. Along with massive inequality and limited access to education and information, this issue leads to significant corruption in the City. Penalties and fines are poorly enforced or inadequate, so contractors would prefer to pay a small fine than comply with the regulation.

Along with these management issues, the people in Cartagena continue to privilege colonial-style architecture as the built cultural heritage of the City, following the UNESCO designation and ignoring the protection of other cultural resources, including modern architecture. By expanding the definition of cultural heritage to include a wider variety of cultural resources, including landscapes, and fabric that is post-colonial, planning efforts will be forced to incorporate more existing resources into planning initiatives. Additionally, an increase in financial incentives and grant programs will increase access to rehabilitation projects for heritage-minded organizations and individuals who did not previously have the resources. Effective legislation and effective regulation and enforcement is a powerful tool in the management of cultural heritage, especially in cities like Cartagena that are facing the challenged of exploitive markets, leading to rapid change in the built environment.

### Endnotes:

- 1 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Port, Fortresses and Group of Monuments, Cartagena (1984) <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/285/>
- 2 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Port, Fortresses and Group of Monuments, Cartagena (1984) <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/285/>
- 3 Decreto No. 0977 de 2001, Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial del Distrito Turístico y Cultural de Cartagena de Indias, Alcaldía Mayor de Cartagena de Indias, <http://curaduria2cartagena.com/pdf/POT.pdf>
- 4 United Nations - Habitat III Secretariat, Habitat III Regional Report: Latin America and the Caribbean Sustainable Cities with Equality, New York: Habitat III The United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development, 2016, 64.
- 5 Acuerdo No. 001 de Febrero 4 de 2003, Acuerdo de Creación del IPCC del Consejo del Distrito de Cartagena de Indias <http://www.ipcc.gov.co/index.php/component/phocadownload/category/22-acuerdos>

- 6 This information has been provided by the Deputy Director of the IPCC, Dr. Alfonso Cabrera Cruz.
- 7 This information has been provided in conversations with local scholars and professional architects in Cartagena de Indias.
- 8 Dalmas, Laurent, Vincent Geronimi, Jean-François Noël, and Jessy Tsang King Sang. "Economic Evaluation of Urban Heritage: An Inclusive Approach under a Sustainability Perspective." *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 16, no. 5 (2015): 681–87. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.culher.2015.01.009>. 35.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 El Servicio publico es de todos, Decreto 763 de 2009, Departamento Administrativo de la Funcion Publico. English translation by Hector Berdecia-Hernandez.
- 11 Acuerdo No. 001 de Febrero 4 de 2003. <http://www.ipcc.gov.co/index.php/component/phocadownload/category/22-acuerdos> English translation by Hector Berdecia-Hernandez.

# 8 STRATEGIC USE OF HERITAGE ASSETS

There are several abandoned or underutilized buildings that offer an opportunity for the social actors of Cartagena—from the national cultural institutions to the Municipality including organizations of the civil society and private investors—to work in partnership with the property owners to undertake ‘tactically oriented adaptive rehabilitation conservation’. Tactical interventions pursue commercial and social objectives; working within market trends they seek to take advantage of unexploited resources to satisfy new niches of potential demand. They are the type of interventions that can materialize a repositioning of the heritage site away from mass tourism that is damaging its heritage assets and that has proven highly fragile to international events.

In the Historic Center of Cartagena, multiple social and cultural values can be put at play in rehabilitating heritage properties. The heritage buildings and public spaces with their varied historic and aesthetic values can much more than the scenery for mass-entertainment-based tourism and be the anchors and physical platforms for developing new educational, training, and productive activities linked to the “orange economy”. They also provide the opportunity to extend the very successful

annual festivals and cultural events into permanent activities that would attract a new class of visitors interested in music, films, history, literature and move corporations to more intensely and systematically use Cartagena’s facilities for management and training events that would complement its traditional role as a place for trade conventions and fairs. Taking advantage of these opportunities requires creative public, private, and people partnerships (PPPP).

To show the potential of this approach this chapter discusses some of the opportunities for tactical rehabilitation offered by some of the less appreciated assets of Cartagena, 20th-century buildings in La Matuna and Getsemani.

## TACTICAL REUSE STRATEGIES IN THE HISTORIC CENTER

Laura Margaret Sollmann  
Sung, Di

### Field Observations in Cartagena

For architects walking the city means studying the city. Winding through the streets of Cartagena’s Historic Center, we documented the architecture, observed the people, and analyzed the soundscape of the streets. Within the most tourist occupied neighborhoods—Centro, San Diego, and Getsemani—the noise generated caters to the influx of visitors with the sounds of street vendors, cafes, shops, bars and the likes, meant to attract non-locals into their businesses. However, once crossing over the threshold into La Matuna, though noise levels remain relatively at the same consistency, the make-up of the streetscape and its associated noise pollution changes drastically.

### *The character of La Matuna*

La Matuna is a neighborhood composed primarily of 20th-century low-rise buildings and mid-level skyscrapers. Its scale and architecture stand in stark contrast to the surrounding historic fabric. A more jarring transition, however, is the discrepancy in the tourist population of the historic neighborhoods within the Historic Center, and the local population using the new construction of La Mauna.

Along the streets of La Matuna, the soundscape changes from that of tourist-centric, to those of locals. There is a livelier street activity in the fashion of commerce, rather than tourism. Street vendors attempting to attract shoppers, conversations between people—sometimes shouting said conversations several feet apart. There is more street traffic, more cars, and trucks, more storefronts selling local products and foods. Much of the historic portions hold a curated development focused on the commerce of tourism. La Matuna carries a different narrative, housing an evolution of organic local growth found in local commerce.



Figure 8.1 – Street scene in La Matuna  
Photo: Laura Margaret Sollmann, Sung, Di

Despite the wealth of activity in La Matuna, this distribution is still highly localized to the street and the first few levels of the neighborhood’s building stock. This is also reflected as a similar character throughout the low-rise historic buildings of the Historic Center. Thus, much of the 20th Century building stock of La Matuna is not fully realized—a problem we seek to address through tactical reuse strategies as a mechanism for revitalization and sustainable growth.



Figure 8.2 – 20th Century buildings in La Matuna  
Photo: Laura Margaret Sollmann, Sung, Di

### Preliminary Master Plan Proposal

Based on our study of La Matuna, we see underutilized potential in the extant building stock. Though the architectural heritage of La Matuna may seem like a hiccup in the overarching narrative of the Historic Center, it is heritage nonetheless that plays a significant role in the development of the Historic Center's history; it aids in understanding the story of modernization and eventual decline and disuse of a neighborhood embedded in centuries-old heritage. Thus, its timeline should be one taken into serious consideration when approaching new ways to alleviate the strain of touristification on the Historic Center.



Figure 8.3 – Opportunities for strategic interventions  
Source: Laura Margaret Sollmann, Sung, Di

La Matuna is distinctive in its 20th neighborhood appearance, and sits between Centro and Getsemani, not only as a barrier but a boundary of two historic neighborhoods with respective characters. On-site observations indicate that La Matuna comprises two types of structures: business high-rises with low occupancy closer to the Torre del Reloj, and low to mid-rise service-oriented buildings and parking structures towards Carrera 11.

Besides La Matuna, we identified Getsemani's points of interest for intervention: The Convention Center (*Centro Convenciones Cartagena de Indias, CCCI*) enjoys a large front plaza but enclosed with iron gates and guards. Centro Empresarial Getsemani, a contemporary shopping center hidden among historic Getsemani, suffers low business occupancy as well.



Figure 8.4 – Interrelations among strategic interventions and change in development pressures  
Source: Laura Margaret Sollmann, Sung, Di

We identified the overflow of tourists in Getsemani (composed mostly of under 40 years old fun-seeking visitors) turning the historic streetscape fill with tourism-prone activities, including hostels and Airbnb as residential establishments, and street food stands and gift shops as commercial establishments. These tourism-prone activities have suppressed local habitants' space in their home neighborhoods. Since we identified the vacancy both in La Matuna high-rises and Centro Empresarial Getsemani, we propose to shift part of the tourism activity into low occupancy buildings.

In this proposal, we migrate tourists from staying in historic structures into a reinvented cluster of hostels inside the structure of Centro Empresarial Getsemani; and redirect some tourist-oriented stores, cafes, and restaurants into La Matuna highrises. We also proposed to move parking facilities to the other side of the city wall, outside the historic center. In this manner, we provide a more pedestrian-friendly La Matuna as a whole and reduce its current focus on auxiliary roles.



Figure 8.5 – Strategic proposals and movement patterns  
Source: Laura Margaret Sollmann, Sung, Di

### 20th Century Significance of La Matuna

La Matuna separates Centro and San Diego to its north and Getsemani to its south. As a 20th Century development, its unique location in between historic neighborhoods was essential to its role in the city; thus tracing to how it came to be is crucial in understanding the values in preserving La Matuna, in a larger historic, and a larger geographic context.

Since the founding of the city in the 16th Century until the 18th-century, the city has two divided lands of three neighborhoods: Centro, San Diego, and Getsemani. Between the lands, the canal was the southern boundary of the city center, excluding Getsemani. Since the colonial government built a dam between El Laguito and Tierra Bomba to bar the pirates, the natural sea tides also diminished. The canal was gradually filled with soil and formed a shoal in the 19th Century, later recognized and incorporated as part of the historic center.

From the city map and the aerial photo in the early 20th Century, it is remarkably clear that the canal had been filled with the land. However, nothing was built in La Matuna besides the train station and railway facility buildings. This evidence suggested that though La Matuna's building stock is inherent to 1900-1930 European Modernism trends, it is built later than those European prototypes. La Matuna's XXth Century building stock owns its regional Modernism influences as differs itself from those US Mid-Century and British Brutalism counterparts in 1950-70.

Dating back to 1894, the inauguration of the railway connecting Cartagena to the inner city of Calamar, marked the industrial and modern development in the coastal city. The railway was intended for commercial use, as Calamar is a river mouth city to Rio Magdalena, the spine of trade in Colombia, on the river from Barranquilla to other major Colombia cities, i.e. Medellín and Bogotá. The train station building sat in front of Torre del Reloj, next to where the Parque del Centenario opened up to the public in 1911.

In the first few decades of the 20th Century, the prevailing architectural style is Republican Era Style (*Arquitectura Republicana*), reflecting the times after the new Constitution of 1886, renaming the United States of Colombia to the Republic of Colombia. Colombian Republican Era Style can be traced back to Beaux-Arts, some major architects in Colombia at the time were European as well, bringing the traditions from the Old World. Including Belgian architect Joseph Martens and French architect Gaston Lelarge. Lelarge designed La Casa Del Sonido on Avenida Venezuela from 1925 to 1927, this building is one of few Republican Style gems in La Matuna. The building was used by El Almacén Electrónico Company before as a storefront. Not far from Torre del Reloj, Mercado de Getsemani (Antiguo Mercado Público) was built in 1904, by Cartagenian architect Luis Felipe Jaspe Franco, the building was at a prominent location and quickly became the center of Cartagenian life.

The train served the city until 1951 when the reliance on rail transportation dropped beyond financial reasons to keep the wheels running. The train station was soon



Figure 8.6 – Public market in the first quarter of the 20th Century  
Source: Cartagena Archives

added on more floors and adapted into the Edificio Banco Popular. The remaining structure of the old train station was noticeable in the image. However, the Banco Popular decided to construct an entirely new building on the site in the 1970s and took away the remains of rail history in Cartagena. The 1970s can be considered a pivotal point that La Matuna had entirely turned its back from Republican Era Style, which was still influential in the 1940s-1960s, a transitional time in architectural styles.

The other pivotal point was the construction of Centro de Convenciones Cartagena de Indias CCCI (Cartagena Convention Center). CCCI was constructed where Mercado de Getsemaní was. Mercado was burned down in a fire in 1965, and it remained in a ruins state until full demolition in 1978. An open competition was held for the CCCI, a contemporary design by architects Germán Samper Gnecco and Rafael Esguerra was chosen and the building marked the total transformation in prevailing styles.

This brief timeline marked out several locations and events, industrial development prompted La Matuna’s transformation, Parque del Centenario and Mercado/CCCI were influential in leading the neighborhood’s style trends and daily life experiences. Republican, transition, Modern, and contemporary buildings rapidly made up La Matuna’s multiple faces within a century, adding the historic center a layer of industrial and development significance.

**Tactical Reuse Proposal**

*Defining tactical reuse*

*Tactical reuse* is an idea inspired by the theory and implementation of *tactical preservation*, a developing strategy for incremental stages of preservation and reoccupation of vacant and dilapidated buildings, and their reintegration into the urban fabric as functioning structures.<sup>1</sup> We have adopted this strategy by dubbing it adaptive *reuse* to focus less attention on the physical fabric of the La Matuna building stock (as the word preservation would invoke), and instead, place attention on the existing building infrastructure’s embodied energy.

As a coastal city on the Caribbean, Cartagena faces an immense amount of pressure from growing climate concerns. Construction and demolition are two factors that add the current carbon emissions, especially so when younger building stock (such as La Matuna’s) has not yet reached its lifecycle in which it is embodied energy has successfully counteracted carbon emissions from its construction and occupational use:

“The crisis of climate change makes it imperative to consider the environmental consequences of demolition. A vast amount of energy goes into a building’s creation, from extracting and processing raw materials required for construction, to hauling and disposing waste from the job site. This is known as the building’s “embodied energy.” Demolishing a building wastes this initial investment. On top of this, add the physical waste of demolition: When a typical 50,000-square-foot commercial building is torn down, about 4,000 tons of material is destined for disposal.”<sup>2</sup>

By implementing tactical reuse for the building stock of La Matuna, it not only aids in the fight against climate change by canceling out the waste of demolition and new construction but also strategically spurs development in otherwise underutilized structures that have not realized their full potential.

Below, we have developed two proposals— Calle 32 & Carrera 9, La Matuna and Centro Empresarial

Box 8.1

**20TH-CENTURY BUILDING RESOURCE SURVEY**

Recognizing La Matuna as an area with its own social- and historical significance, it is proposed the place the site’s narrative within the context of a tangible resource that the City can use to revitalize the center by rehabilitating and repurposing its vastly underutilized building stock and infrastructure. The first step is to survey the area with a view of its reuse values. The *20th-century Building Resource Survey Form* developed with the same styling of a historic district survey form will provide the initial information to identify strategic repurposing opportunities. By devising a survey formatted to the liking of a historic inventory form, this level of documentation is

meant to inspire the legitimization of La Matuna’s identity as a part of the Historic Center’s narrative, and that its contemporary building stock is a unique feature not found elsewhere in the city, let alone to be so compacted within a rich historic setting. It proposes an analysis not only of use, but architectural style, integrity, condition, and opportunity to document the architecture landscape of La Matuna. This survey form can then be used to identify buildings in need of immediate maintenance interventions and those that would be eligible for tactical reuse.

CARTAGENA de INDIAS, COLOMBIA  
La Matuna in Historic Center

Form completed on: \_\_\_\_\_

20th Century Building Resources Inventory Form  
For Buildings and Structures

---

**IDENTIFICATION**

1. BUILDING NAME (if applicable): Present: \_\_\_\_\_ Original: \_\_\_\_\_

2. ADDRESS (and/or location): \_\_\_\_\_

3. OWNER(S): Present: \_\_\_\_\_ Circle: Public / Private

4. USE: Present: \_\_\_\_\_ Original: \_\_\_\_\_

5. ACCESSIBLE TO PUBLIC: Circle: Full occupancy / partial occupancy / vacant  
Exterior visible from public road or space, circle: Yes / No  
Interior accessible for public, circle: Yes / No

---

**DESCRIPTION**

6. BUILDING OR STRUCTURE: \_\_\_\_\_ YEAR BUILT: \_\_\_\_\_

7. 20th C. SIGNIFICANCE: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Republican Era Style (1880-1930)  
 Transition Period (1930-1960)  
 Modern Style (1970-)  
 Others: \_\_\_\_\_

8. FACADE MATERIAL(S): \_\_\_\_\_

9. STRUCTURAL SYSTEM: \_\_\_\_\_

10. NUMBER OF STORIES: \_\_\_\_\_ Approximate building/structure footprint (m2): \_\_\_\_\_

11. EXISTING CONDITION: Exterior: Excellent / Good / Fair / Poor / Unknown  
 Structure: Excellent / Good / Fair / Poor / Unknown  
 Interior: Excellent / Good / Fair / Poor / Unknown

12. INTEGRITY: list known alterations, additions, repair campaigns (and associated years)  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

13. NEIGHBORHOOD FEATURES: (i.e., are neighboring buildings vacant, is it near public space, parking, etc)  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

20th Century building resource survey forms

LOCATION (MARK ON MAP):

KNOWN AVAILABLE ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS: YES / NO  
 KNOWN AVAILABLE HISTORIC DOCUMENTATION: YES / NO  
 If yes for either, located where: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Additional information:  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

Getsemani—using tactical reuse as a methodology to alleviate the strain of touristification on the historic assets of the Historic Center, by adapting and reusing existing buildings of La Matuna to house tourist functions—such as hostels, hotels, clubs, bar, shopping boutiques and the like. Thus, the contemporary infrastructure of La Matuna takes on the contemporary phenomenon of mass-tourism that Cartagena is currently inflicted with.

*Calle 32 & Carrera 9, La Matuna*

The building on the northwest corner of Calle 32 and Carrera 9, is chosen for a case study proposal for



Figure 8.7 – Example of building suitable for strategic rehabilitation  
Photo: Laura Margaret Sollmann, Sung, Di

several reasons. It is one of the many mid to high rises reinforced concrete structures in La Matuna, supposedly office towers but have low occupancy and difficulties bringing people into the building. Commercial activities happen in vendor booths on the street rather than ground floor storefronts in several cases. For this reason, we find this building ideal for an exemplary case study proposal.

For its potential, first and foremost, it faces the Parque del Centenario to the south, immediately adjacent to Cartagena's largest open space to the public. It is also highly possible for tourists to pass by the area when crossing between San Diego and Getsemaní. To the east of the building, Carrera 9 is closed for pedestrian use during our site visit, a vigorous commercial street for local inhabitants. From an urban scale, the location suggests high potential in tying tourists and locals alike. Architecturally, it has vibrant colored façades, with a "Cartagenian" color palette. Responding to some commonly seen mural projects in Getsemaní, its large façade serves as a potential canvas or even more opportunities beyond superficial value. This building is typical to its neighbors, as one of the 1960-1970 Colombian Modernism buildings with tropical characteristics, often shared with other Latin American, African, Southeast Asian Modern buildings. Deep balconies prevent solar radiation penetrates the interior, and white to beige paint reduces the absorption of heat to the architectural envelope.

Colombia boosts its coffee culture, and tourists come to the country with such knowledge to taste this national symbol. Coffee shops are popular for all kinds of tourists, and it is an essential part of local life as

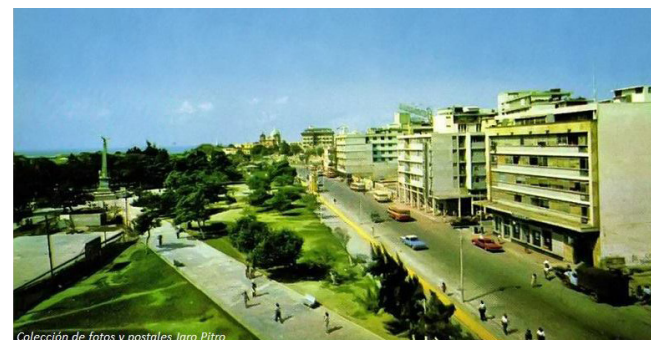


Figure 8.8 – La Matuna and Parque Centenario in 1960  
Photo: Cartagena archives

well. For comparison, the Café Apartment in Vietnam is a successful example to reuse underutilized concrete highrise. The Café Apartment uses its balconies to showcase the cluster economy and the different styles every coffee shop is selling.

Architecturally speaking, the deep balconies are an opportunity to replicate the experience Café Apartment offers, moreover, as this building is only 4-story tall, the interaction of balconies and streetscape is more possible. Our proposal leads people from ground level to higher levels, creates three-dimensional activities, reactivates vacancies. By placing tourist-oriented establishments in the area, we prolong the time they pass through La Matuna from San Diego and Getsemaní, and in the meanwhile, by transferring existing commercial establishments in Getsemaní to La Matuna, we aim to ease the overflow stress on Getsemaní historic structures and return those to its rightful spatial owners.



Figure 8.9 – Adaptive rehabilitation of a modern building into a Coffee center  
Source: Laura Margaret Sollmann, Sung, Di

### Centro Getsemaní

Though not within the boundaries of La Matuna, the Centro Empresarial is a 20th-century structure that stands in stark contrast to its historic neighbors within Getsemaní. Standing at two-stories, the building takes up a large swath of land within a high-density zone of low-rise buildings. Like many buildings throughout La Matuna, the Centro is underutilized as an existing asset.



Figure 8.10 – Getsemaní Center  
Photo: Laura Margaret Sollmann, Sung, Di

While activity remained high between corridors with historic fabric and corridors within the contemporary setting of La Matuna, outside of the Centro, there was low foot traffic. This can be accounted for the low commercial life on the interior, in which the tourists circulating through Getsemaní pass by due to low activity. Upon further investigation, while visiting the site, it should be noted that underutilized does not equate with vacant. Though there are high rates of empty storefronts, there are a handful of open shops and cafes still in operation, predominantly serving locals. A highlight of this structure as well is its passive use for shelter. During the mid-afternoon, many people were sitting around—some alone, some with a partner chatting—simply taking shelter in the shade from the high heat of the day. This proves that though the building may be underutilized as a commercial space, its design and function still work as a gathering space.

The layout of the Centro is also one that is easily adaptable to house various functions outside of the ordinary uses of a shopping complex. One that could easily house other functions—such as hostels and hotels

whose small rooms would fit within storefronts, or odds and ends commercial uses, such as Laundromats with bars, or the excess of small cafes and tourist-friendly shops, as seen throughout the historic neighborhoods of the Center.



Figure 8.11 – Getsemaní Center, floor plan  
Source: Getsemany Center

This makes Centro Empresarial Getsemaní a prime candidate as a reuse project, to be transformed from an underutilized contemporary asset, into an entity that can house tourist functions that are extracted from Getsemaní et al and relocated within the confines of a single location. As a result, locals can reclaim historic assets of Cartagena's Historic Center to introduce functions that are currently allocated to La Matuna. Located on the south side of Centerario Park, with La Matuna to the north, both the Centro and redevelopment of La Matuna are bridged; further activating Centerario Park as a public space.



Figure 8.12 – Rehabilitation of the Getsemani Center  
Source: Laura Margaret Sollmann, Sung, Di

#### Endnotes:

1 Tactical preservation is an ongoing field of study in the Master of Science in Historic Preservation program at the University of Pennsylvania. For more information: “How tactical preservation can save endangered buildings in Philly and Detroit.” Penn Today, 2018. <https://penntoday.upenn.edu/news/how-tactical-preservation-can-save-endangered-buildings-philly-and-detroit>

2 SOM. “We Recycle Bottles. Why Don’t We Recycle Buildings?” Medium, 2019. <https://medium.com/@SOM/we-recycle-bottles-why-dont-we-recycle-buildings-6ee897945f1b>

# 9 A PATH FOR SUSTAINABILITY

Eduardo Rojas with contributions from the other authors

A revision of the available academic literature, technical and official documents, site visits and interviews with local experts allowed the authors—graduate students of the Historic Preservation and City Planning Programs of the Stuart Weitzman School of Design of the University of Pennsylvania—to discuss the sustainability of the conservation process underwent by the Historic Center of Cartagena de Indias in Colombia in the last 70 years. In this endeavor, the authors tested the hypothesis that the conservation of an urban heritage area is more sustainable when is used to satisfy diverse contemporary needs of a variety of local actors while maintaining the socio-cultural values that give the area its heritage character and generate sufficient economic value to attract private investments. To this end, the conservation efforts should ensure that the different demands converging into the urban heritage area can be satisfied and eliminate to the greatest possible extent any form of social and economic exclusion. The experiences of cities that approached the conservation of their historic centers pursuing these objectives indicate that they can minimize conflicts among interest holders, attract the private and public investments required to ensure the conservation and development of the material heritage, and allow the preservation and development of the immaterial (intangible) heritage.<sup>1</sup>

The analysis uncovered unsettling trends that are moving the Historic Center of Cartagena away from the sustainable conservation of its urban heritage. The Center is showing signs of stress due to overutilization of buildings and public spaces to accommodate a narrow set of tourists (mostly young and foreign) interested in a limited set of values, mostly the Colonial scenery, to engage in a narrow set of activities, mostly recreational. The field studies conducted by the authors on the possible causes of these symptoms found many that lay deep in the dominant narrative of the Center’s role as the main tourist magnet of the city. This narrative advertises the Center as a fun place in a Colonial setting and promotes a narrow set of activities and private investments, fundamentally, short-term accommodations and food, shopping, and entertainment establishments. The analysis uncovered another troubling trend, a widespread and deeply rooted process of exclusion from the Center affecting ample segments of the citizenry of Cartagena for the benefit of a narrow set of visitors.

The present chapter presents the most salient aspects of the findings reported in the different chapters of this publication and add commentary about the possible development scenarios that the Historic Center can

face as a result of the mid and long term consequences of the Cov-19 pandemic whose effects become noticeable after the authors completed the field study in mid-March 2020.

### **The Social and Economic Roots of a Path Away from Sustainability**

During their work in the field, the authors gathered the views and suggestions of different social actors in Cartagena. In the opinion of some, the conservation of the Historic Center is a success. The interventions of the National Government to protect and restore national monuments (like the Walls and Fortifications or the Palace of the Inquisition) induced private investment to the restoration and adaptive rehabilitation of houses and commercial buildings as second homes, tourist accommodation, and the services required by these activities. The density of socio-cultural values of Cartagena attracted world attention after the inclusion of its Historic Center and system of colonial fortifications in the UNESCO World Heritage List. Many interested parties consider that the ensuing increase in tourism is another sign of success. In later years the Historic Center has been visited by an ever-growing number of tourists, mostly from Europe and the Americas (North and South) attracting private investors to use heritage buildings to provide accommodation (of various qualities and prices) and entertainment services (bars, discos, salsa-based tours) for what today is mostly a boisterous young crowd of visitors. A side effect of the increase in the number of these visitors is the growth of shadowy or openly illegal activities that today dominate certain corners of the Historic Center.

Other interest holders in Cartagena think that the Historic Center is rapidly losing its socio-cultural values (historic, aesthetic, religious, and scientific) and becoming just a “playground in a Spanish Colonial setting”. Heritage conservation and land use-related conflicts are mentioned in support of this assertion including over development of heritage buildings to maximize the profitability of investments; lack of appropriate regulations in the Center’s buffer zone; street congestion and noise; the proliferation of illegal activities; and visitor harassment by street vendors.

Lax enforcement of heritage preservation regulations and lack of investments in infrastructure are blamed for the growing unbalance between the demands posed by tourism development and the supply of public services, public spaces, and infrastructures on the Historic Center. In the last 30 years, Cartagena’s development objectives prioritize tourism relying on the Historic Center as its main attraction and fostered the present overspecialization of the heritage site in tourism services to the detriment of other central urban functions. In the public discourse there have been no calls for balanced development and economic diversification for the Historic Center neither calls for mitigating the gentrification process that very rapidly excluded large sections of the local population from the use and enjoyment of the Center. There are claims that the Center is overturistified and losing its capacity to be an integrating force for the population of the city. Communities in the Historic Center—notably those living and working in the Getsemani neighborhood—are reacting to this trend and demanding more action on the part of the authorities to more actively manage these processes.

Today the Historic Center provides a large supply of short-term accommodations and a variety of entertainment venues but runs short in supplying other central functions to the city like well-developed and varied cultural activities, diversified services for the citizens and visitors, and affordable housing for the local population. There seems to be a gradual reduction in the diversity of visitors and investors in the Historic Center leading to the predominance of what is called “rumba (party)-oriented” tourism. Also observable, is a reduction in the diversity of users of the Center with the gradual disappearance of residents, non-employment related users from other neighborhoods of the city, students, and entrepreneurs in non-tourism business. The sustained loss of permanent residents and the flight of non-tourist enterprises experienced by the Historic Center symptoms of the exclusion effects of over-specialization in a few sectors of demand reduces the diversity of social actors participating in its development. Furthermore, the Historic Center is increasingly perceived by the population of the rest of the city as an alien place that belongs to tourists.

Although the business community and the Municipality benefit from the wealth generated by tourism, the population gets only a small part of the benefits, mostly in the form of formal employment for some (reportedly low paid and with few benefits) and informal income for many via street vending or begging. The social and economic divide runs deeper as significant portions of the city’s population have only vague cultural and emotional ties with the Historic Center.

There is evidence from other historic centers around the world indicating that this development path eventually leads to decay, deterioration, and subsequent abandonment of the affected heritage area. It is well documented that overturistification is placing significant stresses and negatively affecting the conservation of historic centers in Europe, Asia and Latin America including historic cities like Venice (Italy) and Hue (Vietnam), the historic centers of Rome (Italy), Dubrovnik (Croatia), Amsterdam (The Netherlands), Barcelona (Spain), Oaxaca (Mexico), or Denpasar (Indonesia), and heritage sites like Machu Pichu (Peru) or Angkor Wat (Cambodia). There are no reasons to believe that the Historic Center of Cartagena will be an exception.

### **The Many Dimensions of Exclusion**

#### *Exclusion effects of tourism*

Tourism has the exclusion effects usually associated with the rapid expansion of short term stay tourism that accelerate the expulsion of middle- and low-income households. This is a process of tourism-induced gentrification that is already complete in the Center and San Diego neighborhoods of the Historic Center and that is also affecting the Getsemani neighborhood the last remaining area with a mixed resident population and more diversified land use.

The reduction in the diversity of uses and users fostered by the concentration of the Historic Center on mass tourism generate other sources of exclusion. The recreation and hospitality activities (that are dominant in significant portions of the Center) generate high levels of noise lasting for long hours. Music is usually played loudly in Cartagena. Late in the evening, it is

common that music is played at over 120 decibels (a noise level associated with permanent damage to the ears if heard regularly) fired into the public spaces by recreation establishments to attract customers. In Plaza de la Paz and in the nearby Plaza de Los Coches and Calle de las Carretas the noise level in the evenings is frequently above 80 decibels (a noise level that precludes a normal conversation). Only in streets located in the fringes of the Historic Center the noise level in the evening is within the ‘quiet street’ limits, that is below 50 decibels. The sources of noise in Cartagena are not only static (discotheques, restaurants, or shops) but also mobile. Boisterous groups of visitors wander in the public spaces and the “Chiva Rumbera” tours (music and drinking tours in open buses locally known as ‘Chivas’) roam the streets at night increasing the already high level of noise. The noisy environment in many sections of the Historic Center is a form of exclusion preventing all that cannot tolerate it from enjoying the socio-cultural values of the place. Cartagena is following the path of similar international destinations like Ibiza (Spain), Tijuana (Mexico) or New Orleans (USA) where recreational tourism targeted to a young international crowd is also associated with noisy activities and boisterous behavior leading to chaotic uses of public spaces that are not always acceptable to all visitors. Noise is a “de facto” exclusion factor for a wide range of residents and users with a low tolerance for noise and urban chaos further reducing the diversity of users and uses on the Historic Center.

#### *Specialization and privatization of public spaces: the exclusion effect*

Market pressures and a lenient attitude on the part of the Municipality to rent public spaces for private uses in the Historic Center leads to their specialization in uses that limit the diversity of users interested or allowed to use them. The Plaza de la Paz square—located in front of the bus station—is heavily used by *Cartageneros* coming and going to the Historic Center during the day. However, in the evenings the square becomes an extension of the Plaza de Los Coches, the node of noisy nightlife, prostitution, and other illegal activities. The Santo Domingo square, in turn, has long lost its original function as the public-open air atrium of the Santo Domingo Church. Today the square

# NOISE LEVELS, OBSERVATIONS IN CARTAGENA DE INDIAS, COLOMBIA

Residents and users in the Historic Center of Cartagena complain of high and sustained noise levels in certain streets. Areas with high concentrations of bars, discotheques, and restaurants that attract large crowds in the evenings regularly have street noise

levels above 80<sup>1</sup> often reaching 100 dBA. According to Noise Help, frequent exposure to these levels of noise is damaging the ears and causes distress.

Table B.3.1.<sup>2</sup>

dBA	Example	Home & Yard Appliances	Workshop & Construction
0	healthy hearing threshold		
10	a pin dropping		
20	rustling leaves		
30	whisper		
40	babbling brook	computer	
50	light traffic	refrigerator	
60	conversational speech	air conditioner	
70	shower	dishwasher	
75	toilet flushing	vacuum cleaner	
80	alarm clock	garbage disposal	
85	passing diesel truck	snow blower	
90	squeeze toy	lawn mower	arc welder
95	inside subway car	food processor	belt sander
100	motorcycle (riding)		handheld drill
105	sporting event		table saw
110	rock band		jackhammer
115	emergency vehicle siren		riveter
120	thunderclap		oxygen torch
125	balloon popping		
130	peak stadium crowd noise		
135	air raid siren		
140	jet engine at takeoff		
145	firecracker		
150	fighter jet launch		
155	cap gun		
160	shotgun		
165	.357 magnum revolver		
170	safety airbag		
175	howitzer cannon		
180	rocket launch		
...			
194	sound waves become shock waves		

Most noise levels are given in **dBA**, which are decibels adjusted to reflect the ear's response to different frequencies of sound. Sudden, brief impulse sounds, like many of those shown at 120 dB or greater, are often given in dB (no adjustment).

1 dBA are decibels adjusted to reflect the ear's response to different frequencies of sound. Decibels (0 dB) is the quietest sound audible to a healthy human ear. From there, every increase of 3 dB represents a doubling of sound

intensity or acoustic power.  
2 Source: Noise Help <https://www.noisehelp.com/noise-level-chart.html>

houses street vendors selling small crafts, food, and drinks, and almost three-quarters of its surface is taken by tables belonging to restaurants, cafes, and bars located in two of its sides. In the evenings the Square is full of musicians entertaining the sitting guests and merchants play loud music from their shops to attract customers. Even though the use of the public space for the chairs is authorized by the Municipality (and the merchants are charged an annual fee for this use of the public space) it represents a 'de facto' privatization of public space to the detriment of other users. In practical terms, all those that do not pay for sitting in the tables (by consuming the products offered by the merchants) are excluded from quietly enjoying the heritage values of the square. A similar situation occurs in the nearby Baluarte (bastion) de Santo Domingo that is almost entirely occupied by the "Café del Mar" a private establishment providing food and music that build a brick masonry and tile roof bar and kitchen, dancing platforms, and music band stages on top of a 300 years old National Monument that is inscribed in the UNESCO's World Heritage List. Citizens and visitors that want to visit the bastion and enjoy the sea views and sunsets must squeeze in the few open spaces left by the Café's installations unless they pay for sitting in a table. This commercial set up, on top of damaging a heritage site of world significance excludes most citizens and visitors from enjoying the socio-cultural and scenic values of the site.

### The Need for Integrating Narratives

Considering the multiplicity of socio-cultural and economic values of the Historic Center, it is surprising the narrowness of the present narrative used to attract visitors. These values allow the promotion of a more complex set of narratives that can bring a more diversified set of local users and visitors. The city can go deeper into its history, ethnography and local culture to imagine new narratives. The most evident are here outlined.

*Colonial domination and the layering of cultures.* The territory where Cartagena was established had indigenous populations that left, to this day, traces of their presence in archeological sites and long-held

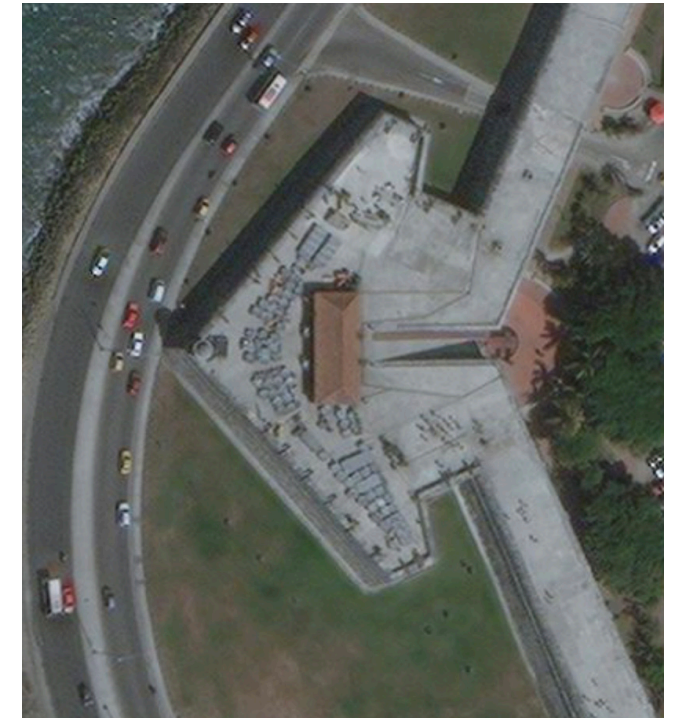


Figure 9.1 – The Santo Domingo Bastion the private use of a monument  
Photo: Google Maps

traditions still alive in the intangible heritage of the city. These values can be added to the most commonly referred history of Spanish conquer and settlement and the strategic value of the city in the Spanish Empire (including the frequently referred assaults by buccaneers and the English navy). The history of the Afro Colombian population is intimately and tragically linked to the Colonial period and can support a wider narrative of Cartagena as the vessel of a complex layering of cultures. This narrative would certainly be of interest to many audiences from all over the world enhancing the likelihood of attracting a wider variety of visitors than the current massive tourism narratives.

*The heroic defense of the city and the independence movements.* The histories connected to the defense of the city against pirates and foreign invaders and the struggles of the independence from Spain are linked to places in Cartagena that are of great educational interest for Colombians and visitors alike. This narrative can be expanded and more forcefully incorporated in the branding and promotion of the city—with the corresponding development of organized activities and



visits to the places. This will surely expand the number and diversity of national and international visitors interested in the city for purposes other than recreation.

*The multicultural city.* The interplay of the Native American, Spanish, Criollo, African Colombian and more recent immigrant (Italian, Lebanese, Palestinian, Syrian,) cultures gives Cartagena a unique character that is a significant socio-cultural value that is not fully incorporated into the city's narrative and the corresponding message to and experience of the visitors.

*Colonial heritage beyond the scenery for visitor hospitality activities.* The magnificent set of fortifications and monuments of the city are of world significance as attested by their listing in the World Heritage List. However, they are mostly taken as background scenery for mass recreational tourism. This rich heritage provides a powerful narrative for expanding the city's attraction to a wider variety of visitors including culture oriented tourists, historians, and history enthusiasts; academics students and other groups interested in Colonial military engineering, the naval history of the Caribbean, Latin America and the spread of Catholicism, and Spanish culture in the Americas.

*Afro Colombian populations.* The presence in the city and cultural and economic contribution of the Afro Colombian population seems underrepresented in the current tourist-focused narrative but for their contribution to music and dance. The cosmology, religion, language, and customs of Afro-descendants in Cartagena is yet to be brought to the attention of residents and visitors. The incorporation of these socio-cultural values in the city's narrative would not only incorporate this significant segment of the local population to the forefront of the development discourse but also can attract a segment of visitors with a very thin presence in the current mix of tourists including anthropologists and cultural anthropology enthusiast, folklorists, and music and crafts artists.

*Amerindian cultures: finding their way into the modern city.* But for a few vendors and musicians dressed in the traditional customs of the Sierra de Santa Marta

Amerindians, there is only a scant presence of the culture of the original inhabitants of the area in the Historic Center. Most of their presence is mediated by craft shops, including the government-sponsored 'Artesanías de Colombia' and fashion shops selling Amerindian 'inspired' products or traditional crafts 'enhanced' by modern designers. The incorporation of the Amerindian culture of the Caribbean Region and the Cartagena hinterland is another narrative that can expand the cultural significance of the city expanding the visitor's interests to the hinterland and not only to the Historic Center and attracting a wider variety of national and foreign visitors that can counterbalance the dominance of the recreational mass tourism.

*Cartagena in Spanish literature.* Cartagena figures prominently in Spanish language literature. This fact offers another venue for diversifying the cultural attraction of the city. Citizens, students, scholars, and visitors interested in the Spanish language and literature, can be offered specially designed resident programs in the city further expanding the variety of offerings and visitors to the Historic Center based on the strength of the universities and cultural entities located in the Historic Center.

*The friendly and playful city.* Cartagena is rightly advertised as a welcoming city and Colombian culture is known for its peoples' love of social interaction, conversation, play, music, and dance. These values are publicized even in Spanish language teaching schools located in the city that incite customers offering "welcome lunch, salsa lessons, language exchanges, football games, cinema, cultural talks, and volunteering opportunities."<sup>2</sup> This is one of the many strengths of the city that can be further developed to enhance its allure to a wider variety of visitors and expand the economic impact of the visits to benefit of the local population. One obvious way of doing this is enticing Spanish language students to live and interact with residents in traditional neighborhoods. The participation of visitors in local festivities and celebrations is another way of linking visitors with residents further removing the real and physiological barriers separating the 'tourist city' with the 'real city.'

### Rebalancing the Historic Center: a Long-term Strategy

#### *The Historic Center for all*

Currently, in Cartagena, it seems that only what is profitable for tourism can buy a place in the modern city and the Historic Center. This fixation with tourism (and mass tourism to increase profits) excludes most of the city residents, the poor, and the recent immigrants. Traditional residents and craft persons cannot afford the higher housing costs and workspace rentals and they must leave the Historic Center. Recent immigrants and the poorly educated can only find low paid informal occupations thus not getting much from tourism. These processes would undoubtedly affect the long-term sustainability of the conservation effort in the Historic Center as they increase social segregation and inequality in access to the benefits of development.

Of high priority to overcome the narrative of Cartagena as a tourist destination of 'sun, surf, and fun in a heritage area' that fosters exclusion are policies and programs oriented to unify the city with its Historic Center. The interventions must go beyond the solution of the physical mobility problems that are gradually addressed by the implementation of a fully integrated transportation system initiated with the operation of the TransCaribe BTR system but that still misses its local accessibility buses, water transportation, and proximity rail components. The actions should enhance the population access to the economic opportunities offered by the Historic Center promoting local entrepreneurship in the most profitable and better-paying activities linked to tourism, and the diversification of the economy of the Center to satisfy more of the city's needs better connecting the heritage area with the *Cartageneros'* daily livelihood strategies. Attention must be paid to the cultural interconnections of the city population with the varied values of the heritage site. The local leaders need to mold the Historic Center into a cultural and economic engine that benefits communities across the city. This is a two-way effort involving the expansion of cultural and economic opportunities within the Historic Center that have connections with city neighborhoods and bringing into the Center neighborhood economic and cultural activities that can enrich its socio-cultural

values. One example is expanding the presence of citizens and residents in the Historic Center as holders of distinctive abilities and "knowledge holders". Music playing and teaching, and storytelling can be housed in heritage buildings and public spaces of the Historic Center serving all *Cartageneros* while visitors can enjoy, visit, and experience these activities simultaneously.

Outside the Historic Center, the city must address the ill-effects of real estate developments in places where traditional communities live. This is the case in *La Boquilla* where new developments are limiting the inhabitants' access to the lands that they have the right to occupy according to the existing laws, and of *Baru* that is receiving development pressures that are changing productive and social relations among the residents and visitors and newly arrived residents to the detriment of the local populations.

#### *Public spaces, the places of integration*

Another class of integrating interventions are policies and investments oriented to recover a sense of community in the use and enjoyment of public spaces. The main objective would be to achieve a balance between the needs and activities of local users and those of visitors. Currently, the space for local users is systematically reduced as public spaces are taken by private entrepreneurs (formal and informal) in ways that represent privatization and often overutilization of the public spaces. Examples abound, bars in Bastions, tables in sidewalks and roadways, private entertainment events in squares, noisy private events occupying streets and squares, harassment of passersby by street vendors and rappers, the use of the Colonial walls as backdrop and support for staging private events. The public space for unrestricted public use in the Historic Center is becoming very scarce a situation worsened by the intense use of the narrow streets by taxis seeking customers, horse-driven chariots conducting sightseeing tours, private cars parked in streets, and service vehicles supplying stores at all hours or dropping or picking up tourists to hotels. The result is congested streets where pedestrian movement and interactions are limited, and vehicle service standards are low. The Historic Center is in urgent need of a clear and balanced policy for allocating the public spaces to

Box 9.2

## A PEDESTRIAN FRIENDLY HISTORIC CENTER IN CARTAGENA

A study contracted by the Inter American Development Bank in 2007 for the Cartagena Chamber of Commerce to revitalize the Historic Center of Cartagena included—as one of many measures—proposals for expanding the pedestrian-only space. Implementing a pedestrian-friendly environment required to introduce street usage management measures (see Box 9.3) a redesign of the street profile to allow the flexible use of the street surface.



Pedestrian precincts in the Historic Center of Cartagena de Indias



Sección del estado actual y de proyecto de la Calle Tumbamuertos  
 Prototype multipurpose street horizontal profile proposed for the Historic Center of Cartagena

1 GLASS Architettura Urbanistica Srl. 2007 "Informe Final. Preparación del programa para la revitalización del Centro Histórico de Cartagena de Indias" Washington, D.C. Inter American Development Bank

the different uses that give priority to free access to local users and visitors and favor social interaction.

The first step is to regulate the presence of vehicles in the Historic Center, a common practice in urban heritage sites. Private parking inside the Center needs regulation and the provision of off-site parking alternatives to reduce the proportion of street space used by stationary vehicles. Access to the Center needs hourly regulation to balance the needs of all users and enhance their experiences. Intensive use of public spaces conflicts with their current physical configuration of streets and squares. The majority of streets have traditional profiles with sidewalks and roadways that (at their best performance) separate pedestrians from vehicles. This configuration leads to severe restrictions in the flexible allocation of the scarce public space. A contemporary-designed return to the undifferentiated profile of streets and squares that characterized the Colonial city may allow more flexibility in the use of this scarce resource. Also, some streets may be primarily pedestrian, others with a preference for public transportation, others with a preference for

tourist rides in horse-driven coaches, and so on. This use allocation of streets is complementary to the time allocation for different uses and is facilitated by a more flexible surface design of public spaces, as currently happens in the squares Los Coches, Aduana, and San Pedro Clavel.

### Concerted Actions to Unify the City

The potential losses in investment and development opportunities that a likely decay of the Historic Center would entail, and the growing community pressures to mitigate the most significant forms of social exclusion and conflicts of use in the Historic Center, call for bold and swift action on the part the city of Cartagena. Swift action would avoid the worst consequences of overtouristification and the subsequent decay observed elsewhere and mitigate social exclusion and open new opportunities for the Historic Center to serve the whole city. The free operation of the real estate and tourism supply markets will not correct the current path given the 'myopic', 'short-term rent-oriented', and 'herd driven' behavior that characterize these markets. The

Box 9.3

## MANAGING STREET USAGE: THE CASE OF FLORENCE

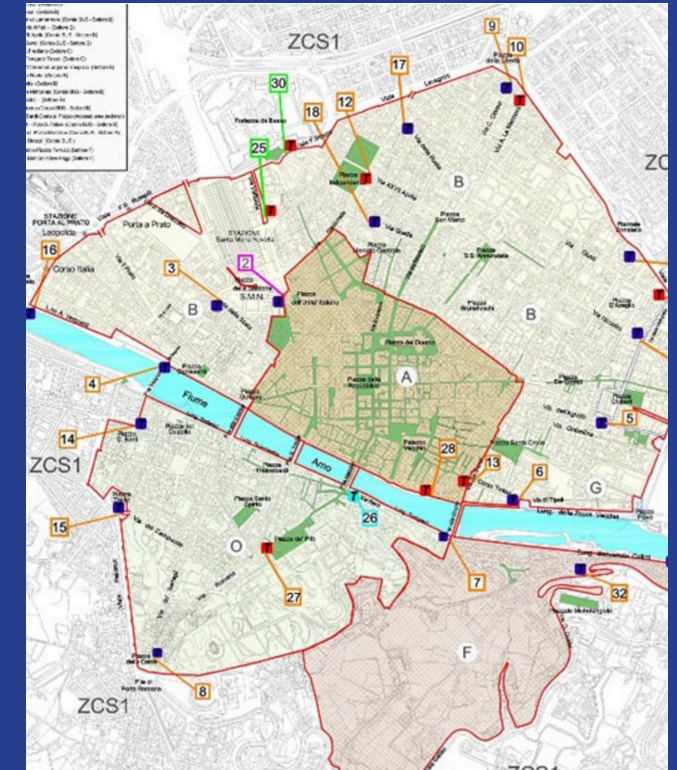
One reason why Florence is so pedestrian-friendly is that the historic center is closed to traffic except for residents, taxis, and buses due to the enforcement of a Limited Traffic Zone (ZTL) in the central historic area.<sup>1</sup>



Florence, a street scene in the historic center

This area is known as the "zona a traffico limitato" or ZTL (Areas of Limited Vehicular Access) meaning it is a restricted traffic zone. Florence is not the only town in Tuscany with this restriction. Many cities have created these restricted areas in their "downtown" to minimize traffic and make moving around easier for pedestrians and cyclists. The central area of Florence is closed to vehicular traffic except for residents, taxis, and buses. All these vehicles require a special permit to enter the restricted area. The ZTL areas are only "active" during certain hours. The scheme promotes more efficient use of the limited public space in the heritage area but requires strict enforcement to work properly.

1 Limited Traffic Zone, Florence  
<https://www.visitflorence.com/tourist-info/driving-in-florence-ztl-zone.html>



LEGEND	HOURS WHEN ZTL IS "ACTIVE"
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Pedestrian zones</li> <li>ZTL boundaries</li> </ul>	
<b>DAYTIME ZTL</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A sector</li> <li>B sector</li> <li>O sector</li> </ul>	Monday through Saturday - Monday through Friday: from 7:30am to 8pm - Saturday from 7:30am to 4pm
<b>NIGHTIME ZTL - "SUMMER"</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A sector</li> <li>B sector</li> <li>O sector</li> <li>F sector</li> <li>G sector</li> <li>Agnolo/Matteotti Route in B sector</li> </ul>	from 1st Thursday in April through the 1st Sunday in October - from 11pm on Thursday to 3am on Friday - from 1pm on Friday to 3am on Saturday - from 11pm on Saturday to 3am on Sunday

Florence, Limited Traffic Zones

government alone cannot change the course of events due to a lack of resources for implementing social inclusion-oriented programs or a lack of instruments and abilities to intervene in these markets. Community activism can locally mitigate some of the ill-effects of the process but cannot change the underlying causes of the problem. Public, private, and community cooperation is needed to change the development path followed by the Historic Center in Cartagena. The objective would be to reach a new equilibrium between the protection of the urban heritage, the inclusion of all interest holders in the benefits and services provided by the Center and respond to the demands of the economic activities that

produce wealth and bring investment into the area.

### Rebalancing development in the Historic Center

The city needs to adopt an integrated and concerted approach to answer the multiple challenges facing the city. For the Historic Center the city needs an integrated vision to balance tourism and preservation and adapt to the short- and mid-term challenges posed by the Covid-19 pandemic. In the short-term, the city must adopt strategies for bringing back economic and social activities to the Center safeguarding the health and safety of the users. Mid-term scenarios still predict a high incidence of the Covid19 virus in the coming

years under the form of recurrent surges in infections requiring returns to the restrictions of social distancing and quarantines. Responding to these scenarios will require less intense use of the physical assets of the Historic Center including fewer customers per square meter in entertainment venues and restaurants, and

less dense use of the public spaces for sightseeing and strolling. These changes will certainly reduce the number of visitors with the consequent reduction in the demand for temporary accommodation in the Center. This change will open the opportunity for turning part of the unused stock of accommodations into permanent

Box 9.4

### POSSIBLE COVID-19 PANDEMIC MID-TERM SCENARIOS<sup>1</sup>

Three potential futures for Covid-19 include: recurring small outbreaks, a monster wave, or a persistent crisis.

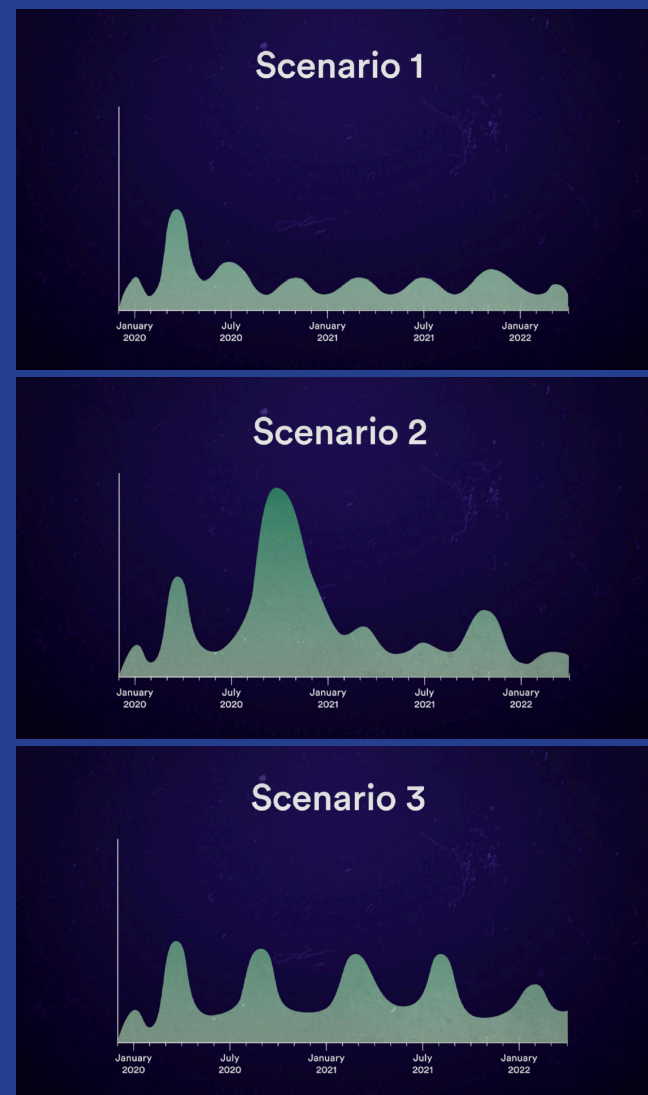
Epidemiologists attempting to scope out what Covid-19 see several potential futures for the pandemic in the Northern Hemisphere differing by how often and how severely the coronavirus continues to affect society. Three plausible scenarios—while diverging on details like how much transmission will decrease over the summer of 2020 or how many people have already been infected and possible acquired immunity—almost unanimously foresee a very different world from that of early 2020.

*Scenario 1.* In the mid-term small waves of infections will recur where the United States March-May 2020 peak in Covid-19 cases is followed over the next two years by successive crest and dip, crest, and dip in infections that even may go into the foreseeable future.

*Scenario 2.* After the March-May 2020 peak Covid-19 would return in the late 2020 Boreal summer and fall and then dissipate, settling into a small but near-constant number of cases.

*Scenario 3.* Recurrent peaks of infections waves will keep coming regularly with local outbreaks that will be worse in some places than others due to, among things, different capacity to conduct widespread regular testing and contact-tracing.

All the likely scenarios will require repeated returns to the restrictions of social distancing and quarantine. In the short and mid-term, they will force a less intense use of public spaces and restricted access to the public areas and work areas of private buildings. This will lead to a per square meter reduction in users of public buildings, workers in factories and workshops, customers in shopping, entertainment and hospitality venues, and less dense use of the public spaces for circulation, and leisure strolling.



Florence, Limited Traffic Zones

<sup>1</sup> STAT 2020 Three Potential Futures for Covid-19 By Sharon Begley 2 May 1, 2020 <https://www.statnews.com/2020/05/01/three-potential-futures-for-covid-19/>

housing expanding the opportunities for *Cartageneros* to live in the Historic Center. These changes are in line with what would be required to rebalance the use of the Historic Center with its carrying capacity to ensure the sustainable preservation of its socio-cultural values. In a sense, the short – and mid-erm interventions are but the harbingers of mid- and long-term approaches to sound heritage preservation with inclusive social and economic development objectives in the Historic Center. The integrated program “City in Balance” under implementation in Amsterdam is designed to confront similar issues.

#### Consolidate institutions responsible for managing development in the Historic Center

Under all the future scenarios and central for the rebalancing of the Center, there is the need to enforce adequate historic preservation regulations. The regulations in use today—adopted in the mid-1990s and carried into the 2001 POT—provide a sound base to regulate the adaptive rehabilitation of the different types of houses and commercial buildings. However, they are not enough. The city needs more effective means of enforcing these regulations but above all, it needs a long-term plan to guide the milliard of

Box 9.5

### CITY IN BALANCE PROGRAM OF AMSTERDAM, THE NETHERLANDS

Towards a new equilibrium between quality of life and hospitality.<sup>1</sup>

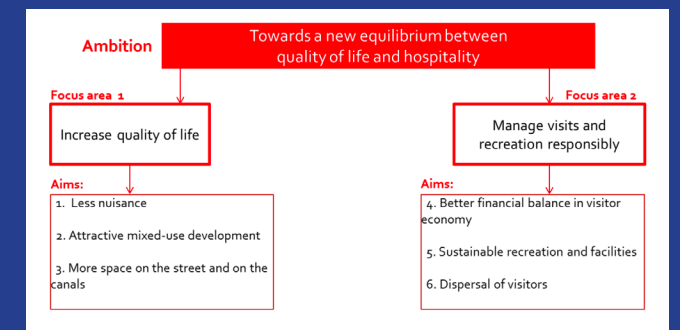
The Municipality of Amsterdam adopted the City in Balance 2018-2022 program emerging from the Council’s expressing its ambition of arriving at a new equilibrium in handling the ever-growing flow of tourists; and equilibrium in which the focus is on residents, but visitors remain welcome. The diagnostic leading to the adoption of the Program states that:

*“Tourism is a fundamental part of Amsterdam’s international character and we must continue to cherish that. But at the same time, the positive aspects of tourism, such as employment and income for the city, are increasingly being overshadowed by their negative consequences. Nuisance behavior, crowds, and excess rubbish are putting some neighborhoods seriously under pressure.” The Implementation Programme, presented during the discussions on the Budget for 2019, provided more details of the coalition’s ambition to arrive at a new equilibrium.” (page 3)*



Tourists in the Historic Centre of Amsterdam

The City in Balance program coordinates, unites, connects, structures, and reports. It will be operationally implemented in the various policy portfolios involved.



City in Balance Program Focus Areas

The Vision of the Program states that:

*“Visitors will continue to come to Amsterdam no matter what. Growth will not stop. And Amsterdam must remain a free-thinking, open and international city where life is good. That is why we need to find a new equilibrium between visitors and residents: a new equilibrium between quality of life and hospitality.” (Page 6).*

The Program has two main focus areas. The objective is to attain an equilibrated relation among residents and visitors. In the context of the growing number of visitors, the city aims at reaching a new balance in the quality of life of the residents and the welcoming of visitors. This objective is well expressed in the Program’s motto “visitors are welcomed but the residents are the priority”.

**(cont.) CITY IN BALANCE PROGRAM OF AMSTERDAM, THE NETHERLANDS**

The Program includes the following measures:

- Tax on the street advertisement
- Increase in fees for using canals for tourism

Less noise and nuisance

- Relocation of nuisance generating activities
- Good behavior campaigns
- More waste disposal places
- Keep the streets clean at all times
- Strict enforcement of rules and regulations
- High fines for unruly behavior

A sustainable supply of tourism services

- Promote rail traveling to Amsterdam
- Reduce the environmental footprint of cruise ships and tour boats
- Increase the use of bicycles for tourism
- Promote a circular economy in tourism services
- Pass a "friendly events" Ordinance (low neighborhood impact)

Promote a more diversified land use mix

- Diversify the supply of commerce and services following the 'vocation' of the neighborhoods
- Closing of illegal establishment
- Regulating the number of tourism accommodations by neighborhoods
- Improve the quality of tourism accommodations

Diversify tourism attractive sites

- Lure visitors to the less-visited areas
- Move cruise ship docking to a less central location
- Reduce the river cruise ships stay in the city
- Promote out of Amsterdam sites among visitors: The Visit Amsterdam, visit Holland Campaign

More room in streets and channels

- Charges for tourism buses access to the historic center
- Reduced hours for service vehicles
- Turn parking spaces into public spaces
- Eliminate the illegal renting of boats
- Computer-based traffic management
- A larger contribution by visitors

Increase in the tourism tax to 7%

- VAT on tours
- Increase in the Municipal fee for using sidewalks for restaurants and coffee shops
- Increased license fees for recreational establishments



Amsterdam, Nuisance Control Measure  
Source: City in Balance Program, page 9

1 Municipality of Amsterdam 2018 "City in Balance 2018-2022"  
<https://www.amsterdam.nl/en/policy/policy-city-balance/>

decisions affecting the Historic Center. A new city-wide Territorial Management Plan (POT in its Spanish acronym) has been under preparation for 17 years and the Special Plan for Management and Protection of the Historic Center is still under discussion and needs to incorporate regulations for the buffer zone of the World Heritage Site. These delays create many ambiguities in the management of physical development in the Historic Center opening opportunities for opaque and incongruous decisions.

The city will benefit from a consolidation of the institutional management structure of the Historic Center combining responsibilities currently spread among several National and District institutions. The Municipality could establish a Special Management

District for administering municipal services in the Center; establish a special section to plan and regulate the development of the Historic Center in the Planning Secretariat (similar to the Historic Center Offices that exist in most World Heritage sites); and eventually, establish an Urban Development Corporation for conducting public and public-private concerted interventions for the development of the Historic Center supported by a Municipal Urban Development Institute to gather data, provide analysis to decision-makers and design and evaluate interventions and urban development projects.

Implementation of these institutional reforms requires strong leadership on the part of the Municipality; robust agreements among the interest holders on the future

of the Historic Center; and legally binding regulations including Plans (PEMP) and design guidelines. Also needed are effective cooperation mechanisms, some form of Public-Private-People Partnerships (PPPP) like the already mentioned Urban Development Corporation, or the use of binding agreements like the French Contract Plans.

#### *Implement tactical reuse strategies*

Historic centers need modern facilities to accommodate new demands or expand the supply of space for existing uses while expanding and renewing their

social and economic life. These interventions represent openings for rebalancing the heritage area and should be considered as tactical opportunities for purposeful public interventions (when addressing public demands) or opportunities for public-private cooperation (when privately oriented). A similar opportunity is offered by the Colonial, Republican, and mid-Twentieth Century buildings that are either vacant or underutilized in the Historic Center. Their adaptive rehabilitation poses opportunities for the Municipality to promote or intervene in coordination with the owners--rehabilitations that contribute to the rebalancing of the Center bringing new

**QUITO HISTORIC CENTER CORPORATION<sup>1</sup>**

The Quito Historic Center Development Corporation (Empresa del Centro Histórico, ECH), was established in the early 1990s by the Municipality of Quito and Fundación Caspicara. The ECH is a mixed capital corporation where the Municipality owned 90% of the shares and the private partner, the Fundación Caspicara (a civil society organization, a foundation) owned 10% of the shares. Notwithstanding the dominant position of the Municipality in the ownership of the Corporation, the 12 members Board of Directors had a significant presence of the private sector (7 directors) with a casting vote in the hands of the President that was the major of Quito.

The ECH operates as a real estate developer and investor working in association with land and property owners, private real estate investors, and organizations of the civil society like cooperatives and community associations. Under Ecuadorian law, the majority of shares held by the Municipality allowed it to directly contact the corporation to execute public works. This dual capacity allowed the Corporation to expediently execute public works including street and public space improvements; build facilities of public interest like parking garages, popular markets; rehabilitate heritage buildings for cultural and public uses; social housing projects and enter into partnerships with private investors to implement projects of public interest.

This partnership allowed the local government, which owned the majority of the shares, to contract directly with the corporation, while at the same time the ECH could also operate as a private real estate developer because it has a private partner in its capital structure. This operational flexibility allowed the ECH to intervene in the conservation efforts of the historic center on a variety of

fronts, including the improvement of the infrastructure and public spaces under contract with the municipality, the rehabilitation of public buildings, and the restoration of residential, commercial, and services buildings in partnership with landowners and private investors.

The ECH took risks in the rehabilitation of the historic center by pioneering the reintroduction of diversified commercial activities, and it shared the risks and returns of the investments with private partners by making the center once again appealing to middle- and upper-income households. When identifying the investments, the ECH saw the historic center as an area that should be able to compete commercially with the shopping malls of the periphery. To this end, the ECH promoted the diversification of the retail and service activities offered in the historic center and worked with the municipality to improve accessibility via public transportation and private vehicles. Also, the ECH, in conjunction with the municipal administration, was able to control the use of the rehabilitated public spaces, which led to a decrease in informal activities. These improvements contributed significantly to transform the historic center into an attractive place to visit, live, and conduct business. In just over fifteen years, the historic center of Quito has changed dramatically. With up and downs still today the Historic Center is a well-preserved functional area of the city that provides the population with ample services and a good living environment while still retaining its historic and cultural values.

1 Rojas, E. 2004 Volver al Centro Washington, D.C. Inter American Development Bank <https://publications.iadb.org/es/publicacion/14158/volver-al-centro-la-recuperacion-de-areas-urbanas-centrales>

uses and users. So far, the Municipality has not taken advantage of these opportunities for ‘tactically oriented adaptive rehabilitation conservation interventions’ losing opportunities to guide the real estate markets to contribute to the pursuit of public objectives like expanding the variety and depth of the cultural activities offered by the Historic Center; expanding the supply of affordable housing; opening opportunities for the development of creative industries; offering spaces for the development of activities linked to the intangible heritage of Cartagena.

Underutilized or vacant Mid 20th Century buildings and empty lots in La Matuna and the World Heritage buffer zone offer the opportunity to diversify the uses of the heritage area by promoting a new set of “cluster economy activities” and “affordable housing” in the Historic Center and its surrounding areas. They include spaces for activities linked to the: “Orange Economy”; shared workspace that can take place in underutilized buildings in Getsemani and La Matuna. In these areas of the Historic Center, there is also the opportunity to introduce Priority Interest Housing (“Vivienda VIP) for lower-middle-income households and Social Interest Housing (VIS) for upper low-income housing with the assistance of the housing subsidy schemes offered by the Central Government. The Municipality can promote initiatives like green roof parking over activity places; the rehabilitation and repurposing of the underutilized Getsemani Shopping Center; the redevelopment of empty lots in Getsemani for multipurpose uses; the rehabilitation of derelict buildings in La Matuana to attract new uses and users to the Historic Center.



Figure 9.1 – Getsemani, tactical reuse proposal for a multipurpose new development in an underutilized site in Getsemani<sup>3</sup>

#### Endnotes:

1 Rojas, E. 2011 “Governance in historic city core regeneration projects” in Licciardi, G. and R. Amirtahmasebi 2011 *The Economics of Uniqueness: Investing in Historic City Cores and Cultural Heritage Assets for Sustainable Development* Washington D.C. The World Bank (143-182)

2 See for instance the Web advertisement of the Toucan Spanish School <https://www.toucanspanish.com>

3 GLASS Architettura Urbanistica Srl. 2007 “Informe Final. Preparación del programa para la revitalización del Centro Histórico de Cartagena de Indias” Washington, D.C. Inter American Development Bank

## ANNEX A: THE HISTORICAL URBAN LANDSCAPE APPROACH

Kimberly La Porte

Following the publication of the 2011 *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* by UNESCO, the Historic Urban Landscape Approach (HUL) has gained increasing attention by historic preservation professionals and urban planners alike.<sup>1</sup> The Approach provides a methodology for integrating a broad range of values that target a shared goal of sustainability. It further emphasizes the symbiotic potential of conservation and development, disrupting traditional discourse that frames conservation and development as opposing forces. As the world becomes increasingly globalized and urbanized, the management of the built environment becomes more complex: how will cities manage change while responsibly stewarding their tangible and intangible resources?<sup>2</sup> The Historic Urban Landscape Approach suggests that it is these very resources that contribute to the distinct and unique characters of every municipality and therefore aims to ensure the survival of those resources into the future. The Historic Urban Landscape Approach proposes a “culture-led” regeneration strategy that prioritizes and protects community first.<sup>3</sup>

Urban conservation, as a specialization within the larger historic preservation movement, has developed over the past century to encompass the concept of the “historic urban landscape.” The notion of the historic urban landscape has gradually developed over time, with a heightened focus on its definition within recent decades. Francesco Bandarin and Ron Van Oers, major advocates of the Historic Urban Landscape, have traced the evolution of the idea through successive international policies, culminating in the 2011 UNESCO framework. The authors indicate that the Historic Urban Landscape Approach was a natural outgrowth of expanded theory and practice in both the historic preservation and urban planning fields.<sup>4</sup>

The 2011 UNESCO *Recommendation on the Historic*

*Urban Landscape* defines its subject as “the urban area understood as the result of a historic layering of cultural and natural values and attributes, extending beyond the notion of “historic centre” or “ensemble” to include the broader urban context and its geographical setting. This wider context includes notably the site’s topography, geomorphology, hydrology, and natural features, its built environment, both historic and contemporary, its infrastructures above and below ground, its open spaces and gardens, its land-use patterns and spatial organization, perceptions and visual relationships, as well as all other elements of the urban structure. It also includes social and cultural practices and values, economic processes, and intangible dimensions of heritage as related to diversity and identity.”<sup>5</sup>

The Historic Urban Landscape Approach is inherently interdisciplinary as it moves the conservation and development fields towards each other, with a common goal of creating an inclusive management structure for the maintenance of heritage resources. The Historic Urban Landscape Approach is wholly defined by its foundational concept of layering; it seeks the elements that allow for the greatest multitude of values in a city to be conserved. Six crucial actions have been identified for the successful implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape Approach:

- 1) Comprehensive surveys of all resources
- 2) Determine values and attributes through participatory planning and stakeholder consultations
- 3) Assess the vulnerability of resources due to social, economic, and environmental shifts
- 4) Integrate data gathered into planning for urban development
- 5) Prioritize actions for conservation and development
- 6) Establish partnerships and governance structures between the public and private sectors.<sup>6</sup>

The actions that characterize the Historic Urban Landscape Approach are integrated to respond to a built environment that is a complex network of layers, extending from natural features to social and economic functions. In its emphasis on the temporal dimension of urban areas, the Historic Urban Landscape Approach orients urban conservation towards the future, finding a balance with its traditional concentration on the past.

A diverse range of perspectives and skillsets are needed for the application of the aforementioned steps and the effective management of the urban built environment. Broadly categorized, the historic urban landscape is one that must be sustained through the application of community engagement tools, knowledge and planning tools, robust regulatory systems, and financial tools. Community engagement tools are defined as activities that foster dialogue among different parties. They can be research-oriented and initiated to survey a range of values and resources. On the other hand, they may also be positioned to promote sustainable development. Planning tools provide a technical basis for the interpretation of gathered data, and they should balance the permission of development with the protection of the integrity and authenticity of intangible and tangible historic assets. Regulations may take the form of special ordinances, acts, or executive orders. Finally, financial tools encompass both government support as well as private investment. Each of these tools may be adapted to the unique circumstances of the project in which they are employed, as suggested in the broad guidance from UNESCO.<sup>7</sup>

While the roots of concepts surrounding urban conservation may reach back to the nascence of the historic preservation movement itself, the idea has become a major theme in conversations surrounding urban sustainability and revitalization. The historic urban landscape discourse has gained momentum in recent decades. As such, the development of the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* published by UNESCO in 2011 can be traced directly to the exchanges that arose as a result of the 2005 UNESCO Vienna Memorandum. The 2005 Vienna Memorandum focused on two core subjects: the definition of the Historic Urban Landscape and

the strategies and tools required to address the specific challenges identified in the 1976 UNESCO *Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas*.

Paragraph 7 of the 2005 Vienna Memorandum attempts to define the historic urban landscape as “ensembles of any group of buildings, structures, and open spaces, in their natural and ecological context, including archaeological and paleontological sites, constituting human settlements in an urban environment over a relevant period, the cohesion and value of which are recognized from the archaeological, architectural, prehistoric, historic, scientific, aesthetic, socio-cultural or ecological point of view. This landscape has shaped modern society and has great value for our understanding of how we live today.”<sup>8</sup> This publication, however, caused discord amongst academics and professionals: ultimately, however, following a Round Table on Heritage and the Conservation of Historic Urban Landscapes organized by the Faculty of Environmental Design at the University of Montreal, it became clear that most experts agreed that the Vienna Memorandum was a transitional document that indicated a shift from the preoccupation of the historicity city as a collection of objects of visual interest to a ritualistic, performative, and experiential platform for humanity. The ultimate takeaway from the Vienna Memorandum was that it recognized the temporal and spatial depth of the urban environment.

Furthermore, the 2005 Vienna Memorandum called for a more robustly integrated Approach to conservation, broadly prioritizing values to capture a wider audience of interest holders. It moved ideas of “historic” and “heritage,” positioning resources as vehicles towards broad urban management. Experts moved heritage conservation to serve sustainability goals, finding common ground with an increasingly popular trend in the development field. The 2005 Vienna Memorandum then proposed mechanisms for addressing contemporary challenges of urban management.

The ideas addressed in the 2005 Vienna Memorandum quickly spurred dialogue amongst international experts, and in the same year as its release, a formal *Declaration*

*on the Conservation of Historic Urban Landscapes* followed and ICOMOS published its *Xi’an Declaration on Conservation of the setting of heritage structures, sites, and areas*. These latter documents would assist in formalizing some of the standards outlined in the 2011 *Recommendation*. In 2007, both the Conference of St. Petersburg and the Conference of Olinda took place and provided professionals with opportunities to build consensus around the notions of the historic urban landscape and the best way to manage it. These conferences further touched on pushing the understanding of the historic urban landscape beyond the boundaries of architecture, and the recognition of both tangible and intangible resources.

Finally, in 2010, a draft of the UNESCO *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* began to circulate. The official publication that would follow 2011 as the UNESCO *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* set forth a new approach towards the management of heritage in urban areas. As Bandarin and Van Oers describe in their work

*Reconnecting the City: The Historic Urban Landscape Approach and the Future of Urban Heritage*, the 2011 UNESCO publication positioned the historic city as a foundation for development and an essential resource for innovation and growth. World Heritage Cities, it is argued by UNESCO, should be managed as historic urban landscapes, and the peripheral areas should be managed as buffer zones. Thus, the Historic Urban Landscape Approach insists that professionals look beyond traditional boundaries of historic areas, and implement regulatory measures that go beyond protection alone and instead contribute to urban growth. Moving beyond material safeguarding of architectural resources, UNESCO advises that it is the “Outstanding Universal Value” of World Heritage cities that must be conserved. The Outstanding Universal Value is composed of the values and consequent attributes that give integrity and authenticity to a place. The Historic Urban Landscape Approach, therefore, aims to make sense of, understand, and retain the integral values that contribute to the coherent identity of a site while allowing essential growth to happen at the same time.

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#### Endnotes:

- 1 UNESCO 2011 *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* Paris, United Nations Education, Science and Culture Organization. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/hul/>
- 2 UNESCO *The HUL Guidebook: Managing heritage in dynamic and constantly changing urban environments – A practical guide to UNESCO’s Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*, 5
- 3 UNESCO *The HUL Guidebook*, op.cit 5-6
- 4 Bandarin and van Oers, 2012 *The Historic Urban Landscape: Managing Heritage in an Urban Century*, Chichester, West Sussex, Wiley, and Sons, 195
- 5 UNESCO, *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* (Paris: Proceedings of the International Conference, 2011), 4-5
- 6 UNESCO *The HUL Guidebook*, op.cit. 13-15
- 7 Bandarin and Van Oers, 2012 op.cit. 71-73
- 8 UNESCO 2005 *World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture – Managing the Historic Urban Landscape* Vienna: Proceedings of the International Conference 2

## ANNEX B: GENTRIFICATION, A PRIMER

Nour Jafar

Gentrification has become synonymous with neighborhoods that have seen a rise of the creative class, as it was first introduced by Ruth Glass in 1964, describing the surge of “gentry” in London’s lower-income neighborhoods.<sup>1</sup> Classically, the creative class consists of artists and craftsmen; those who work within creative fields that generally do not pay much. However, the creative class has seen a shift in its economical makeup. According to Richard Florida, this class makes up one-third of the United States’ workforce.<sup>2</sup> In Florida’s definition, employment goes beyond artisans and craftspersons and includes lawyers and doctors as some of the white-collar jobs within this ‘creative’ class.<sup>3</sup>

These populations, most commonly seen as the middle class, move into a lower income or working-class neighborhoods and initiate a demographic change within the area.<sup>4</sup> With a higher wage economic class moving in, lower-income neighborhoods begin to see a decline in the affordable housing stock. The incoming gentrifying<sup>5</sup> class also brings in new businesses that only their class can afford, effectively clearing out lower-income stores and their clientele from the neighborhood.<sup>6</sup> Touristification, or tourism-based gentrification, has a similar effect on the affordable housing stock of a neighborhood.

Since the dawn of civilization, neighborhoods have altered from their origins and evolved. Paradigms of neighborhood development are not a recent phenomenon: their infrastructure advances or deteriorates, varied facilities are introduced, even the architectural language of the neighborhood is not immune to transformation. Whether there is a colonial power dynamic entering the geography, or there is a development from within the community, change is contingent with both internal and external forces.

Neighborhood change does not necessarily mean gentrification is taking place, but all progressions of gentrification require neighborhood dynamics to shift. Population mobility reasoning differs on economic status. Lower-income populations suffer from two trends in mobility: stability and forced relocation. Stability within lower-income neighborhoods sometimes translates to poverty imprisonment and the inability to afford more developed neighborhoods.<sup>7</sup> The latter trend in mobility, forced relocation, is a result of gentrification, and displacement is a consequence.

Income inequality is another byproduct of past racial redlining practices. Neighborhood income segregation recounts to the lack of higher compensation employment within the area, resulting in lower-income communities having a dismal concentration of these jobs because of discriminatory housing policies.<sup>8</sup> These policies allowed urban disinvestment and suburban investment, creating a larger gap in income. Those who had the means to relocate to the suburban areas were more affluent, as they consisted of the middle- and upper-class white population. As economic segregation is established within neighborhoods, racial transition and succession soon follow. When a racial shift instigates as white populations move into a minority neighborhood, initially the housing stock has a lower value, homeownership is on the decline, and there are higher rates of poverty.<sup>9</sup> When the neighborhood transitions from a declining minority neighborhood to an ascending, racially-integrated neighborhood, gentrification is on the horizon.

Gentrification is not solely defined as the displacement of lower-income residents of a neighborhood as a result of an incoming middle class. Gentrification is an umbrella term that encompasses a diverse variety of displacement politics. Firstly, there has to be an understanding between two terms of revitalization

that are not interchangeable: incumbent upgrading and gentrification. Incumbent upgrading requires existing residents to improve the conditions of their neighborhood. This process results in the development of a neighborhood, property value to increase, but no displacement is created. However, when middle-income populations move into a lower-income neighborhood and begin to develop and improve the area, this increases the property values of the area and effectively displaces the lower-income residents.

Gentrification can be classified into three different typologies: residential, commercial, and cultural. The most commonly recognized form of gentrification is residential gentrification. This form displaces lower-income residents because of increasing property values. Research claims that several developments induce residential displacement. Transit investment and the introduction of different well-connected transit modes create a practical transportation method that is not car-dependent, effectively increasing housing value by attracting higher-income households to the neighborhood.<sup>10</sup> Public school quality is another factor that influences residential gentrification. If a school’s attainment level remains low, higher-income households would not relocate to that specific area, unless the school improves its levels and receives adequate funding.<sup>11</sup> Lastly, parks and open spaces influence residential gentrification. “Preserved” open spaces, such as rivers, streams, lakes, or forests increased home value, while developable open spaces such as surface parking had an adverse effect.<sup>12</sup>

Commercial gentrification can cause residential gentrification or be a byproduct of it.<sup>13</sup> This gentrifying factor can have both positive and negative impacts on low-income residents of a gentrifying neighborhood. As a best-case scenario, this gentrifying mechanism brings in services that the neighborhood previously did not have and required, such as chain pharmacies.<sup>14</sup> This should not be taken at face value, while indeed it is providing services that the neighborhood was previously lacking, these business ventures increase property value and attract higher-income and white residents, eventually displacing original lower-income residents. Examining a worst-case scenario, these large franchises or new boutique businesses would replace smaller lower-income business owners, thus eliminating both lower-income businesses and their clientele from the area.<sup>15</sup>

Cultural gentrification is a consequence of residential and commercial gentrification. This typology can be both tangible and intangible, as it targets the creation of cultural institutions such as art galleries and museums, as well as entertainment through festivals and pop-up themed markets.<sup>16</sup> These efforts are used to attract the creative class to the area, as well as stimulate the economy and induce tourism.

### Endnotes:

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- 2 Richard Florida, “The Creative Class and Economic Development,” *Economic Development Quarterly* 28, no. 3 (2014): 196–205, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891242414541693>.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Richard Florida’s ‘creative class’ that includes many white-collar jobs, a demographic consisting of middle to upper-middle class.
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- 7 Ibid, 6.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Zuk et al. 8
- 10 Ibid, 22.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Zuk et al. 23.
- 13 Ibid, 15.
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- 15 Ibid.
- 16 Ibid, 14.

## ANNEX C: THE IMPACT OF URBAN TOURISM IN THE USE AND PERCEPTION OF THE HISTORIC URBAN LANDSCAPE

Laura Margaret Sollmann

### An Introduction

As local economies stretch their reaches to encapsulate the interests of people living outside of their boundaries, the perception and use of the built landscape has too altered with it. This trend is a commonality experienced in both gentrifying neighborhoods and those under seize by tourism, where an influx of new uses, new populations, and new themes take root in the foundations of the old. Consequently, this causes both of these dynamics to share a mutual narrative of the impacts (and more often than not—burdens) placed on its associated urban heritage reflected in its built environment. While the intensity and long-term consequences caused by gentrification and tourism can vary respectfully, the evaluation of how their effects play out on the urban landscape can be approached using the same methodology for analysis, interpretation, and subsequent synthesis for a management plan to better mitigate the undue stresses on an existing built environment.

In order to first devise a strategy to deal with the unprecedented present-day burdens placed on the urban context, it is important to understand the etymology used in these conservations. Urban heritage, gentrification, and urban tourism are highly spoken of topics in the discourse of cities, some more charged than others, but synonymous to a degree. Yet these conversations are typically separated, urban heritage and gentrification or urban heritage and urban tourism. The three are not spoken of as congruently working together generating the same chronic conditions the built environment and its inhabitants suffer from. The common ailment more often than not being a cultural resource management plan to help foster robust policy.

As a disclaimer, it should be noted that this analysis on urban heritage is reflected in the context of current

trends experienced in the United States. However, its thesis and conclusion are malleable and able to be applied to case studies conducted elsewhere outside of the U.S.

### Defining “Urban Heritage Area”

An *urban heritage area* is an ambiguous yet ubiquitous term. It encapsulates a swath of urban material that holds some variation of significance. Heritage is what carries both the tangible and intangible traits of legacy. Urban heritage holds this definition to be true yet evolves as a byproduct of the social-, cultural-, historical-, societal-, and economic-forces acting on a place. In turn, this generates an identity associated with the physical fabric of the built environment. This fabric, however, remains ductile. Built heritage is not of permanence; oftentimes it is simply utilitarian construction and developments that take on significance with time, working outside of the spectrum of significance associated with larger-than-life heritage, such as memorials and monuments. As that time wears on, the significance of these heritage assets may deplete, or alter, or be demolished and written over. It becomes “a product of the present, purposefully developed in response to current needs or demands for it and shaped by those requirements”.<sup>1</sup>

The term *heritagization* reflects this ideology—a recent study on development in which a place takes on characteristics that are intrinsically linked to an intangible quality comprised of unique cultural or historical attributes. It describes the phenomenon where heritage becomes embedded into the urban fabric, regardless if it leaves visible traces on its surface or is buried in memory. Though the topic has no single definition—as is the case with gentrification since it holds the ability to encapsulate a large breadth of nuanced associations and causations—heritagization is more or less cited as “the transformation of objects,

places and practices into cultural heritage as values... essentially describing heritage as a process”.<sup>2</sup> As heritagization remains to be a process of evolution and possible degradation, this too is reflected in the built environment.

Urban heritage is seen as an asset in cities as part of their revitalization initiatives to spur economic investment and vitality. However, this imposes a level of vulnerability on the ability to maintain urban heritage areas, physically and socially. The physicality of heritage is “constantly changing and under the threat of being destroyed due to the nature of urban development, and on the other hand, it is protected and conserved because of its historical values.”<sup>3</sup> While there are associated values and integrity granted by upper-case *Historical* overseers—those typically seen at the federal, state, and local levels that carry legislative regulations for history deemed worthy of preservation—this rationale can stunt the narrative of place, consigning restrictions on the built environment, which in turn has direct effect on the intangible qualities housed within that environment. The most significant factor for urban heritage is the identity local actors associate with the place, yet this can be drowned out as outside actors take route within urban heritage areas directly impacting the state of built heritage.

Within the context of urban tourism and gentrification, there is an additional layer of added when defining urban heritage. Typically, when we speak of heritage, we use it as an attribute reckoning for the answer of *why we preserve*. It is a tangible substance embedded in the built environment that conveys history and heritage, which in turn presents itself as an asset to a city’s regeneration. That asset, however, can become used, and abused, and destroyed if a proper resource management plan is not implemented to mitigate changes inflicted by outside sources.

### The Attraction of Urban Tourism

Urban tourism is a key contributor to economic development in many cities throughout the world. Urban tourism, however, should be broken down into two genres—destination travel and visitor travel—that

share a common theme. The former focuses on the short-term or extended periods of destination travel, in which the actors stay (over-night) and participate in activities at said destination. The latter factors in single day travel where people who do not live within the boundaries of- or close proximity to a neighborhood come visit (typically on weekends or through one day cruise ship stops), and participate in the local economy through restaurants, bars, and boutique shops. Both of these scenarios provide a gateway to experiences and opportunities of leisure and exploration that is not found within one’s own radius of home. Regardless if it is traversing across town or across the nation, urban tourism—and the gentrification that can spawn from it—thrives under conditions in which there is an attractive quality about the place being sought out. Typically, this focus is honed on the cultural, historical, and architectural prominence of urban heritage areas.

### The ‘Touristification’ of Urban Heritage

While urban heritage can be seen as a resource used to encourage revitalization and development within depressed or underutilized neighborhoods, it runs the risk of using a valued cultural asset as a promotional tool to attract *touristification*. Tourism and gentrification share a common theme of abuse, and oftentimes ruin, when it comes to the implications they inflict on the built environment. Research either topic briefly online and the headlines share common language:

#### Headlines on the impacts of tourism:

- 20 places around the world that are being ruined by tourism (Madeline Diamond and Frank Olito, Insider, 2019)
- Too Many People Want to Travel: Massive crowds are causing environmental degradation, dangerous conditions, and the immiseration and pricing-out of locals (Annie Lowrey, The Atlantic, 2019)
- Mass tourism is ruining historic cities. Only government can stop it (Jennifer Guay, apolitical, 2018)
- Is UNESCO World Heritage status for cultural sites killing the things it loves? (Jo Caust, The Conservation, 2018)



#### Headlines on the impacts of gentrification:

- The Steady Destruction of America's Cities (Gillian White, *The Atlantic*, 2017)
- California Journal: They discover, they gentrify, they ruin: How 'progress' is wrecking Los Angeles neighborhoods (Robin Abcarian, *LA Times*, 2017)
- Study: Gentrification and Cultural Displacement Most Intense in America's Largest Cities, And Absent from Many Others (Alyssa Wiltse-Ahmad, National Community Reinvestment Coalition, 2019)
- The neighborhood becomes a bank: How gentrification kills cities (This is Hell, Episode 957 of the Urbicide podcast, 2017).

Both tourism and gentrification reflect upon the destructive qualities they bear on the cultural, social, and physical fabric of urban heritage and its associated built environment. Both convey the struggles cities now face as their urban heritage ruins the risk of destruction, while simultaneously residents feel the social and economic pressures of commercial and residential displacement taking affect in their neighborhoods.

#### **The Problems Associated with the Built Environment**

As urban tourism and gentrification take root in neighborhoods, they take control of the streetscape and physical fabric of the urban environment. Typically, where touristification manifests is in regions or neighborhoods that experienced prolonged urban decay brought on by trends and policy-enacted initiatives in the mid-20th Century that decimated our cities abilities to remain hyperactive and healthy organisms. Urban renewal, highway infrastructure, mass-demolition, white flight all played factors into why our cities have failed (and in some cases, why they repeatedly fail).

Cities are “organic, spontaneous, messy, complex systems that result from evolutionary processes.” On the flip side, they have endured traumas and changes that have ultimately shaped the physical landscape through demolition, blight, and high rates of vacancy.

Most gentrifying neighborhoods have gone from healthy to unhealthy to surviving to being lambasted again for the sake of revitalization. However, the effects of rapid-pace revitalization on a mass scale (such as “flipping” a neighborhood within less than a decade’s time) has the consequences of displacement and loss physical and cultural heritage as did demolition during the mid-century reign of urban renewal the wreaked havoc on urban life.

In the context of a healthy neighborhood, streets lined human-scale building stock (typically of two- to four-stores in nature) host a variety of uses. The storefronts host commercial activity that meets a variety of demands of the neighborhood’s residents. This includes cafes, grocers, Laundromats, professional practices in law, medicine, finance, hardware shops, specialty stores, postal services, and the like. Activity takes place throughout the day, both on the sidewalk and in the street, generating a moderate level of noise pollution reflecting the busyness of the daytime. At night, the streetscape transforms with fewer businesses open—mostly restaurants and grocers—and residents return to their homes on the above levels. Activity is lower, and most of the noise generated is by residents sitting within their apartments and houses, with windows and balconies open and escaping to the street. Both day and night in the healthy city reflects the ideology of “eyes on the street”, coined by Jane Jacobs.<sup>5</sup> A large variety of activity within the realm of mostly in-neighborhood residents provides an added layer of safety to the streetscape, while also responding to the original intention of its building typologies and interconnectedness with the city.

In the context of an unhealthy neighborhood, often ones that plays host to touristification activity, the use and functionality takes on a different role that is detrimental to the social and physical fabric of place. While buildings may remain with the relatively same scale as their historical counterparts—whether they are reused older building stock or new construction—the activity they host during day and night changes drastically. Within gentrifying neighborhoods, the commercial life is overcome by restaurants, café, and bar culture, whereas shops tend to host boutique

accommodations. Despite storefronts being filled, this makes the neighborhood vulnerable, reliant upon one primary economic force for sustainability—tourism. Residential life alters as well, with an influx of short-term residents and AirBnBs, “eyes on the street” become less feasible as faces become less recognizable. Noise remains relatively moderate during the day, but substantially increases at night as the culture shifts.

And what does this mean for heritage assets? Buildings run the risk of becoming over-developed, stripped of their interiors to accommodate functions that buildings did not previously house, over-used through quick turnaround of residents and commercial activities that at times only last a few seasons before shutting down and changing over to something new. While buildings are meant to be amendable features in our everyday environment to house functions, touristification takes advantage of this purpose by increasing its capacity load for function, and simultaneously removes intangible traits that give heritage assets authenticity and value—such as long-term residents and legacy businesses. While the urban landscape once dictated urban life, in the contemporary context of urban heritage areas there is an inversion, where the urban tourification now dictates the urban landscape.

#### **Mitigating the Problem**

At the bottom line, policies and legislation policing the use and evolution of the built environment is ultimately the strongest resolution in combating the negative consequences of touristification. While zoning attempts to curtail the uses allocated to specific properties, there are alternative and unique measures specific to problems that can be explored to shape the physical, social, and economic changes happening to the heritage assets.

Some cities have introduced unique legislative draws to combat gentrification and neighborhoods changing too rapidly where existing stakeholders and residents bear much of the burden. In Chicago, an “anti-gentrification” Demolition Ordinance was passed in early 2020 that issues a temporary 6-month freeze on demolition permits for certain neighborhoods in order

to develop more robust policy within that timeframe.<sup>6</sup> This Ordinance is a scaled-back proposal that initially called for a 14-month long ban on development—restricting demolition permits, construction permits, and zoning changes. The idea of this is to mitigate the problem of rapid change being forced by developers gentrifying neighborhoods, which refrains cities from being able to organically evolve overtime to adapt and adopt changes. Of course, there is the complaint that a drastic measure such as this hurts the local economy, cutting jobs that would be created in the construction industry and any new businesses that were to open up. However, this ordinance reflects the ways in which the physical environment can help mitigate the problems economic-driven forces and incentives (gentrification) can inundate a neighborhood.

Changes freezes, such as the one Chicago has enacted, however, can be a threat to other resources and neighborhoods in cities. A predominant issue surrounding the touristification of urban heritage areas is the burden being placed within the confines of a definable boundary. Gentrification expands, it has a cascading effect as it grabs hold lot by lot, typically inching its way along old commercial corridors and slowly fanning out into residential arteries. Throughout cities, gentrification is pocketed, targeting specific neighborhoods that typically have a wealth of assets ripe for renewal. Typically, this is found within neighborhoods that have high concentrations of older building stock that has architectural merit, as well as opportunity for new development by building upon vacant lots or demolishing blighted or seemingly “non-historic” properties. This puts a strain on the existing built environment to withstand a tremendous influx of new use (usually seen after prolonged periods of neglect and blight), and subsequently creates pockets of hyper-regeneration.

Away to avoid this issue is developing similar ordinances that can help curtail not only the rate of development, but also where said development is happening. By placing caps on the number of projects that can occur within one region, zone, or neighborhood at specified period of time, it can help spur development to spread further into otherwise neglected areas that are outside

of gentrifying areas. Not only will this lessen the rapid development caused by gentrification, but it will also create a more cohesive narrative by building up existing infrastructure, resources, and residents while introducing the new functions and residents that come from gentrification. At this point in cities' regeneration, gentrification is not something that can be fully stopped. It is something, however, that can be intervened, and prevent a severity and scale of change that it ultimately dangerous for a neighborhood.

Mitigation concepts such as these would best be utilized through cultural resource management plan set up by the city or municipality, with input and oversight provided by community organizations within said affected urban heritage areas. A plan synthesizing the historical-, architectural-, social-, or cultural-significance of built heritage assets, while also exploring past, current,

and potential future uses could help inform legislation for zoning, demolition, and development ordinances that can slow the rate of change while protecting the tangible and intangible qualities embedded in urban heritage areas. This not only adopts touristification as an economic means, but also lowers its impact and grasp on cities by directing its rate, sprawl, and location. Ultimately, it will allow historical healthy neighborhoods to be realized once more, while carefully weaving in the contemporary narrative of touristification.

Ultimately, the purpose of curtailing touristification in urban heritage areas is not to do away with it entirely. Rather it is to allow cities the opportunity to breath, move, adapt, and adopt while not suffering under the burden of a single trend, allowing the contemporary evolution of cities to become compatible with the existing heritage of its past.

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#### Endnotes:

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- 5 Jacobs, Jane. 1961 *The Death And Life Of Great American Cities*. New York: Vintage Books.
- 6 Bloom, Mina 2020 "606 Neighbors Can Weigh In On Anti-Gentrification Demolition Ordinance At Upcoming Open House. Block Club Chicago, January  
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## ANNEX D: MANAGING THE PUBLIC REALM IN URBAN HERITAGE AREAS: TWO CONTRASTING CASES

David Nugroho

Public spaces are essential to the political, social, economic, and public health of cities catalyzing community growth through the relationships that are created and sustained in the public realm through direct and indirect interactions. Public spaces are an invaluable asset to the success of a city, however, through overuse and mismanagement, they have been deteriorating in many urban environments. Overuse and privatization of the space, through formal and informal activities, have led to the shrinkage of the public realm. As the equitable use and access of these streets, parks, squares, and other public spaces are lost, so are its benefits.

This Annex sets a framework for the analysis of two contrasting case studies of urban heritage sites through first discussing the sociology and economics of public spaces. The cases differ in their approach to the street vendors that create stresses with the conservation of the public realm in the heritage sites. The discussion identifies these stresses and discusses the attempts to mitigate them through regulation. This framework allows the analysis of how public spaces in urban heritage sites are managed to handle these stresses that stack upon other stresses that occur due to the unique political and cultural identity of these places.

### Setting a Framework of Public Spaces

Public space is a place that is open and accessible to all; which includes spaces of gathering such as parks, squares, and plazas as well as places of movement such as pathways, sidewalks, and streets. Public spaces can be categorized into two groups, those in the public sphere and those publicly accessible private spaces.<sup>1</sup> The public sphere is that of conversation and debate where discourses of politics, sports, and everyday life are shared. Publicly accessible spaces are the basis of an individuals' "right to the city", the

right to access the resources of urbanity.

The fabric of a city is sewed together by its public spaces, creating the public realm. Therefore, public spaces need to be examined as a collective asset, one that is part of an even larger urban system. Each form of public space serves a civic purpose, such as public health, social gatherings, and travel.

The users of public space are diverse in both scale and character. The scale of the user can vary from individual to groups of people, organizations, companies, and government entities. The character of the user can vary within each scale, for example, an individual could be a vendor or a person walking their dog and an organization could be a church or a community-led volunteer program. The collective realm, like many other aspects of life in a city, has become a resource for economic activities. Claimed by the free market, those that seek to sell goods, entertain (for a cost), and advertise either through formal or informal transactions, have moved their business into the public realm often leading to its overutilization. This form of privatization has caused the public sphere and publicly accessible spaces to deteriorate and lose its benefits as a common good. This privatization of public space can be argued to cause both losses and benefits to the community. This brings up the question of does one individual or entity has more right to public space than others? and, what uses are considered right or wrong? In the case studies, examples of adaptive uses of forms will demonstrate how historic centers intervene or support non-civic purposes of space utilization.

### Case Studies: Public Space Use in Heritage Areas

#### *Berlin*

With the reunification of Germany in the 1990s, the reclamation of newly available space for public and

private purposes presented an opportunity for new urban planning policies in the city. East Berlin public spaces were being claimed by vendors that seek to capitalize on the new market. The dichotomy of vendors either “represent[ing] the dispossessed urban poor, whose actions and presence in urban space undermine and challenge dominant capitalist regimes of accumulation and spatial production” or “epitomize the values of entrepreneurialism and self-help as small-scale businesspeople whose entrepreneurial energy is stifled by cumbersome regulations and state bureaucracy”<sup>2</sup> is the basis of the politics of street vending. In the instance of Berlin’s historic center, the city opted for the former; introducing harsh regulation of street vending in order through urban aestheticization policies.



Figure D.1 - Berlin. Street vendors at Brandenburg Gate. Russians selling army medals, badges, flags and other. 1990. Thomas Hoepker/Magnum Photos

Street vendors in Berlin’s historic center endure policies of “aestheticization” seeking to keep the identity of the city, but in turn target immigrant vendors, who do not fit the profile of the cities’ historical identity. The biased enforcement of these policies removes equitable access to public space. The Street Law of Berlin (Berliner Straßengesetz) is “the legal basis of the rules and penalties applicable to street vending.” Graaff’s observation of vendors highlights that “food vendors are generally men and mostly white Germans, whereas jewelry and souvenir sellers are mostly men and some women of color”.<sup>3</sup> This is important in understanding how the Street Law of Berlin marginalizes ethnically different groups that do not fit into the mold of the

city’s identity. The law formalizes food vending through trader licenses while prohibiting the “the offer and sale of gemstones, ornamental stones, and synthetic stones as well as pearls” leaving the vending of jewelry in public spaces as an informal trade and one subject to strict enforcement (IHK Berlin).<sup>4</sup>

This contrast between food vending that is seen as a service and jewelry vending that is seen as a public nuisance illustrates that a vendor’s right to use public space in Berlin is left to the jurisdiction of policies that choose to view the same uses, vending of goods, under different scopes. Through this a question of governance arises, are these policies ensuring the public interest, or are they prioritizing a manufactured image of the city that matches the city’s promoted identity of what it means to be Berlin.

Nevertheless, targeted policies have not prevented the persistence of informal entrepreneurship. The quiet encroachment of jewelry vendors through “seemingly mundane practices... represent political acts in [their] claim [to] access [the] opportunities and public space that state-sanctioned constraints would deny them”.<sup>5</sup> The marginalized community of vendors has taken it upon themselves to silently protest through the reclamation of public space. The quiet encroachment on public space “describes the silent, protracted, but pervasive advancement of ordinary people in relation to the propertied and powerful in order to survive and improve their lives”.<sup>6</sup> Through the quiet encroachment by vendors, the informal have been able to utilize the public realm once again as a place of protest and debate. It is in the squares and plazas in which the foundation of politics was established, and yet again it is here that the marginalized communities speak out to claim their equal right to the city.

#### *Luang Prabang*

The marketplace is an essential asset to the residents of Luang Prabang. It is a public space ingrained in everyday life, rich in sociocultural history, and a major setting of the local economy. The Morning Market is centrally located, with the banks of the Mekong River to its east and the Royal Palace just a block away to its north. As early as 5 a.m. food vendors line the entrance

of the market, a narrow corridor that leaves just enough space for two people to rub shoulders or a person to walk around someone bending over to examine the quality of goods. The narrow path eventually opens up, allowing access to bicycles and motorized scooters to slowly make their way through, picking up fresh produce along the way. Each available meter of space is claimed by the informal economy. Vendors sit behind their goods, either on the ground lined with cloth, on a wooden stool they have brought, or a piece of sidewalk they can claim for themselves. Food is sold at various levels of the physical environment, from vegetables placed on the ground below plastic wrapping, to fish placed on lowered tables, and clothing hung on the frames of the portable canopies.



Figure D.2 - Aerial view of Luang Prabang<sup>7</sup>

As 93.6% of the workforce in Laos makes their living informally, these produce markets are a mainstay of the economy (International Labour Organization). As the cities’ informal economy seeks to find places to sell their goods and services, the informal privatization of public space is widespread throughout the historic center. Although the Morning Market serves local families and restaurants for their daily ingredients and

produce, it has become a tourist attraction as well. The success of Luang Prabang as a historic center has come from the open relationship that the city and its residents have been able to create and maintain. With the markets being a part of the cultural heritage of Luang Prabang and its residents, the city and vendors can balance the ancestral values of the marketplace while capitalizing on the tourism that the UNESCO designated World Heritage Centre brings.

Through the creation of a framework for success, three narratives were developed by the Laotian government that identified the unique characteristics and opportunities of the city and its people which would be the basis for conservation and development: The Village is the Heart of the City, The City as a Canvas, and Living Memory. This shared heritage through the Village is the Heart of the City is the basis for the village contracts that were enacted to bring about a “mutually beneficial partnership between public activity and private commitment” (Severino, 21).<sup>8</sup> These contracts set a framework for cooperation between the Heritage House and residents.<sup>9</sup> With the City as a Canvas, infrastructure improvements (roadways, drainage, sanitation, lighting, traffic, and pedestrian networks) were vital to invest in the maintenance of the historical infrastructure. As an example of the two aforementioned principles, the governing body states that “village pathways and alleys will be rehabilitated only if the residents, under the village contract undertake to support the project, in particular by repairing fences, renovating the facade of the buildings, or planting vegetation” (Savourey, 74).<sup>10</sup> This methodology prioritized the collective care of the public realm and set a standard for the upkeep of shared spaces. This framework placed the local population at the center of the changes that would happen within the historically designated area. Through public meetings, many sensitive questions arose, but it was never a question of preserving the city’s buildings and natural spaces, rather it was concerns of respecting the continuous exchange that occurs among the population, its aspirations, and its choices. Maintaining the livelihood of the residents and their access to how they want to live, amongst international forces of development and tourism, highlighted the necessity to maintain the public

realm for local use above all.

The policies and projects created by the Heritage House highlight Luang Prabang's markets as a public asset, through the restoration of deteriorated infrastructure and implementation of new street furniture. As early as 1999, Heritage House architects redesigned deteriorated pathways and alleys with construction materials from a nearby pottery village. The design incorporated empty strips of soiled land on both sides of the pathway for residents to plant flowers and shrubs, following the village contract. Many of the streets that were redesigned serve as the setting of local markets today. This early investment in the public realm has enabled Luang Prabang and its residents to establish a mutually beneficial partnership, with the maintenance and use of public spaces at its core.

The third principle of a "Living Memory" highlights that the day-to-day activities in Luang Prabang, such as the Morning and Night Markets, are where the heritage of the city is found- rather than in museums. Therefore, the investment of the public realm is in the best interest of the city as a World Heritage Site. With such a large sector of the economy relying on public spaces, the overuse of public facilities has caused the basin of Boua Kang Bung pond to overflow with wastewater. As an effort to remediate the flow of waste into water sources, the Heritage House implemented the Asia Urbs Pilot Project in 2000, with the goal being the creation of street furniture in the context of public markets and the creation of a water treatment system that treats all domestic water (bathrooms, kitchens, and toilets).

In this issue of wastewater management, the conflict between formal and informal use derives from the wastewater that flows from private establishments into public streets. Although produced in private space, the waste flows into the public realm and is at the detriment of those who use the space for their uses. Additionally, the informal economy produces waste as well, mostly through the waste byproduct of the produce sold at the market. The first part of the project was to create new vendor stands that can be dismantled and transported to other market areas of the city, alleviating the overuse

of space and diluting traffic flow. Physical waste along streets and alleyways was reduced through the installation of hanging wastebaskets, keeping waste off the ground- away from potential mixing with water runoff and from wild animals. The second part of the project seeks to mitigate the wastewater from surrounding facilities through a three-stage remediation process - wastewater collection, treatment, and dispersion. Through newly implemented piping the collection of wastewaters is redirected into a septic system equipped with vertical filtration. Over time the wastewater is slowly pushed downwards through the system by gravity, filtering out about 80% of the waste. The remaining 20% of the organic residue is then absorbed by the aquatic plants in the underlying pond. The further implementation of this filtration system throughout Luang Prabang will alleviate the conflicts, between the formal and informal users, that often deteriorate the collective realm.

The residents of Luang Prabang, who through the informal sector make up the vast majority of the local workforce, have been able to engrain their use of public space as a socioeconomic asset to the success of the city as a Historical Heritage Site.

### Conclusions

Public spaces serve a multitude of purposes and people; essential to the political, social, economic, and public health of cities. The studies of Berlin and Luang Prabang highlight the stark contrast between having a local government that supports the use of public spaces by formal and informal activities and one that restricts use. However, it must be understood that each city's desires to maintain the cultural identity of the place intact are mutual and is the defining aspect of keeping its historical designation. In Luang Prabang, the informal markets are a socio-cultural asset as well as a large sector of the economy, therefore the protection and support of these markets and the public spaces in which they are set are mutually beneficial to the city and its residents. The additional variable that creates a more complex dynamic in Berlin is the presence of a foreign-born population; one that is seeking work in the informal economy.

The city has chosen to view the use of public space by foreign-born vendors as an action that undermines their dominant capitalist regime; seeing them as a factor that causes the loss of economic revenue through destroying the identity of the city. The City of Berlin markets itself as the "City of Freedom" on their official travel website but is seen here limiting the basic freedom of equitable access to space. As globalization introduces cultures to new places, the "interchange of values" highlighted in UNESCO's second criteria of selection in a World Heritage Sites presents an opportunity for the reconsideration of values that create significance in a place (UNESCO).<sup>11</sup>

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### Endnotes:

- 1 Tonnelat, Stephanie. 2009 "The Sociology of Urban Public Spaces." *Urban Planning Overseas* 4 1-10. (2)
- 2 Graaff, Kristina, and Noa Ha. 2015 *Street Vending in the Neoliberal City: A Global Perspective on the Practices and Policies of a Marginalized Economy*. New York: Berghahn Books (46)
- 3 Graaff and Ha 2015 op.cit. (89)
- 4 "Itinerant Trader's License." IHK Berlin. IHK Berlin. Accessed March 25, 2020. <https://www.ihk-berlin.de/service-und-beratung/recht-und-steuern/gewerberecht/itinerant-trader-s-licence-4333752>.
- 5 Sassen, Saskia. 2006 *A Sociology of Globalization*. New York, Norton, and Co. (49)
- 6 Bayat, Asef. 2004. "Globalization and the Politics of the Informals in the Global South." In Ananya Roy and Nezar AlSayyad (editors) 2004 *Urban Informality*, Lanham, MD: Lexington Books. (90)
- 7 Photo from "Ten Years of Decentralized Cooperation Between the Cities of Chinon and Luang Prabang," 2004.

- 8 Severino, Jean-Michael. 2004 "Ten Years of Decentralised Cooperation Between the Cities of Chinon and Luang Prabang," (61)
- 9 The Heritage House serves as the advisory structure in charge of the promotion and protection of Luang Prabang. Additionally, it serves as the prime contractor responsible for carrying out and monitoring the implementation of the Safeguarding and Preservation Plan.
- 10 Saviourney, Cathy. 2004 "Ten Years of Decentralised Cooperation Between the Cities of Chinon and Luang Prabang," (74)
- 11 Centre, UNESCO World Heritage. "The Criteria for Selection." UNESCO World Heritage Centre. Accessed April 1, 2020. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/>.

## ANNEX E: HERITAGE PRESERVATION IN SPANISH FORTIFIED CARIBBEAN CITIES: LEGAL, SOCIAL, AND GOVERNANCE FRAMEWORK

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This Annex presents the analysis of the heritage regulatory framework of six cities with Spanish fortifications in the Caribbean: San Juan, Puerto Rico; Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic; La Habana, Cuba; St. Augustine, Florida, USA; Veracruz, México and Cartagena de Indias, Colombia.

### The Governance Framework

The analysis takes into consideration whether the governmental structure of each country was centralized or decentralized and how heritage conservation was done by the public, private, and civic sectors or by three sectors jointly. On the six-case studies, the city of St. Augustine, FL, can be considered as part of a decentralized heritage regulatory framework. The regulatory environment in Santo Domingo, Cartagena, La Habana, and Veracruz can be regarded as a hybrid model, while San Juan has a centralized heritage regulatory framework. In these cities, the sectors in charge of historic preservation are not the same. St. Augustine takes the lead in the private sector, while San Juan, Santo Domingo, Cartagena, and Veracruz are in the middle ground where public and private sectors have a prominent role. Lastly, in La Habana, the public sector controls all preservation projects.

The case studies are presented based on the Governmental systems of each country/city beginning with the most familiar ones -capitalist republics- and ending with La Habana, Cuba, which is part of a communist republic.

### St. Augustine, Florida, United States of America

As a city within the State of Florida, St. Augustine is part of a decentralized heritage regulatory framework in which the Federal and state government have very few protections for heritage conservation, leaving the

primary responsibility to the local/municipal government. The city adopted its first major preservation regulations in the 1930s with the help of the State Government.<sup>1</sup> The fortifications and the city have not been designated World Heritage Sites yet by the UNESCO. The city ordinance 28-29 establishes a Historic Architectural Review Board (HARB) since 1986, which is a Certified Local Government agency under the U.S. National Historic Preservation Act.<sup>2</sup> The ordinance establishes the composition and responsibilities of the Board, establishes uniform fines, stop-work orders, and prohibitions related to deferred maintenance of historic buildings. Lastly, the ordinance establishes in Sec. 28-123 through 127 five historic preservation districts with permitted uses. In Ordinance 95-20 -Historic Preservation Property Tax Exemption Ordinance enacted in 1995 is in place to provide financial support for private property owners.<sup>3</sup>

Despite being a simple and well-defined regulatory framework, the city commissioned a Preservation Plan Report in 2018 to Preservation Design Partnership, LLC. This plan outlines some of the significant issues in the city related to heritage preservation, as well as practical solutions. Some of the identified problems are outdated historic surveys, poor access to documentation, some loopholes on the historic preservation ordinance, lack of personnel, and funding from the city government.<sup>4</sup>

Overall, historic preservation is mostly a private responsibility in the city in which the government and civic institutions are part. The ordinance includes norms that regulate interventions on the historic fabric, as well as developments, land use, and demolitions. On the Preservation Plan Report of 2018 for St. Augustine, recommendations on design guidelines can be found.<sup>5</sup>

### San Juan, Puerto Rico, United States of America

Puerto Rico is a complex situation with a complex regulatory framework. The first preservation regulations in the islands were enacted in 1943 with the Historic, Artistic and Touristic Zones Act, later with the creation of the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture in 1955 and lastly with the proper establishment of the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) in 2000. As an unincorporated territory of the United States, Puerto Rico has a hybrid system that has a very centralized government in which municipalities/local governments have minimal powers (a system inherited from 400 years of Spanish rule); but has American institutions such as an SHPO.

In this context, the municipalities do not have any kind of control related to heritage conservation. All regulatory powers reside within the Puerto Rico Planning Board, which is under the Department of Economic Development and Commerce-originally under the Office of the Governor-; and the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture (ICP by its Spanish acronym). In the Historic, Artistic and Touristic Zones Act of 1949, the Planning Board was given the power to designate historic zones, later amendments allowed for the designation of individual sites.<sup>6</sup> Since then, the Planning Board created a set of Regulations for Historic Preservation, which applies to all designated historic properties in the islands. These regulations include criteria for designation of historic sites, buildings and zones in the Puerto Rico Register of Historic Sites and Zones, types of interventions, permit processes for demolition, urbanscape, and design regulations, stop work emergency orders, fines, and penalties, among others. In summary, the Puerto Rico Planning Board is in charge of designations.<sup>7</sup>

At the same time, the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture is the government agency that executes the heritage conservation law for all 78 municipalities. The ICP provides certifications and endorsements for projects in historic sites or zones, oversee conservation projects, provide guidance for projects, develop research projects and certifies properties for state historic preservation tax credits.<sup>8</sup>

As can be seen, both the Planning Board and the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture are the leading heritage regulatory agencies for the islands. On the other side, the State Historic Preservation Office does not have any regulatory oversight of state law. The PRSHPO administers the Historic Preservation Fund, develop surveys and research from historic properties for inclusion on the U.S. National Register of Historic Places, and work through the Section 106 process if there is any preservation project within federal funds.<sup>9</sup> Over the years, both offices have developed a complicated relationship, and there are currently few collaborations between both agencies.<sup>10</sup> The Castillo San Felipe del Morro and Castillo San Cristobal, parts of the fortification systems of the city, along the Palacio de Santa Catalina or La Fortaleza (the Governor's Mansion) were designated World Heritage Sites by the UNESCO.<sup>11</sup> The city itself is not a World Heritage City. San Juan, as a historic city, faces serious challenges related to urban conservation since the Municipal government does not have any specific regulatory power and, therefore, does not have any particular office or person with heritage conservation expertise. Moreover, historic assets are assigned to different agencies for their management. In essence, the historic brick streets, some walls from the city fortifications, and all public spaces are supervised by the municipal government. In contrast, other walls are managed by the state government, and the rest are under the management of the U.S. National Park Service. As this is the case, there is zero coordinated management related to urban conservation in the city.

The current legislation enacted in the 1940s and 1950s; that privilege historic preservation as a tool to attract tourism, has not been updated.<sup>12</sup> Preservation norms are broad, and there are no design guidelines, providing space for flexibility and interpretation. The lack of preservation education is alarming: an Escuela Taller established in the 1990s disappeared, and there are no established preservation graduate programs in the islands.

Current issues related to the city include mass tourism and incapacity of both Municipal and State government to see it, exacerbated by a bankrupt government;

corruption, outdated legislation; lack of preservation education and research, and duplicity of functions among heritage regulatory agencies. Preservation is often done by public and private sectors, rarely done by community organizations.

### **Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic**

The Dominican Republic had a centralized regulatory framework until 2007. Laws No. 318 from 1968 and No. 492 from 1969 provided the original organizational structure.<sup>13</sup> Law No. 318 establishes the different types of heritage assets recognized by the national government. This act was particularly crucial because it acknowledges and designated the Colonial Zone of Santo Domingo, privileging Colonial-style buildings as the only style deemed to preserve. The city of Santo Domingo was designated in 1990 as a World Heritage City by UNESCO.<sup>14</sup>

Law No. 41-00 created the Ministry of Culture with the responsibility of overseeing all cultural heritage in the country.<sup>15</sup> The Undersecretary of State for Cultural Heritage oversees the Dirección Nacional de Patrimonio Monumental. This office has four regional offices and provincial offices in Puerto Plata, Santiago, Montecristi, La Vega, San Pedro de Macorís, San Francisco de Macorís, y Azua. A regulation known as Reglamento Ordenador del Patrimonio Cultural de la Nación has not been adopted, leading to massive loopholes and interpretations of national laws among historic sites and zones.<sup>16</sup>

In 2007 Law No. 176-07 was signed, and heritage preservation became a responsibility of municipalities along with the country.<sup>17</sup> The Municipality of Santo Domingo quickly enacted its local preservation agency in 2008, known as the Dirección de Patrimonio Cultural Inmueble.<sup>18</sup> The local office has two departments: Registro y Control (responsible for surveys, zoning, and land use regulations, endorsements for projects), and Planes y Proyectos (works on research, studies, city preservation plans, and policies). The Executive Director of the Historic Center, who leads the Dirección de Patrimonio Cultural Inmueble, coordinates all activities and operations of the historic center.

In 2011 the City Council approved Ordinance 03-2011, known as the Ordenanza de Zonificación, Uso e Intervención para la Ciudad Colonial de Santo Domingo.<sup>19</sup> This ordinance regulates zoning, land-use, and interventions in the Colonial City; it also describes the part of the buffer zone located around in the National District. The ordinance includes types of interventions and intervention criteria for buildings by typologies and land use protections. Overall, it is not clear if the National Government must abide by the local ordinance regulations and what is the current relationship between the Ministry of Culture and the Municipal Government. By an act of the Dominican Congress, the Ministry of Culture would be responsible for the establishment of preservation policies along with the historic city and district with the advisory support of the Ministry of Tourism. In recent years, both Ministries signed an agreement stating that the Ministry of Tourism would oversee the colonial zone policies, and the Ministry of Culture would act as an advisory organism, contrary to the legislative mandate.<sup>20</sup>

The lack of clarity and regulatory loopholes on current policies, ‘power-crossing’ between agencies; mass tourism, lack of enforcement, lack of financial incentives for private owners, property owners seeing preservation as a punishment, outdated surveys, lack of funding for personnel and resources for heritage agencies are some of the significant issues on the heritage regulatory framework in Santo Domingo. The treatment of modernist architecture is a big issue in the city since it is associated with the government of dictator Rafael Leonidas Trujillo in the 1950s. Hence, people tend to neglect any architectural sign or reference to that era.

Preservation is usually done by the public, private (limited), and civic sectors. The Escuela Taller inaugurated in the 1990s disappeared because the national and local governments did not provide proper funding for the workshop.<sup>21</sup> Graduate heritage preservation programs exist in the country.

### **Cartagena de Indias, Colombia**

Colombia has a centralized heritage regulatory framework that is in constant conflict with local preservation civic groups and regulations in the city of Cartagena de Indias. As in the Dominican Republic, the National Constitution of Colombia recognizes the importance of cultural heritage and its preservation by the Colombian national government. In 1997 the Law No. 297 or the Ley Nacional de Cultura was enacted and gave all regulatory powers over national heritage to the Ministry of Culture, including the all the city’s fortification systems and other monuments.<sup>22</sup> Cartagena de Indias, as a designated National Heritage Site since 1959 and a World Heritage City since 1984, had in place an independent heritage regulatory framework that is now outdated.<sup>23</sup> In a legal battle, the Consejo de Estado de Colombia (Supreme Court of Colombia) resolved that the national monuments in Cartagena would be co-managed by the National and Local city government. This decision, along with the political instability, has exacerbated the relationship within the two administrations. The locals accuse the national government of controlling their heritage from Bogotá, and the national government has taken control of most monuments in response to the city’s corruption and political turmoil.<sup>24</sup>

Current regulations in the city include the Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial enacted in 2001, which has a complete section related to heritage conservation, permits, urban landscape regulations, interventions by typologies, among others.<sup>25</sup> A Plan Especial de Manejo y Protección (PEMP) for the fortification walls was approved recently.<sup>26</sup> Still, other significant PEMP have not been approved yet due to governmental bureaucratic processes and lack of consensus.

In 2003 the Cartagena’s City Council enacted the Agreement 001 of February 4th, 2003, which created the Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de Cartagena (IPCC) with specific powers to oversee and regulate the built heritage in the historic city.<sup>27</sup> After 17 years, the IPCC is in limbo: lack of proper funding and personnel had halted the creation of internal dependencies dedicated to regulating the city’s urban heritage. This

situation has provided for the city administration to scatter the regulatory responsibilities of the IPCC to other municipal agencies such as the Secretaria de Planeación Distrital (Municipal Planning Office).<sup>28</sup>

As seen, Cartagena has extensive issues related to the management and regulations of its urban heritage. Since all regulatory responsibilities are scattered through municipal agencies, there is a lack of information about the due processes, and people evade any obligation to enforce or follow the law. Along with massive inequality and poor access to education and information, this issue leads to significant corruption in the city. Penalties and fines are poorly enforced or inadequate, so contractors would prefer to pay a small fine than comply with the law. Additionally, there is a lack of heritage financial resources or tax credits for property owners in the city. The pilot program for tax credits ended in 2015 and was only available for residents of the city.<sup>29</sup> Along with these management issues, the people in Cartagena continue to privilege colonial-style architecture as the built cultural heritage of the city, following the UNESCO designation, ignoring modern architecture. Lastly, preservation is known as public, private, and civic responsibility in the city.

### **Veracruz, Mexico**

Although Mexico has a similar governance structure as the United States with federal, state and local governments, is a country with a strong centralized heritage regulatory framework. As in Colombia and Dominican Republic, Mexico’s constitution of 1997 recognizes the importance of cultural heritage and its preservation. The present regulatory framework was enacted in 1972 with the Ley Federal sobre Monumentos y Zonas Arqueológicas, Artísticas e Históricas which created the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH), the Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes (INBA) and the Registro Público de Monumentos y Zonas Artísticas.<sup>30</sup> This law is supported by a set of regulations known as the Reglamento de la Ley Federal sobre Monumentos y Zonas Arqueológicas, Artísticas e Históricas.<sup>31</sup> Both the act and regulations imposed a strict criterion of historical designation of cultural heritage based on temporality:

all cultural heritage before the 1900s is managed by the INAH and 20th Century heritage is managed by the INBA. It also imposed that all archaeological sites or objects are property of the Federal government; any conservation or restoration projects in the country (from federal to local level) must be approved by the INAH or INBA, stop work orders, a registry of owners and businesses who uses historic buildings and high penalties and fines for any violations to the act.

After the INAH was established with its organic Law of 1985, it created the Coordinación Nacional de Monumentos Históricos works with federal agencies, local & state governments, as well as property owners to protect the built heritage.<sup>32</sup> Also, the INAH has a network of regional and state offices where a Delegate oversees all heritage preservation works and acts on behalf of the INAH.<sup>33</sup> On the other hand, the Dirección General de Sitios y Monumentos del Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes (CONACULTA) is another agency in charge only of overseeing the conservation of federal owned cultural heritage -buildings-, research and preservation projects.<sup>34</sup> Additionally, the Comisión Nacional para la Preservación del Patrimonio Cultural serves as an advisory body for federal, state and local governments, and an intermediary between civic society and private sectors, leading to the creation of several conservation trusts and independent financial incentives for heritage projects. The Comisión is now merged under the Dirección General de Sitios del Patrimonio Cultural.<sup>35</sup>

The City and Port of Veracruz is a Municipality within the State of Veracruz-La Llave. State Law No. 859, known as the Ley del Patrimonio Cultural del Estado de Veracruz de Ignacio de la Llave, recognizes cultural heritage as both tangible and intangible.<sup>36</sup> The law establishes responsibilities to state agencies overseeing cultural heritage, creates the Consejo Estatal de Patrimonio Cultural as an advisory body of the state government, sets the 'Atlas Cultural' (a state register), impose penalties and fines for violating the act. The Plan Veracruzano de Desarrollo 2019 – 2024 or the 2019-2024 State Development Plan acknowledges regulatory issues within cultural heritage and advocates for the adoption of the Sustainable

Development Objectives of the UNESCO to promote cultural heritage.<sup>37</sup>

At the local level, the Fortifications of San Juan de Ulúa was declared a National Historic Monument by proclamation of President Adolfo López Mateos in 1962 and the city declared a historic monuments zone in 2004.<sup>38</sup> Both the city or the fortifications are not designated under the UNESCO's World Heritage List. In 2004 the city was declared a Zona de Monumentos Históricos or a historic district, and in 2005 financial incentives and preservation tax credits were approved by the President for property owners.<sup>39</sup> The City Council created the Reglamento General para la Conservación del Centro Histórico del Municipio de Veracruz, Veracruz, in 2007, which establishes the local regulatory framework in partnership within the INAH/INAB (National Government).<sup>40</sup> The Reglamento includes responsibilities with the local government, procedures, and services within the regional office of the INAH, creates the Dirección del Centro Histórico with three dependencies to enforce the regulations, provisions for community and civic groups participated in the regulatory framework. The Reglamento also creates the Patronato del Centro Histórico, which is a citizen's group that serves as an advisory body for the local and state governments and assist and linking the community and private sectors for the development of heritage conservation projects and educational initiatives within the city. Overall, the regulations cover traditional aspects of permit reviews, types of interventions, penalties, and projects, but lack of financial incentives or preservation tax credits for property owners.

The preservation of the built environment is done with public, private, and civic sectors in the city. The recognition of intangible heritage at the state level and the modest recognition of the inclusion of sustainable principles in the regulatory framework are reasonable steps in the right direction. The local government is trying to develop a robust tourism industry in the city, so mass tourism is not an issue right now.<sup>41</sup> The main issue is how the City government is moving slowly towards rehabilitating some cultural assets focusing on the touristic industry, something that could lead

to significant problems that other sister cities are currently facing. The current regulatory framework provides for the participation of local groups (in theory) and focuses on heritage as assets for the social and historical wellbeing of the nation; so, no tourism related regulations have been put in place to prevent gentrification and mass tourism. Lastly, a bold network of educational programs for heritage preservation exists, including graduate studies and workshops.

### La Habana, Cuba

The heritage regulatory framework of Cuba is rarely analyzed, recognizing that heritage conservation possesses its historical roots in capitalist-driven societies (European countries), and their communist political system has its particularities. The National and Municipal governments do heritage conservation in a centralized structure in Cuba as private property is not common, and civic/community sectors are merged with the public sector. The Cuban National Constitution, in its Article 38, recognizes the importance of cultural heritage and provides for the protection of notable national monuments and natural sites of significance to the nation. Two central legislations address the protection of cultural heritage at the National level. The first one is Law No. 1 of 1977 for the Protección al Patrimonio Cultural, which is supported by Decree No. 118, known as the Reglamento para la ejecución de la ley de protección del Patrimonio cultural. This law and decree recognize cultural heritage as a national public good and establishes the Registro Nacional de Bienes Culturales de la República, a National Register for cultural heritage that includes objects, works of arts, historic buildings, etc. Every person who possesses a cultural artifact or structure deemed for preservation must make the necessary mandatory arrangements for inclusion on the Registro Nacional.<sup>42</sup>

On the other side, Law No. 2 of 1977, known as the Ley de Monumentos Nacionales y Locales, is complemented with Decree No. 55 of 1979, known as the Reglamento para la ejecución de la Ley de monumentos nacionales y locales.<sup>43</sup> The law and decree establish that the recognized built heritage is subject to special regulations and creates the Comisión

Nacional de Monumentos. The act defines the two designations under the regulatory framework -National Monuments and Local Monuments-, along with sites, objects, and historic centers, all of which are designated by the Comisión. The regulation also establishes the criteria for inclusion on the Registro Nacional, the Comisión's responsibilities and composition, and the creation of a network of Provincial Commissions who acts as intermediary bodies between the National Commission and has designated responsibilities within the protection of cultural heritage at the local levels. Other provisions related to stop-work orders, grades of protection for cultural heritage, land use, and construction regulations are also provided.

At the municipal level, the Comisión Nacional de Monumentos designated La Habana as a National Monument along with other historic centers in the country with Resolution No. 3 of 1978. Until 1993 the Comisión dictated the heritage regulations in the city when the Consejo de Estado established regulatory powers within the Oficina del Historiador de La Habana.<sup>44</sup> In 2011 the Consejo de Estado amplified these powers with the Decree-Law 283.<sup>45</sup> In both Decrees, the Office of the Historian is subject to the Consejo de Estado, but it is not clear if the City is still subject to the regulations established by Law No. 1 & 2 of 1977 and Decrees No. 118 & 55.

Overall, Cuban heritage regulations are clear, well-structured, and responsibilities are well defined within the text. Even though La Habana is recognized as a touristic center, rules in place aim to protect residential property from touristic activities.<sup>46</sup> Still, in praxis, some significant issues arise. Tourism (land use and control), the abandonment of historic properties in the city due to the lack of financial resources from the government are common problems. Lastly, the city and the country possess educational programs for heritage preservation, including graduate studies and workshops.

### The New Urban Agenda and Heritage Preservation

Claudio Sule Fernandez and Marcelo Cabrera Palacios provide a set of recommendations in the New Urban Agenda 2030 that could be applied for heritage conservation regulations.<sup>47</sup> These key principles recognize the importance of decentralization of governments, the empowerment of communities and vulnerable groups, and transparent and participatory processes on governance as good practices that can be implemented. Some of the applicable measures and tools are:

1. Promoting citizen participation in the review, planning, preparation and implementation of public policies that assist in generating identity and culture of inclusion and engagement;
2. Establishing participatory democracy cycles that boost representative democracy;
3. Ensuring coordinated planning in the short, medium and long term to avoid dispersion and duplication of efforts;
4. Managing with a focus on rights (right to the city);
5. The creation and democratic use of information and data that are mostly open [and can be shared with the databases of other levels of government]
6. Implementing horizontal governance that is inclusive and cross-cutting in collaboration with other levels of government, accountable and publicly monitored;
7. Initializing decentralization processes based on information, management, and governance from the bottom up;
8. Building partnerships, networks, cooperation, and continuing training.

Access to quality education to all sectors of society at all levels, along with heritage education with continued training is essential for eradicating inequality and to maintaining a sustainable socio-economic development where cultural heritage plays a central role.

### Commonalities and Differences Among the Cases

The Habitat III Regional Report of Latin America and the Caribbean of 2016 presents a summary of the governance conditions of Latin American Countries, including lack of data, inequality, lack of citizen participation, and corruption. Even more, the report highlights the need for the region to strengthen public management and expand its administrative capacity.<sup>48</sup> These observations were confirmed on the analysis of the different case studies. The general findings from the analysis of the case study are:

1. There are historical trends between the six countries related to the times when each one enacted legislation(s) and policies to protect urban heritage. It would seem as if they created policies at the same time. The identified decades are the 1930s, 1950s, and 1960s-early 1970s.
2. There are issues related to general education quality, access, and poverty, which leads to socio-economic inequality, corruption, lack of innovation, lack of appreciation, and, eventually, deterioration of cultural heritage. On the other hand, education related to historic preservation (both theoretical and trades) is available on different levels in all countries except Puerto Rico.
3. Issues related to an outdated regulatory framework. - Legislation and policies with outdated concepts that leave behind current considerations of heritage conservation such as Sustainability, Climate Change, Intangible heritage, and disaster response policies. Also, a majority of policies are driven by architectural, aesthetic, and historical values, privileging some styles (usually Spanish colonial) over others (typically modern architecture).
4. Significant regulatory flaws – Different countries have their governmental system. Most of them have a National/Federal government with regional or state governments and local governments. In the case studies presented in this research, five of the six cities are within a capitalist state, while La Habana, Cuba is under a communist state.

5. While the United States has a strict separation of powers, specifically within the Federal or State Executive branch and Legislative branch, this is not the case in other countries. In some instances, heritage regulations come from the legislative branch and amendments from the executive power at the same time, which alter concepts and heritage protection framework—these issues of ‘power-crossing’ lead to confusion and a poor understanding of heritage policies.

6. The duplicity of responsibilities between heritage agencies is another major problem within regulations. When policies are not clear, or legislators do not consider previous heritage policies or special groups try to create new advisory bodies, usually a couple of councils, offices or boards are created. These offices can have similar functions to previous agencies or oversee other offices, creating confusion and conflicting relationships. This is the case in Puerto Rico with the State Historic Preservation Office, which only oversees the federal historic preservation law and the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture, which is in charge of state tax credits, building permits, etc. Both agencies rarely collaborate.

7. Besides flaws in the legislative processes, there are significant loopholes related to clear and trustful data from the urban landscape and heritage sites of these cities. In the case of Cartagena, there are three different sites with Land use, geographical information, and more. The question is, which one is the most trusted source? On the other side, in Puerto Rico, to access to the State Register of Historic Sites and Zones, an individual must submit a formal request to the Puerto Rico Planning Board for access to the document. These different examples show how access to proper information can be a challenge. Transparency and access to trusted data are fundamental to the development of coherent policies and regulations.

8. A constant issue was also the lack of enforcement of heritage regulations. The lack of implementation can be directly or indirectly, and its mostly affected by regulatory loopholes on the responsibilities of government officials, but also the improper funding of heritage agencies. Some heritage agencies in these

cities are not fully formed as mandated by law because of few resources and personnel. Also, there are cases in which the people in charge of those agencies are overcrowded with work, leading to skipping supervision duties or the flexibilization of requirements when evaluating permits and projects. A broad regulation that gives space for interpretations can also lead to weak enforcement. These issues eventually contribute to corruption.

9. Lack of open/democratic participatory processes, which includes people from different sectors of society and expertise, both in the framing of new policies and projects, as well as the enforcement process. The usual approach from much of the present regulatory framework encourages politicians and field experts to determine what is heritage, what values it has, and how to develop heritage conservation in the city—a top to bottom approach.

10. Low fines and penalties that are easy to avoid - This is a direct effect of outdated policies, mostly developed between the 1950s and 1970s. People who violate regulations often opt to pay low fines and penalties than to follow the law.

11. National Registers and Inventories – Almost all the cities have some kind of Register or Inventory, which varies between local and national levels. These registers can have both historic buildings, artefacts, works of art, archaeological sites, etc., and can change on levels of protection. Also, the processes for including buildings in these inventories are often diverse. A common concern is inaccessibility to these inventories and how they are outdated.

12. Financial Tools for preservation – As opposed to the common practice in the United States, financial tools for private owners are considered or not considered at all. As preservation is seen as a mostly public asset which the centralized government takes care of, little advancement could be found related to tax credits in historic districts. Most of the available financial tools are outdated, temporary, or limited to specific groups within the city, making them not accessible to everyone.



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## ANNEX F: GENERATING FINANCIAL RESOURCES AT THE LOCAL LEVEL - BUSINESS IMPROVEMENT DISTRICTS IN URBAN REGENERATION

Kathie Brill

Over the past 50 years, the emergence of the Business Improvement District (BID) spread to urban and suburban regions globally. The BID model generates cooperation between residential and business owners within a bound geographic area to collectively pay for a set of services to improve the neighborhood. First developed in Canada and quickly adopted by the United States in the late 20th century, BIDs are an important solution for many cities and urban regions facing economic decline, high amounts of disinvestment, and vacancy. The point of the BID is to generate financial resources from the ground up to supply civil services that are often the responsibility but not the priority of the government to provide. As the popularity of the BID model diffused internationally, adjustments were needed to accommodate variances in the structures of national and local governments. Additionally, the causes of urban decline vary by location. Although the BID model proves successful in its North American location of origin, it may not be the best solution for all cases of urban regeneration. To address this complex, case studies of BIDs in Philadelphia, Scotland, and South Africa demonstrate the multiple ways in which the model has been applied in the respective locations. Each city is historic and hosts significant amounts of cultural heritage and historic fabric, posing as examples to suggest the ways that a BID model can enhance historic character and play off of extant cultural resources. The adaptations of the BID model in the selected cities exemplify how it is transferred and established within the nuances of differing political and social contexts. Tangent to examples of successful adaptation, there is still a gap in research to find alternatives to BIDs that will mimic their ability to redistribute financial resources. The next step is to find comparable methods that encourage investment at the local level in urban settings that cannot support the traditional BID model.

### Philadelphia, United States of America

As defined by the City of Philadelphia Department of Commerce a BID is a “legal mechanism used by property and business owners within a *specific geographic area* to collaboratively plan and put in place a sustainable funding source for a set of services that will improve the area.”<sup>1</sup> The key purpose of a BID is to activate and increase the participation of private actors in the development and regeneration of public space and commercial activity. BIDs are sometimes contested as people feel that the government should be supplying the services commonly supported by the private monetary contributions of the BID.<sup>2</sup> However, governments do not always have the capacity. Most commonly, the services provided by a BID include maintenance, safety, hospitality and visitor services, marketing, branding and promotion, and public programming and local partnerships. Although civic services are commonly considered to be a public good, when the government does not respond to the levels of need and demand in a given area, “BIDs typically offer the ability to respond more quickly than the public sector to the changing needs of the business community.”<sup>3</sup>

BID structures adapt to generate private funding for the reactivation of vacant or underused space as well as economically depressed areas. The creation of BIDs is facilitated by the members of the community within a designated geographic area. One example of a particularly large undertaking is the Times Square BID in New York City, branded as “The New Times Square.” This particular initiative was created in response to the notoriety of the area as the hot spot for underground sex markets, drug deals, and the hub of vagrancy in Manhattan.<sup>4</sup> Times Square then transformed into the bustling theatre and tourism district in New York City we know today. Similarly, Bryant Park in New York City created a BID to negate the open-air drug market that

developed in its park.<sup>5</sup> The creation of BIDs in these two areas specifically targeted a certain set of problems. BIDs in other cities target a variety of underlying issues to pursue urban regeneration. However, despite the variances efforts are comparable to the cases in New York City as they frequently result in pushing out unwanted groups and stigmatized members of society in favor of improved safety, neighborhood aesthetics, and a formalized, robust economy.

BIDs are a financial tool that is also inherently linked to political structures and influence. The creation of a BID gives agency to the private sector in an attempt to gain some independence from a centralized government system.<sup>6</sup> Within the model, the government acts primarily as an overseer. To successfully develop the BID model the organized community members must go through a process to have their district recognized under the respective enabling legislation.<sup>7</sup> As such legislation differs by city and country the establishment process varies accordingly. For example, in Philadelphia, the original enabling legislation was the Municipality Authorities Act (MAA) until 1998, when the Community and Economic Improvement Act (CEIA) came into effect. The MAA established BIDs as “Municipal Authorities” whereas the CEIA allows new BIDs to be created and run by non-profit organizations.<sup>8</sup> Property owners within the designated BID collaboratively instate a board of directors and mutually agree upon the framework of the district and membership. Framework factors include the amount of money contributed by each member, membership guidelines for new businesses and residents, and which services to prioritize.

Old City District in Philadelphia is an example of a BID in Philadelphia’s oldest and more historic neighborhood. The district is home to Independence Hall, The Liberty Bell, sites related to the founding fathers, and some of the oldest businesses and buildings in the city. The Old City District was founded in 1998 and is a Registered Community Organization (RCO). In addition to maintenance and safety, OCD provides robust services for the improvement of urban design, transportation, and historic preservation. Some of the progressive programs and initiatives funded by the District include design guidelines, transportation

studies, and recommendations for improved circulation, tours, and guides to historic sites and cultural heritage in the neighborhood and hospitality services and visitor information and guides for the influx of tourism.<sup>9</sup> As a historic part of the city, Old City District incorporates cultural heritage into its services and programming. Contrasted to Center City District, (CCD) an adjacent BID in Philadelphia, Old City District primarily focuses on hospitality, promotion of arts, visitor services, restaurants, and culture. Whereas CCD has a larger focus on cleaning and maintenance.<sup>10</sup> This contrast demonstrates the nature of the BID model to develop in response to the needs of a specific area. While some prioritize public safety and appearance, “others have focused on area branding and investment promotion.”<sup>11</sup>

It is important to emphasize that a BID is a financial model. Therefore, one size does not fit all, the model must be adapted as it is transferred to countries outside of North America. After it made its initial appearance in Canada and the United States, the UK began to develop the BID model within its territories. When adopting the BID model in the UK, the system had to adapt to match the types of governance and economic systems that exist there including the transfer of policy. There are many differences between the structure of the US and UK governments that affect the transfer of the BID model. “For instance, the nature of US local government is extremely diverse in character, unlike that in the UK, with much greater decentralization of decision making in the USA. The separation of the legislative from the executive functions is also a feature of the US government that is not paralleled in the UK, as is the (often non-partisan) nature of local politics.”<sup>12</sup> These differences in political structure also extend to taxation and how taxpayer money is distributed toward infrastructure and civil services.

### Aberdeen, Scotland, UK

One example of a BID in the UK is Aberdeen Inspired in Aberdeen Scotland. The creation and activity of Aberdeen Inspired are regulated by the “Council” of Aberdeen which is the form of local governance. Participating businesses within the defined BID area are required to pay a “Levy” which goes toward the

civil services provided.<sup>13</sup> As Aberdeen Inspired is the primary BID in the city, it departs from the system within the United States where a single city will often have multiple BIDs within proximity to one another. Often, all businesses within a BID are required to participate in the model and other businesses outside the area boundaries are not involved but may be impacted by default. In Aberdeen, businesses outside of the boundaries also have the option to join the Levy and are subject to a 1% contribution based on their estimated value and the decision of the BID board.<sup>14</sup> As another historic city, Aberdeen Inspired emphasizes the importance of the built environment. The granite architecture is one of the highlights of Aberdeen's built heritage and the BID boats prioritization of the support for restoration and promotion of cultural heritage in the city.<sup>15</sup>

The difference in the prevalence of BIDs within a given city seen in the cases of Aberdeen and Philadelphia brings up questions about the effectiveness of the model in different contexts. In Philadelphia, multiple BIDs exist within proximity to one another, with priorities on different services. Does the dispersion of BIDs around the city create a more balanced economy and use of services? Because the districts are so close to other another the city hosts a network of safe and clean spaces that offer different services to residents, consumers, and visitors alike. The peripheral BID activity around Old City District may offset some of the pressure from the high volume of cultural tourism and commercial activity. For example, the existence of Center City District so close by provides opportunities for shopping and dining that may more equally distribute the volume of use and activity seen in Old City District. In cities like Aberdeen which have one primary BID for the city center the allowance of outside businesses to have a membership and benefit directly and peripherally from their services and programming exemplifies an adaptation of the beneficiary of dispersion described in Philadelphia.

### Cape Town, South Africa

Continuing to the case of the Woodstock Improvement District in Cape Town South Africa, the example demonstrates further adaptation of the BID model. As "BIDs are disseminated by means of inter-national imitation and learning processes,"<sup>16</sup> the South African model is called a City Improvement District "CID" and exemplifies the place-based needs and existing conditions that are essential to creating the maximum impact within a given city. In the early 2000's several local business leaders became increasingly concerned about the signs of urban decay in the Woodstock area. The safety of employees traveling between transport hubs and places of employment was also an issue. For this reason, the Woodstock Upliftment Project was established which subsequently led to the establishment of a Business Forum. The Forum's main focus areas were security, cleaning, and greening. With the support and input from City Council, the Woodstock Improvement District was established in May 2005.<sup>17</sup>

As seen in figure F.1, the BID network in Cape Town sprawls out beyond the central area of the city. Similarly, Johannesburg South Africa has multiple CIDs which "are also seen as an innovative solution to boost and foster economic development in suburban areas."<sup>18</sup> Johannesburg has a history of racially divided sectors of government leftover from apartheid. Over the past 15 years, the municipality has finally come together to form a cohesive whole. The adoption of the CID model by the private sector in the 1990s transferred ideas from large North American cities and applied them first to the city center but then spread beyond to suburban centers. Official and voluntary CIDs exist in Johannesburg. Voluntary groups are not registered under the formal CID legislation but are a "strong interest of property owners and their wish to quickly set up the project without having to wait for the formal process (DLAMINI 2007)."<sup>19</sup> Even without formal legislation and binding agreements the motivation and determination of private groups with resources allowed for further improvement of certain sections of the city and beyond.

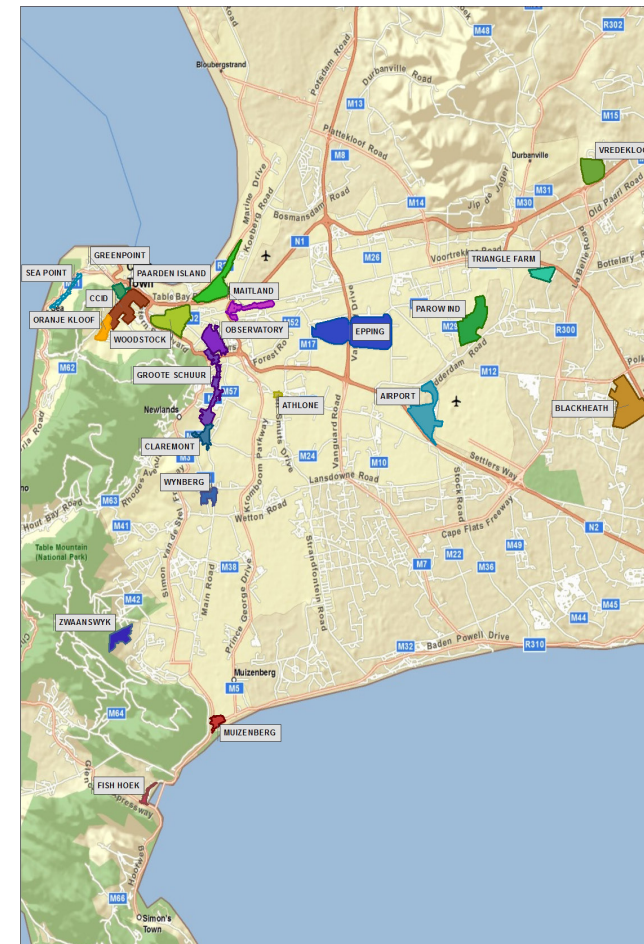


Figure F.1 - Map of CIDs in Cape Town, South Africa. Circled is the Woodstock Improvement District. The BIDs sprawl beyond the cluster that exists in the City's main urban center. <http://cityimprovement.co.za/wordpress/>

Linked to the prioritization of transportation and creating a safe streetscape for those commuting into Woodstock, the CID models express a level of creativity needed to address less commonly targeted civil services that prioritize the vision of "clean and safe" neighborhoods.<sup>20</sup> This type of adaptation is a testament to the ways that members of BIDs can start to think outside the box, particularly in historic centers. However what role can a BID model play in the regeneration of areas with other types of options such as an overused area or historic center? How can the model be used to target those specific issues? As BIDs achieve less reliance on the government to provide monetary resources it is up to private actors to prioritize services and possibly become more creative in the ways that funding is used or distributed, i.e. funding conservation efforts, or self-regulating the types of

Figure 1 – Existing BIDs and the areas with inconclusive BID formation in Los Angeles, 2014

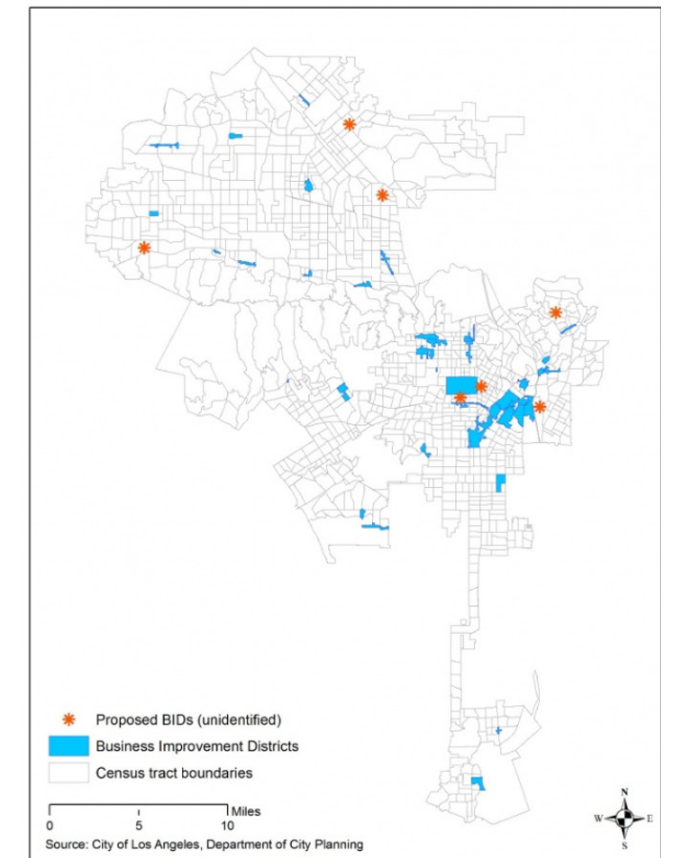


Figure F.2 - Struggles to form business improvement districts (BIDs) in Los Angeles" Source: Wonhyung Lee "2016.

businesses, both formal and informal and how they are permitted to occupy space. Such solutions can be used to target the adaptation and reuse of historic fabric and prioritize the incorporation of cultural heritage into urban regeneration. Financial resources generated from a BID can in turn fund urban heritage preservation so that it is a part of a larger rehabilitation process and "also addresses the greater issue of turning areas that contain the heritage into fully functional and developed portions of the city."<sup>21</sup> Achieving the goal of the BID model to uplift economically declining and underused areas of a city.

Beyond creativity, some urban communities do not have the resources or the buy-in to successfully support a BID. As regeneration efforts require time to take effect the trajectory of funding in the future

must be predictable. For example, Wonhyung Lee's research on failed BIDs in Los Angeles demonstrates the inability for certain communities to create a BID based on demographics (Figure 2). Low income and immigrant neighborhoods struggle to go through the time and energy-consuming process of creating a BID, perhaps this is not the correct solution for all struggling neighborhoods.<sup>22</sup> Her conclusions highlight that BIDs cannot support communities with the most severe underlying problems of economic hardship, environmental concerns, and extremely high levels of vacancy or blight.<sup>23</sup> Public-Private Partnerships may better suit areas with these conditions.

In Latin America, disorganized political systems and communication between local and national governments can also lead to a poor foundation for the BID model. A graduate thesis by Valentina Gaido Lasserre explores the pilot program of BIDs in Chile. Her research shows that "the process of BID creation in Chile is not defined and the lack of clarity about its implementation after the first stage is leading to confusion that can seriously damage the success of the program."<sup>24</sup> Undefined systems and elongated establishment processes under legislative procedures, hinders the ability for communities to complete the process and establish a BID model as also conclude in Lee's analysis of Los Angeles.

BIDs do not represent or necessarily support marginalized communities such as homeless people, drug abusers, sex workers, etc. BIDs can also increase land values and property taxes catalyzing rapid neighborhood changes which may negatively impact extant communities. Extant capital is necessary to catalyze the creation of a successful BID. In struggling neighborhoods with lower levels of social capital and community mobility to start a BID, are there other solutions to regenerating local business and sourcing private capital for civil improvements? In all aspects of urban regeneration, a common theme is the displacement or removal of unwanted and informal markets, marginalized peoples, and under-resourced communities. Solutions, such as BIDs often lead to the rise in property values, and an influx of higher class newcomers, known as gentrification. To combat

the negative impacts of gentrification due to the improvement of the streetscape urban communities and corresponding political systems must reach an equilibrium. Although a substantial amount of research exists analyzing the BID model and its impact, very little literature analyses the possibility for alternatives in cities or neighborhoods that cannot support them. Further investigation and suggestions are needed to explore other types of Public-Private Partnerships or economic models that will generate financial activity and investment at the local level. To find new avenues toward the redistribution of capital, revised systems must be inclusive of under-resourced communities to creatively find a system that isn't so heavily reliant on large amounts of extant capital in urban regions.

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#### Endnotes:

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- 3 "Business Improvement Districts." Business Improvement Districts | Urban Regeneration. <https://urban-regeneration.worldbank.org/node/16>
- 4 Symes and Steel, "Lessons from America" 2003 op.cit., 309-310.
- 5 "Business Improvement Districts." Business Improvement Districts | Urban Regeneration. <https://urban-regeneration.worldbank.org/node/16>
- 6 *Business Improvement Districts (BIDs): the internationalization and contextualization of a 'traveling concept.'*
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- 22 "In Neighborhoods That Struggle Economically, Supporting Community Cohesion Is Key to the Formation of Business Improvement Districts." USAPP, February 27, 2017.
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## ANNEX G: INTERPRETING THE MODERN BUILDINGS STOCK IN HERITAGE URBAN AREAS

Sung, Di

### Introduction

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has been nominating World Heritage Sites since 1978 based on submissions made by national governments and with the technical advice of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN). The historic urban heritage came early into the World Heritage List when in 1978 UNESCO recognized the universal significance of the historic centers of Quito and Kraków. However, only in 1987 Brasília was nominated as the first 20th Century city designed under the principles of the Modern Movement of architecture and planning. Currently, more Modernism buildings and cities are gradually added to the list recognizing their social or political impact on world affairs. Modern Movement buildings often carry symbolism beyond their appearances and aesthetics. A better understanding of these socio-cultural values and their incorporation into the heritage narratives of cities, regions, or the nation, is crucial to their physical preservation effort. In the 20th Century, construction of new housing estates and public buildings was a tool for government and planners to reshape society. Modern city planning and building groups were fast, obvious ways to address social objectives or even to engage in pure political propaganda. First World cities did this as part of the continuous expansion and rebuilding of cities. In the Global South, the countries colonized by the Europeans had a more difficult time trying to withhold their traditional values and establish new orders using Modern Movement buildings and urban plans. Complex preservation questions arise. Modernism building stocks are indistinguishable or otherwise? If the Modernism building stock were nominated as part of the UNESCO World Heritage, what benefits or disadvantages does it pose? And what challenges come afterward or hinder the new interpretation?

### UNESCO World Heritage Cities and Modern Buildings

The World Heritage Cities Program—a UNESCO initiative—provides a platform for studying Modernism cities and building ensembles that are unrepresented in the WHL that has 300 World Heritage Cities, but merely a dozen Modernism examples.<sup>1</sup>

A first group is composed by Modern building ensembles that include the ‘Bauhaus campus and other Sites in Weimar, Dessau and Bernau’<sup>2</sup>; the ‘Ciudad Universitaria de Caracas’ (Caracas University Campus)<sup>3</sup>, and ‘Central University City Campus of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM)’.<sup>4</sup> These clusters of buildings made up neighborhoods or sub-cities, but not the whole city. These neighborhoods manifest experimental values. For two Latin American universities in Caracas and Mexico City, Modernism, along with art murals, was used to represent national values, intellectual autonomy, and prosperity. In both cases, art murals exemplify non-colonial values, either contemporary or pre-Hispanic a choice that “...embodies social and cultural values of universal significance and is one of the most significant icons of modernity in Latin America.” In UNAM’s nomination brief to UNESCO’s World Heritage List (WHL), Modernism is credited to manifest new social values.

A second group comprises new cities whose design is influenced by the Modern Movement. ‘Brasília’<sup>5</sup>, ‘Asmara: A Modernist African City’<sup>6</sup>, ‘Ivrea, industrial city of the 20th century’<sup>7</sup>, ‘Le Havre, the City Rebuilt by Auguste Perret’<sup>8</sup>, and ‘White City of Tel-Aviv’<sup>9</sup>. These undertakings were both, the result of exercises in power (political, cultural, or economic). In Brasília, architects Oscar Niemeyer and Lúcio Costa and landscape architect Roberto Burle Marx created the Modern, clean, rational plan for the new capital. President

Juscelino Kubitschek fulfilled the vision idolized in the Brazilian Constitutions as early as in the late 19th Century to move the capital to the country’s interior. For Ivrea, the small town was a Modern embodiment of industrial production, while it also embodies political propaganda, the Movimento Comunità; as described in the UNESCO document, ‘The city ... reflecting the ideas of the Movimento Comunità (Community Movement) which was founded in Ivrea in 1947 based on Adriano Olivetti’s 1945 book *l’Ordine politico delle Comunità* (The Political Order of Communities). The industrial city of Ivrea, therefore, represents a significant example of 20th Century theories of urban development and architecture in response to industrial and social transformations, including the transition from mechanical to digital industries.’ Le Havre and Tel-Aviv were Modernism experiments. A rebuilt project was needed for Le Havre after the Second World War, Auguste Perret facilitated the city’s new appearance with radical concrete experiments; Patrick Geddes’s Master Plan for Tel-Aviv was also an urban experiment of its kind. These World Heritage Cities are the products of 20th Century fast-shifting political, social, technological changes. They are artistic and aesthetic to designers for one thing, but their city-scale planning impacted beyond appearances, and it is the intangible values in socio-political circumstances that highlighted their importance of World Heritage Status.

The last group is one of its kind, ‘Rabat, Modern Capital and Historic City: A Shared Heritage’<sup>10</sup>. The capital of Morocco, the wealthiest capital in the Maghreb, is inscribed in the WHL for being not only historic with royal lineage but also Modern due to the changes introduced by the Colonial power during the French Protectorate. The case raises several interesting questions. Why the Modern heritage weighs as much as the historic one? What prevented Modern development from scraping the historic heritage? And what would the government and NGOs in Morocco do with the UNESCO World Heritage listing at hand? Rabat’s experience could benefit the rest of 300 World Heritage Cities to reevaluate their often neglected Modernism building stock and help cities with colonial pasts to formulate their narratives to interpret Modernism in their built heritage.

### Scope

This study borrows the main ideas from ICOMOS Twentieth Century Heritage International Scientific Committee (ICOMOS-isc20c)’s ‘*Madrid-New Delhi Document*’ first introduced in 2011, and later twice-revised in 2014 and 2017<sup>11</sup>. The document single out ‘Two world wars, the Cold War that followed, the Great Depression, and decolonization...’ as the major events in the 20th Century that changed the societal and urban fabrics and state that both the political events and industrial innovations of the period shaped the Modern Movement building design and city planning practices.

Several items in the document apply to this research. Items 1.5: *Identify and assess the importance of setting* and 1.6: *Identify and assess significant planning concepts and infrastructure*, guide the research to focus on the urban scale since no building is isolated from its contextual environments. Also, item 2.3 asks *to use a planning methodology that assesses the cultural significance and implement policies to retain and respect it before commencing preservation work*. In item 9.2 the document *asks to respect the value of significant layers of change and the patina of age* to identify the many forms in which modern heritage is so different from the historic and to incorporate into the analysis its more immediate connections to the present. The immediate connections to the interest holders from near to afar is a layer of significance that preservation professionals find difficult to deal with, let alone the complexity of the 20th Century values embedded.

### Case Study

“Rabat, Modern Capital, and Historic City: A Shared Heritage”, was added to the UNESCO World Heritage list in 2012, while other historic Moroccan cities on the list, Meknès, Fès, and Marrakesh, were nominated in the 20th Century. Rabat is the capital and the royal residence is described in the UNESCO nomination documents as having Arabic, Muslim, Berber, French and modern characteristics and highlights the innovative design of the interventions implemented in the early years of the French colonial era focused on expanding sanitation and implementing a rational

urban plan in the expansion areas. This characteristic of Rabat compared to other Moroccan historic cities provides grounds to study the impact of modernization—or more specifically, coming from the Intentional Modern Movement—into a piece of historic fabric. It poses questions about how the Moroccans use Modern heritage, and what is the narrative they have been interpreting it.

Figure A.G.1 from the Management Plan submitted by Morocco to UNESCO<sup>11</sup> shows the Medina, Kasbah, and the Mosque historic monuments of the city; and La Ville-nouvelle the 20th Century addition. The figure shows the alignment of the major boulevards built in the by French in the early 20th Century city that resonate with the 10th Century Hausmann boulevard designs for Paris. Figures A.G.3 and A.G.4 show two examples of the 20th Century Modernism building inventory in the UNESCO's WHL area and other buildings built within 1941-1961 with a marked Modernism character.



Figure G.1 - Rabat, Rabat Aerial view of the Medina and Ville Nouvelle

The emphasis of the UNESCO inscription narratives relates to the early 20th Century French colonial government contribution and its planning innovations. Commissaire-Résident Général Maréchal Lyautey's Plan completely reconfigured Rabat's urban structure. General Lyautey's strategic selection of 'heritages' to preserve as 'monuments', was meant to be developed as a new city with Oriental features, to attract European tourists and settlers, a representation not entirely true that led to one of the first waves of 'gentrification' in Rabat. And after WWII and the withdraw of the French Protectorate, similar city planning schemes were applied onto Rabat. Following Lyautey's 'vision', clean, white towers for Europeans were built while the local population had to do with improvised shelters in informal settlements on the city fringes.<sup>13</sup> A *European Gaze* Modernism style on an exotic setting put into question the comprehensiveness of the narrative. Does the narrative take into account the views of all the interest holders? Decolonization should be an issue



Figure G.2 - Rabat, Boulevard in the Ville Nouvelle

directly addressed, according to *Madrid-New Delhi Document*, and it is up for debate in Rabat.

To recognize the shortcomings and challenges omitted in the UNESCO nomination, a firm view on the housing inequality is much needed, following the previously mentioned colonial burdens. To do Lyautey justice, mention must be made that his objective to keep the Medinas,—called *les villes musulmanes*—separated from the new quarters—*les villes Européennes*—came not from a European arrogance but an early 20th Century concept of 'respect' for the local culture. Lyautey came from an educated background and has witnessed a failed example in Algeria before.<sup>14</sup> For Lyautey, the separation of Muslims and Europeans was a political choice implemented into a spatial configuration. The plan had public gardens between the quarters distinguishing the controlled-European settlements from the organically growing traditional quarters.

The Art Deco style master plan of Henri Prost surrounded the medina and stifled the historic center while its population doubled by the late 1910s. Before the WWII, an inflow of European immigrants arrived in Rabat, and the Modernism style architect Michel Ecochard, built a large number of buildings inspired by the Le Corbusier's French hygienist concepts to accommodate the fast-growing population, of Europeans and Moroccans. However, the building effort was incapable to house the rapidly growing population a failed housing effort repeated after independence, and again at the end of the 20th Century. Still until today, Rabat is an evolving city with constant construction going on, and informal settlements still loom on the peripheral areas of the historic city.<sup>16</sup>

From the late 20th Century until now, Rabat's development had also altered the structure of its twin/rival city of Salé across the River Bouregreg, Rabat first attracted the population to migrate from Salé with its Modern infrastructures, and now the overflowed population are migrating to Salé's new constructions.<sup>18</sup> This could be described as a continuum to the colonial separation of the wealthy and the common, which set the challenge beyond housing, but social, racial, and national identity.



Figure G.3 - Rabat, Post Office<sup>15</sup>

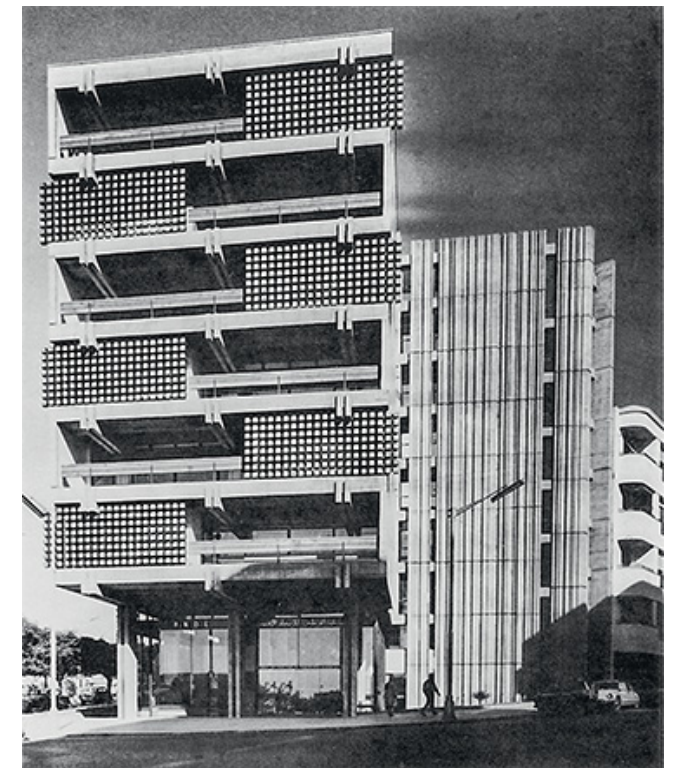


Figure G.4 - Rabat, Banque Nationale pour Développement<sup>17</sup>

The rapid development and changes in Rabat's historic center, Modern quarters and the neighboring city of Salé have posed impacts on to the UNESCO World Heritage site and status, at the annual UNESCO Committee Meeting (43COM) in 2019, the international organization expressed their strong concern on the contemporary development in the surrounding area and their negative impacts that might compromise the significance of Rabat's monuments. The government of Morocco was asked to provide a mitigation scheme by February 2020 under the risk of losing its UNESCO Heritage status placing the burden on the government

to provide a credible answer respectful of the heritage narratives grounded on its historic and modern values.<sup>19</sup> Elsewhere in Morocco, French-Moroccan architect Jean-François Zevaco's resorts in the coastal city of Agadir and the secluded town of Sidi Harazem, had been elevated to international recognition. The latter received Getty Conservation Institute's funding to 'Keep It Modern' in 2017.<sup>20</sup> The growing recognition and conservation of Modern heritage in Morocco have helped the form the awareness in the country without a doubt.

### Conclusion

It is clear that although the UNESCO Heritage inscription tried to address Modern colonial history and its integration into the historic city and culture, but still yet to find a strong 'heritage narrative' that would ground preservation. The point to reiterate is that we shall not look into highlighting one culture over another, but how to safeguard and honor the heritage as communication among cultures. With the support of international, national, municipal, and non-governmental bodies should arrive at a more refined interpretation. Rabat's case is not the perfect example but with the UNESCO Heritage status recognizing its 'shared heritage' culture, it is the one we can expect to achieve a more cohesive narrative soon.<sup>21</sup>

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## ANNEX H: URBAN ACUPUNTURE: A PARTICIPATORY TOOL FOR URBAN REGENERATION OF PUBLIC SPACES

Ifrac Asif

The Historic Center of Cartagena, a UNESCO World Heritage Site, is currently facing various challenges. The Center has been gentrified and a major part of the local population has been displaced creating social conflicts among the tourists and local community which has led to a loss of heritage values. The urban public spaces in the historic center are dominated by tourists, over-utilized, and privatized leading to noise pollution during the night and a loss of quality of life in the historic district. There is a concern of safety in public spaces, especially with prostitution and drug activities taking over public spaces during the nights, which has led to a general lack of presence of families and children in public spaces. The management of public spaces is a challenge for the local authorities due to a lack of community involvement. The local community has lost its sense of place and community and is facing a crisis of cultural identity. Public spaces in the center have been dominated by tourism and have been privatized and over-utilized. There is a growing interest to reclaim the public realm for the local community raising questions like:

1. How can we address the over-utilization of public and private spaces in historic districts?
2. How can we bring a sense of place and community back to public spaces?
3. How can public spaces be used to develop a sense of collective memory in a community?

### Urban Public Space

Public space is the stage upon which the drama of communal life unfolds. Wang (2002) defines urban public space as: "the space that exists among buildings in an urban area, it should be accessible to the public. This space should be the place for urban residents to meet and talk with others, and for the human being to stay in the natural environment. It is also the symbol of urban image, thus being called as the living room

or window of the city. It is a multifunctional space in an urban area, which could be the center of political, economic, or cultural activities. Urban public space is dynamic, which is essential for the sustainable development of the city".<sup>1</sup>

Public space can exist in a variety of forms, such as streets, plazas, parks, squares, and marketplaces. Links, nodes, enclosures, green spaces, landmarks, edges, paths are urban fabric components that connect public spaces among each other and with the rest of the city. Public spaces provide opportunities for people to experience a variety of human encounters.

1. *Plazas*. A plaza or a square is part of the living organism of the city with changing socio-economic and technical conditions. These spaces are the nodes, points of junction, the convergence of various paths, events, or journeys in the city. Plaza San Diego, Plaza de Bolivar, Plaza Santo Domingo, Plaza de Santa Teresa are some of the plazas analyzed in the historic district of Cartagena. Generally, the plazas are dominated by tourists and commercial activities, especially during nights.

2. *Streets*. Streets are the paths or channels along which the observer of the city moves. These paths possess characteristic spatial qualities, with a concentration of special use or activity aligned along the streets and special façade characteristics, streets are one of the structural elements that define a city. The streets and sidewalks are one of the vital components of the urban fabric. Calle de las Damas, Calle de Santo Domingo, Calle de la Amargura are among some of the streets observed in Cartagena. These dynamic spaces provide channels for movement, nodes for communication, and common grounds for social and economic activity.

3. *Thresholds.* Thresholds are the buffer spaces between interior and exterior spaces. They exist in the form of sidewalks, where they create a buffer between streets and buildings. In Cartagena, balconies extending onto the streets create tactile and non-tactile thresholds between public and private spaces. In urban spaces, thresholds create a transition from one public space to another, from the public to the private realm, and provide opportunities for physical and visual interactions among people.

4. *Parks.* Existing as in the form of green spaces, parks are the heart and lungs of every urban neighborhood. In Cartagena, public parks have the most significant presence of the local community. Getsemani is one of the local districts in Cartagena which is still pushing back on tourism. The Centenario park in Getsemani appears to be a point of urban refuge from the tourists for the local community, as the community presence is felt strongly in the park.

There are several factors affecting the use of public spaces:

1. *The presence of formal and informal economic activities.* Tourism is one of the major economies of Cartagena and the abundance of cafes, bars, commercial stores in the historic district is proof of that. However, fifty-five percent of the economy of the local economy is informal. There exists a tension between the formal and informal economy in Cartagena.

2. *The weather and the environmental conditions also are powerful influences.* Cartagena enjoys a tropical climate with wet and dry seasons and is surrounded by bodies of water. As the weather gets hot during the day, people seek shade for sitting in public spaces. Plaza San Diego is designed with trees acting as nuclei for the public space, providing points of gathering under the shade, with adequate sitting spaces. Centenario Park in Getsemani uses water as a micro-climate modifier to lower the ambient temperatures and creates comfortable sitting spaces to sit around during hot sunny days. The elements of protection from the Sun, wind, trees, and water are key features for the design of public spaces in Cartagena.

3. *Street furniture.* Successful public spaces provide a variety of seating options allowing for a variety of interactions. From sitting alone in a public space to observe other people to sitting together in public spaces and interacting with other people, the design should allow for options. The public seating spaces have been privatized in most plazas in the historic center of Cartagena and there seems to be a general lack of seating spaces under shade. Furthermore, the seating is designed mostly for viewing rather than public interactions.

4. *Food.* Food attracts people who attract more people. Food is one of the key elements for the design of urban public spaces. It occupies public spaces in formal and informal ways, from designed cafes and restaurants to streets vendors and carts. The public spaces in Cartagena have an abundance of cafes and restaurants which dominate the food economy of the historic center. However, there is still a strong presence of informal street vendors as well.

#### Urban Regeneration through Urban Public Spaces

Urban public spaces reflect the culture of a community and provide opportunities for social life and interactions among the local community and foreigners. These public spaces are an important element in the urban regeneration process as they have the potential to recreate the lost identity of a given city by generating a sense of place, as well as a sense of community.<sup>2</sup> The tourism industry has dominated the public spaces in Cartagena. There is a need to reverse the impact of tourism and the challenges that the city faces that come with it. However, for the community to reclaim the historic center and its lost identity, the changes must be made from within the community to achieve that sense of ownership for their historic district. This requires a bottom-up process that places public participation as its core.

According to the architectural critic Kenneth Frampton, the term Urban Acupuncture coined by urbanist Manuel de Solà-Morales “refers to the reparative potential of compact, catalytic urban interventions, with the proviso that these should be realizable within a fairly short

period and be capable of spontaneously restructuring their immediate surroundings”.<sup>3</sup>

Urban acupuncture is a social-environmental theory that combines urban design with traditional Chinese acupuncture treatment. Urban acupuncture actions are small-scale, bottom-up projects that foster community building. The participatory planning approach provides an alternative to investor urbanism and motivates residents of neglected neighborhoods to engage in place-making.<sup>4</sup> Urban acupuncture is considered a valuable tool for place-making in locations where market forces overshadow the residents’ abilities to make decisions about their right to the city.<sup>5</sup> “In contrast to large-scale investment projects, urban acupuncture is a small-scale practice applied in micro-urban environments, intended to engage residents in the creation of their public space. It is a strategy for approaching urban renewal or development projects that acknowledges the needs of locals and other stakeholders and puts an emphasis on creating shared common spaces, accessible to the local population. The use of urban acupuncture includes research into residents’ needs and consideration of their perspectives in the planning process. Targeted actions are then carried out to change public space and improve the residents’ quality of life”.<sup>6</sup>

The urban acupuncture process brings out points of engagement of dwellers in a local community in small actions within the micro-urban environment, to create

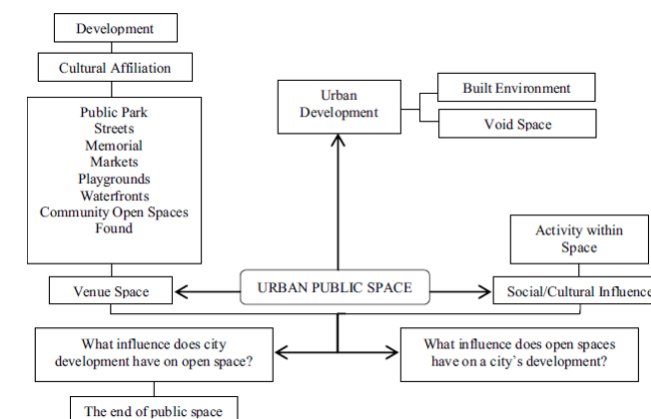


Figure H.1 Revitalization of Urban Public Spaces: The Process<sup>7</sup>  
Source: Adopted from Paigo, 2012

a diversity of content in public spaces. Understanding the needs of the residents is important before starting the process.<sup>8</sup> The process of urban acupuncture is structured in three phases:

1. *Community envisioning process.* The community-building process encourages actively involving people in the design process for shaping their environments. Urban communities are a compilation of various social actors. The process promotes involving as many social actors as possible, municipality, local community, cultural associations, politicians, designers, and planners. This approach aims to establish communication between different social actors involved in the urban regeneration process. The process further invites people from creative fields and brings together artists, architects, designers, sociologists, cultural anthropologists, writers, and curators to collaborate and generate ideas for community building. Incorporating lectures, discussions, art interventions, exhibitions, workshops to encourage community participation in shaping the environment they live in and to define its content.

2. *Identifying potential points of acupuncture.* Fostering interactions between locals and experts to define new content according to the needs of the community. The process includes identifying potential points of acupuncture, where small scale interventions can help change the character of the space. Through this network of small interventions, a process of change is stimulated in the larger urban context, which can be observed, and modified at a small scale by incorporating community feedback in the design process.

3. *Development of an action plan.* The last phase is coming up with an action plan to execute the urban regeneration plan through design interventions incorporating the community and supported by experts. Artists residency programs can be incorporated for the execution of this plan. Since this is a bottom-up participatory planning process, the action plan is continuously modified and improved throughout the process.



## Case Studies

### *Urban Voids: Grounds for Change, Philadelphia*

Urban Voids was an international design competition held in 2005 for addressing the crisis of vacancy and generating ideas about how to reuse the city of Philadelphia's vacant properties and reshape urban and natural forms throughout the city. The urban regeneration process started by discussions with the local community and envisioned to reconnect the city through a green network and bring public life on the streets. The proposed urban acupuncture interventions included ecological corridors, the addition of green layers to already existing networks, and incorporating lightweight structures as design interventions that accommodated various recreational and social activities.<sup>9</sup>

### *Rehabilitation of downtown Sao Paulo, Brazil through small scale interventions*

The study focused on how small and precise architectural interventions can be catalytic to urban transformation in Sao Paulo. As the neighborhood sprawled informally onto non-structural lands, the downtown Sao Paulo had been emptied. The study aimed to re-attract activity to the historical core of Sao Paulo by proposing twelve small scale urban interventions, considered to be suitable for the operations of a weak public sector. The proposed interventions were expected to stimulate the overall rehabilitation of downtown Sao Paulo. Some of these interventions included the renovation of existing squares, planting a new line of trees, designing new buildings, reconditioning existing plazas and squares, renovating existing historic buildings, maintaining public squares, changing pavements, adding new pavilions and re-geometrization of curb lines.<sup>10</sup>

### *Revitalization of Public Spaces, Barcelona*

The project focused on various public spaces in Barcelona, identifying the challenges faced by these spaces including lack of community presence in public spaces, and a lack of network between various public spaces. The architects realized that the masterplan could not solve local problems of the city and the goal was to work on a small scale to make a big change. The project envisioned to bring the community to public

spaces and to encourage social interactions among people. The urban acupuncture strategies included focusing on small scale interventions in squares in Barcelona and creating a network between the squares.

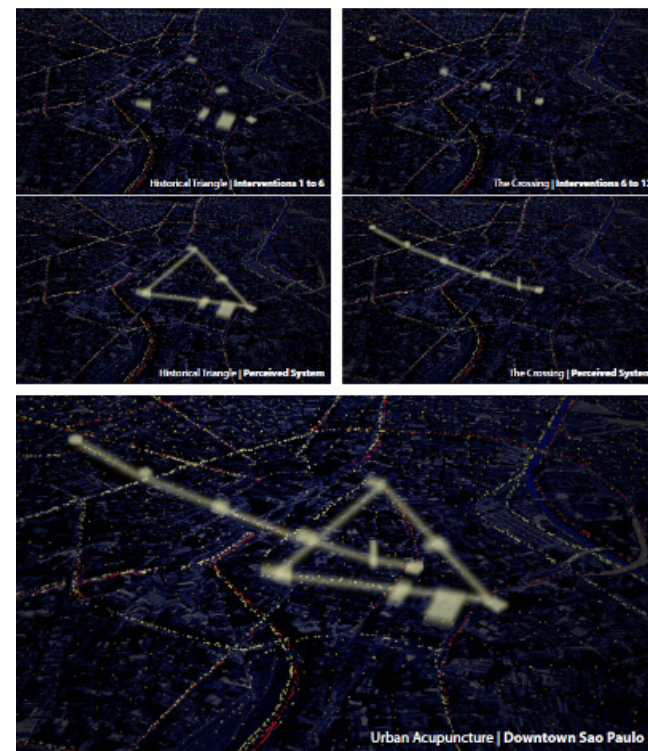
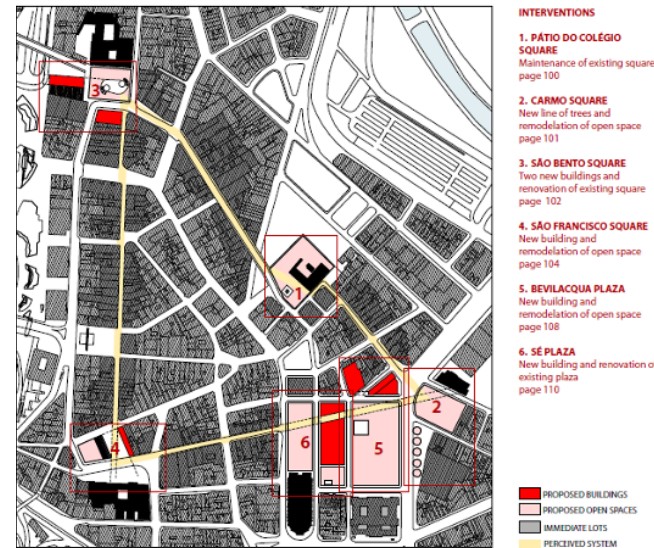


Figure H.2 - Proposed intervention in historical triangle of Downtown Sao Paulo<sup>11</sup>

## Conclusion

Public spaces are a key element in the urban fabric of a city. Lack of ownership and community involvement in urban public spaces lead to a loss of cultural identity. Therefore, public spaces play a vital role in the overall urban regeneration of a city or a neighborhood. Urban acupuncture is a bottom-up, public participatory process for the revitalization of urban public spaces that includes small scale, low-cost interventions that generate a sense of place and community in the locals and reinforce local identity and by reclaiming those public spaces. The urban acupuncture strategy provides a framework to address the challenges faced by the public spaces in the historic center of Cartagena and to enhance the historic urban landscape of the World Heritage Site.

### Endnotes:

- 1 Wang, P., 2002, *Systematic Construction of Urban Public Space*, Nanjing: Southeast University Press (in Chinese)
- 2 Revitalization of Urban Public Spaces: An Overview.
- 3 Frampton, Kenneth. 2002 *Labour, Work and Architecture: Collected Essays on Architecture and Design*. New York: Phaidon
- 4 Bostjan Bugaruc. 2018 *Urban Acupuncture Treatment: Implementing Communication Tools with Youth in Ljubljana*. Urbani Izziv, Public Space for Local Life.
- 5 Bostjan Bugaruc op.cit.
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- 9 Deenah Leob 2008 *Urban Voids: Grounds for Change Reimagining Philadelphia's Vacant Lands, Architectural Design* 78(1):68-73
- 10 Leonardo Shieh. 2006 *Urban Acupuncture as a Strategy for São Paulo*, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
- 11 Ibid.

