UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA I VIRGILI

Producing, branding and managing multifaceted tourist destinations: Cartagena, Colombia, as a study case

Producció, brànding i gestió de destinacions turístiques polifacètiques: Cartagena d'Índies (Colòmbia) com a cas d'estudi

Narcís Bassols Gardella

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Narcís BASSOLS GARDELLA

PHD DISSERTATION / TESI DOCTORAL

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PhD Dissertation / *Tesi doctoral*

Co-Supervisors

Antonio Paolo RUSSO (Faculty of Tourism and Geography, Universitat Rovira i Virgili, Tarragona, Catalonia, Spain)

Andrew SMITH (School of Architecture and Cities, University of Westminster, London, United Kingdom)

Departament de Geografia

UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA i VIRGILI

2020

לַכֹּל, זְמָן; וְעֵת לְכָל-חֵפֶץ, תַּחַת הַשָּׁמָיִם.

(קהלת א :3)

Tot té el seu moment i hi ha un temps per a cada cosa en aquest món

(Eclesiastès, 3:1)

To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven

(Ecclesiastes, 3:1)

Todo tiene su momento, y cada cosa su tiempo bajo el cielo

(Eclesiastés, 3:1)

Il y a un moment pour tout, et un temps pour chaque chose sous le ciel

(Qohélet, 3:1)

Alles hat seine Stunde. Für jedes Geschehen unter dem Himmel gibt es eine bestimmte Zeit

(Kohelet, 3:1)

DEDICATIONS / Dedicatòries

Al meu país i la seva gent. Tan tossuts,
tan resilients. Ens en sortirem.

A Colombia y su gente, que tanto me han dado.
Mis mejores deseos de corazón.

En memòria de la meva mare
Leonor Gardella Rodeja (1942 – 2019)

En record del meu avi Narcís Bassols Falgueras
en el 25è aniversari del seu traspàs.

UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA I VIRGILI

UNIVERSITY OF WESTMINSTER

FEM CONSTAR que el present treball, que porta el títol "Producció, brànding i gestió de destinacions turístiques polifacètiques: Cartagena d'Índies (Colòmbia) com a cas d'estudi", presentat per Narcís Bassols Gardella per a l'obtenció del títol de Doctor en Turisme i Oci, s'ha elaborat sota la nostra co-direcció al Departament de Geografia de la Universitat Rovira i Virgili.

WE HEREWITH STATE that the present work entitled "Producing, branding and managing multifaceted tourist destinations: Cartagena, Colombia, as a study case" has been submitted by Narcís Bassols Gardella as a requirement for the PhD degree in Tourism and Leisure from the Department of Geography of the Universitat Rovira i Virgili and has been carried out under our joint supervision.

Tarragona and London, 29 September 2020

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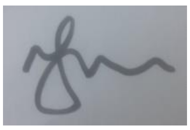

Dr Antonio Paolo RUSSO

Departament de Geografia
Universitat Rovira i Virgili

Dr Andrew SMITH

School of Architecture and Cities
University of Westminster

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

April 2001. A short notice of my first contact with Cartagena – or *La Heroica,* "The hero city", as many Colombians call it in memory of the cruel Spanish besiegement it endured in 1815. I visit the city as an export salesman, so I do not know what to expect from it. I haven't read anything about it before traveling, let alone bought a guide, as I am just focused on doing good business. Nonetheless, I am fascinated by every thing the city has to offer. A bright historic centre (not as polished and gentrified as nowadays), beaches, a tropical atmosphere… and the big discovery for me: Cartagena's people, a mixed population with many of them of African descent, which makes me feel like I am on a Caribbean island, not in Colombia (at least the 'Colombia' one would expect…). I stay in one of the best hotels in the historic centre which in colonial times was a convent. Thinking that they are from somewhere else in the Caribbean, I ask a receptionist and a waiter whether they are from Cuba or the Dominican Republic, the two countries I most associate with the looks and accents of these hotel employees. Immediately, four eyes look at me in dismay and two mouths open wide for a couple of seconds, in an expression of astonishment. When they recover their poise, they very shyly say: *'no señor… nosotros somos de aquí… somos cartageneros'*. If I ever have felt stupid and inconvenient in my life, it was then and there. But notwithstanding this faux-pas, I brought back home nice, long-lasting memories – which I have treasured for years.

Who would have said then that, almost exactly twenty years after this encounter, I'd be having my viva with a dissertation about this place!

August 2014. A big leap forward in time. Due to personal and professional reasons, I settle in the city of Barranquilla, the largest city on the Caribbean coast of Colombia, and start working as a lecturer and researcher in tourism at the Universidad Autónoma del Caribe. It's been decided that my newly-started dissertation will be about *La Heroica*, so in the next few years I will get to know the road connecting Barranquilla with Cartagena pretty well, as they are only 110 km. apart and the field work for the present dissertation requires traveling to Cartagena relatively often. Besides, it is a pleasure spending weekends there, away from Barranquilla's hustle.

As I am tight on budget, I soon discover the hostels in the Getsemani neighbourhood. And I discover Plaza de la Trinidad there, too, which at night turns into a big 'stage' where young backpackers from all over the world on transit in the city offer pastiche-performances, from breakdance to tango, to a 'glocal' audience. But what most impresses me are the chess-playing men of the neighbourhood who are sitting on a corner of the square. A small group of people, who I will always see occupying the same area, intently concentrated on their chess boards and completely oblivious to

their surroundings and to what is happening. They seem to belong to another place, another time. With the passing of the months, these men's concentration and silence seemed to me almost a form of resistance and self-affirmation in front of the rest of the occupants of the square.

October 2019. It's a balmy night in Cartagena (gheeeeezzzz… of course… ALL nights in tropical latitudes are balmy… cannot believe I am still looking at the Caribbean with a European gaze after all these years here). Anyhow, it is a pleasure to be walking on the ramparts taking in the fresh breeze. I know I won't come back to *La Heroica* for some time so I try to make the most of this (momentarily) last visit. The best spaces on the walls' ramparts are nowadays occupied by crowded cafés and discos catering for a distinguished clientele. I must cross a nicely set and busy terrace to make my tour of the walls. On no account will you see a local here: around me only the soft accent of Bogota can be heard, not the local, hard *golpeao*… I am surrounded by members of Bogota's upper class who are performing a 'bogotano' Saturday evening in the Caribbean instead of doing so in the affluent northern suburbs of the capital city where they live. It comes to my mind that, some two years ago, when asking a young *cartagenera* which part of the historic centre she would prefer to roam with her friends on a Saturday night, she looked at me totally puzzled. "We never go to the historic centre. I haven't been there for years… that's for tourists, we go where *cartageneros* go" – she said very slowly, to make sure I understand this all-too-obvious statement. As I cross my second terrace on the ramparts, a DJ is playing house music from a sentry box. I am not an architect working in conservation, but I know that so many decibels are a killer to these old structures and may inflict severe damage on them… what some of the city's besiegers in past centuries were never able to achieve, perhaps this young DJ will.

As I walk back to my lodgings (a gentrified house in the neighbourhood of Getsemaní, which is listed on AirBnB), I text my supervisors: "More touristification, more gentrification, more mismanaged heritage and more informal jobs… where will this lead to?" I am genuinely worried about the future of this destination and its lovely inhabitants, and perhaps this dissertation is a way of doing something about that. At the same time, I smile to myself: I have really developed an eye (and a critical one, at that) for such spaces as historic centres. And I decide to keep this critical eye when the time comes to finish my dissertation.

May 2020. As I am stuck in my parent's house in my Catalan village, due to the current world pandemic, and writing the last words to the present dissertation, I cannot help but marvel at how smooth things have been in recent years and how nice my transition has been from the industry to the world of teaching and research. It's not common at my age striving for a PhD degree, but things have unfolded so well that I am deeply grateful… I am proof of the motto of this thesis: there is a time for everything and our efforts must be primarily concentrated on letting things happen when they are ripe. As Colombians use to say: 'God's timing is perfect'. I never thought I'd be living outside Europe for several years, nor that one day I'd be a PhD student, nor that I'd return to Cartagena… the threads of our personal or collective lives are delicately interwoven and we just have to follow them. This is perhaps the biggest lesson I have learned from these years, and I hope I will continue to grow with it.

Acknowledgements

Writing a PhD dissertation is something you do on your own but never alone. Thus, I am thankful to the people who shared (parts of) this journey… and I'm afraid it is quite a long list.

First, I would like to thank Salvador Anton Clavé, coordinator of my PhD program at the Universitat Rovira i Virgili (URV), for believing in me; it must be quite a unique event when a guy in his late forties turns up one day in your office asking to be accepted to the PhD program. Mind you, he has been very enthusiastic about my project from day 1, and he has supported me in different ways throughout this journey. Thanks also to Antonio Paolo Russo, my supervisor, for his constant readiness and support. Most of the time he's been quicker answering my mails than an out-of-office automatic message. I am also thankful to Andrew Smith, my co-supervisor: he started out as my 'research stay' tutor at the University of Westminster and subsequently became co-supervisor. Both Paolo and Andrew have given me a lot of good advice and have helped this project come to a good end.

I have learned the job of lecturer and researcher at the Universidad Autónoma del Caribe in Barranquilla and the Universidad Externado de Colombia in Bogota. In both places I have experienced professional - and personal - growth. In this respect, I must thank Sandra Osorio (and her family) in Barranquilla and Edna Rozo in Bogota for the opportunities they gave me.

Throughout the five years I lived and worked in Colombia I am indebted, personally or professionally (but mostly for both reasons), to the following people: Christian Acevedo (for a strong friendship), Leonardo Altamar (for so many online chats), Jorge Bonilla (for papers and much more), Ernesto Cantillo (best *costeño* colleague), Ana M.Cañavera, Efraín Castro, Diana Chacón (best *samaria* friend), Beatriz Díaz (best *Mexican-Colombian* colleague), Eloísa F., María Luisa Galán Otero (*a mellor galega na América Latina*), Francisco Galindo (best *cienaguero* friend), Gleini Gallardo, Leonardo Garavito (for his sharp insights and our coffee breaks), Isabel García (for the many nice chats), José Alejandro Gómez (my no.1 reader), Ramón Eduardo

Guacaneme (and the rest of the USA colleagues), Netty Huertas (and the rest of the UTB colleagues), Carlos Insignares (for our *sopas de hueso* and much more), Jaime Iturralde (in Tulcan, Ecuador), Claudia Jiménez, Linda Leal, Martha Leal (best roomie on earth), Manuel Leguizamón (best *cachaco* friend), Inés Llanos (†), Doniphane de Meslier (best *franchute* in Colombia), Liliana Monroy, Diana Morales, M. del Carmen Morfín (in Puebla, Mexico), Catalina Orjuela (for soooo many things, *ya sabes*), Gabriel Orozco, Joan Passolas (in Barcelona, Catalonia), Merly Patiño (and her most welcoming family), Ronald Penagos (for our many conversations sharing a Chilean red), Luis Rubén Pérez Pinzón (best *santandereano* friend), Ladys Posso (my eyes in Getsemani, Cartagena), Wilder de los Reyes (my *barranquillero* brother), Gustavo Rodríguez (for seriousness and fun alike), Alberto Samudio (a friend and researcher in Cartagena), Clara Inés Sánchez, Manuel Sierra, Diana Valcárcel, Julio Vargas (both Sr. and Jr.), Martha Vélez, Wilfred Vilardy (best *cesarense* colleague), Alexander Zúñiga, Mabel Zúñiga and Deiwi Zurbarán (best Venezuelan friend).

En pacote, a big thanks also to Marisol (BAQ), Jenny, Patricia, Marisol (BOG), Yeral, Ceci, Alejandro and Milton as well as to Vilma, Claudia and Pilar – without them, I'd certainly have drowned in the bureaucratic jungle of Colombian universities.

I am deeply grateful to my students over these five years. It has been an honor teaching and supervising them, from introducing freshmen to the world of tourism to supervising a PhD candidate as a 'thematic juror'. I am especially proud of having supervised *semilleristas* (young talents in research), of having guided students who did their practicals with me and of those whom I examined or supervised their final degree works. With the brightest of them, we even became co-authors, so thanks for letting me into your lives, guys!

From September to December 2016 I was a visiting researcher at the University of Westminster, London, UK. I felt most welcome there and I thank the Tourism Research Group for an inspiring and creative time. Apart from my co-supervisor Andrew Smith, I'd like to mention Claudia Dolezal, Helen Farrell, Anne Graham, Robert Maitland and Ilaria Pappalepore. Like all of them, I also miss Simon Curtis, a very nice Westminster colleague who passed away in January 2019.

Pandemic permitting, I was a visiting researcher at the Faculty of Tourism, University of Girona, Catalonia, from March to July 2020. I thank the welcoming colleagues there, especially Lluís Mundet, who coordinated my stay and whose support made everything so easy.

It goes without saying that I am very indebted to my two co-authors Thomas Leicht and Carlos E. Soutto-Colón, without whose cooperation the papers making up this dissertation could not have been written. Thomas has been very inspiring, so *vielen Dank, Junge!* A special word of thanks goes to John Mitchell in Dunblane, Scotland, who patiently read and re-read several of my manuscripts during these years, turning my Spanglish into British English.

My PhD has mostly been carried out at a distance from my *Alma Mater* as I have been living in South America, so I am grateful to the URV for having made this 'PhD at a distance' possible. I also would like to thank the following colleagues at the URV who have offered support and friendship along this journey: Fiammetta Brandajs, Toni Domènech, Jon Olano, Isabel Paulino, Alan Quaglieri, Trini Rovira, Raquel Santos, Cinta Sanz, Benito Zaragozí and Min Zhang.

For different reasons, 'old' friends have come back in recent times and have been a source of support in the final stretch of this road. Therefore, I'd like to mention Dae-Gyu and Román (as well as their families), Pere and Gemma, Carles and Georgina (and their large family), Josep and Marta, Miguel Ángel and Marta, Nico and Uli, Jesús and Memi, Pere and Teresa, António and Tanja. Alberto and Maria herald the Riatti clan, an extended and growing family to which I feel I belong. Evgeny and Carles remain good friends of mine and are the best business associates I have ever met. Finally, a word of thanks to my *equipo*: M. Carmen, Jordi, Sílvia and Severine (with Martín and Alexia, sure).

Last but not least, a big *gràcies* goes to my family for their loving support throughout these years. It is not easy for a farmers' family to understand what this PhD fuzz is all about, but nonetheless they've been very supportive and proud. My mother has not survived to see me reach the end of this journey, she gave up a decade-long fight against cancer in November 2019 and rests in peace since. But I feel she is also part of this. *A reveure, mare. Un petó.*

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- CIP = *Centro Integralmente Planeado ("Integrally Planned Centre")*, Mexico's governmental initiative of setting up state-led coastal resorts
- CT / CST / CR / CTR = Case Theory / Case Study Theory / Case Research / Case Theory Research
- DMO = Destination Management Organization
- FARC = *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias Colombianas ("Armed Revolutionary Colombian Forces")* is the oldest and largest guerrilla group in Colombia. A leftist force, they signed a peace agreement with the Colombian government in 2016.
- HCC = Historic City Centre
- HUL = Historic Urban Landscape
- LatAm = Latin America
- USP = Unique Selling Proposition
- WHS = World Heritage Site

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Presentation and justification of this research project

You do not need to be an expert in tourism to visit a destination and understand that the place might be 'multifaceted'. In most cases, well-established destinations are. This means they possess a more or less broad gamut of attractions or products so that the visitor may see and do different things when visiting it. This variety seems sometimes crucial to destination marketers: for years, the city of Santa Marta, a nature and beach destination on the Caribbean coast of Colombia, championed the motto *La magia de tenerlo todo* ("The magic of having everything") – before coming to the conclusion in recent times that they need to enter a specialization process, if tourism in the region is to develop upscale. As a matter of fact, there are only a few truly single-asset destinations because most places in the world possess a combination of natural and cultural attractions (intangible or tangible). Perhaps just very remote places like the world's big deserts or the poles, with very scarce or no human presence and imprint, are truly single-asset (natural) destinations. Furthermore, it can be easily observed that stakeholders in many destinations actively try to 'add' more and more attractions and products to the place to make it more desirable to a growing number of markets. They may even go so far as to build new attractions from scratch, if deemed necessary to develop the local tourism. This trend towards an ever-growing amount of assets is apparent across all types of attractions. For instance, in the case of built heritage, Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000) underline the constant growth in numbers of cultural sites or spaces devoted to tourism in the past century, a worldwide trend which has continued ever since. The best example of this tendency is the progression in numbers of the World Heritage List since its creation in the 1970s.

Multifaceted destinations have championed 'diversification strategies' to achieve growth and added value. The first ones were probably the Alpine destinations, which in the latter part of the 19th century started evolving towards being 'multifaceted by season', combining activities in the summer months (hitch-hiking, horse-riding, fishing, thermal bathing or open-air festivals) with the ski-resort business in winter (Bieger et al., 2004; Sainaghi, 2014; Bassols, 2014). Also 'historical' seaside resorts have witnessed such processes: see Williams (1998: 27) chronicling the case of the emergence of seasonality in Brighton, on the southern coast of England, or Curtis (2016) reporting about rejuvenation processes in recent years on the coast of Kent, Southeast England. Likewise 'younger' sun and sand destinations have tried out diversification strategies in recent times, such as the Costa Brava in Catalonia with its summer festivals (Díaz Soria et al., 2014) or the Costa Daurada, also in Catalonia, with the Port Aventura theme park (Anton Clavé, 1997); see 5.4.2 for further examples.

In many multifaceted destinations, heritage production and heritage management issues may be found, whenever 'heritage' is part of the local offer, be it tangible or intangible. Furthermore, many coastal destinations also offer 'sun and sand' to their visitors and are confronted to the common challenges this type of destination faces, which have been well researched in the literature (see Section 2.2). In Cartagena, the field case for the present dissertation, sun and sand combine with UNESCO-marked built heritage, therefore posing the challenge of a balanced management for these two types of attractions (see Section 5.4).

While generally acknowledging that the passing of time has some consequences for the products and attractions in a destination, research has remained mostly descriptive as far as multi-attribute destinations go. Therefore, the challenge remains to address such matters as the speed at which product change happens, the causes that may favour or deter such processes and whether there is a general pattern explaining why, worldwide, destinations tend to become multifaceted places. Evolution seems to be an ever-present factor in destinations, but there are also the local tourist industry and the local authorities, pushing for progress and improvements, so their actions or policies will eventually have the place shifting. Sections 2.2 and 5.4 as well as Chapter 6 discuss these questions, which are central to this dissertation. Furthermore, there seems to be two ways for a destination to become multifaceted: either a typology of attractions is present and becomes activated or, if a certain attraction does not exist, it may be constructed. The first case would point to the development of attractions via planning, the second one to a product development strategy. In both cases, different layers of attractions/products are present in the place, some of them more important than others. The implications of these changes within the framework of the destination's product mix over time need therefore a solid theory explaining them.

In an attempt to contribute to these issues, the present dissertation focuses on the category of destinations boasting 'sun and sand' plus 'built cultural heritage'. The choice of the Colombian city of Cartagena de Indias is further justified in 4.2, but here we would like to underscore the interest and value of having a Latin American destination examined through Latin American epistemological frameworks, i.e. the frameworks touched upon in Section 2.2 are, to a significant point, the result of Latin American researchers' work. The other reviewed frameworks come from other areas, but have had a bearing on the region. The main stream of thought comes from geographical critical theory, as developed by Milton Santos and his followers (Santos, 1985; 1996). Other streams of research from managerial nature (valorization, land planning, etc., see Section 2.2) combine with the critical framework as it is also intended to provide an answer to the problems posed by today's destinations in Latin America.

Within critical theory, other concurrent paradigms could have been chosen, notably the post-colonial one (Hall and Tucker, 2004; Hazbun, 2010). However, geographical critical theory seemed a framework that permeates many issues in this dissertation, and therefore has the potential to connect them, and thus it was chosen.

A short word about the choice of terminology. The term 'multifaceted' (written as one word, though the hyphenated form 'multi-faceted' is also possible, as it is also the form 'facetted', giving thus four possible spellings of the same word) may point at, loosely speaking, a destination with two or more core attributes / types of attractions to consider. The Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionary accepts only the form 'multifaceted' describing the meaning of this adjective as "having many different aspects to be considered", which is deemed a good working definition for the research purposes here so it will adhere to this meaning and spelling throughout the text, while at the same time enriching this concept. Sections 2.4, 5.4 and Chapter 6 further discuss this question.

Following Donaire (2008) and others, Bassols (2016b) uses the term 'dual destination', to describe a place which has thrived for years on one, main attraction and then has developed a second one. However, this term is a little imprecise: what are these two 'main' attractions and who 'nominates' them? In reality, Section 5.4 argues that destinations are multifaceted by default as ordinarily we can find several attractions (typologies) at different development stages within them. Other possible denominations are 'multi-product', 'multi-purpose', 'multi-attraction', 'multi-attribute' or 'multi-asset'. To the trained reader, each of these comes with its connotations, but we adhere to 'multifaceted' as this term conveys the meaning we want, without further determining the discussion, which for instance is what the terms 'multi-product' vs 'multi-attraction' do. 'Multi-purpose' might be more adequate for a consumption discussion and 'multi-asset' for a discussion on single-asset versus multiple-asset places (see also 5.4). So these are the thoughts behind our final decision for the term 'multifaceted'. These many denominations are also the chance for a better terminological conceptualization, which is also one of the goals of this work.

When I started working on the topic of multifaceted destinations, the first ones I researched were places with two 'main' attractions. These were maturing coastal destinations looking for (at least one) further attraction or typology of attractions to diversify and rejuvenate. This is to be expected, up to some point: there is one 'main' attraction (type) and then diversification sets off by adding another attraction (type) to the first one. Yet, as time goes by, other attraction types may emerge in the sense of Richards (2018), see also Section 5.4. The right vision therefore is not the one of a 'dual' destination, even if on the surface this might seem so: tendencies pushing for a multifaceted place (not just a 'dual' one) are always there in a destination, be they overt or invisible.

In this dissertation, multifaceted destinations are studied from the point of view of two central processes or broad conceptual areas: the making of the destination as well as its branding and management. So, one might ask how these processes are related and if so, what is the kind of relationship that may be posited? While this matter will be unveiled in the course of this work, we can say in advance that it is a very close relationship and one of strong mutual influence but mediated by each framework dealing with this matter; in fact, it might be harder to keep them apart than connect them, according to some of the frameworks reviewed in Chapter 2. A related matter to explore is whether these destinations are the result of changes in the tourists' tastes or changes in targeted local planning policies. We may give away the solution to this dilemma, which will be unpacked in the course of the dissertation: the former factor explains many of the questions we raise here as, generally speaking, local policies are more reactive in nature than proactive. This will be further discussed and theorized in the course of this work.

There is a first delimitation here to be acknowledged, and listed as a 'limitation' in the final section 6.3: the existence of a third, equally interesting process related to destinations to study, and that is their consumption. Surely, including it in this research would have made for a nice, 'full-circle' discussion. However, for reasons of time and space, the consumption aspect of multifaceted destinations had to be left out. In chapters 2 and 3, more comments on choices and delimitations are made.

Therefore, the present dissertation is concerned with the following problems and topics: first, as there is a profuse terminology referring to multifaceted destinations, an effort will be made to clarify and better conceptualize these. As the present work deals with a Latin American destination, the question of the production and management of multifaceted destinations, as well as the relationships between these two concepts, will be applied to this context with the final aim of providing answers to advance the theory, but also for a sound management of the studied destination and similar ones. The choice of Cartagena de Indias for applying the theoretical insights from this work, as well as the choice of Case Theory Research as a framework and tool, are justified in chapters 4 and 3, respectively.

By researching all of the above points, this work has not only theoretical implications but practical ones as well, in the form of managerial recommendations. In fact, while containing theoretical implications, this dissertation is best characterized as a managerial work. Though some of the results touch on theories to make them more fine-grained, the final part (Chapter 6) deals with a significant number of managerial questions. See also Subsection 2.2.5 for more justifications and gap-finding.

1.2 Personal remarks and structure of the dissertation

1.2.1 Personal remarks

Some of my interests and motivations in writing the present dissertation may be read in the Preface, as may my fascination with the city of Cartagena. From a personal view, I find Cartagena a lovely place and an interesting one to study but, at the same time, I see the huge challenges it faces (Section 4.1), so this research work is a small contribution to solving them. There was then the aspect of 'personal challenge': for many years I have been a professional in the business arena, working for different industries as an international sales manager, completely ignoring the role of public/semi-public institutions or the importance of planning and managing places. As I started working in tourism and became aware of these matters, I soon felt attracted to them and decided to devote my PhD to tourism territories rather than to the hospitality industry. Finally, the fact of having lived close to Cartagena for three years made things easy and convenient. Section 4.2 outlines why Cartagena is an 'interesting case' to study; what I contend there is mostly scientific in nature, but some aspects also touch on my personal interests and subjective views of the destination.

In the course of writing the present dissertation I have discovered and become acquainted with qualitative research, especially case study research, for which I have developed an interest, regardless of its adequacy, which I think is beyond doubt (Section 3.2). This is also one of the reasons for using Case Theory Research (CTR) in this dissertation.

My professional circumstances have made me a part-time, distance student, which means that this research was carried out over a period of 6 years (March 2014 to May 2020) as I was working in Colombia as a full-time lecturer and researcher in tourism for most of this time, and so physically far away from my university. While this might not be the ideal setting, it was the chance to be part of Colombian research teams and participate in several interesting projects about tourism development in that country. This can all be read in Subsection 1.4.2 and, needless to say, these many activities and projects have had an indirect positive effect on the present research.

As recently somebody informed me, worldwide some 70% of part-time doctoral students never graduate, so I feel happy to get closer to the other 30% by submitting this dissertation. As in every journey, there were some bumps on the road but generally I have derived quite a lot of pleasure from doing a PhD while 'becoming a researcher' and working at universities, and I have never experienced any existential crisis, which is sometimes reported by PhD candidates. I have loved writing papers, supervising and being supervised, publishing articles in top-journals or lamenting them being rejected, it is all been part of a nice learning process.

1.2.2 Structure of the Dissertation

The present work is organized as a compendium of publications, which are included in Chapter 5. However, as the single papers focused on a different problem or question, an overarching literature review was deemed necessary so as to give the four articles a common ground, broaden the discussion, find a general gap and better answer the research questions. This is done in Chapter 2. Furthermore, the four main areas ("research entry points") of research concerning this dissertation (production of destinations, management of destinations, production of historic city centres (HCC's) and management of HCC's) come together under the viewpoint of 'southern epistemologies', i.e. the selection of Latin American authors in Chapter 2 is mostly a geographical one, but also a cultural one as well. See also Section 2.1 for further justifications and delimitations of the literature review.

Chapter 3 outlines the methodological framework for the dissertation as a whole, which is Case Theory Research (CTR). This methodology was found adequate to frame the whole dissertation because the individual articles also use this methodology, so finally this research can be viewed as a 'case of cases'. Special emphasis has been put into reviewing the case theory (CT) literature, connecting it with the present study case and the research questions so as to justify the usefulness of Cartagena as a study case (see Section 3.1 and further below).

Chapter 4 presents the object of study, Cartagena de Indias, outlining the historical, social and tourist context of this destination and justifying why it is a 'good' study case.

The four articles in Chapter 5 can be divided into 2 broad conceptual topics (see Section 1.1 above): destination making and destination management/branding. As stated further above and in the next section, both processes are intimately connected with each other, as some of the frameworks used for destination making are also useful for destination management and vice versa (see Section 2.3 and Subsection 2.2.2 for an extended discussion). Thus, the questions and contributions of this work are relevant to these two broad research areas. For their part, the four articles in Chapter 5 make up a thread going from the historical aspects of the place to the current management challenges. Thus, they are sequentially related as follows (Table 1):

DISSERTATION'S BROAD CONCEPTUAL AREAS			
Destination Making		**Destination Management**	
Article 1 (5.1)	Article 2 (5.2)	Article 3 (5.3)	Article 4 (5.4)
Historical aspects of built heritage planning and production; San Juan vs Cartagena	Diachronic and systematic aspects of Cartagena becoming a destination from an 'iconic' point of view	Local stakeholders' management. Identity and branding (conflicts) in the destination	The management and marketing of multifaceted destinations; Cartagena as a Case

TABLE 1: The two general themes of this dissertation, how they relate and the sequentiality of the four articles. Source: Author.

Finally, Chapter 6 lays out the conclusions to the dissertation, offers a cross-discussion, sums up the theoretical and practical contributions of the dissertation and points to further research.

1.4 List of outputs

1.4.1 Journal publications: compilation of articles for this dissertation

ARTICLE 1

¿Mantener las murallas o demolerlas? Urbanismo y disputas sociales en Cartagena, Colombia y San Juan, Puerto Rico (1880 – 1920)
[Keeping the city walls or demolishing them? Urban planning and social disputes in Cartagena, Colombia and San Juan, Puerto Rico (1880 – 1920)]

EURE – Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios Urbano Regionales, vol 46, no 137, pp. 47 – 64, January 2020, Special Section on History and Heritage
(co-authored with Carlos Soutto-Colón, Envision Puerto Rico L3C, San Juan PR)
Publisher: PONTIFICIA UNIVERSIDAD CATÓLICA DE CHILE; ISSN 0250-7161

JCR Impact Factor 2019 = 0.905 (5-year IF = 1.31) Ranking in Urban Studies: 38/42, Q4

- Ranking SJR 2019 in Urban Studies: 45/221, Q1

Permanent link: http://www.eure.cl/index.php/eure/article/view/2870
DOI: 10.4067/S0250-71612020000100047
Link to the English preprint:
https://drive.google.com/open?id=1XrzVrXgcgAT8ZN7hFxA9K5vm94DAaONZ

ARTICLE 2

Evolving Iconization and Destination Building: The Example of Cartagena, Colombia
Tourism Planning and Development, vol. 16, iss. 3, pp. 334 – 352, July 2019
Publisher: TAYLOR AND FRANCIS; Print ISSN: 2156-8316, Online ISSN: 2156-8324

- Ranking SJR 2019 in Business and International Management: 122/434, Q2
- Ranking SJR 2019 in Tourism, Leisure & Hospitality Mgmt: 49/123, Q2
- Ranking SJR 2019 in Development: 84/253, Q2

Permanent link:
https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/21568316.2018.1501730
DOI: 10.1080/21568316.2018.1501730

ARTICLE 3

Exploring destination brand disengagement in a top-down policy context: Lessons learned from Cartagena, Colombia
Journal of Place Management and Development, Vol. 13, No. 3, pp. 347-363, July 2020
(co-authored with Thomas Leicht, University of Leicester, UK)
Publisher: EMERALD; ISSN 1753-8335

- Ranking SJR 2019 in Business and International Management: 108/434, Q2
- Ranking SJR 2019 in Marketing: 73/195, Q2
- Ranking SJR 2019 in Strategy and Management: 138/468, Q2
- Ranking SJR 2019 in Tourism, Leisure and Hospitality Mgmt: 40/123, Q2
- Ranking SJR 2019 in Geography, Planning and Development: 168/728, Q1
- Ranking SJR 2019 in Urban Studies: 46/221, Q1

Permanent link:
https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1108/JPMD-06-2019-0040/full/html
DOI: 10.1108/JPMD-06-2019-0040

ARTICLE 4

Place marketing, evolutionary theories and the management of multifaceted destinations: Cartagena, Colombia, as a study case
Tourism and Hospitality Research
(co-authored with Thomas Leicht, University of Leicester, UK)
Publisher: SAGE; ISSN: 1467-3584, Online ISSN: 1742-9692

- Ranking SJR 2019 in Geography, Planning & Development: 152/728, Q1
- Ranking SJR 2019 in Tourism, Leisure & Hospitality Mgmnt 34/123, Q2

Submitted: March 25, 2020
Accepted with major revisions: June 24, 2020
Resubmitted: September 7, 2020
Accepted: September 17, 2020

1.4.2 Other published or submitted articles (2016-2020)

- **Branding and promoting a country amidst a long-term conflict: The case of Colombia**. *Journal of Destination Marketing and Management*, Vol. 5. No. 4, p. 314 – 324. DOI: 10.1016/j.jdmm.2016.10.001

- **Promoting tourism education in elementary and secondary schools: an experience from Colombia**. *Journal of Hospitality, Leisure, Sport and Tourism Education*, vol. 26. DOI:10.1016/j.jhlste.2020.100244

- **Valorando la cultura inmaterial del municipio de Villavicencio (Meta – Colombia) como posible fuente de diversificación turística** / 'Valuing the immaterial culture of the municipality of Villavicencio, Colombia, as a possible asset for tourist diversification'. *RITUR – Revista Iberoamericana de Turismo*, vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 3-24. DOI: 10.2436/20.8070.01.163 / Co-Authors: A. Gualteros and L. Jiménez

- **Preferencias de los turistas en hoteles y destinos: una aproximación desde el análisis de contenido y los árboles de decisión / Tourists' preferences in hotels and destinations: an approach based on content analysis and decision trees**. *Investigaciones Turísticas* (Submitted in July 2020; accepted with revisions in August 2020. Final acceptance: October 2020). Co-Authors: Andrea Ovalle and Jenniffer Rodríguez.

- **The perceived image of multifaceted destinations: investigating congruence in a cross-study with several content types**. *Information Technology & Tourism* (submitted July 2020). Co-author: Lluís Coromina.

1.4.3 Other related outputs (2014-2020)

2014

- INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE PRESENTATION: Marketing de destinos duales: los casos de Cartagena, Colombia y Tarragona, España /'Marketing dual destinations: the cases of Cartagena, Colombia and Tarragona, Spain'. *I Congreso Nacional de Investigación en Turismo*, Bogota. Organizer: Universidad Externado de Colombia.
- PROJECT: Centro de Competitividad Caribe (UAC) and National Centre for Competitiveness: worked with others in the setup of a group of variables and indicators to measure the region's tourism competitiveness. Disseminating the project and their results in the region.

2015

- PROJECT: Consultancy for the Country Club, Barranquilla
  Project's responsible in the improvement of their food outlets. Final goal: better customer service and redefining their restaurants' strategies.
- PROJECT: UAC and Governor's Office of Atlántico, Barranquilla: Teaching and support for displaced people wanting to set up their own business.

2016

- BOOK CHAPTER: Marketing de destinos 'duales': los casos de Tarragona (Cataluña –España) y Cartagena de Indias, Colombia. In Triviño, L. F. et al. (eds.) (2016) *Debates comtemporáneos sobre el turismo, vol. III: Desafíos actuales en la gestión e innovación del turismo. Perspectivas y apuestas para su manejo*. Bogotá: Ediciones Universidad Externado de Colombia (p. 39 – 56)

- INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE PRESENTATION: Tourists' mobility within a destination: The case of Cartagena, Colombia. *ATLAS network meeting 2016*: *Tourism, Lifestyles and Mobilities*, Organizer: ATLAS network, Canterbury, UK
- INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE PRESENTATION: Video or image? Researching tourists' digital footprints when consuming a space. *Urban Planning and Tourism consumption, 160 years for the Ringstrasse in Vienna*. Organizer: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel [Assistance to conference funded by HUJ's Austrian Studies Centre
- INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE PRESENTATION: Tourist branding of the Colombian Caribbean: Caribbean Sun or Andean Culture? Inaugural conference of the IPBA, London. Co-organisers: IPBA and University of Middlesex
- INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE PRESENTATION: *Some Heritazation and Touristificaton Processes in Cartagena de Indias, Colombia. 3rd Int'l Meeting on Management, Governance and Sustainability of the Cultural Heritage*. Villa de Leyva, Colombia. Organizer: UPTC Duitama
- INVITED TALK: Beach or Heritage? Marketing Latin America's Coastal Historic Cities. Seminar "Besides the seaside: diversifying coastal destinations", University of Westminster, London
- PROJECT: Local Tourism Roundtable, Barranquilla: I was a member to this local roundtable representing the UAC, supporting the members in their implementation of tourism improvement measures
- PROJECT: Restaurante REX, Barranquilla. Leader of a consultancy project for this big restaurant: redefining strategies, optimizing marketing and sales, setting up new menus, revision of finances and stock policies, financial audit. Headed a pool of experts in the different areas.
- PROJECT: Municipality of El Carmen, Norte de Santander: supervising of a student in her final practice: identifying attractions and tourism businesses. Recommendations for tourism planning.

2017

- KEYNOTE SPEAKER & ROUNDTABLE INVITED GUEST: XXII CONPEHT Meeting, Medellín, Colombia. Keynote: Memoria y emprendimiento en el posconflicto colombiano / 'Memory and entrepreneurship in the Colombian post-conflict'; Invited speaker at the roundtables: Sostenibilidad de destinos en tiempo de posconflicto / 'Destination sustainability in post-conflict times' and Turismo y posconflicto / 'Tourism in the post-conflict era'. Co-organisers: CONPEHT network and Colmayor Antioquia.

- NATIONAL CONFERENCE KEYNOTE: VII Workshop PACTA: Turismo: ¿qué tan buena herramienta de posconflicto es? / 'Tourism: is it a good development tool for a post-conflict era?' Organizer: Universidad Industrial de Santander, Sede El Socorro.

2018

- PROJECT: COTELCO Colombia (Colombian National Hotels Assocciation) and Faculty of Tourism, Universidad Externado de Colombia. "Renovating Colombian Destinations": building a working document with proposals to submit to the Vice-Ministry of Tourism.
- INVITED TALK: Rural Tourism: Bridging the Gap between Agriculture and Hospitality. Experiences from Spain, France and Colombia. Fourth National Congress on Tourism and Agriculture, Tulcan, Ecuador, 2018. Organizer: Universidad Politécnica Estatal del Carchi, Ecuador.
- INVITED TALK: 'Innovation and sustainability in tourism: Some experiences from Spain'. Foro por un turismo sostenible e innovador en las Islas. Island of San Andrés, Colombia, 2018. Organizer: INCOTEP San Andrés
- PRESS ARTICLE: Tourism Destinations in Colombia: Time for a Sound Management (Destinos turísticos en Colombia: llegó la hora de gestionar) https://www.eltiempo.com/colombia/otras-ciudades/destino-turisticos-en-colombia-llego-la-hora-de-gestionar-204664
- PRESS ARTICLE: Challenges in building up food tourism in Colombia (Los retos para construir un turismo gastronómico en Colombia) – with M. Lenguizamon https://www.eltiempo.com/cultura/gastronomia/los-retos-para-desarrollar-un-turismo-gastronomico-en-colombia-analisis-234408
- PRESS ARTICLE: Entrepreneurship and employees in tourism – not in whatever manner (Emprendimientos y empleos turísticos: no de cualquier manera) https://www.eltiempo.com/vida/viajar/por-que-el-turismo-permite-a-muchas-personas-emprender-275558

2019

- BOOK CHAPTER: Oportunidades y retos del turismo cultural en Santander / 'Opportunities and challenges in cultural tourism in the region of Santander'. In Pérez Pinzón, L. R. and Acevedo Tarazona, A. (eds.) *Patrimonio cultural de Santander: Bienes, destinos y productos para el fomento regional del turismo cultural.* Bucaramanga: División de Publicaciones UIS (p. 11 – 16)
- NATIONAL CONFERENCE PRESENTATION: Semiotic approaches to the production of heritage. *III Seminario Internacional de Investigación en Turismo, red RedCITUR*. Organizer: Universidad de Medellín
- INVITED TALK: "La sucursal turística del cielo": Promoting and managing destinations in the Valle del Cauca region, Colombia. EXPOCOTELCO Valle del Cauca, Cali. Organizer: COTELCO Valle del Cauca
- INVITED TALK: Social leisure and tourism in the new context of 'Orange Economy'. Meeting 'EXPOCAJAS 2019', Pereira. Organizer: Comfamiliar Risaralda
- OPINION ARTICLE: Tourism Challenges of the new [Colombian] government (Riesgos que enfrenta el turismo en el gobierno que comienza) Revista EXPERTO, no. 8, Issue 1, pages 102-107
- PRESS ARTICLE: Investments in tourism: where are we going to? [*Inversiones turísticas: ¿para dónde vamos?*] – with M. Leguizamon and J. A. Gómez https://www.uexternado.edu.co/administracion-de-empresas-turisticas-y-hoteleras/inversiones-en-turismo-para-donde-vamos/

2020

- INTERNATIONAL PRESENTATION CONFERENCE: Mobilities inside a destination: how determining is the local tourist industry? *Mobilities Transforming Destinations International Workshop*. Organizer: GRATET Research Group, Universitat Rovira i Virgili, Vila-seca (Abstract submitted June 2020)
- INTERNATIONAL PRESENTATION CONFERENCE: Destination brand disengagement and top-down policy contexts: Cartagena, Colombia, as a study case. IPBA. Organizer: Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona (Abstract submitted July 2020, accepted Septermber 2020)

1.4.4 Distinctions, funding and scholarships

2016

- RESEARCH FUNDING: Vice-Dean of Research and Transfer, Univ. Autónoma del Caribe. Awarded COP 20 mio. - USD 7000 for research into visitor behaviour in historic city centres, after a competitive bid.

- MOVETUR Project (CSO2014-51785-R), Ministerio de Economía y Competitvidad: Partly funded participation to ATLAS 2016 in Canterbury, UK as well as research stay at the University of Westminster, London, UK

- AUSTRIAN STUDIES CENTER at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel, awarded a conference scholarship for the congress *Urban Planning and Tourism consumption, 160 years for the Ringstrasse in Vienna* held in Jerusalem, December 2016.

2017

- NOMINATION: "Best-connected researcher to the social environment", Vice-Dean of Research and Transfer, Univ. Autónoma del Caribe, Barranquilla, Colombia

2018

- TRAVEL GRANT by the Universidad Externado de Colombia to travel to the URV with the aim of advancing PhD research

1.5 Research Stays

1) School of Architecture and Cities, University of Westminster, London, UK

September – December 2016 (International Mobility)

Coordinators of the research stay: Dr Anne Graham / Dr Andrew Smith

2) Faculty of Tourism, Universitat de Girona, Girona, Catalonia

March – July 2020 (National Mobility)

Coordinator of the research stay: Dr Lluís Mundet

1.6 Abstracts

1.6.1 English Abstract

The present dissertation intends to unveil some of the dynamics and processes found in multifaceted destinations. Two broad conceptual areas are considered in order to conceptualize and analyse the issues found in such places: destination making and destination management. Specifically, the destination studied is Cartagena de Indias, on the Caribbean coast of Colombia, a place boasting sun and sand as well as built heritage, hence a 'multifaceted destination'.

First, an overarching literature review of the following concepts is carried out: destination production, destination management, heritage production and heritage management. Especially Latin American researchers are reviewed, as it is intended to research into a Latin American destination but taking into account frameworks developed by Latin American researchers.

The methodology applied is Case Theory Research and the field work consisted of observation, archival research, a questionnaire and semi-structured interviews with the 'expert' stakeholders in the destination. Qualitative methodologies were preferred as these allow for deep insights into dynamics and processes, thus making this research comprehensive and rich in details.

The results show a destination that was produced in an organic way, both in terms of heritage as well as sun and sand. This was combined with hard elitist, top-down processes which resulted in brand disengagement and disagreements from the side of the stakeholders. Therefore, Cartagena de Indias is an intrinsically difficult place to manage. As the field work unveils details of the management of this place, several recommendations for practitioners may be found in the final chapter of this dissertation.

The contributions to theory from this research are, among others, (a) confirming the difficulties in separating place production from place management on a theoretical level. In fact, both concepts are found to be highly interdependent; (b) refining the concept of 'semiotic spaces' broadening them and making them more flexible; (c) the preeminence of the wishes and desires of the demand as a force changing the destination, over factors such as the planning and marketing by local authorities or the passing of time as changing forces, and hence the need to combine lifecycle theories with consumer marketing theories for sound destination analyses.

Further follow-up research could be done by analysing similar cases of destinations with sun and sand as well as heritage, or other multifaceted destinations combining

different typologies of attractions. Including the 'consumption' aspect in into the analysis of places (apart from their production and management) would make for a broadened and extended discussion about the issues this dissertation has dealt with.

KEYWORDS: tourism, destination making, destination management, place branding, destination marketing, sun and sand, heritage production, heritage management, built military heritage, urban development, city planning, stakeholders' management, top-down branding, bottom-up branding, icons, multifaceted destinations, destination lifecycle, critical theory, critical geographies, Cartagena de Indias, Colombia, Caribbean, Latin America.

1.6.2 Resum en català

La present tesi es proposa com a objectiu descobrir i analitzar alguns processos i dinàmiques que es troben a les destinations polifacètiques, per tal de conceptualitzar les qüestions que presenta aquesta tipologia de destinations. Es cosideren dues grans àrees conceptuals: la producció de destinations i la gestió de destinacions. En concret, la destinació estudiada és Cartagena d'Índies, a la costa caribenya de Colòmbia, un lloc en el qual s'hi troba sol i platja i a més patrimoni contruït, la qual cosa la fa que sigui una 'destinació polifacètica'.

Primer de tot, es fa un ampli buidat de literatura entorn de quatre conceptes bàsics: la producció de destinacions, la gestió de destinacions, la producció de patrimoni i la gestió de patrimoni. Es tracten sobretot autors d'Amèrica Llatina ja que la destinació investigada és llatino-americana, i es fa l'intent de discutir la teoria creada per autors d'aquell continent.

La metodologia que s'aplica és la de l'estudi de cas i el treball de camp va consistir en observació, treball d'arxiu, un qüestionari i finalment entrevistes semi-estructurades a actors 'experts' de la destinació. La metodologia qualitativa va ser triada per tal com permet obtenir una visió profunda i detallada sobre les dinàmiques i processos presents en un lloc, conferint a aquesta recerca amplitud i visió de detall alhora.

Els resultats mostren una destinació que va ser produïda de forma orgànica, tant els seus atractius patrimonials com el seu sol i platja. A això cal afegir-hi els processos top-down, que han produït *brand disengagement* així com notables desacords entre els actors. Per tant, Cartagena d'Índies és un lloc intrínsecament difícil de gestionar. El treball de camp descobreix aspectes de la gestió d'aquest lloc, que es deriven en

recomanacions per als professionals, les quals figuren al darrer capítol de la present tesi.

Les aportacions teòriques de la present tesi són, entre d'altres, (a) la confirmació de les dificultats en separar a la teoria la producció d'espais de la gestió d'espais; (b) afinar el concepte d' "espais semiòtics" tot ampliant-lo i fent-lo més flexible; (c) la preeminència dels desitjos de la demanda com a força principal de canvi en una destinació, per damunt d'altres factors com la planificació i el màrqueting de les autoritats locals o el pas del temps – d'aquí la necessitat de combinar teories de cicle amb teories de màrqueting de consum per tal d'arribar a anàlisis exhaustives.

La recerca aquí començada es podria continuar amb l'anàlisi de casos similars amb sol i platja i patrimoni o bé d'altres destinacions polifacètiques amb altres combinacions de tipus d'atraccions. La inclusió del 'cosum' en l'anàlisi de destinacions polifacètiques (a banda de la seva producció i la seva gestió) permetria així mateix ampliar la discussió sobre les temàtiques que tracta aquesta tesi.

PARAULES-CLAU: turisme, màrqueting de destinacions, gestió de destinations, producció de destinacions, brànding territorial, sol i platja, producció de patrimoni, gestió del patrimoni, patrimoni militar construït, desenvolupament urbà, planificació urbana, management d'actors, brànding top-down, brànding bottom-up, icones, destinacions polifacètiques, cicle de vida de les destinacions, teoria crítica, geografia crítica, Cartagena d'Índies, Colòmbia, Carib, Amèrica Llatina.

1.6.3 Resumen en castellano

La presente tesis se propone descubrir y analizar algunos de los procesos y dinámicas que se dan en destinos polifacéticos. Con el objetivo de analizar y conceptualizar las cuestiones que se presentan en esta tipología de destinos, se toman en consideración dos grandes áreas conceptuales: la producción de destinos y el manejo de destinos. El caso concreto de estudio es la ciudad de Cartagena de Indias, en el Caribe colombiano, un destino de sol y playa además de patrimonio construido. Por tal motivo, Cartagena es considerada un 'destino polifacético'.

De este modo, en primer lugar se realiza un amplio vaciado de literatura sobre cuatro conceptos básicos: la producción de destinos, el manejo de destinos, la producción de patrimonio y el manejo del patrimonio. Atendiendo a ello, se tratan en especial autores de América Latina ya que el destino investigado se halla en esta región y se hace el intento de discutir teorías creadas por investigadores de dicho continente.

La metodología aplicada es el estudio de caso, y el trabajo de campo consistió en observación, trabajo de archivo, un cuestionario así como una serie de entrevistas semi-estructuradas a actores del destino. Se eligió una metodología cualitativa ya que esta permite obtener una visión profunda y detallada acerca de las dinámicas y procesos que se generan en un lugar determinado, confiriendo a la presente investigación amplitud y detalle.

Los resultados muestran un destino que fue producido de forma orgánica, tanto sus atractivos patrimoniales como los de sol y playa. A esto hay que añadirle los procesos top-down, los cuales han resultado en un *brand disengagement* y en desacuerdos entre actores. Por tanto, Cartagena de Indias es un lugar intrínsecamente difícil de gestionar. El trabajo de campo descubre aspectos del manejo de este lugar, los cuales derivan en recomendaciones para los profesionales. Dichas recomendaciones figuran en el capítulo final de la tesis.

Los aportes teóricos de la presente tesis son, entre otros, (a) la confirmación de la dificultad a la hora de separar las teorías de producción de espacios de las de manejo de los mismos; (b) el afinamiento del concepto de "espacio semiótico" ampliándolo y haciéndolo más flexible; (c) la preeminencia de los deseos de los visitantes como fuerza de cambio en los destinos, por encima de otros factores tales como la planeación o el mercadeo que las autoridades puedan llevar a cabo, o bien el paso del tiempo. De ahí surge la necesidad de combinar teorías de ciclo de vida de los destinos con teorías de mercadeo, en especial de mercadeo de consumo, al objeto de llegar a análisis exhaustivos.

La investigación acá principada se podría continuar con el análisis de casos similares con sol y playa y con patrimonio, o bien con el análisis de otros destinos polifacéticos que combinan diferentes tipologías de atracciones. La inclusión del 'consumo' en el análisis permitiría asi mismo ampliar la discusión sobre las temáticas tratadas en la presente tesis.

PLABRAS CLAVE: turismo, marketing de destinos, manejo de destinos, producción de destinos, branding territorial, sol y playa, producción de patrimonio, manejo del patrimonio, patrimonio militar construido, desarrollo urbano, planeación urbana, manejo de actores, branding top-down, branding bottom-up, íconos, destinos polifacéticos, ciclo de vida de los destinos, teoría crítica, geografía crítica, Cartagena de Indias, Caribe, Colombia, América Latina.

1.6.4 Resumé Français

Cette thèse doctorale essaie de dévoiler certaines dynamiques et processus identifiés dans les destinations touristiques polyvalentes. Deux champs conceptuels sont abordés afin d'analyser les questions qui se posent dans ce type de destinations: la production de destinations et le management de destinations. Spécifiquement, la destination étudiée est Carthagène des Indes, en Colombie, une ville qui possède des plages mais aussi du patrimoine bâti, et donc une destination 'polyvalente'.

D'abord, la thèse offre à ses lecteurs une révision bibliographique qui survole les concepts de: production de destinations, management de destinations, production de patrimoine et management de patrimoine. Particulièrement on envisage la lecture d'auteurs latino-américains, c'est-à-dire, on essaie d'étudier une destination latino-américaine avec des concepts provenant de chercheurs de cette partie du monde.

La méthodologie appliquée est la théorie du cas, et le travail de champ a consisté en observation, travail dans des archives, un questionnaire et finalement des entretiens semi-structurés avec les parties prenantes les plus importantes de la destination. On a préferé les théories qualitatives puisque celles-ci permettent avoir une approche plus approfondie des dynamiques et processus, rendant cette recherche plus détaillée et complète.

Les résultats montrent une destination qui s'est faite de façon spontané / organique, en ce qui concerne son littoral mais aussi son patrimoine. Rajoutez une combinaison de processus élitistes top-down, et vous obtenez de l´indifférence envers la marque locale (brand disengagement) et des désaccords de la part des parties prenantes. Cela fait de Carthagène un endroit difficile à gérer. Le travail sur le terrain révélant des détails de gestion de la ville, les professionnels pourront trouver des recommandations dans la partie finale de cette thèse doctorale.

Les contributions théoriques faites par la présente recherche sont, entre d'autres, les suivantes: (a) les difficultés pour séparer les théories de la production d'espace de celles de sa gestion. En fait, les deux concepts sont fortement dépendants l'un de l'autre. (b) le raffinement du concept de 'espaces sémiologiques' en les élargissant et en les flexibilisant (c) la préeminence des désirs de la demande comme force qui change la destination, par-dessus des actions de gestion ou marketing des autorités locales, ainsi que de facteurs d'ensemble comme le passage du temps comme force de changement - d'où le besoin de combiner les théories de cycle de vie avec marketing du consommateur pour aboutir à des analyses profondes.

La recherche pourrait se poursuivre avec l'analyse d'autres cas semblables, avec littoral et patrimoine, ou bien avec des destinations qui combinent d'autres types d'atouts. De plus, l'inclusion de l'étude de la 'consommation' d'espaces, ajoutée à la production et la gestion, pourrait offrir une discussion plus large et approfondie sur les questions soulevées par cette thèse présentée ici.

MOTS-CLÉS: tourisme, production de destinations, gestion de destinations, production de patrimoine, management de patrimoine, image de marque des lieux ('place branding'), marketing de destinations, patrimoine militaire bâti, développement urbain, aménagement des villes, gestion des parties prenantes, top-down branding, bottom-up branding, icônes monumentales, destinations polyvalentes, cycle de vie des destinations, théorie critique, géographie critique, Carthagène des Indes, Colombia, Caraïbes, Amérique Latine.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 General epistemological considerations

The present dissertation touches on the topic of multifaceted destinations from two 'broad conceptual areas' (see Section 1.1). The first one of these is the making of destinations and the other one their management (marketing, branding and management proper). It seems coherent, thus, in this 'accompanying text' to the dissertation, to try to connect these two conceptual areas. That is why a wider, unifying framework has been chosen to 'glue' the four articles in the compilation into a larger project, i.e. something that goes beyond the frameworks discussed in each of the four articles, as these are necessarily more limited in scope. A requirement for this overarching framework is that it needs to be contextualized to the area studied, that is, Latin America. This demand is even more pressing in the case of a dissertation like this one, which takes on the form of a 'study case' (see Chapter 3).

Latin America is an area with social and governance features of its very own, i.e. top-down political processes, bottom-up contestation, unclear negotiations of norms and spaces, etc. (Gutiérrez et al., 2017; Delamaza, 2013; Lara, 2003 and Leff, 1994). This all makes this part of the world quite unique, sociopolitically speaking. Some of the articles in the compilation touch on that topic more explicitly than others, however this is an essential feature of Latin American society and permeates all types of processes and relationships, a fact that positivist epistemologies generally fail to capture.

So the author's decision to use a critical theory framework comes from the need for a deeper understanding of the (social) entanglements of tourism in that region. As Panosso and Castillo Nechar (2016: 19) put it:

> Resulta oportuno resgatar esse horizonte epistêmico-filosófico da Teoria Crítica, pois submete a reflexão crítica à chamada racionalidade moderna do turismo, a qual não pode estar descontextualizada dos processos históricos sociais.
>
> *[It is relevant to go back to the epistemology and philosophy proposed by the Critical Theory, since it brings under reflection the so-called 'modern rationality of tourism', and this cannot be dissociated from social historical processes].*[1]

The choice of a 'broad' geographical epistemological framework within the Critical Theory camp has been made in favor of the Brazilian geographer Milton Santos (1926-

[1] Translations into English from other languages by the author. Therefore, they must be viewed as working translations only.

2001), probably the most acclaimed geographer in Latin America of all times. Some of his theories are therefore considered and applied to this dissertation. Santos' work, relatively unknown to the Anglo-Saxon public (Melgaço and Prouse, eds., 2017), is contemporary with and influenced by other critical theorists, such as Henri Lefebvre, but Santos also tries to respond to some questions raised in the Latin American context. Within contemporary critical geography, he explicitly deals with categories such as social class, globalization, technology, information, etc. and applies them to the production and management of spaces with an eye for the Latin American situation. So the choice for this researcher is deemed to be both innovative and contextualized.

In line with this choice, the next section also refers to other Latin American authors who have made important contributions to the theory of destinations and heritage. As they mostly write in Spanish or Portuguese, their work has sadly not received enough attention from the global research community. This is therefore a sign of 'justice' but also an attempt on the Author's side to do something more innovative and 'off the beaten track'. Further, the inadequacy of strictly western epistemologies is pointed out by Pereira Roders and Bandarin (2019: 5) as they state: "nowhere as in the field of urban heritage has the drift existing between the original western approaches and the social perceptions, needs and realities of the emerging world been greater."

Also in the next section, alongside elements of the theory developed by Santos and his followers, as well as other Latin American authors, more 'classical' research frameworks of destination making and management will be touched upon. These have emerged within the tourism research arena and might shed light onto various research goals of the dissertation.

Frameworks for heritage making and heritage management will also be discussed in 2.2, as they play an important role in this work: Cartagena is a heritage destination (along with sun and sand) and looking at how this heritage has been produced and managed gives important clues to the current situation in the city, as far as tourism development and place branding go.

Accordingly, the ultimate goal of the next section here below is to give this dissertation an overall framework, to bring together several of the frameworks touched upon on the single articles in Chapter 5 and to explore some others considered interesting or related to this research work

2.2 Conceptual "entry points" / Review of theories, models and concepts

2.2.1 Destination making

Reflecting on Santos' ideas on the production of space, Arroyo (1996) contends that places are shaped by people but they shape people in turn, so a mutual relationship of influence is posited. While most conceptual theories agree to the former point, it is not as clear as for the latter one: a more positivist paradigm would see this as a one-way direction, not as a return path. In *Espaço e método* (1985), Santos states that "place" necessarily entails "objects" but also "society", so the latter is a constitutive part of place, without which places cannot be constructed. Hence the implicit criticism of gentrification and other modes of expelling people from developing tourist places (and, as will be made clear 2.2.3, the social component is in fact a constitutive part of a place, in our case of a destination possessing built heritage). He also notices that a place "expressa a cooperação e o conflito, a permanência e a mudança, a criação e a recriação das dinâmicas impostas pelas forças internas e externas do mundo" ["*expresses both cooperation and conflict; permanence and change, creation and recreation of the dynamics enacted by the world's internal and external forces*"]. The concept of "forças internas" vs "forças externas" is an interesting one for us: how are destinations shaped? By whom? According to Santos, the local power to shape a place is quite weak in front of the hegemonic global powers (vertical), which have a stronger say, although they are locally countered and mediated by neighbourhood relationships based on cooperation and solidarity (horizontal). This global-local struggle is carried out in the place (the destination) and has as a consequence that places in the world differ among themselves due to forces pushing for distinction. So, contradicting many views claiming that spaces become more and more standardized under globalization pressures (Donaire and Mundet, 2001), Santos sees it the opposite way: as a result, places are more different than equal to one another. Thus, places resist but also adapt to the global order, being highly evolving spaces (Santos, 1994).

Santos goes further into this issue by stating that places are highly relational: everything in a place is in a constant relationship with the other elements in that place. However, the transformations that occur in a place are carried out by people, whose actions are mediated by the objects (be they natural or man-made) which are present in a place. Santos (1994) depicts this evolution as follows:

> "O novo chega, mais não hegemoniza todas as esferas e todos os lugares: o novo expulsa o velho, às vezes este resiste por muito tempo."

> [*New things arrive but they will not dominate each and every area; new things expel old ones, but sometimes the latter resist for a long time*]

This is a very interesting idea which strongly matches that of the authors who have studied the evolution of spaces from a destination management point of view, like Richards (2018), in the sense that 'older' attractions never completely lose their pulling power. For the rest, we agree with the vision of space as a highly relational entity.

Along these lines, Moreira and Hespanhol (2007) look into monumentality issues, similar to that discussed in Section 5.2:

> "A monumentalidade do espaço através de símbolos de poder revela que o lugar, é um espaço vazio, pois é construído em função de uma lógica que impõem modos de usos, comportamentos e a duração do uso."

> [*The monumentality of a space, represented by power symbols, reveals that the place is an empty space since it is built under certain criteria which impose uses, behaviours and the duration of the uses*.]

It is interesting to see that the forces shaping a space do so for just a certain time. Adding the 'time' factor establishes the connection with many destination evolutionary models. The research program, therefore, aims to investigate who/what triggers transformations at the pace at which these transformations are brought about.

The place is a reservoir of identity to the individual, but it also seems to be in a permanent state of creation, since, as Moreira and Hespanhol (2007: 54) posit:

> "A identidade, o sentimento de pertencimento e o acumulo de tempos e histórias individuais constituem o lugar. Este guarda em si o seu significado e as dimensões do movimento da história, apreendido pela memória, através dos sentidos".

> [*The identity, the feeling of belonging and the accumulation of individual times and stories make up any place. It is the place which treasures their meaning and the dimensions of the passing of history, and these are stored in the memory, through the body's senses*.]

This citation connects with subsection 2.2.4, which deals with HCC's as places of memory.

At this point, it is also interesting to compare Santos' ideas with the studies relating historic cities and the start of mass city tourism in the 1990's and 2000's such as Ashworth and Tunbridge (1990), Judd and Fainstein (eds., 1999) or some contributors to Jansen-Verbecke, Priestley and Russo (eds., 2008). These three books view the (historic) place from another angle, i.e. from the side of production. Judd (2004: 1) precisely states that "Tourist spaces must be viewed as a production system and not as a consumption system".

As monuments are symbolic artefacts which may become 'iconic', another theoretical framework to mention here is the semiotics framework (see also 5.2). It is partly a social one (highly symbolic attractions in a destination are socially constructed, cf. Becken, 2005; Rey Castillo-Villar, 2016) but, at the same time, icons and semiotic spaces are 'made' by planners and marketers. Therefore, this framework allows for a connection between these two conceptual areas. Destinations in general, and historic centres in particular, are said to have 'symbolic' features or values; this concept is repeatedly found in the literature about destinations and heritage, but many times in a vague and loose way. As a relatively 'novel' framework, it is the one chosen to structure the analysis of Cartagena's touristification process in Article 2. The semiotics framework has its roots in the works of the American philosopher Charles S. Peirce, who is considered the founder of modern semiotics. For a further development of this framework applied to historic cities, see Subsection 5.2.3.

As Cartagena de Indias is also a seaside destination, some considerations about the making of sun and sand destinations are in order. Cartagena's sun and sand potential was not discovered until the 1960s, a decade when this tourism typology grew exponentially around the world. In the last century, there have been two main typologies of beach destinations production: the organic one, which accounts for the production of the majority of such destinations throughout the world, and the planned one. A well-known example of the latter is the development of tourism resorts along the coastline of the Occitan region, on the Mediterranean coast of France (Sagnes 2001; Fourcade, 2019). Another well-known example in the Latin American context are the Mexican CIPs (*Centros Integralmente Planeados*), see Talledos Sánchez (2016) or Osorio García et al. (2019). In both cases, significant top-down planning (both in terms of spatial and financial planning) has led to enormous spatial and economic changes in those destinations. Real estate speculation, lack of community participation, structural changes in the local economy, population shifts as well as political corruption (or at least some kind of political venality) due to too much agency power are the factors to be bemoaned. It is interesting to notice that, to a significant extent, the same complaints may be heard in organically-grown Latin American destinations, which is quite a remarkable fact, as it seems that the two different production systems bring about the same problems. In the French case, Sagnes (2001: 13) bemoans the venality that apparently seems inherent to the system: "Quant aux élus, une partie d'entre eux et non des moindres est partie prenante dans les sociétés d'aménagement du littoral." ["*As for the politicians in the region, a significant* *number of them are on the boards of the building societies of the coast*"]. In Mexico, the best-known and, at least under certain considerations, the most successfully planned destination is Cancun and its region of Quintana Roo. Osorio García et al. (2019) study the case of Ixtapa (a CIP on the Mexican Pacific coast) under Butler's lifecycle, stating that the destination went from a growing phase to a decadence phase without, interestingly, experiencing a maturity phase.

Cases of spontaneous development abound, as they are the default rule, but we would like to point out the Catalan coast line, a geographically-adjacent area to the Mediterranean French coast which, despite its closeness, has seen a completely opposite process, where, on a national level, authorities promoted the country's coastal areas intensely but, on a local level, organic development (not to say 'chaotic development') has been the rule. See for instance Mundet i Cerdan (1997; 1998; 2000) on the inception of tourism in the Costa Brava, or, at the other end of the cycle, see Anton Clavé (ed., 2012) for a compilation of rejuvenation experiences in the Costa Daurada.

2.2.2 Destination management

The management of destinations has been reflected upon by tourism geographers for decades and, to this end, several models of destination development and management have been proposed. De Oliveira (2007) analyses some of them and divides them into two groups: spatial models and systemic models. Some of the most interesting contributions from the Ibero-American area are Fernández Fuster (1985/1967), a straightforward model relating place of origin and destination; Boullon (1985), who proposes an 'early' but fully-fledged managerial model of destinations; Beni (1998), a more complex model also taking into account market factors; Palhares (2002), the first one in the region tackling the issue of 'primary' versus 'secondary' destinations; Anton and González (2007), setting up a place typology which links urban development to tourism development in destinations, and finally Ercolani and Benseny (2010) whose model takes into account not only spatial but also temporal factors. Other authors have combined place development with economic development, like Russo (2002) with his study connecting the manifold relations between "the spatial organization of tourism, the quality of tourism products in heritage cities, and the dynamics of the regional economies".

Most of the aforementioned models try to account for the relationships between points of origin and points of destination, the transformations of space due to the impact of tourism, the ways the place and the tourist market interact, etc. A direct relationship to Santos' theories could be established here as the aforementioned models also take into account some of Santos' categories: the landscape as a resource (which is technified in the touristification process), the tension between global and local, the existence of fixed points and fluent streams, or even the construction of tourist products. However, as the present project intends to connect aspects of destination production, place branding and destination management, we have chosen the two models which, in our eyes, most clearly connect both aspects of destination *evolution* and destination *marketing*. One of these is Butler (1980), probably the most widely used model in destination evolution research in the last decades, which originated from the lifecycle theories for products (see also Agarwal, 2002). The other one is the model proposed by the late French geographer Michel Chadefaud (1988), see also Suchet (2015). In Article 4, it is argued that these models might be complementary, as Butler gives a general framework for destination evolution (of seaside resorts), but Chadefaud is more specific as, according to him, destinations do not evolve as a whole, and instead each type of attractions they possess evolves differently according to the changing tastes of the demand, tastes which are influenced by the elite of any given society. Therefore, this allows for a better understanding of the connections among evolutionary issues and marketing issues, which is the object of Article 4.

Chadefaud developed the following model which tries to explain the forces acting upon a destination and pushing for both spatial and product change (Figure 1). The main cause for this evolution, according to him, is the changing tastes of the elite ('dominant social groups') which are passed on to the dominated classes. A central position in his theory regards the 'myths', formed by the mutual influence of social demands and mental representations (similar to the 'imaginaries' of other authors like Hiernaux, see 2.2.4). In fact, the subtitle of his work is *Du mythe à l'espace*, so his theory tries to account for a broader process than Butler's and others. He does not forget the importance of the tourist superstructure in the place (represented in the rectangle called 'tourist product'). This all gives rise to what he calls 'stereotyped spaces'. Notice that almost all of the elements are related to each other, and strong mutual influences may clearly be inferred (Figure 1). Chadefaud's theory is summed up on the back cover of his book with a short sentence:

> "De l'imaginaire naît la fonction, l'activité, l'espace et, au-delà une légitimation inventée que les acteurs sociaux transforment en déterminisme naturel ou en ordre des choses."
>
> [*The imaginaries give raise to the function, the activity and the space and even beyond, to a legitimation which social actors transform into natural determinism or the order of things*.]

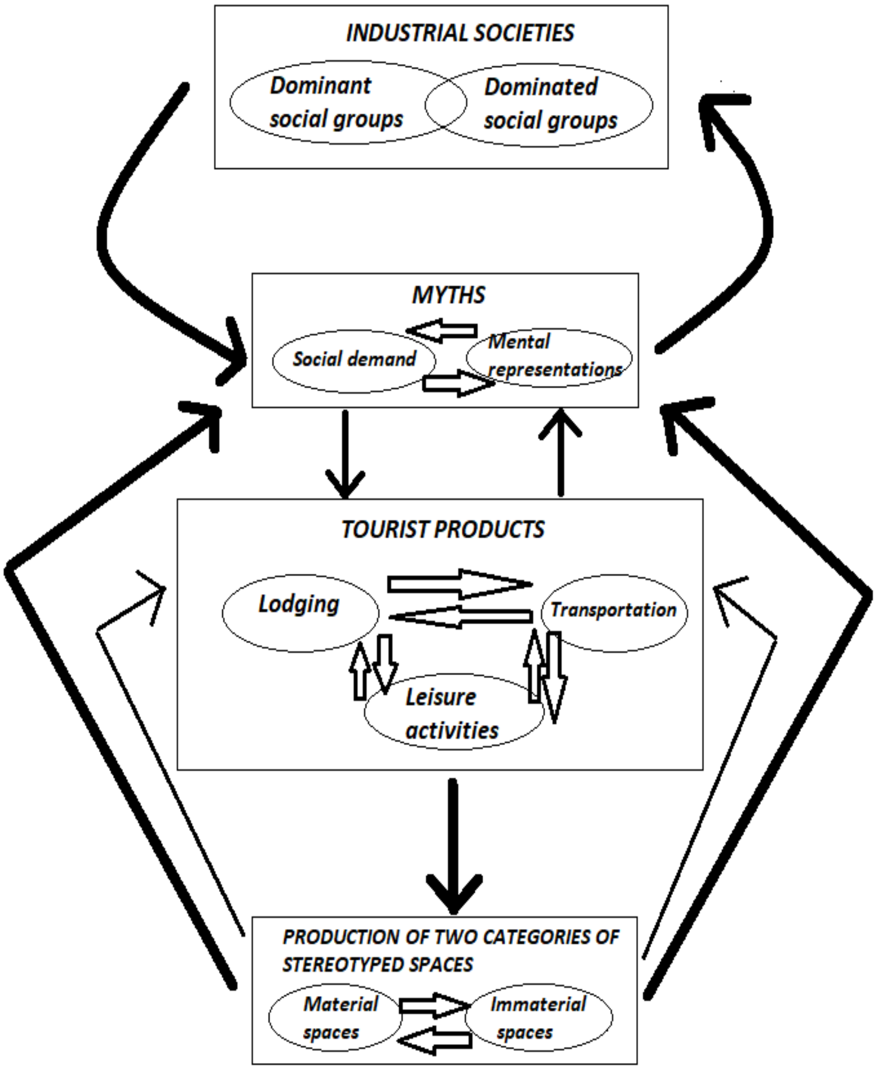


FIGURE 1: Chadefaud's model. Source: Chadefaud (1988: 17). Irrespectively of their size or design, arrows just denote 'influence'.

While Chadefaud does not mention the scale of his 'dominant social groups', through reading his work these appear as the local elite, Santos clearly states that they are the global elite, pushing worldwide for a change which is mirrored on a local scale. This elite-driven shift is a point relating both authors. Further, Chadefaud's model also shows some traits of the life cycle's theory: for tourist products in a destination, he acknowledges the three phases of creation, maturity and obsolescence but, instead of applying his theory to the destination as a whole, Chadefaud (1988: 21) does so to each product in a destination. This issue is interesting to remark as it was not acknowledged in Butler's camp until some time later: Hovinen (2002) was one of the first as he noticed that different products might be at different stages in a destination. On the other hand, the cycle of a destination has been paralleled to the market segments arriving to it, according to Johnston (2001) and more recently to Singh

(2011), who concluded that the right visitors must visit a place in the right point of its destination lifecycle. So several authors posit product and segment as the basis of the analysis of the lifecycle.

A framework worth mentioning as it became widespread in Latin America in the 2010s, is the valorization framework. Noticeably related to territorial planning and the discovery and *mise en scène* of tourist resources, this framework was the academics' stance at a time when authorities in many Latin American countries were pushing for strong tourism development, see De Myttenaere and Rozo Bellón (2010) and contributions therein. In Colombia, the theoretical foundations for this 'developmental turn' were partly transferred by French-speaking scholars (Decroly, 2010; Godart, 2010). While many scholars working within the valorization framework remained critical of mainstream development practices, or at least tried to strike a balance between tourism development and tourism sustainability, they had no conceptual tools to introduce questions into their works related to social, political or environmental conflicts (see for example Osorio Osorio, 2013). These would come up later in Colombia in the 2010s decade as tourism grew, reminding everyone of the importance of sustainable (or at least balanced) development.

A third framework in this subsection regards place marketing proper. It is the "unique selling proposition" (USP) versus the multiple-asset approach. A comparison of USP-based theories versus multi-product ones might help us better understand the dynamics found in multifaceted destinations, and derive good recommendations on how to market these, one of the goals of this dissertation. Originally from the product marketing arena, the USP vs. multi-product strategy may give orientation to multifaceted destinations when positioning themselves on the market (Tasci, 2011: 118). As reported in Subsection 5.4.2, George (2016) studied several Caribbean destinations relating attractions and USP: the latter was generally observed in destinations with a less diverse range of assets and conversely was less used in destinations with a broader offer of attraction typologies. While the advantages of becoming a multifaceted destination seem clear (expanding into new market segments, less dependence on few 'main' attractions, etc.), this process comes with problems as the management intricacies of the place grow. The question here is how to strike the balance between a widely recognizable anchor attraction and a number of smaller ones attached to it (Becken, 2005). Erkuş-Öztürk & Terhorst (2018), on the other hand, discuss a case of a single-asset destination where tourism seems to have an overall positive economic impact, so the discussion of single versus multiple assets seems far from being conclusive, and this dissertation aims to shed some light on this issue.

The evolution of destinations and multifaceted place marketing are related by diversification processes. According to the most classical version of the lifecycle, as time passes by and the destination is in need of 'renovation' or 'rejuvenation' to stay attractive and be able to expand, diversifying into new attractions or products is essential and this is a strategy which has been followed by a significant number of destinations across the Mediterranean first, and the Caribbean later on (for a review of some of these, see Paragraph 5.4.2.1).

A final theoretical perspective on this subsection is provided by looking at place branding. 'Branding' as such has its origins in the business world, in the efforts companies make to differentiate their products from their competitors'. It was developed thoroughly during the last decades of the past century until the concept of 'brand equity' emerged, where brands became one of a company's most important assets (Keller, 2003). By the 1990s, as territories came to be regarded as assets by the dominant neoliberal economic ideas, the concept of 'branding' was extended to 'place branding' so as to encompass nations, regions and cities (Anholt, 2007; Dinnie, 2008; Govers and Go, 2009). For some regional cases, Sanín (2016) and Echeverri et al. (2017) studied Colombia and Fehimovic and Ogden (eds., 2018) published several cases from across Latin America. Soon tourist destinations worldwide became 'branded places' with a 'branding strategy' behind them (Morgan and Pritchard, 2000). Therefore, today we have a vast corpus of literature on the development of place brands and branding strategies in a destination (Deffner and Psaha, 2019; Kasapi and Cela, 2017).

What has been said further above about single-asset vs multi-products in a destination is an issue that is likely to be influenced by the local ('expert') stakeholders. The question is: what does a multifaceted destination stand for? This is the subject of hard disputes and negotiations between place stakeholders: politicians, planners, the DMO, the resident population, etc. The extant branding research has found out that there are two ways that place branding processes might be achieved: top-down (i.e. the process is led by the local elite, with the participation of a small group of hand-picked influencers and experts) or bottom-up (with broad participation by all concerned groups of interest). An example of the former case is Kalandides (2011) for Bogota, an example of the latter is De San Eugenio-Vela et al. (2019) about the setting up of the Empordà county brand, in northern Catalonia. Subsections 5.3.2 to 5.3.4 offer a short literature review pitching top-down against bottom-up literature, concluding that these are two are hard to separate, especially so in the Latin American context, as they sometimes mix and intermingle, questioning the clear divide suggested by these two concepts.

2.2.3 (Built/Urban) Heritage making

As much as destination making, this work regards heritage making as essentially a sociopolitical process. This is especially so in the case of urban/built heritage, as this type of heritage is part of the public space or the urban fabric and as such it is highly visible, therefore more liable to being a source of diverging opinions. In the words of Pereira Roders and Bandarin (2019: 6):

> Heritage is increasingly viewed as a system of values linked to social perceptions and choices. A cultural revolution has taken place in this field, with implications not yet fully understood and perceived, that will certainly mark the nature of heritage in the twenty-first century and its role in human, social and economic development. Nowhere this is more visible and more relevant than in cities.

Because of this social aspect, 'selecting' heritage is a common practice throughout the world, yesteryear and nowadays alike. Kelly (2006) illustrates this process in the case of Irish heritage and Khirfan (2014) for historic cities in the Middle East. Therefore, what is to be shown (and how it is to be shown) versus what is concealed (or at least left in the background) are likely to be causes of disagreements. So (built) heritage is "disputed" (Article 1), "contested" (Creighton, 2007), "fought over" (Hiriart Pardo, 1999) or, at least, "ambivalent" (Chadha, 2006). This all makes an approach from the Critical Theory (cf. Section 2.1) relevant and interesting.

Some heritage buildings are often considered 'icons' in the places where they are located (se also 2.2.1). Therefore, an important related discussion is the process of urban heritage building in recent years which has been termed 'starchitecture', a global trend which has resulted in edifices built across the world, pushed forth as symbolic icons and also as tourist attractions (Specht, 2014). Étier (2015) illustrates the case of Toronto and Freestone et al. (2019) the case of Central Sydney and the changes these space design policies bring about. The discussion about the urban and socio-economical dynamics of 'icons' or 'flagships' has been alive for decades, see Hamnett and Shoval (2003) or Paraskevaidis and Weidenfeld (2019). Urban planners and tourist marketers may actively promote the development of icons to embellish and differentiate their spaces (Section 5.2), a practice which can be traced back to the 19th century (Billinge, 1993; Ward, 1998). In this context, even 'old' heritage undergoes repackaging and is featured to please certain tastes or to achieve certain political goals. This is the case of the traditionally-built houses of Guangzhou, in southern China, which have become invisible in the new urbanscape of skyscrapers since the 1990's, as officials switched from traditional heritage resources to 'modern' anchor points for locals and visitors with the aim of showing a 'modern' metropolis and not a traditional place (Wang, 2005). As an alternative, a more sustainable view of this kind of flagship making, see Smith and von Krogh Strand (2011), who in their study about Oslo's new opera house argue in favor of creating icons which are primarily geared towards the local population rather than visitors. Article 2 reviews Cartagena's tourist development under the framework of icons and semiotic spaces.

Neighbouring issues are here the commodification of heritage or its banalization, when public actors pushing for economic place development conceive a 'sanitized' heritage, expunged from eventually violent pasts or other unpleasant contexts (Givre and Regnault, 2015). With growing numbers of heritage places and sites worldwide, these issues and disputes will come up even more often in the future, especially so in the southern countries (Juhé-Beaulaton et al., 2015).

At least from an 'official' point of view, the obvious way for a heritagescape to be produced is via the national, regional and local laws and rules dictated by official bodies, which are to be enacted on the ground. These tend to promote some form of 'conservation' for edifices, eventually alongside rules about planning or land use for the concerned heritage area. Melé (2007/1998) chronicles how the historical centres of Mexico have been produced and preserved thanks to a consistent body of laws and rules which have been passed on different official levels (national, regional and local) over longer periods of time, a process which he calls 'juridization' of these places. Melés' critique points out that, under this vision, the most important actors in making historic city centres are no longer residents or authorities, but architects and conservation specialists, unleashing extreme conservationism trends and practices, which is another big menace to HCC's. Hiriart Pardo (2014) is also critical of the management plans of Mexican historic centres, which he dismisses as a "pack of well-meant intentions" and not much more. This 'juridical' vision complements other critical visions, such as Choay's (1996), who asserts that urban heritage is merely an "invention". This fictional side of HCC's may be sometimes overtly expressed by way of converting the HCC into a stage for different kinds of performances, which poses management challenges (see Alvarado Sizzo and Hiriart Pardo, 2015, in the next Subsection).

Furthermore, Bertoncello and Troncoso (2014: 22) show the connection between thematized heritage and destination infrastructure as they point to the fact that, in touristified historic destinations, thematization choices even determine infrastructure choices (see also Pereira, 2017). In our case, this assertion may give raise to the possibility for a critical bridge between heritage making and heritage management.

2.2.4 (Built/Urban) Heritage management

Heritage management in Latin America has traditionally been discussed by academics from a critical stance. Many researchers in the region (see further below) have questioned 'who manages' heritage and 'for whom', perhaps in a more intense way than in other regions. This subsection presents some of the frameworks and solutions which have been proposed in this milieu. While the discussion is contextualized to LatAm, much of it could be applied to other parts of the world.

It is noteworthy that some academics from the region (Carrión, 2000; Carrión and Hanley, 2005; Scarpaci 2005; Coulomb and Vera Rangel, 2016) have critically summed up the processes undergone by historic city centres in the last hundred years. Scarpaci, in particular, looks at them from the point of view of their 'economic value', but all of these authors take 'value' into account as a driving force pushing the history and development of the places, so they could be summed up in an 'area's value framework'. According to this, Latin American historic city centres have witnessed two main phases in the last hundred years: first the decadence and abandonment until the 1980s/1990s, with the suburbs offering the highest standards of living to the upper classes. Since then, a second phase has kicked in, which is the growing valorization of the historic city centres that has been the cause of functional, architectural and social changes therein. In this period, policies have gone from strict elitist conservationism to recognizing the need for a balance among traditional residents and tourists, as well as among the different needs of every group using the space (Paragraphs 5.2.4.3/5.2.4.4), after the following three-phase-scheme (Fig. 2):

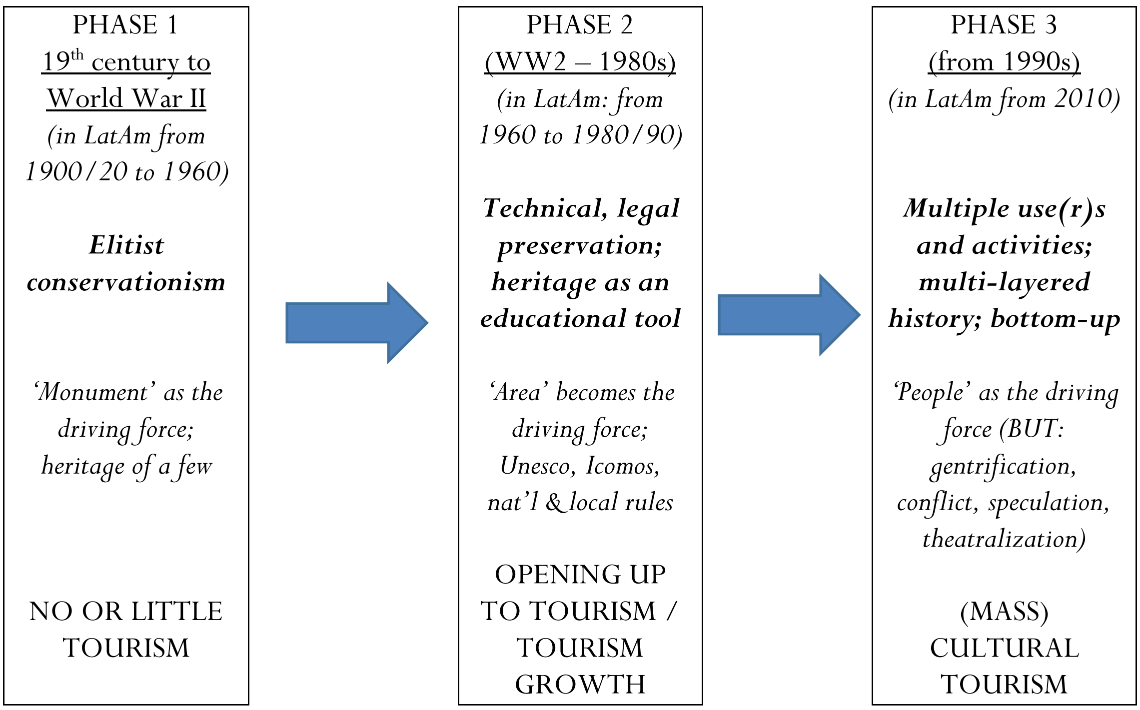


FIGURE 2: The three phases the management of (built) heritage has been through in the last century and a half. Source: Author from references.

Notice however that the transition towards more sustainable place policies as implied by Phase 3 is hard to achieve, especially so in Latin America because of the ongoing strong top-down social processes, see Section 2.1. Notice also that this is a general pattern, with local variations sometimes quite evident. For example, Cartagena's situation fits fairly well into the above scheme, even if it seems to remain solidly stuck in Phase 2. Hiernaux and González-Gómez (2015) report a much shorter time lapse and accelerated phases for the HCC of Querétaro, in central Mexico. And, while this city 'discovered' its heritage in relatively recent dates, Mexico as a nation did so by the end of the 19th century, so sometimes these time lapses are explained by the different dynamics on national and local levels.

From the social research side, García Canclini (1999) was one of the first to provide a thorough insight into how different social groups 'use' heritage, underscoring the disparate goals and possible conflicts. One of these possible uses is the 'city as a performing stage' for all sorts of fake cultural shows, as noticed by Alvarado Sizzo and Hiriart Pardo (2015: 258), who complain that historic centres have undergone a 'theatralization' process under the pressure of tourism development: according to them, the production of tourist space and the spontaneous emergence of street performances go side by side. The performances offered every evening by international backpackers in Cartagena's Plaza de la Trinidad also fall into this category.

Within this social framework of looking into the historic centres, an important conceptualization is brought up by Carrión (2013), as he develops the notion of "heritage subjects" ("sujetos patrimoniales" is the original term). Carrión (2013: 22) defines them as follows:

> El sujeto patrimonial hace referencia a una relación social que contiene tres componentes: un objeto (o qué se hereda), un momento (o cuándo se hereda) y los actores sociales específicos (o quién). Esta conjunción entre el objeto, el momento y la posición social de quien lo recibe y transfiere en el proceso, permite definir el concepto de «sujeto patrimonial e identificarlo empíricamente.
>
> *[The 'heritage subject' refers to a social relationship entailing three components: an object (what is inherited), a moment (when it is inherited) as well as the specific social stakeholders (who). This conjunction of object, moment and the social position of those who receive it or transfer it allows for an empirical identification of the 'heritage subject'.]*

Carrión thus enriches the theoretical discussion by proposing this framework for stakeholders' mapping, the 'time' factor being an innovative one. Coulomb and Vega Rangel (2016), however, moderate Carrión's definition: for them only the largest or most powerful stakeholders count: they are the true 'heritage subjects', contrary to 'minor' stakeholders. This importance of the 'leading' or 'expert' stakeholders of a place in Latin America has also conditioned the field work choices in Articles 3 and 4 in this research.

That stated in the previous paragraph is an implicit call for participatory urban planning (Nared and Bole, eds., 2020): HCC's, as part of the cities, have seen all-too-often rational, top-down approaches to their renovation and management. Urban planning in fact has very 'rational' roots and urban planning history in the twentieth century is, to a significant extent, the history of resistance first, and growth of participatory planning later (Innes and Booher, 2000; Zipp, 2009; Hausmann, 2011; Chudoba, 2014: 84) or, as Thorpe (2017) puts it more critically, "the growth of the contention of the citizens". In Latin America, this participation trend has arrived only in recent years, so we have currently little practice and research on this issue and we cannot even assert if it is a growing trend or not; see Rojas-Caldelas et al. (2015) for a case of participatory planning in the city of Mexicali, northern Mexico, or Giraldo Giraldo (2015) who chronicles a very remarkable process in the eastern Colombian city of Pamplona. In any case, several authors recommend viewing strict planning as a solution to many current problems in Latin American destinations, specifically in their HCC's (Russo, 2009). Placemaking is another novel related framework to consider here, which also underscores the importance of 'people in places', as a central factor to the creation of habitable and sustainable places capable of creating 'place attachment' among their users (Hes, Mateo-Babiano and Lee, 2020).

Another relevant framework to introduce is the 'imaginaries' framework, also one within the sphere of Critical Theory, which was first proposed in the Latin American context by Daniel Hiernaux, a Belgian-born researcher established in Mexico. He states that a most important factor in tourism are the 'imaginaries' of travelers (Hiernaux 2002: 8), these being defined as

> Conjunto de creencias, imágenes y valoraciones que se definen en torno a una actividad, un espacio, un periodo o una persona (o sociedad) en un momento dado. La representación que el imaginario elabora de un proceso, es construida a partir de imágenes reales o poéticas (inmersas en el campo de la fantasía). Variable y distendido, el imaginario es una construcción social –al mismo tiempo individual y colectiva– en permanente remodelación.
>
> [*A set of beliefs, images and evaluations concerning an activity, a space, a period of time or a person (or society) at a certain moment in time. The representations made by imaginaries about a process are built from either real or poetic images (i.e. within the realm of fantasy). A variable and playful entity, imaginaries are socially constructed (both individually and collectively) and in permanent reshaping*.]

Hiernaux (2002) further postulates four overarching imaginaries which sustain tourism and make it a constitutive part of modern civilization: the tendency towards happiness; the desire to escape from everyday life, the discovery of others and the return to nature.

This analysis is influenced by French thinkers like Lefevre or Durand, and it is used to both understand the tourism phenomenon *per se* as well as to analyse the development of tourist places, particularly historic city centres, a subject to which this author has dedicated considerable efforts (Hiernaux, 2006; Hiernaux and González-Gómez, 2015). Clearly also, the 'imaginaries' theory represents an alternative to classical destination image studies, as it introduces social and cultural components into the formation process of the images of places. Hiernaux accepts the dynamic nature of places as he states that images are changing, and may be deconstructed or modified. The media as well as the social elite are given a central role in image modification processes, which connects Hiernaux to critical geographies, similarly to Chadefaud (1988) when he states that taste changes in the demand for a destination are pushed mainly by the global elite. However, Hiernaux also sees tourists as people who 'learn' the job of a tourist and grow into it, so they become more discerning and refined. By this process, demand is 'upgraded' which in turn causes the offer to 'improve'.

For our purposes, it is important to underscore that other researchers complement this theoretical vision about imaginaries with more regional or local contributions relevant to this research, so Sheller (2004) delves into the question of *caribbeanness* and its imaginaries, and Orozco Camacho (2007) studies how the imaginaries of Cartagena are sold by the local souvenir industry. The latter author points to matters such as de-territorialization and resignification concerning the sold objects, i.e. the city's 'real' image being distorted by the local sellers as they promote histories about the city which are pleasant to the visitors (see also 2.2.3), a phenomenon also found in other world's regions. 'Imaginaries' may be found not only in the discussion about HCC's or heritage in general, but also in the discussion about beach tourism (Löfgren, 2012 and citations therein). The connection between beach and heritage imaginaries may yield interesting insights into several of the questions we pursue in this work.

Here also we deem it interesting to introduce some more critical theory contributions. Duarte Paes and Levy (2017) apply Santos' (1996) framework to the conservation of natural spaces. *Mutatis mutandis*, we may look at HCC's with their arguments. In fact, as they clearly state, these spaces have been "vertically imposed" (see also subsection 2.2.1) with the result of getting "institutionalized" by a process of norms and a technification (see also Melé, 2007/1998). As with natural areas, HCC's have seen very little respect for their traditional functions and residents, as the space's functionality has been geared towards visitors rather than locals. In a flagrant contradiction, the pressure applied by ecologically-minded or culturally-interested citizens as they claimed nature conservation/built fabric preservation, has been responsible in the first line for revaluing places by marketing them, and therefore having their customary forms and functions questioned and re-adapted.

Bandarin and Van Oers (2012: 7), while recognizing the importance of the social construction of heritage, specifically of urban heritage, also state that "among the utopias generated by modernity, there is also urban conservation. Strictly speaking, urban conservation is not a utopia, but rather a policy and planning practice that is present in many countries of the World", so these authors conceptualize urban heritage both as a social construct but also as a down-to-earth practice, which brings the discussion to managerial terms. This is a logical consequence of the fact that both these authors are leading representatives of the UNESCO-sponsored HUL ('historic urban landscape') approach.

2.2.5 Discussion: conceptual relations, some solutions and research gaps

The four previous subsections have scanned the literature in search for frameworks and ideas that might make the present research relevant and relate the four papers compiled in Chapter 5. While going through it, several points emerge as related, relevant or even as initial solutions to problems posed in the introduction and in Section 2.1.

The first thing to notice is that some theories discussed in the above four 'entry points' for Latin America are sound and thought-provoking: Carrión's 'heritage subjects', Hiernaux's 'imaginaries' or Santos' critical approach are achievements of their own and deserve much more consideration by the global scholar community than has been the case to date. It seems that, in LatAm, many interesting theories have originated within critical rather than positivist frameworks. This might be considered as part of a regional epistemological trait.

Another thing to notice at first sight about subsections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 is that the border between "production" and "management" is quite fluid: most of the frameworks classified as "production frameworks", while largely applied to production matters, might be used also to understand management processes, and vice versa. The case of critical theory is obvious, as it touches on both areas and may be used to clarify issues from both sides. The same goes for Subsections 2.2.3 and 2.2.4 about heritage production and heritage management: 'imaginaries' explain both production processes and management processes. And 'flagship management' obviously touches on value aspects but also on social uses of heritage.

But there are also relations among destination making and heritage making frameworks: the semiotics framework may be used to explain matters about authenticity and about the selection of heritages. Place branding has long debated about the bottom-up vs. top-down dilemma, which is also found in planning, specifically when we consider participatory planning. Table 2 below sums up the discussed theories and frameworks in the present section:

FRAMEWORKS' DISCUSSION		
MAKING	Space/Destination	Critical Theory
		Semiotics
		Planned vs Organic development
	(Built) Heritage	Selection and Commodification
		Flagship Management
		'Juridization'
MANAGEMENT	Space/Destination	Cycle Models
		Valorization
		USP vs Multiple Assets
		Place Branding: top-down/bottom-up
	(Built) Heritage	Area's Value
		Social Uses
		Heritage Subjects
		Participatory Planning
		'Imaginaries'

TABLE 2: Frameworks, issues and discussions around destination making and management as well as heritage making and management. Source: Author from references for this chapter

Current research trends about Latin American HCC's bring some solutions into the debate as well. These consist in broadening the symbolic value of the HCC, while at the same time taking into account its use value for different social groups. The points here below sum up what has been found in the literature:

- HCC's should become 'multi-layered' places in the sense that they should cater for the very different needs of their inhabitants/commuters and the personal and collective stories and identities of these. This amounts to saying that HCC's are also a source of identity for the rest of the inhabitants of the city, not only the ones living in it. Sometimes, the identity function of a HCC broadens regionally or nationally, adding more layers of complexity. This is the case for the HCC's of Cartagena, Bogota, Lima or Mexico City.

- Connected to multi-layers and identity, there are questions about 'memory'. The HCC is a memory reservoir *par excellence* and reinforcing this function is necessary to ensure managing the place sustainably (Aragao and De Macedo, 2011; De Medeiros and De Luna, 2012; Leao Dornelles, 2016). This is a matter for likely upcoming contentions, but after Cardoso (n. d.) these types of conflicts are easy to bear as they are a part of everyday human life.
- Clearly, according to the authors and theories reviewed in this chapter, the management of HCC's should be bottom-up and inclusive. However, this is very difficult to achieve in Latin America, a region with a long tradition of top-down sociopolitical processes. In fact, some authors state the difficulties in advancing in this direction, as Sepúlveda (2017) chronicles for the Mexican HCC's and Riofrío (2017) for the historic city centre of Lima. This is so because of contradicting norms passed by different conservation bodies, the lack of public will, widespread corruption, low budgets and the more powerful pushing their way through.
- The iconic value of a HCC should also be managed in a sustainable way, we remember here how Smith and Van Krogh (2011) state that, for an icon to work in a sustainable way, it needs to be directed primarily to residents and only secondarily to visitors so as to avoid matters of speculation, banalization and the like.
- Sometimes, though, explanations might be straightforward or very simply accounted for. This is the case for the selection of the built heritage in Cartagena: according to Menchero Sánchez (2017: 116), the military built structures which are in or close to the centre have received a sounder conservation and a much larger promotion than the structures located on the Outer Bay of the city. In this case, 'centrality' has been equaled to 'importance' by the local authorities. This might have been quite a pragmatic and logistical choice, far from ideologies.
- As for management matters, Latin America has seen several good practices and solutions. Two historic centres that have been a source of innovation for others are Quito (in financial matters) and Havana (for social issues). Their contexts however are quite unique (especially the latter), and therefore it might be difficult transferring their experiences to other places. Other lower-level solutions might be copied in other places as they do not depend on the political and social framework. This is the case of the relocation of street vendors in Quito and Morelia (Cabrales Barajas, 2005), experiences showing that, simply through dialogue, practical problems can be sorted out without

further drama. These two relocations are a positive outcome born out of 'managerial' inspiration.

As for sun and sand destinations, subsection 2.2.1 has compared the evolution of planned and organic beach destinations, and, curiously, the problems both types of places might encounter in their mature stages are more or less the same. Further, for both types of destinations, the natural outcome of the process seems to be becoming a regular city, i.e. to change their basic function from a holiday place to a residential place (Anton and González, 2007; Fourcade, 2019). On the level of destination attractions and products, a possible outcome is incorporating the different types of heritage they possess (fishing traditions, underwater heritage, etc.) in the destinations' catalogue of products and therefore becoming 'maritime' destinations, an enlarged concept of a beach destination, see Alegret Tejero and Carbonell Camós (eds., 2014). For Cartagena, this would mean a better integration of the local fishing communities into the tourist product mix and possibly including mangrove areas into the regular sun and sand tourism so as to expand this concept in the destination. However, and perhaps not surprisingly, the city has taken another option to upgrade its sun and sand tourism by developing nautical tourism and upgrading the quality of the beaches to try and achieve certain recognized standards, for instance 'blue flags'. In Chapter 6 the consequences of this elitist move are analysed.

At the end of the present literature review, while introducing the key conceptual areas to this work, we see that there is a lot of research related to HCC's, there is a lot of research about sun and sand destinations, but we are missing more research, both conceptual and empirical, tackling the relationship between the two, especially in terms of how these two strands of research interact (in places with both kinds of attractions). This connects with the literature review for gap-finding in 5.4.3, which is summed up briefly here. There is still research to be carried out to reveal how these two types of attraction assets may be connected in terms of production and management in destinations that this dissertation calls 'multifaceted'. Of course, 'diversification' has become a paradigm (almost a credo!) for sun and sand destinations (López Palomeque and Cànoves Valiente, 2014), but how this diversification is brought about or accounted for is less known, as are its possible dynamics and the frameworks explaining them. The overarching objective then is to understand how multifaceted destinations are produced and managed and whether there are some overarching frameworks allowing for a deeper and more theoretical analysis of these (at least in the Latin American context). This the main knowledge gap we have identified and these are some of the preliminary questions this dissertation intends answering, and accordingly the next subsection formulates the objectives and research questions for this research work.

2.3 Objectives, Research Questions and their organization in this work

GENERAL OBJECTIVE

Conceptualize and analyze multifaceted destinations so as to understand their processes and dynamics.

SUB-OBJECTIVES:

1. Investigate the connections between destination making and destination management in the context of multifaceted destinations
2. Put forth rigorous proposals for the management of multifaceted destinations
3. Use detailed research on Cartagena to understand the management of multifaceted destinations
4. Reflect on whether the case of Cartagena can be used to understand Latin American destinations more generally
5. Discuss the validity of Case Theory Research applied to the study of tourist destinations

Organization of the sub-objectives in this research work:

	Article 1	Article 2	Article 3	Article 4
Sub-Objective 1		√		√
Sub-Objective 2		√	√	√
Sub-Objective 3	√	√	√	√
Sub-Objective 4	√		√	√
Sub-Objective 5	√		√	√

RESEARCH QUESTION

What are the main dynamics and processes of multifaceted tourist destinations, in terms of their production as well as in terms of their branding and management?

Sub-Research Questions (each corresponds to an Article in Chapter 5)

SUB-RESEARCH QUESTION	ARTICLE
1) Are (Latin American) multifaceted destinations born organically or in a planned way?	Article 1/Section 5.1
2) What is the role of icons/flagships in multifaceted destinations? How do they evolve in the context of such destinations?	Article 2/Section 5.2
3) What do (Latin American) stakeholders think a multifaceted destination should be branded and promoted for?	Article 3/Section 5.3
4) How do the marketing and promotion of multifaceted places evolve and which theories are most adequate at explaining this?	Article 4/Section 5.4

3 METHODOLOGY AND FIELD WORK

3.1 Case theory as an overarching framework

There are different ways of looking at the features and processes of a destination, but a widespread vision of them is that each destination has its own story which is to be adequately explained, and from which good and bad practices are derived. The fact that each destination has a 'history' is something to reckon with in any case study. Anton Clavé and Wilson (2017) use the concepts of "path dependence" and "path plasticity" which show that history and past milestones have an influence on the evolution of a destination. Thus, it is interesting to choose an overarching useful framework to identify, describe and explain the phenomena found at a destination from an historic and evolutionary point of view. To put it simply, this research is much more concerned by the 'what', (identifying), 'how' (describing) and 'why' (explaining) rather than by the 'when' (predicting) or 'how much' (quantifying). So, taking this into account and looking at the research questions in 2.3, a qualitative framework was chosen quickly. In fact, the four articles making up this dissertation mainly describe facts and try to explain them by resorting to extant theories, rather than being 'measurative' in character (see Section 4.3). Case theory was therefore a compelling choice for this dissertation. The aforementioned concept of "path dependency" also may be read in books about case theory, in a remarkable correspondence (Blatter, 2008: 68). As Neale, Thapa and Boyce (2006: 4) bluntly put it: "case studies are appropriate when there is a unique or interesting story to be told." And, as the present dissertation researches into a destination, it is suitable to remind readers of the central importance *place* plays in case studies (Bartlett and Vavrus, 2017: 900).

Yin (2018/1984) classically defines a case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context where the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident, and in which multiple sources of evidence are used". Another classical author of case theory is Stake (1995) and he opposes qualitative to quantitative research stating that, in the latter, "the research question seeks out a relationship between a small number of variables, and efforts are made to operationally bind the inquiry, to define the variables, and to minimize the importance of interpretation until data are analysed". Quite the contrary to the goals and *modus operandi* of the present research. Furthermore, Stake (1995) acknowledges the different goals of qualitative and quantitative research: the latter seeks to understand cause-effect relationships within a small number of variables whose result may be applied to any setting, so it is an enquiry looking for universal rules. Qualitative research is interested in understanding all the complex interrelationships and entanglements within a particular setting, called 'the case'. Another important point is that research by cases is especially apt when the context plays an important role to understanding the researched phenomena (Yin, 2018/1984, see also Cousin, 2005, further below).

In line with the above ideas by Yin, the four articles in Chapter 5 analyse several concepts applied to a single study case. In other words, the destination Cartagena de Indias is scrutinized under a variety of conceptual frameworks and methods which in the end yield a deeper and explanatory understanding of the place dynamics. When justifying the value of a single case study, Johansson (2003: 2) states that "a case study is expected to capture the complexity of a single case". Further, he writes that case methodologies are a good framework when (a) the studied object is a complex functioning unit; (b) it is investigated in its natural context with a variety of methods and (c) is contemporary. The reader will notice that these three points make a good starting point for a research program for any destination.

Cases are all-encompassing so Cousin (2005: 423) states that "cases attempt to provide a holistic portrayal and understanding of the research setting". This is a central point for most case study researchers as they emphasize the holistic character of their research. By trying to provide 'the complete story', and accepting both qualitative and quantitative methods to gather data, case studies are a 'broad umbrella' and may be more revealing and deeper than other hypothesis-led methodologies. In fact, in this dissertation, such a variety of data collections can be found: primary and secondary literature reviews, participant and non-participant observation, surveys and in-depth interviews are combined to explore Cartagena as a destination. Results of case theory are not only holistic, they also yield rich details, according to Patton and Appelbaum (2003: 67): "The ultimate goal of the case study is to uncover patterns, determine meanings, construct conclusions and build theory. (…) Rich description is a crucial step before conclusions can be offered".

Stake (1995) classifies case studies into three categories: intrinsic (when the case is studied *per* se); instrumental (when the case has to have an explanatory force to create or redefine theories) and collective (when multiple cases are studied and compared). As a single-case study with the goal of providing sound explanations, the present research clearly falls into the second category, so this dissertation might be viewed as a large instrumental case. Yin (2018/1984) postulates four categories of cases: explanatory, descriptive, evaluative and explorative.

Case studies vary in length and depth, and because of this, case study research is considered a methodology making for an outstanding 'umbrella' when the object of study needs to be accosted with exploratory intentions. The spatial and temporal flexibility of case studies allows for great adaptability once the researcher is on the ground gathering data or compiling the results of the work. The present research is centred on uncovering production and management processes in a concrete destination, but one could have aimed at 'management versus consumption' (see Section 1.1) as well; it would have worked perfectly under this 'umbrella'. Thus, in this dissertation, the case study methodology reveals itself as a 'framework' in the broadest sense of the term.

A criticism against case studies comes from the quantitative camp regarding the validity of the results. While qualitative methods pose a certain risk of bias, Patton and Appelbaum (2003: 66) respond that

> Analysing data in different spaces, at different times and in different contexts (…) and using different data sources to study the same object (interviews and archived records) all serve to attain triangulation and increase confidence in conclusions.

For this dissertation, the different types of data mentioned further above were in fact gathered over a lengthy period of time and in different contexts, similar to this citation.

The aforementioned criticism comes from the fact that, while case theory is a good tool to build theories, it is not as useful as a verification tool. This question neighbours another classical criticism to case theory: its limited generalization power. To counter this, some scientists have pointed out the outstanding theory-building capabilities of case studies. Eisenhardt (1989: 546) specifically states that "One strength of theory building from cases is its likelihood of generating novel theory. Creative insight often arises from the juxtaposition of contradictory or paradoxical evidence." Furthermore, Patton and Appelbaum (2003: 65) write that cases are generalizable by way of the "strength of the description of the context. Such descriptions are one of the cornerstones of case studies and allow the reader to determine the level of correspondence of this particular case to other similar situations.", so cases are generalizable to 'similar' cases, requiring thus detailed descriptions. In fact, "rich data" or "thick descriptions" are concepts associated with case study research as stated further above. In our case, in 4.2 is stated that the results of this research may be applied to 'similar' destinations, and a direct resemblance may be found in other Caribbean destinations, a smaller one in Mediterranean or Southeast Asian destinations. As Neape et al. (2006: 3) state, a case might be chosen out of one of the following reasons: "they are highly effective, not effective, representative, typical, or of special interest". For this dissertation, hopes are that the chosen case of Cartagena de Indias is representative for a whole host of destinations. However, good cases might come from analysing situations that are the exception rather than the rule, see for instance Article 1, which compares two exceptional cases.

An interesting recent development of case theory can be found in Bartlett and Vavrus (2017) as they retake a concept by Stake (1995) and introduce 'comparative case studies', i.e. a multi-sited aspect of case theory which is enriched by comparing several objects in a threefold way: horizontally (both across place producing policies and time) and vertically (across scales). Article 1 fits quite well into this vision as it proceeds in a 'comparative' way.

Within qualitative frameworks, action theory and grounded theory compete with case theory. The choice of the latter in our case is based on the fact that action theory is much more centred on processes than on people and settings, which is what the author thinks a destination mainly is. At the time the data for this dissertation was being processed, thoughts were given to the possibility of switching to grounded theory, however the 'overarching' and more flexible character of case theory convinced the author to choose it as his methodological framework.

Despite all that has been said in this section, case methodology is not without its faults: the fuzzy delimitation of the boundaries of the case or the debate as to whether cases should be important 'by themselves' or because of the methodology used, have all been debated for a long time. The researcher's involvement might also pose a problem in terms of 'objectivity', and that is why Patton and Appelbaum (2003: 69) advise researchers to acknowledge their identity and their positions soon within the research process. Anyhow, although these particularities and limitations of case theory have been taken into account, this theory has been chosen for its adequacy and strength in capturing the complexities and intricacies of a tourist destination and their temporal, spatial and sociopolitical features and processes.

The next table (Table 3) shows which type(s) of case the four articles of this dissertation belong to, according to several authors.

CASE THEORY			
Article 1	**Article 2**	**Article 3**	**Article 4**
Comparative Case (Bartlett & Vavrus) Spec.Interest Case (Neape et al.) Collective (Stake) Descriptive (Yin)	Representative (Neape et al.) Instrumental (Stake) Explorative and Explanatory (Yin)	Not effective (Neape et al.) Instrumental (Stake) Explorative (Yin)	Representative (Neape et al.) Instrumental (Stake) Explorative and Explanatory (Yin)

TABLE 3: Classifying the dissertation's four articles according to the theories discussed in this section. Source: Author from literature used in this section.

3.2 Field work

Following on from that set out in the previous section, the field work for this dissertation consisted of different steps and a mixture of techniques which will be listed in this section.

The object of study was first approached by way of non-participative observation (Moug, 2007). This allowed one to 'see' Cartagena and its spaces from the point of view of the visitor. This way, and with the cooperation of some undergrad students, primary observation work was carried out to pin down the night activities on the HCC and the Plaza de la Trinidad or to check the gentrification's degree of the neighbourhood of Getsemani. The next obvious step was to get in touch with the people of the place, so thanks to the openness and friendliness of the *cartageneros*, the first conversations about the destination's situation quickly took place, taking the researcher's stance from non-participant to participant (Kawulich, 2007). Both instances were helpful in apprehending the destination in the first place, though later on (as justified in 3.1 and 5.3.3) other methods for gathering data were considered more suitable to the current research goals.

A second moment in the research process was the understanding of the destination via primary and secondary literature. The primary literature mainly consisted of official statistics, whose regularity and consistency left a lot to be desired; as a matter of fact, this lack of statistical data also influenced the choice of the qualitative method. As for the secondary literature, some 550 documents were found. However, only a small part has been used for the contextual sections (see 4.1, 5.1.1 and 5.2.1). An important point about the primary and the secondary literature is that it is written almost entirely in Spanish, so this dissertation presents several questions about the destination which have gone quite unnoticed by the international research community, because of linguistic issues, to a wider audience. Documentary research and observation were the main data sources for Article 1 and Article 2.

Another source of data, this one of quantitative nature, was the survey circulated among professionals in the destination. This was a convenience sample consisting of selected profiles from the social network LinkedIn. A total of 92 invitations to answer the survey were sent out, with 30 people completing the questionnaire, showing thus a high degree of interest in the project and its possible outcomes. The questionnaire, administered via Google Forms, touched on different managerial and marketing aspects of the destination. While the link to the questionnaire was sent out to people working in different aspects of tourism in Cartagena, in the end most respondents were professionals or middle managers in the city's tourist businesses, mainly in large hotels. This is an interesting situation, as such professionals are difficult to single out: organizations sometimes prefer putting researchers in touch with the top management who then tend to dish out prepackaged answers. The answers by the middle managers gave a first insight into the destination's situation and helped to prepare the script for the main source of data to this dissertation, i.e. the semi-structured interviews to local expert stakeholders.

For reasons explained in 5.3.4, preference was given to 'expert' or 'main' stakeholders in the place as the main data source via semi-structured interviews. These have the advantage of capturing a lot of detailed information and having the interviewees reflecting about their answers and elaborating further on them (Fontana and Frey, 2005; Warren and Karner, 2005). Thus, 18 stakeholders were interviewed in-depth: 2 NGO representatives, 3 academics and 5 for each of the private sector, the public sector and the private-public one, thus ensuring representativeness and an even participation from all types of stakeholders. The interviews were then transcribed and processed with the N-vivo software (see further 5.3.4). Interviews and questionnaire results are the basic data for Articles 3 and 4. For further information about the data collection and its relationship to the research questions in this work, see subsections 5.3.4 and 5.4.4.

To summarize, for this dissertation several sources were gathered to get detailed descriptions so as to understand the current situation of the destination and make appropriate proposals for its future, and on the level of methodology and field work, this all is coherent with case theory.

4 CONTEXT: INTRODUCING THE STUDY CASE

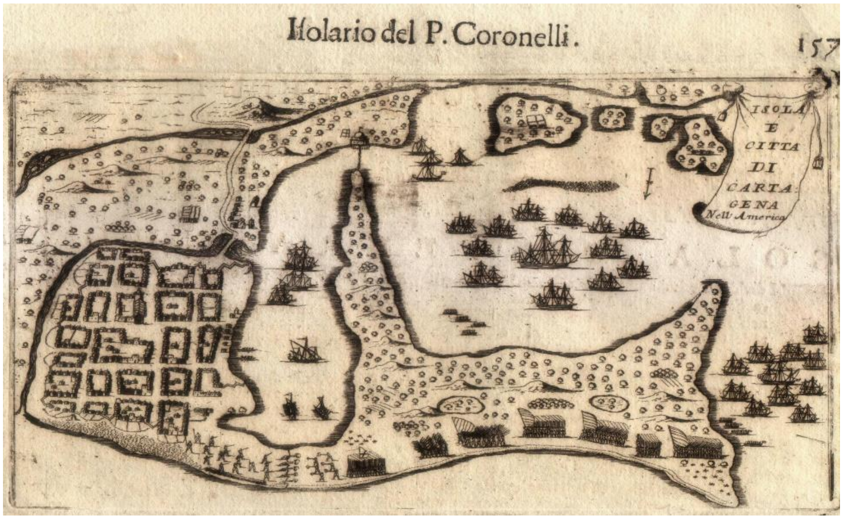
4.1 From a Spanish colonial city port to a tourist destination: a brief history of Cartagena de Indias

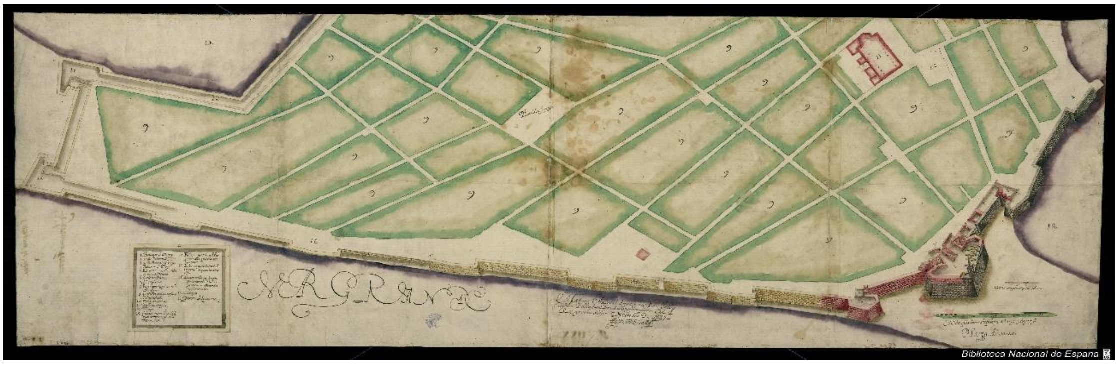
Cartagena was officially founded in 1533 by the Spanish conquistador Pedro de Heredia. Named after the homonymous Spanish city for unknown reasons (some say that many of the seaman traveling with the founder Pedro de Heredia were from Spanish Cartagena, others point to the geophysical similitude between the two places), the city takes on a strategic position between the Caribbean sea and the Andean mountain range. Therefore, for centuries, it functioned as a nodal point between Central America, the Antilles and the Andean regions. When the conquerors arrived, the place was occupied by a settlement of *kalamari* Indians who first became marginalized and then extinguished. The difficulties in finding water in the area had Heredia doubting whether it was the right spot to found a city, but the place's geostrategic assets finally convinced him that today's location was the best possible choice.

A politically important city, it lost this edge as the Spanish decided to move the capital city of the Vice-Kingdom of New Grenade to Bogota, which became the administrative centre of a huge region encompassing today's Colombia, Venezuela, Panama and Ecuador. However, Cartagena kept a powerful institution: the Inquisition court, i.e. the religious Spanish court. Soon the trade and logistics functions would side with the military function so Cartagena became part of the network of ports connecting Hispanic America to the metropolis, a network extending from Mexico to Argentina and even with an outpost in Manila, Philippines. This was in operation for almost three centuries (De Solano, 1993; Zúñiga 1997; Laviana Cuetos, 2006). The trade function would soon serve to quite a macabre purpose: the city became one of the junctions of slave trade in the New World (Gutiérrez Azopardo, n.d.). Figures 3, 4 and 5 show maps depicting the city in the colonial era.

As the Caribbean Sea became a 'European' battleground for the first proxy-wars in mankind's history in the 17th and 18th centuries (García-Herreros, 2007), Cartagena had to endure several besiegements. Probably the hardest and biggest battle in the Caribbean was fought in 1741 by the English Admiral Edward Vernon, who finally was unable to capture the city, defended by the local troops commanded by Blas de Lezo. Soon after its foundation, the Spanish decided to endow Cartagena with a set of consequent defences in the form of city walls, fortresses and castles, much like the cases of Havana, San Juan of Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo, etc. (see Cabrera Cruz, 2017, and Subsections 5.1.1. and 5.2.1). The construction process of these military infrastructures would last for the entire colonial era in the city, some three centuries, and would highly influence not only the place's landscape, but also its economy and social landscape (see 5.2.1). Inside the walls, the city grew in square blocks (which was the approved development pattern of the Spanish in all their cities in the Americas), and from the simple and perishable buildings of the 16th century, soon magnificent edifices in stone would be erected, like the Cathedral or some palaces.

For centuries, skin colour has been a crucial social mark in Cartagena: the colonial authorities imposed a sharp racial segregation (Hoberman and Socolov, 1986), which in some way has lasted to-date as African-Colombians make up the poorest and most vulnerable population segment. (Cunin, 2003; Pérez V. and Salazar Mejía, 2007).





FIGURES 3, 4 AND 5: As Cartagena was a strategic place since its inception, it was profusely cartographed during the colonial era. Above, a map of the end of the 16th century by Theodor de Bry laying out the attack the pirate Francis Drake launched on the city. In the middle, a partial street map of the city from 1617 by the Spanish military engineer Critóbal de Rodas showing a considerable degree of development in the street grid and the city walls. The map below is from 1700 by the French cartographer Nicolas de Fer and shows the city (below left), the city's defence structures as well as the adjacent coastline and lagoons.

FIGURES 6 and 7: Aerial views of today's Cartagena. Above, view of the historic city centre occupying the central part of the photo. Below, views of the neighbourhoods of Getsemaní (centre), Manga (below left) and the beach resort area of Bocagrade (above left). Souce: Fotografía Jaime Borda, Cartagena

Through its middle class of artisans and workers, most of them mixed-raced, Cartagena became the first place in New Grenade to claim independence. The proclamation of 1810 was successful for a time, until the Spanish stroke back with a flotilla commanded by captain Pablo Morillo, who set the city under a cruel besiegement in 1815, which costed hundreds of lives and earned Cartagena its current nickname of *La Heroica* ("the hero city"). Finally, in 1820, the troops of Simón Bolívar, who has gone down in history as one of America's 'liberators', took the city back from the Spanish.

The 19th century was 'lost' for Cartagena as, torn apart after the independence wars, it entered a long and deep decadence period that almost wiped it off the map and saw the birth and emergence of its rival, Barranquilla. By the end of that century, however, as the local man Rafael Núñez became president of Colombia, the city saw a certain economic rebound with the construction of infrastructures and, in the first decades of the twentieth century, with the take-off of the local manufacturing industry. This was a time when major urban reforms were planned (see Section 5.1 for the planning and disputes around the city walls) and, from the 1920s, the city's harbour regained momentum thanks to oil exports and general trading, and little by little tourism started (further tourist developments in the city are studied in detail in Subsections 5.2.4 under a semiotic point of view, and 5.3.3 reports the development of the city's branding strategy. Bassols, 2016b, offers a short history of tourism development in the city underscoring its multifaceted character).

As for the context in the 20th century, inequality among the inhabitants has continued to be the rule: Cartagena is one of the most unequal cities in Colombia, with a part of the population of African descent who are quite vulnerable (Baños León and Blanco Bello, 2018), and tourism has not been able to contribute to solve Cartagena's social problems (Diz, 2014). While not especially hit in the years of internal violence in Colombia (1980-2010), and although it was the spot where the Colombian government and the rebel group FARC signed their peace agreement in 2016, in recent times the city's political turmoil and corruption have not contributed to progress and well-being (see some local stakeholders' opinions about that in Paragraph 5.3.5.2). For its part, tourism development has expelled significant segments of the population from the historic centre or the adjacent neighbourhood of Getsemani (Posso, 2015; Rius-Ulldemolins and Posso-Jiménez, 2016; Piñeros, 2017). In fact, several authors have remarked on the connection between (cultural) tourism development and the growing invisibilization of the lesser-favored people, especially the Afro-Colombians in the city (Cunin and Rinaudo, 2005, or Flórez Bolívar, 2015, with his provocative title '*Worshipping the stones and despising the locals*'). Velandia et al. (2019: 160), with whom we fully agree, think of heritage as a key mediator in the main "spatial, historical and social" processes in the HCC and put it that way:

> The city's segregation has been conditioned by the heritage conservation and management policies that have driven the redevelopment of Cartagena's old town—fortress, port and monuments—to the advantage of tourism over the local residents. Such redevelopment was focused on the preservation and conservation of the colonial heritage, linked to the European descendants, without taking into account the diverse local heritage, linked to the descendants of the indigenous people and former slaves.

In view of the local history and the most recent research, one cannot deny that Critical Theory is a good tool to analyse the destination. Furthermore, notice that recent developments have put Cartagena far behind the newest visions and frameworks developed for HCC's, for example the HUL.

However, one cannot dismiss the strong tourism growth in recent decades. This positive development goes largely unnoticed because tourism has not elevated the well-being of the whole population, raising questions about how and by whom tourism has been managed. This situation might explain some of the current disagreements on tourism among the largest city stakeholders (see 5.3.5). Table 4 below shows the most significant figures of this growth, from the beginnings of the destination to current-day figures. Nowadays, in rough numbers, the destination offers some 14,000 rooms and is visited annually by some 3 million tourists, of whom some 300,000 to 350,000 are foreign tourists (see also Figures 6 and 7 above for aerial views of spaces making up the city).

TIMELINE OF CARTAGENA'S GROWTH IN ROOM SUPPLY, INTERNATIONAL TOURIST ARRIVALS AND AIR CONNECTIVITY (1935 to Nowadays)

YEAR (S)	1935 to 1940	1960 to 1970	1985 to 1995	2000	2010 to 2012	2016	2012 to 2018 (Air connectivity)
No. of BEDS / ROOMS	N/D	600 beds (by 1970)	7000 beds / 3000 rooms (by 1990)	5000 rooms	10.400 rooms	13.000 rooms	3 direct int'l flights (2012)
International ARRIVALS	A total of 90.000 arrivals in cruise ships	From 10.000 to 20.000 per annum	From 81.000 to 112.000 per annum	125.000	146.000	276.000	11 direct int'l flights (2018)

TABLE 4: the growth of Cartagena as a tourist destination. Source: author from literature (1930's) and statistical sources (2010-18). Arrivals for the 1960's to 2000 are best guesses. The room offer refers only to hotels or other legal lodgings. Illegal or collaborative lodgings (AirBnB, etc.) are not taken into account.

An important current development in the destination, which largely concerns this research, is the city's shift from a single-asset to a multiple-asset destination in the last decade. The destination stopped promoting its sun and sand as its main attraction, and shifted towards the military built heritage as its primary attraction, a much clearer source of competitiveness for Cartagena. How this came about and what the consequences of this shift are reported mainly in Articles 2 and 4. This growing number of assets is depicted here below, with two pictures summing up some of the attractions the city has to offer (Figures 8 and 9).

FIGURE 8: A truly multifaceted destination: all in one place. Colonial houses in the Plaza de la Aduana (below), the spires of San Pedro Claver church (right) and the skyscrapers of Bocagrande, the city's beach area. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

FIGURE 9: An uncommon tourist attraction, pointing perhaps to new directions: house-size graffiti in the Getsemani neighbourhood. Source: Artist Yurika MDC on Flickr.com

NOTICE: Further pictures of tourist Cartagena may be found in the Supplemental Materials to Article 2 by clicking on this link:
https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/suppl/10.1080/21568316.2018.1501730/suppl_file/rthp_a_1501730_sm3116.pdf

4.2 The relevance of Cartagena as a study case

This section justifies several reasons why Cartagena is a 'good' case worth studying. These are in no particular order:

a) The destination looks back at some hundred years of tourism history, so it is a well-established one. In fact, it is considered Colombia's oldest and 'first' tourist destination by the national Government since 1941, and therefore it is one of the oldest in the Caribbean region as well. Consequently, this is a place which has seen shifting paradigms for decades, from mass tourism in the 1970s to today's (shy) attempts at more sustainable tourism. In 1984 the UNESCO declared the city's military built architecture a World Heritage Site. Since 2002 it is considered by the national government as a Distrito Turístico y Cultural (D. T. y C.), a declaration that implies more local autonomy in tax revenue management and developmental matters. So, its destination status has been pushed by the interaction of several bodies operating at different scales and in different governance modes (cf. also 5.2.4).

b) Notwithstanding the tourism development the city has witnessed, it remains one of the most unequal cities in the country, with huge social and poverty problems (see previous section) to the point that the discourse of the "Two Cartagenas", the 'nice' one and the 'ugly' one, is nowadays commonly accepted (see Colombia, Muncipality of Cartagena de Indias, 2009). Corruption and political collusions must be added to this, making it difficult to distribute the income from tourism to the lesser-favoured social classes. This, in turn, prevents citizens from becoming ambassadors or brand owners of the place (see 5.3.4). Sadly, and to different degrees, this is also the case for many other destinations in Colombia and in Latin America in general. While this does not necessarily present a technical challenge to the marketing or the management of the place, it is a contradiction that raises considerable ethical questions.

c) Cartagena is a CARIBBEAN city inside a country that understands itself mainly as ANDEAN. This makes for a very interesting case on the level of socio politics and identity (alongside other Colombian Caribbean destinations: Santa Marta, San Andrés Islands, the Guajira region, etc.). These two aspects are fought over in the place (still today) and it is thought-provoking to reflect and research about how far this might affect local tourism management policies. This is discussed to some extent in Articles 2 and 3.

d) Alongside this identity complexity, the city is also diverse in terms of its tourist assets, and hence its 'multifaceted' character: today Cartagena is a sun and sand destination, a cultural destination, a meetings and business destination and a destination with a small but growing share of intangibles related to the local culture. So, it stands for the destinations which have to manage multiple types of attractions. This poses challenges to the governance and marketing of the place (see 5.3).

e) The challenges mentioned in c) and d) are common to other destinations across the Caribbean: Havana, Miami, Vecracruz, Riviera Maya, Santo Domingo, San Juan PR, Santa Marta (Colombia), San Andrés Islands (Colombia), etc. which also have a strong heritage factor alongside a sun and sand one. Furthermore, such a combination is also found in many destinations worldwide, in the Mediterranean, Southeast Asia, etc. Subsection 5.4.2 gives an overview of these as it touches on Malta, Cyprus, Majorca, mainland Spain, Portugal and Italy as well as on Buenos Aires, Cancun and Central America. Hence, the problems and issues touched upon here have a broader relevance and implications for these destinations as well.

f) Notwithstanding the similarities with the aforementioned destinations (sometimes more physical, sometimes more in terms of strategies adopted), Cartagena is also a unique place. In fact, Article 1 sets out Cartagena and San Juan, Puerto Rico, as the sole cities that have kept their city walls and this makes them 'unique'. This apparent contradiction among unique features and being a representative case is resolved in Section 6.2 and it is a contribution this paper makes to Case Theory: there are objects which might be 'unique' and at the same time 'representative', and the researcher may look at either of the two depending on the sets of features s/he wishes to consider. In Article 1, Cartagena is considered a place with unique features, whereas in Article 4 it is seen from the point of view of the features it shares with other destinations.

g) Much research about the evolution of destinations and related processes (differentiation, rejuvenation…) has been carried out based on Mediterranean destinations, with a growing number of Asian Pacific destinations. Latin American destinations have seen much less researched, at least in terms of high-impact research published in top journals. In our opinion, this is not due to Latin American researchers being less competent than their European or Asian counterparts; instead, it is because of the cultural and linguistic barrier of Anglo-Saxon research, it being a difficult hurdle to overcome in some respects.

4.3 Introducing the compilation of articles

The following chapter contains the compilation of the four articles making up this dissertation. Each of them answers one (or several) question(s)/goal(s) in this research work (see Section 2.4). Article 1 delves into the history of Cartagena's heritage by comparing it with San Juan, Puerto Rico. Both cities are the only ones in the Caribbean to have kept larger sections of their colonial city walls, so in Article 1 a 'comparative case' is presented. The research for both places was mainly documentary and required some check backs with local experts as well. The conclusion is that each city kept its walls for very different reasons, with future tourist developments playing a negligible role in both cases. Both are cases of 'organic' emergence of attractions.

Article 2 looks deeper into production issues by reviewing the city's tourist history under a semiotic framework. It illustrates the different steps of the city's tourist development with an eye for the creation of icons and iconic spaces. It is built as a 'case' and makes improvement proposals to the theory of semiotic spaces, much in the spirit of 3.1 and it is proof that cases may be generalizable by modifying or improving extant theories. Together Article 1 and Article 2 constitute the 'production' part of the dissertation.

Article 3 deals with the question of Cartagena's destination branding. The title gives away our opinion beforehand: Cartagena's branding strategy was extremely top-down in conception and application so the resulting brand has not been accepted by any important stakeholder in the city. The fieldwork for this paper consisted of 18 in-depth interviews with local 'expert' tourism stakeholders, and ends with some hands-on recommendations. Perhaps it is the most practice-oriented paper of all four.

Finally, Article 4 delves into the intersection of place marketing and evolutionary theories, perhaps providing the most innovative theoretical contributions in this work. Using the same data as Article 3, but looking instead into marketing issues in the destination, it comments on some of the dynamics of multifaceted destinations; for instance, the fact that local experts might be conceiving the destination differently from the visitors in terms of products and attractions. Articles 3 and 4 make up the 'management and marketing part' of this research.

5 COMPILATION OF THE ARTICLES

5.1 ¿Mantener las murallas o demolerlas? Urbanismo y disputas sociales en Cartagena, Colombia y San Juan, Puerto Rico (1880–1920) [*Keeping the city walls or demolishing them? Urban planning and social disputes in Cartagena, Colombia and San Juan, Puerto Rico (1880-1920)*]

NOTICE: This article was originally published in Spanish. For the benefit of English-speaking readers, an English preprint version can be found at: https://drive.google.com/open?id=1XrzVrXgcgAT8ZN7hFxA9K5vm94DAaONZ

RESUMEN

Este artículo es resultado de la investigación de dos 'anomalías de planeación urbana' en América Latina: el mantenimiento de las murallas urbanas de Cartagena de Indias, Colombia y de San Juan de Puerto Rico. Aunque ambos sistemas defensivos son hoy en día joyas turísticas, tras su preservación hay una larga historia de controversias. Al examinar ambos casos, el presente artículo considera cuestiones de planeación urbana pero también socioeconómicas, lo que convierte estos dos ejemplos en únicos, puesto que la norma en el continente fue derribar las murallas. En el caso sanjuanero, un uso militar continuado; y en Cartagena, una desidia a la hora de derribar y una turistificación temprana explican el mantenimiento de las murallas. De todas formas, el artículo subraya que su preservación no produjo grandes diferencias entre ambas ciudades ni tampoco en sus centros históricos, si se las compara con otras ciudades similares de la región.

PALABRAS CLAVE: historia urbana, patrimonio, política urbana.

ABSTRACT

This article is the result of research on two 'planning anomalies' in Latin America: The preservation of the city walls of Cartagena de Indias, Colombia and San Juan, Puerto Rico. Although both defensive systems are tourist icons nowadays, behind their retention lay a long history of contestation. Planning, spatial and socio-economic issues are considered in the article, which deems these processes unique and idiosyncratic, because the norm throughout the continent was to tear down walls of this type. In San Juan, a long period of military use and in Cartagena a comfortable attitude as well as an early touristification process ultimately explain the preservation of the walls. However, keeping the walls has not led to a significant difference in urban planning processes in the two cities, nor in the two city centres, in comparison with other similar cites in the region.

KEYWORDS: urban history, heritage, urban politics.

5.1.1 Introducción, contexto y metodología

La presente investigación indaga por qué se dejaron en pie las murallas urbanas de Cartagena de Indias, Colombia, y de San Juan de Puerto Rico, considerando dos contextos: el histórico y el urbano. Mientras en prácticamente la totalidad de las ciudades latinoamericanas, desde Santo Domingo hasta Montevideo, fueron destruidas las murallas defensivas coloniales que rodeaban sus centros históricos, los sistemas de murallas de Cartagena y San Juan sobrevivieron en gran parte. Observando el trazado urbano actual de estas dos ciudades, es posible preguntarse por qué se mantuvieron tales estructuras, ya que eran consideradas obsoletas y fueron un claro estorbo al desarrollo urbano de principios del pasado siglo. La cuestión cobra mayor relevancia si se considera que sus centros históricos poseen hoy en día un valor indiscutible: los dos figuran en la lista de patrimonio mundial de la Unesco desde principios de la década de 1980, lo cual ha significado que ambas ciudades se han promovido como 'destinos turísticos patrimoniales', de modo que hoy en día se hallan entre los más buscados del Caribe. Las murallas las distinguen y hacen únicas, ya que ninguna otra en América Latina y el Caribe ha conservado estas estructuras, unos 3,5 km en el caso de Cartagena y 2,3 km en San Juan. Hoy en día se pueden admirar castillos y fortalezas en otras ciudades de la región, como La Habana, Santo Domingo, Ciudad de Panamá, Bermuda o Cumaná, pero en ellas ya no hay murallas que mostrar, o bien poseen solamente los restos de ellas. Algún caso excepcional, como el de Campeche, México, ha experimentado el ciclo completo de construcción-destrucción-reconstrucción de sus murallas urbanas: allí se empezó a reconstruir los muros hace ya algunas décadas y recientemente se ha continuado restableciéndolos con el objeto de atraer más turistas.

La metodología usada para el presente artículo es descriptivo-comparativa y, por tanto, de carácter selectivo (Oxman & Guyatt, 1993). De acuerdo con Bernal (2010), Cortés e Iglesias (2004) y Hernández, Fernández & Baptista (2010), este tipo de aproximación, al centrarse en la narración detallada de una problemática, permite identificar rasgos, características e información alusiva al objeto estudiado, abordando sus implicaciones y tendencias. Tal proceder se acerca al método del estudio de caso (Hamel, Dufour & Fortin, 1993; Stake, 1995), el cual reivindica el conocimiento de la realidad a través del examen de fenómenos concretos y abordables.

En concordancia con los postulados del párrafo anterior, el trabajo de campo en el que se basa el presente artículo ha sido de carácter eminentemente cualitativo, con la investigación de fuentes primarias (archivos de prensa, planos históricos y actuales de Cartagena y San Juan) que dieron los datos base, así como literatura secundaria (libros y artículos de historia de la época y literatura sobre historia de la planeación urbana de ambas ciudades y en América Latina en general; cf. listado de referencias al final del artículo), de la que resultó el marco histórico-social en el que se inscribe la presente investigación. Los resultados obtenidos se ratificaron mediante algunas entrevistas informales con expertos urbanistas e historiadores de ambas ciudades (tres en Cartagena y dos en San Juan). Se hizo especial esfuerzo en ilustrar los acontecimientos y devenires sociales respecto al urbanismo de la época, a la vez que en comparar ambos casos. No se deben esperar generalizaciones a partir de las dos ciudades estudiadas, por la especificidad de ambas; sin embargo, sí creemos que esta misma excepcionalidad puede ofrecer visiones interesantes sobre los procesos urbanos de otras ciudades latinoamericanas de finales del siglo xix y primeras décadas del xx, en especial el encaje urbano de las áreas históricas en el resto de la ciudad, con el trasfondo de las situaciones sociopolíticas respectivas.

Los hechos que se describen abarcan aproximadamente de 1880 a 1920 y deben ser puestos en la perspectiva general de las ciudades latinoamericanas y caribeñas, en su proceso de reformarse y conformarse a estándares urbanos europeos primero, y norteamericanos después. Es decir, el período estudiado en el cual suceden las 'anomalías' de mantener las murallas en Cartagena y San Juan es enmarcado en la fuerte influencia ejercida por el urbanismo de Europa y Norteamérica, sobre lo cual diserta Hardoy (1992, p. 20-21), cuando dice específicamente que "*the first building and environmental ordinances and the beginning of municipal regulation [in Latin America, AN] were an attempt to respond to ideas on public health that had developed in Europe*". Al otro lado de este marco temporal no hallamos ya la "higiene" como impulsora de reformas urbanas, sino la "modernidad". Esta deviene un concepto básico según Montoya Garay (2013), que en su historia de la planeación urbana de Bogotá señala: "La modernización se convirtió en la excusa favorita a la hora de legitimar las políticas urbanas en la mayor parte del siglo xx" (p. 76). La situación especial a la que entró Puerto Rico tras devenir territorio estadounidense en 1898 implicó la preferencia por la 'gran' arquitectura como medio rápido para crear una nueva identidad en la isla, según señala Pabón-Chameco (2016, p. 13 y ss.).

La importancia histórica y simbólica de ambas ciudades es innegable: ambas fueron fundadas en lugares de alto valor geoestratégico. San Juan era una isla con pronunciados acantilados a un lado, y Cartagena, un grupo de islas con ciénagas que las conectaban (figuras 1 y 2). Puerto Rico era la posesión española más oriental en las Américas, lo cual la convirtió en punto obligado de conexión marítima con España. Cartagena era la puerta a las regiones andinas de Suramérica y también guardiana del istmo centroamericano. Enormemente codiciadas por piratas y corsarios pagados por las potencias rivales de Castilla, ambas ciudades se fortificaron pronto para ser convertidas en plazas inexpugnables gracias a sus murallas, castillos y fuertes (posiblemente fueran, junto con La Habana, las urbes mejor defendidas del Nuevo Mundo). El proceso de construcción de las fortificaciones duraría siglos y marcaría no solo la forma de estas ciudades, sino también su estructura social y económica. Ambos puertos entraron a formar parte de la red portuaria establecida por los españoles en las costas del Caribe y Suramérica, cuyo fin era salvaguardar los intercambios entre la metrópoli y las colonias, una red que se mantuvo durante casi tres siglos.

El contexto de urbanismo desde 1880 hasta 1920 es un factor importante a tener en cuenta. En efecto, no pocos autores postulan que la planeación urbana empezó en América Latina en los años de 1920, con bastante retraso respecto a Europa (Almandoz, 2002, 2010; Hardoy, 1992). Este retraso es todavía más patente en Colombia, donde los estudiosos sitúan el inicio de la planeación urbana 'seria' hacia la década de 1930 (Montoya Garay, 2013, p. 87). En Puerto Rico también se inicia la planeación urbana en esa década, lo cual resultó en la construcción de proyectos de vivienda subsidiados por el gobierno federal estadounidense; por su parte, en 1941 inició sus actividades el Puerto Rico Planning Board (Mignucci, 2012). Por tanto, los fenómenos descritos en este artículo se dan en una época anterior a la planeación urbana sistemática tal y como se entendió en el continente a partir de la década de 1930.

Por otro lado, cabe subrayar que el mantenimiento de las murallas es algo inaudito, ya que en aquellas décadas no eran consideradas patrimonio cultural: la valoración social de las murallas se inicia en la década de 1910 en Cartagena de Indias (Giaimo, 2008, p. 8) y en el caso de Puerto Rico algunos autores ven un comienzo más tardío de este proceso, en la década de 1930 (Delgado Mercado, 2010, p. 63).

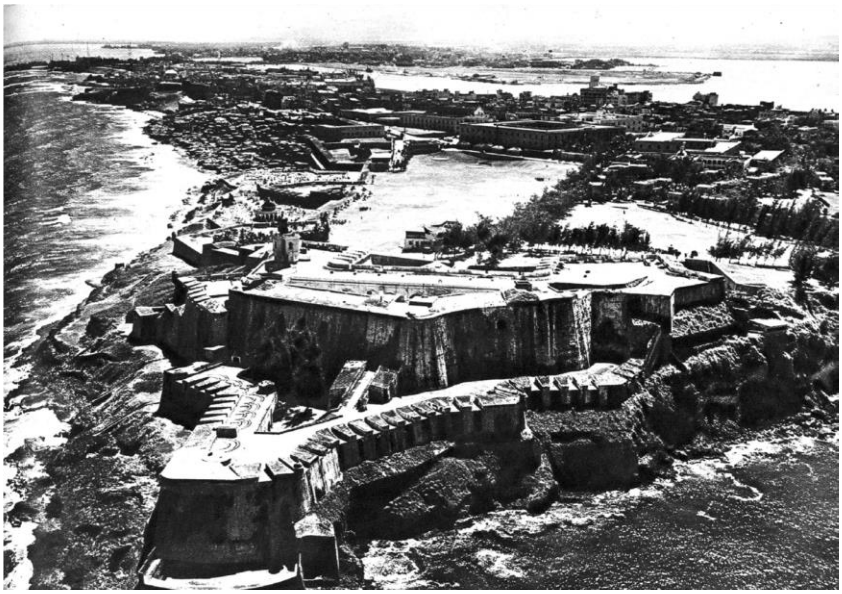


FIGURA 10: Vista aérea de San Juan del año 1953 con el fortín de El Morro y el Viejo San Juan en primer plano. Se distingue claramente la ciudad antigua, que ocupa una isleta conectada a tierra. En el fondo, algunos de los nuevos barrios que se desarrollaron durante el siglo xx. Fuente: Revista Mundo Hispánico *(1953, 67)*

FIGURA 11: Vista aérea general del centro histórico de Cartagena de Indias (c. 2010). Se aprecia cómo la ciudad se acienta en un grupo de isletas conectadas por ciénagas y caños. En la parte inferior se ve claramente el baluarte de Santo Domingo y en la parte superior central se observa la isla de Manga. Fuente: Fotografía Jaime Borda.

5.1.2 'Modernizando' las ciudades latinoamericanas: planeando nuevos espacios y demoliendo murallas

A partir de la década de 1880, las economías latinoamericanas quedaron conectadas a Europa, y posteriormente a Estados Unidos, en calidad de proveedoras de materias primas (Hardoy, 1978, p. 106). Este cambio económico pronto tuvo consecuencias sociales y espaciales en las ciudades. En paralelo a este cambio, y a lo largo del siglo xix, se fue dando un proceso de obsolescencia de las estructuras defensivas urbanas de Europa y América Latina, y a partir de las primeras décadas del xix, tras las independencias, en muchos países latinoamericanos se derribaron las murallas de las ciudades. Más tarde, ya en la década de 1860, estos procesos de demolición se relacionarían con las grandes reformas urbanas europeas, como la Ringstrasse en Viena o los bulevares de París, reformas que favorecieron la creación de avenidas anchas y espacios abiertos en la ciudad, muy en contraste con el laberinto de callejuelas que presentaban los centros históricos amurallados. Según señala Almandoz (2002, p. 15), las metrópolis latinoamericanas, ya conectadas económicamente a la naciente economía global, intentarían pronto imitar las nuevas formas urbanas. Este autor establece un claro paralelismo entre cambios físicos y culturales, también en el caso latinoamericano, cuando escribe que "*One of the key issues of the modernization of Latin America has to do with the importation of urban planning and design ideas from Europe, and the distinct way in which these were incorporated into the capitals of the emergent republics*" (p. 4).

El discurso público sobre la 'modernización', una de cuyas demandas *sine qua non* parece ser la demolición de las murallas urbanas, llegó a Cartagena hacia finales del siglo xix. Samudio Trallero (2006) escribe lo siguiente a propósito de este proceso:

> Unos pocos cartageneros (...) alzaron sus voces de protesta cuando fue derribado un sector de sus murallas en las primeras décadas del siglo xx, dizque para mejorar el saneamiento de la urbe como puerto de escala de los barcos que cruzarían el Canal de Panamá y porque se consideraba la muralla como un obstáculo para el progreso de la ciudad. (p. 3)

De hecho, entre las elites urbanas cartageneras existieron dos visiones completamente opuestas en lo que se refiere a las murallas: la de aquellos que las creían un estorbo al progreso y la de quienes las consideraban un patrimonio digno de ser preservado. Algunos autores ven en este último grupo a la elite más conservadora, directa descendiente de españoles, que deseaba mantener un fuerte símbolo visual de conexión con la antigua metrópoli. En cambio, el primer grupo estaría formado por la burguesía criolla emergente, que deseaba una clara ruptura con España y presionó para que desaparecieran las murallas, en tanto símbolo claro de la época colonial (Ávila Domínguez, 2008, p. 66).

La alternativa entre mantenimiento y demolición fue discutida amplia y apasionadamente durante casi medio siglo en Cartagena, en un periodo que empezó con una apertura practicada en la Plaza de la Aduana en 1880 y acabó en 1924 con la demolición completa de una cortina de murallas, incluyendo tres bastiones. Asimismo, las políticas públicas urbanas respecto del tema fueron extraordinariamente dispares y se contradijeron no pocas veces. Así, en 1911, mientras los militares estacionados en la ciudad derruyeron un segmento de murallas, el entonces presidente Carlos E. Restrepo envió desde Bogotá un telegrama en que ordenaba detener este derribo (Programa de Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo [pnud]/Unesco, 1990, p. 17), un caso de especial interés, ya que es la primera orden del gobierno de la Nación tendiente a la conservación del patrimonio construido. La tensión causada por este dilema de planeación urbana fue particularmente alta desde los años 1911 hasta 1924: Carrillo, Cabarcas, Vargas y Puello (2013, p. 194) constatan que las discusiones públicas respecto al tema fueron "muy acaloradas".

En los años de la Primera Guerra Mundial continuaron los movimientos opuestos. Mientras la prensa local (y las elites criollas tras ella) seguía pidiendo la demolición, un curioso efecto de la guerra europea fue que la destrucción que generó acabó resultando en una mayor apreciación de "lo antiguo" en general, y del patrimonio militar construido en particular (Giaimo, 2002, p. 8; véase también figuras 12A y 12B).

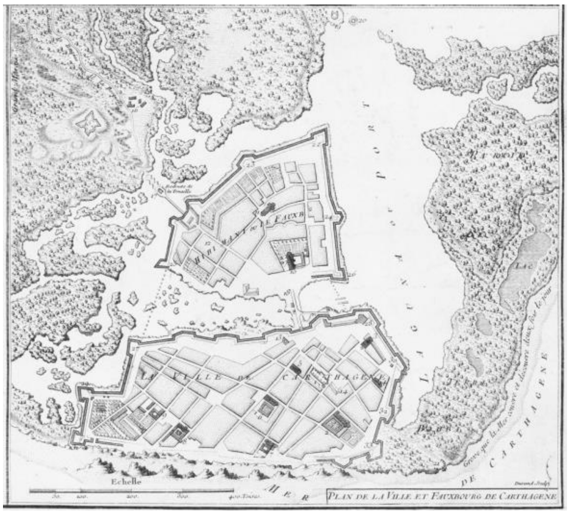


FIGURA 12A: Mapa de Cartagena de 1741. ***El*** *centro urbano está en la base de la foto y el arrabal de Getsemaní en el centro; este último aparece solo parcialmente amurallado. Fuente: mapa francés elaborado por el cartógrafo real jean de beaurain*

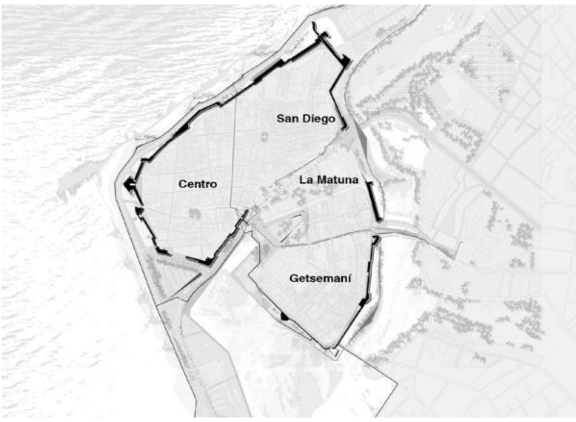


FIGURA 12B: Mapa actual del Centro Histórico de Cartagena con los cuatro distritos que lo conforman. Se presentan en líneas gruesas los segmentos de muralla que están en pie. Fuente: elaboración propia con base en en mapa de dominio público obtenido de openstreetmap.org

San Juan vivió un proceso muy diferente: varios autores afirman que hacia mediados del siglo xix la ciudad se estaba sobrepoblando, siendo además un lugar muy insalubre. En este contexto, la sociedad puertorriqueña pidió al gobierno español autorización para derribar las murallas en 1865, de modo similar a los casos de La Habana y Barcelona (Flores, 2009; González Vales, 2009; Sepúlveda Rivera, 2000, p. 70). Sin embargo, por motivos estratégicos, los militares estacionados en la isla bloquearon con todas sus fuerzas cualquier intento de derribo. Solo en 1897 el gobierno de Madrid autorizó finalmente la demolición.

El entusiasmo popular que causó esta decisión, así como el alegre inicio de los trabajos de demolición, están reportados fielmente por la prensa de la época. Muchos hombres jóvenes accedieron a ayudar en la demolición, y el primer día de trabajos fue declarado festivo por las autoridades locales, que inauguraron solemnemente las obras. Sin embargo, la demolición fue muy limitada, ya que los trabajos (ejecutados mayormente de modo manual) progresaron muy lentamente y en 1898 estalló la guerra entre Estados Unidos y España, con lo cual solo una parte relativamente pequeña de la muralla fue derribada; concretamente, la que se hallaba alrededor de la zona de Puerta de Tierra (figuras 13A y 13B).

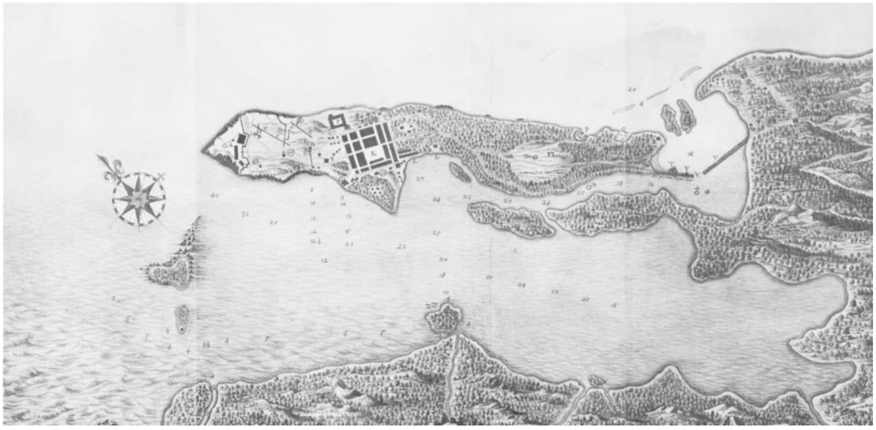


FIGURA 13A: Mapa de San Juan y sus alrededores del siglo xvii. Los bloques en damero representan la naciente ciudad y el perímetro negro son las defensas urbanas, por aquel entonces construidas solo en parte. Fuente: atlas blaeu-van der hem

FIGURA 13B: Mapa actual del Viejo San Juan. Las líneas y sombras negras perimetrales corresponden a las murallas y fortalezas existentes. Se aprecia que las murallas hacia su lado este fueron completamente derribadas, y solo parcialmente hacia el sur. Fuente: foto cortesía de imagenesmy.com, bajada en octubre de 2017.

Las crónicas históricas muestran, pues, una situación completamente diferente en San Juan y Cartagena, si las comparamos. En Puerto Rico, la sociedad en su conjunto estuvo a favor del derribo, después de haber luchado por él durante décadas. En Cartagena, tal como hemos visto, la cuestión estuvo lejos de la unanimidad.

5.1.3 ¿Expansión urbana o salud pública? Los casos de varias ciudades latinoamericanas

Si miramos otras ciudades latinoamericanas y caribeñas, el largo "período dubitativo" cartagenero no se halla en ninguna otra parte. Por ejemplo, la ciudad mexicana de Veracruz derribó el lado tierra de sus murallas en unos pocos meses en 1880 (figura 5), con la banda municipal tocando para acompañar a los obreros en su primer día de trabajo, tal y como dicen las crónicas, en un entusiasmo similar al descrito más arriba para San Juan. La sensación de libertad y la alegría que acompañaron dichos trabajos, llevados a cabo en su mayor parte por entusiastas residentes, son claro signo de una conexión entre murallas y ocupación española. La inevitable conclusión es que, para muchos latinoamericanos de la época, si se derribaba el símbolo colonial por excelencia, el poder colonial sería repelido (caso de Puerto Rico, bajo dominio español hasta 1898) o bien su memoria sería borrada (caso de Cartagena de Indias, independiente desde 1819). En consecuencia, una primera explicación del derribo de las murallas es netamente nacionalista: las nuevas repúblicas americanas borran de sus paisajes urbanos cualquier huella visual dejada por la antigua potencia colonial. Los procesos simbólicos desempeñan, pues, un papel principal, reclamando reformas urbanas y la demolición.

Las murallas urbanas han sido siempre estructuras segregadoras, tanto en época medieval como más recientemente. Así, Creighton (2007) afirma que no pocas murallas "*have violent histories and have changed political or national allegiance in the past. Moreover, city walls, while outwardly embracing populations, also inevitably serve to exclude or marginalize other social groups*" (p. 345). Este autor reporta procesos de contestación en la ciudad de Sana'a, Yemen, en años recientes, un hecho que demuestra claramente que las murallas urbanas son estructuras que suscitan, aun hoy en día, opiniones encontradas. Bruce y Creighton (2006) usan ciudades amuralladas europeas como trabajo de campo para demostrar su afirmación de que el patrimonio es "disonante" por definición, cuando escriben que "*town walls can be conceptualised as a 'dissonant' form of heritage whose value is contested between different interest groups and whose meanings are not static but can be rewritten*" (p. 234).

En conclusión, no solo en América Latina las murallas son estructuras polémicas, sino que se encuentran las mismas actitudes hacia ellas en otras latitudes, como en Europa y Asia, según recientes investigaciones.

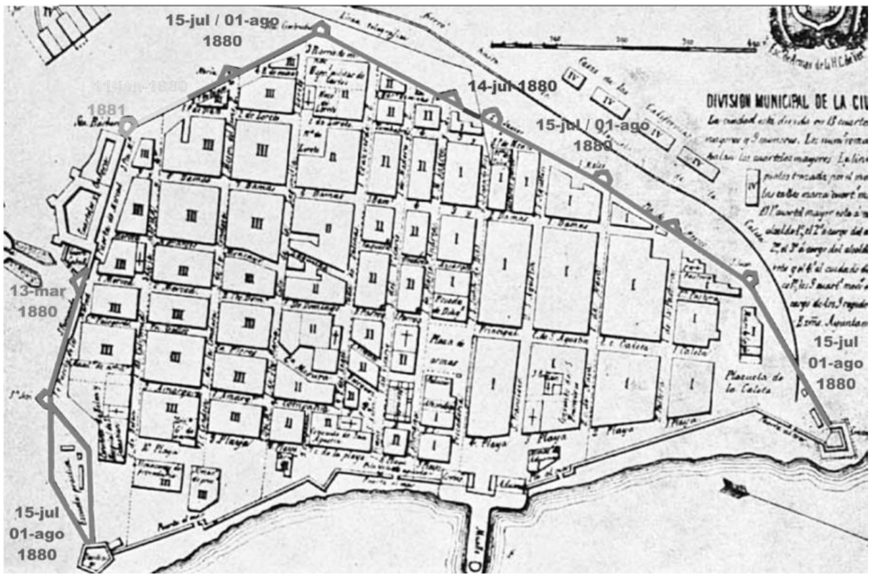


FIGURA 14: Esquema de demolición del lado tierra de las murallas de Veracruz, México, que tuvo lugar en tan solo unos meses (marzo a agosto de 1880). Nótese que se priorizó el derribo de la muralla de tierra antes que la de mar, para conectar el centro histórico con los nuevos barrios surgidos fuera de él. Fuente: foto cortesía de blog "Veracruz antiguo", https://aguapasada.wordpress.com /2015/05/24/1880-demolicion-de-la-muralla-de-tierra-en-veracruz/, bajada en septiembre de 2017

Otro argumento que parece importante en este contexto es el de la 'expansión'. Un ejemplo de ello es la ciudad de Lima, Perú, que demolió sus murallas en dos años, empezando en 1868 (Palmeiro, Lombardi & Montuori, 2012), ya que, según afirma Heineberg (1996), se habían convertido en un obstáculo al progreso de la ciudad. Este mismo autor escribe, para el caso de Montevideo, Uruguay, que en 1829 el primer gobierno nacional independiente ordenó la destrucción inmediata de las fortificaciones de la capital, ya que eran un impedimento a la expansión de la ciudad, una tarea que duró varios años. En suma, hay evidencias de que muchos centros históricos latinoamericanos se quedaron sin sus cordones amurallados por causa de la expansión urbana como motivo primario. En San Juan, como se dijo más arriba, esta demolición fue básicamente en la zona de la Puerta de Tierra, justamente el área que conecta la ciudad antigua con los nuevos barrios, siendo esto una prueba más de que la expansión y la conexión entre los barrios antiguos y los nuevos fue la principal razón tras las demoliciones. Todos estos derribamientos fueron saludados jubilosamente por el conjunto de las poblaciones residentes: el 'progreso' fue el impulsor de acciones; en cambio, la conservación del patrimonio no tenía ningún papel en el discurso público de la época.

Uno de los argumentos que más se repitió entre 1880 y 1920 en América Latina fue que las murallas debían ser derribadas por razones de salud pública. Este argumento surgió inicialmente en Europa y después se propagó por el continente latinoamericano: Almandoz (2000) reporta los detalles de este debate según se dio en la ciudad de Caracas y Agostoni (2003) investigó el tema en la Ciudad de México. En Cartagena, a pesar de que, según las crónicas, en efecto la higiene alrededor de las murallas era muy deplorable, algunos autores han visto en todo este discurso un modo de aislar y estigmatizar a las clases más bajas por parte de las elites urbanas, que así mantendrían a esas capas más pobres de la población por fuera del progreso emergente de aquella época (Deavila Pertuz, 2010). Un reciente trabajo de Valdemar Villegas (2017) profundiza en aspectos técnicos e impactos sociales de esta 'higienización' en Cartagena, cuyo objetivo final fue no solo la limpieza del ambiente, sino la 'limpieza social' en su sentido más amplio. Ante las medidas que se tomaron en la ciudad en pro de esta higiene, afirma este autor que

> Si bien fue visible la adquisición de cierto equipamiento urbano, las necesidades de los sectores pobres no fueron atendidas, más bien hubo negligencia y abandono. Es más, los barrios denominados como 'pobres' fueron estigmatizados como espacios antihigiénicos e inmorales que había que sanear en aras de la modernización. (p. 186)

Décadas después, argumentos similares se usarían contra diversos barrios de invasión asentados al lado de las murallas, con lo cual se constata la permanencia de una dialéctica perversa contra la población más vulnerable de la ciudad (Deavila Pertuz & Román Romero, 2008). Así, nos hallamos ante unas capas pobres de población frente a una modernidad discriminadora, de la que dice Valdemar Villegas (2017):

> La pretendida modernidad, a imagen y semejanza de las urbes del viejo continente, se redujo a la imaginación de una elite que saciaba su intentada emulación en retóricos discursos de salón" (p. 184). Guerrero Palencia (2014) constata la incapacidad de la elite blanca y andina en cuanto a crear buenas condiciones sociales para todos los habitantes de la ciudad, señalando además un interesante matiz político: "En este sentido los discursos eugenésicos expresados en lo racial y lo higiénico, se convirtieron en justificaciones que facilitaron el desarrollo de una hegemonía centralista andina, en la que las zonas costeras seguían siendo consideradas espacios marginalizados, a los que había que llevar el ideal de progreso y la civilización. (p. 118)

En el caso de San Juan, Dilla Alfonso (2014, p. 83 y ss.) reporta que la situación de sobrepoblación en la ciudad era tan grave que los problemas de higiene eran mucho más reales, aunque a la hora de hallar nuevos espacios y embellecer la ciudad, el desplazamiento de los habitantes de raza negra y de las capas más pobres fue un hecho.

Como se ve, esta discusión se dio, con diferentes matices, en todo el continente, ya que, en no pocas ciudades, las elites más progresistas justificaron la demolición con una mejor salubridad a causa –según se decía– de una mejora en la aireación de la ciudad.

Vale la pena, pues, detenerse en este argumento de la circulación del aire. De hecho, vemos que en Cartagena este argumento no se sostiene, ya que las demoliciones de las murallas comprendieron sobre todo las secciones del este y del sur del cordón. Y el hecho es que las brisas sobre la ciudad soplan mayormente desde el norte (Centro de Investigaciones Oceanográficas e Hidrográficas del Caribe [cioh Caribe], 2010). Si la demolición parcial hubiera sido motivada por cuestiones de salubridad, la parte de murallas que se habría derribado hubiera sido el sector norte, para favorecer la entrada de aire. Así, la explicación de higiene pública no puede ser considerada en este contexto. En cambio, si se mira la demolición parcial desde el punto de vista de una mejora de la conexión del centro histórico con el resto de la ciudad, que se iba expandiendo hacia el este, entonces todo cobra sentido. De hecho, la demolición del segmento de muralla en lo que es hoy día la avenida Venezuela tuvo como propósito principal conectar el centro histórico con La Matuna, un nuevo barrio de servicios construido sobre un caño desecado en las primeras décadas del siglo xx (figura 3B) y a partir de ahí con el resto de la ciudad. En este aspecto, pues, Cartagena sigue los patrones y tendencias de otras ciudades latinoamericanas en las que la expansión urbana fue determinante para derribar sus murallas, con el argumento de la higiene como mera excusa.

La cuestión de la 'conexión' o 'expansión' cobra todavía más importancia en el contexto general de crecimiento urbano de las ciudades de América Latina: estas muestran claros procesos de suburbanización ya desde mediados del siglo xix y las murallas urbanas se vuelven así un obstáculo evidente entre la 'ciudad antigua' y la 'ciudad nueva'. En los casos de Cartagena y San Juan, este proceso expansivo extramuros es comparativamente muy tardío. En San Juan, los militares españoles impidieron cualquier expansión fuera del recinto amurallado, de modo que solo en la década de 1890 se empezó tímidamente a construir por fuera, en la zona de Puerta de Tierra. En la década de 1900 y siguientes, con la isla formando parte de la Unión Americana, se iniciaría un vasto proceso de suburbanización parecido a los que se dieron en las ciudades estadounidenses. En Cartagena, los nuevos barrios extramuros de El Cabrero y Manga empezaron a construirse en las décadas de 1890 y 1900, respectivamente. Aquí emerge una hipótesis sobre la relación entre el mantenimiento de las murallas y una expansión suburbana tardía, ya que otras ciudades que habían demolido sus murallas anteriormente iniciaron estos procesos expansivos mucho antes que Cartagena y San Juan y de modo más intensivo.

En Cartagena, el argumento de la higiene pública fue usado repetidamente por las autoridades para justificar la demolición. Así, un correo del Ministerio de Obras Públicas de 1916 escribe excusándose ante los cartageneros y usando ampliamente el argumento de la salubridad para justificar la demolición de un segmento de muralla, una misiva que revela que la tensión entre conservar las murallas y derribarlas estaba irresuelta (Meisel Roca, 2009):

> Tenemos que pedir excusas, muy especialmente a los cartageneros por habernos permitido tocar a las antiguas murallas construidas por los españoles; comprendemos perfectamente el interés histórico que tienen, y sólo por considerar este sacrificio necesario y muy provechoso para la salubridad pública hemos podido resolvernos a recomendar su demolición parcial. (p. 140)

Este texto es particularmente interesante ya que, por primera vez, aparece el término "interés histórico" en un documento escrito por una autoridad colombiana sobre Cartagena.

Meisel Roca (2009) argumenta –sin ponderarlas– que hubo tres razones por las que las murallas de Cartagena eran vistas como un obstáculo: la primera era económica, ya que las murallas constituían una barrera física hacia la ciudad nueva; la segunda era de índole social, y era la baja apreciación del patrimonio urbano construido en la era 'preturística' de la ciudad; finalmente, la tercera razón tenía que ver con la salud pública, como se ha discutido más arriba.

La presente sección concluye, pues, enfatizando que el argumento de la salubridad no fue más que un falso argumento, ya que, habiendo visto los patrones de derribo de varias ciudades latinoamericanas, queda claro que el motivo principal fue la conexión entre el centro histórico y la nueva ciudad que emergía fuera de las murallas, de modo que ambas partes pudieran articularse en un solo espacio. Esta configuración preservaría el simbolismo del centro histórico, así como su función de centro administrativo y de poder, mientras que la función residencial (para clases altas) y parcialmente la industrial serían expulsadas a zonas periféricas, lejos del centro. De este modo, se introdujo un dualismo en las antiguas ciudades coloniales hispanas que ha prevalecido en muchas de ellas hasta nuestros días. Finalmente, el argumento 'nacionalista' puede ser visto como trasfondo de algunas discusiones de la época.

5.1.4 Las 'excepciones': cómo Cartagena y San Juan preservaron sus murallas. Implicaciones urbanísticas

Con el trasfondo de los poderosos argumentos de la 'higiene pública' y la 'expansión urbana' empujando la demolición de numerosas fortificaciones urbanas, la presente sección trata de ofrecer explicaciones sobre las 'anomalías urbanas' que significaron el mantenimiento de las murallas en Cartagena y San Juan, explicaciones que a la postre son tan simples como contundentes.

En el caso cartagenero, el antagonismo entre las elites mencionado en la segunda sección se saldó con la victoria de las más conservadoras. Fueron estos sectores los que, a pesar de ser minoritarios, vencieron en la batalla. Pero también existió un motivo mucho más prosaico que salvó las murallas: pese a que el gobierno nacional emitió un decreto para derribarlas, el gobierno local estaba tan corto de fondos que no tuvo modo de pagar la demolición (Samudio Trallero, 2006, p. 4).

Scarpaci (2005) ilustra cómo finalmente, y tras décadas de discusiones, se resolvió la cuestión de modo definitivo: en 1923, el alcalde de la ciudad invitó a un grupo de respetables ciudadanos, miembros de la elite local, a formar la Sociedad de Mejoras Públicas de Cartagena (es decir, la comisión local de monumentos), cuya misión sería el mantenimiento y embellecimiento de los espacios públicos y monumentos, en especial la arquitectura militar. Creada por una normativa local en 1923, aprobada un año más tarde por el Congreso del país, y a semejanza de otras Sociedades de Mejoras Públicas que se establecieron en las principales ciudades de Colombia, empezó a operar en el año 1924. Esta entidad pertenecía a las elites locales, a las cuales el sector público entregaba de este modo la mejora del espacio urbano y de sus monumentos. El mismo Scarpaci afirma que de este modo tuvo lugar la solución más radical que se adoptó en el continente en lo que a conservación de espacios públicos se refiere, en el sentido de que se dejó por completo esta tarea en manos privadas (cf. también Cunín & Rinaudo, 2006).

Escribiendo sobre esta cuestión de la década de 1920, Deavila Pertuz (2010) sostiene que, con la creación de la Sociedad de Mejoras Públicas, "se imprime un nuevo paradigma en la ciudad; el legado arquitectónico de la colonia, antes condenado a la desaparición, adquiere valor dentro de un prematuro proceso de constitución de una ciudad turística" (p. 2). Es, por tanto, a la vista de futuros desarrollos turísticos (que aún tardarían décadas en llegar) que algunos integrantes de la elite urbana consiguen que se conserven para siempre las murallas, una tarea que acometerán ellos mismos desde la recién creada Sociedad.

En lo que se refiere a San Juan, quedó como una plaza altamente estratégica, donde los militares españoles impidieron cualquier cambio en las estructuras fortificadas hasta 1897, cuando se dio una demolición parcial, como se explica más arriba. Un año más tarde, las murallas se usaron para proteger la ciudad frente a las fuerzas invasoras estadounidenses. A partir de la década de 1900, Puerto Rico se convirtió en el bastión estadounidense del Caribe, protegiendo la construcción del Canal de Panamá y más tarde su operación. De hecho, solo a partir de 1912 el gobierno federal estadounidense empezó a compartir el manejo de las estructuras militares coloniales con el gobierno de la isla, básicamente para que este contribuyera a los costos de mantenimiento de aquellas. Así las cosas, amplias secciones de las murallas y los fortines continuaron siendo usados como instalaciones militares por los norteamericanos, sobre todo como almacenes. El uso militar del sistema de fortalezas colonial siguió hasta la Segunda Guerra Mundial, ya que el gobierno federal americano desplegó en ellas artillería moderna de forma preventiva (Gutiérrez, 2005, p. 64). Los militares conservaron su autoridad sobre buena parte de las murallas y fortines hasta que, en 1961, decidieron transferirlos al National Parks Service estadounidense. Con ello, estamos ante un período inusualmente largo de uso militar de fortalezas coloniales, que es único en toda Latinoamérica y que explica tanto la conservación de las murallas como su rápida transición a atractivo turístico (Álvarez Curbelo, 2009; Flores 2009; González Vales, 2009; Santiago Cazull, 2006).

Alguien puede argumentar que, en ambas ciudades, con las demoliciones parciales que garantizaban la conexión entre la ciudad antigua y la nueva, la demolición completa de las murallas no fue necesaria. Por tanto, la muralla lado mar pudo seguir en pie al no ser un estorbo para la citada conexión. Nosotros no creemos que esta explicación sea correcta, ya que también debería dar cuenta de por qué fueron derribadas las murallas del lado mar de otras ciudades coloniales hispanas (La Habana, Veracruz, etcétera).

5.1.5 Conclusiones

El presente artículo ha repasado y ponderado las diferentes causas que explican los procesos de demolición de murallas en América Latina, así como los casos únicos de Cartagena de Indias y San Juan de Puerto Rico, que consiguieron conservar sus estructuras amuralladas. Se ha determinado que, bajo un trasfondo nacionalista, la expansión urbana y la conexión de barrios fueron las causas de demolición de murallas, mientras que los argumentos de higiene pública fueron usados como meros pretextos. Las causas para mantener las murallas difieren en ambas ciudades: en el caso cartagenero, remiten a una apuesta temprana por el turismo y, junto con ello, a la falta de presupuesto para la demolición; en el caso sanjuanero, fue su uso continuado y extraordinariamente largo como instalaciones militares.

Es de resaltar que, con la excepción de la conservación de sus murallas, los centros históricos de Cartagena y San Juan compartirían idéntico destino con el resto de centros históricos coloniales latinoamericanos en lo que se refiere a sus desarrollos durante el siglo xx. En efecto, todos ellos verían primero un proceso de decadencia largo y profundo para después ser regenerados en lo que Scarpaci (2005) considera las dos caras de una misma moneda de la estrategia capitalista de valoración de centros históricos. En conclusión, exceptuando sus 'anómalas' murallas y dentro de sus respectivos contextos nacionales de planeación urbana, Cartagena y San Juan experimentaron los mismos procesos y las transformaciones comunes a todas las urbes del continente desde mediados del siglo xix hasta las primeras décadas del xx.

Así, el hecho de conservar las murallas no significó nada especial para estas dos ciudades en lo que se refiere a desarrollo urbano.

Cabe subrayar aquí cómo, con posterioridad a la época analizada, en el transcurso del siglo xx ambas ciudades experimentarían procesos de suburbanización (que en San Juan serían de proporciones gigantescas, debido a que se trasplantaron a la isla las normas de planeación estadounidenses), así como procesos de turistificación, lo que las ha llevado a ser dos destinos caribeños altamente cotizados, tanto por sus playas como por su patrimonio militar construido. Los nuevos barrios fueron construidos para las clases más pudientes en estilo *art déco* en Cartagena y en estilo *city beautiful* en San Juan, pero también con presencia de barrios de construcción informal ocupados por las clases bajas, de modo similar a lo acontecido en otras ciudades latinoamericanas. Estas cuestiones quedan, sin embargo, fuera de nuestro trabajo y se constituyen en interesantes futuras investigaciones que podrán completar lo reportado en el presente artículo.

Al final, las circunstancias más bien fortuitas que llevaron a la conservación de las murallas en ambas urbes (Segovia Salas, 1987, escribió que haber conservado las murallas de Cartagena fue un "milagro"), acabaron siendo altamente beneficiosas con el correr del tiempo: las murallas son hoy en día importantes monumentos de carácter icónico que inspiran orgullo y sentido de pertenencia a los residentes. Asimismo, distinguen estéticamente a estas ciudades, ya que son estructuras únicas en América Latina y constituyen, por tanto, una fuente de competitividad, algo esencial para ambas, ya que son hoy en día importantes destinos turísticos de talla internacional.

5.2 Evolving Iconization and Destination Building: The Example of Cartagena, Colombia

ABSTRACT

This paper deals with the city of Cartagena de Indias, Colombia, as a case of urban transformation geared towards tourism development. It intends to research the main processes which took place in stakeholders; Latin American different eras and shaped the city as it discovered its tourist potential. After a short introduction to Cartagena's tourist space, Cartagena de Indias the focus will be on the processes which effectively transformed a run-down colonial harbor city into a vibrant destination in less than a century. This is done by looking into the interplay of spatial and sociopolitical questions. This description is framed within theories of icons, iconization processes and semiotic spaces. Since the city possesses an outstanding architectural heritage, it is intended to set this paper in the broader context of urban "icons" to see how the main attraction of Cartagena, namely its built heritage, has been managed and has contributed to shaping the city's tourist profile.

KEYWORDS: Destination development; iconic development; tourism stakeholders; Latin American historic city centers; Cartagena de Indias

5.2.1 Introduction: Cartagena de Indias as a tourist space

The city of Cartagena de Indias is considered Colombia's "first" tourist destination. Cartagena retains its fortresses and city walls from the colonial era—structures which have been marked as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO since 1984. Further, as it is on the shores of the Caribbean, the surrounding area is a sun-and-sand area, especially so the Islas del Rosario, an archipelago located close by, which consists of small islands with pristine waters, coral reefs and white-sandy beaches. Thus, the city has the potential to attract different types of tourism, as stated by the Colombian national tourism portal www.colombia.travel:

> The sea breeze and the sunset that transform the colors of 400-year-old houses enchant visitors in Cartagena. A World Heritage Site, this city was founded by Pedro de Heredia in 1533; the colonial architecture of its buildings is protected by the most complete set of fortifications in South America. The historic center enclosed by the walls of Cartagena is the soul of the city that inspired Gabriel García Márquez, who won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1982. In addition to taking in the history of centuries-old cobblestone streets,

> you can explore the Castle of San Felipe or experience the wonder of the city's many churches [...]. Known for the 6.8 miles of walls built around it by the Spanish, Cartagena has a historic center that should be explored slowly and without a care in the world.

Founded by the Spanish conquerors, Cartagena quickly became a prominent port in the network of transportation of goods from the Americas to Spain. Its proximity to the Panama and Darien regions, as well as its role as gateway to the inland Andean region, made it a highly strategic location (Figure 15). That is why throughout its history it suffered from many invasions and ravages, so soon it had to be strongly fortified. Inside the walls, the city was developed in square blocks, much like any other city in Hispanic America, with the building of churches, convents, palaces and houses. Many of these buildings are still standing, contributing to the beauty and uniqueness of the place.

The historical and architectural value of the military heritage in Cartagena is clear, as Kagan (2000, p. 124) states: "Cartagena de Indias erected what was surely among the most impressive arrays of artillery platforms, fortresses and walls ever constructed in the New World". Today, Cartagena displays the longest stretch of colonial city walls in the Americas, some 3.5 km long.

FIGURE 15. Locating Colombia in South America and Cartagena in Colombia. Source: Author on a background map by Wikimedia Commons.

The city descended into a declining socioeconomic and urban situation during the nineteenth century, after decades of decadence caused by the independence wars in

1810–1825. However, within the first few decades of the twentieth century, and after a certain economic rebound, it became Colombia's main tourist destination. This process was mainly pushed by the national elites which were supported by the local elites (Colombia, 1996), managing the space in a clear attitude of *laissez faire*.[2] The outcome is the production of the particular space and economic structure of Cartagena as we know it today. This process will be explored in greater depth in Section 4 by reviewing the historic evolution of the destination. As a multi-facetted, well-developed destination, Cartagena is especially appropriate to study the setup of icons and the shifting processes of iconization through time and space, that's why a semiotic framework has been chosen for this article. For more information about Cartagena's tourist spaces and attractions, see the supplementary materials to this article.

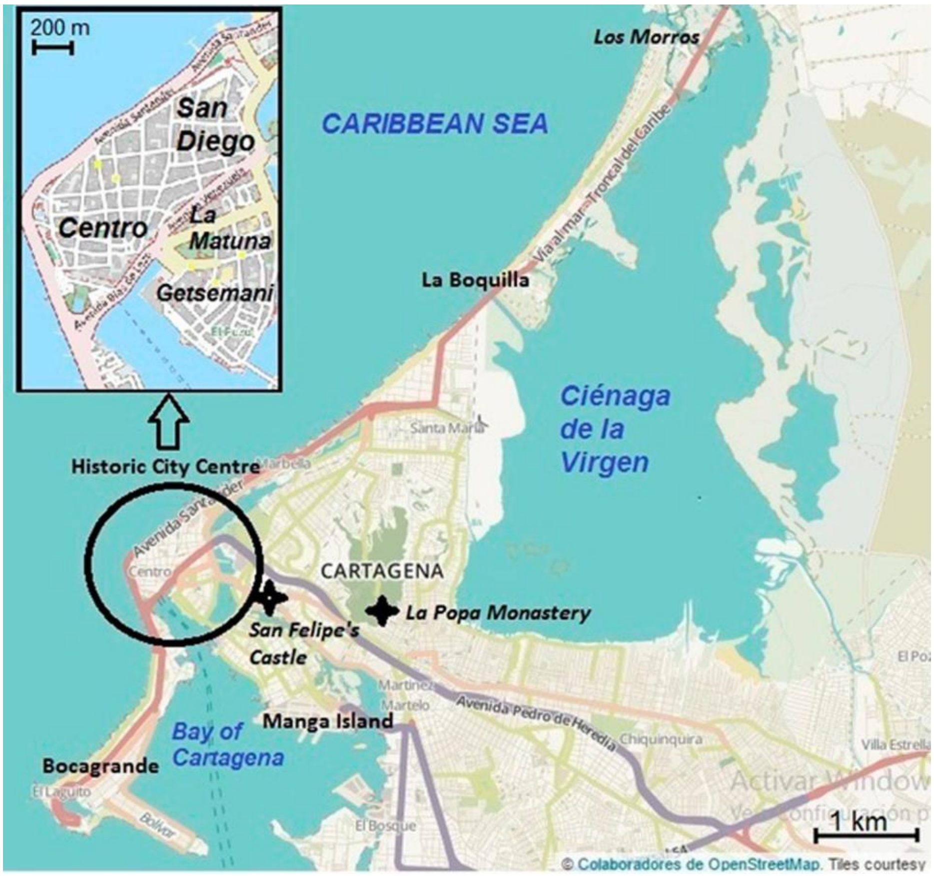


FIGURE 16. Cartagena city map: main sights (City Centre, San Felipe and La Popa) and main beach areas (Bocagrande, La Boquilla and Los Morros). The enlarged section shows the historic center with its four neighborhoods: Centro, San Diego, La Matuna and Getsemaní. Source: Author on a background map by OpenStreetMap.

[2] French expression which translates as "Letting Do". It is used to describe a minimal intervention of public authorities in certain matters, which are then taken over by the private sector.

5.2.2 Framework and methodology

To go beyond the mere historical chronicle of a particular destination, it is useful to test our research efforts against two theoretical frameworks to see how the destination "performs", so as to make conclusions more explanatory. Two frameworks have been sourced within the literature about icons' management, both simple but at the same time powerful explanatory tools. The first one is a model proposed by Sternberg (1997) and helps us to understand how far the icon(s) of a place are set out for tourism. This author argues that for tourist attractions to work—Sternberg uses the case of Niagara Falls—the iconic tourist experience needs to be carefully planned or "prepared" for the visitors through two processes: staging and thematising. "Staging" refers to the display of the attraction by facilitating information and access to visitors, whereas "thematising" is related to the use of the attraction as a means to present stories or events relating to it, which might be real or fictitious. Sternberg insists that if one of these two processes fails, the tourist experience will come short of its goals and the iconicity of the site will diminish.

The other framework we chose draws its roots from De Saussure's definition of the meaning of "signs" and the subsequent works about semiotics by Peirce. The semiotics paradigm applied to the interpretation of urban spaces has been used for some time: Demytrie (2000) studied the city of Tashkent under this theory. In tourism, semiotics was introduced by researchers like McCannell (1976) and Urry (1994, 2002). We will follow the theory as set out by Donaire (2008, pp. 201–211) where icons (or "symbols") and their surroundings are explored and further broadened into "semiotic landscapes", retaking a concept originally developed by Urry. This concept provides us with a powerful apparatus in order to explain the evolution and current situation of Cartagena as a destination, especially its historic center, where most of its "iconic" architecture is located, including the city walls surrounding it. This approach introduces the concept of "semiotic landscapes" as an "idea" more than a "real space", so one can speak about semiotic landscapes of the kind of an "Arab market", a "Latin American Historic Centre", a "European medieval town", etc. Such landscapes are more than the sum of the nodes/points (i.e. individual monuments or icons) that make them up, as these are transformed into the "idea" of a type of landscape the tourist might have in mind. Regardless of its basic status as an "idea", semiotic landscapes also must accomplish certain features to be acknowledged as such: uniformity, uniqueness and exceptionality being some of these features—which are not easy to "objectively" measure. One of the purposes in this paper is to see how Cartagena's historic center fits into this framework and to what extent it conforms to the "rules" defining semiotic spaces.

Despite the obvious interest of this approach and its ability to deliver powerful explanations, this framework has not been much used by the tourism research community. While there is an abundance in research about iconic architecture as a developing catalyst for urban places or about the social aspects of icons and iconization processes (Subsection 5.2.3), only a handful of researchers have considered the semiotics framework as an analysis tool: Pennington and Thomsen (2010) or Thomsen and Printzlau Vester (2016) are some of the few to do so. In fact, this framework is still being conceptualized by the tourism research community (Zhang & Sheng, 2017). Probably, as icons are more concrete and easier to conceptualize than the general semiotics approach, they have received much more attention. That's why we depart from them in our literature review (See subsection 5.2.3). Even less attention has been payed to semiotic landscapes and their dynamics, a gap which this paper tries to remedy.

The semiotics framework in tourism brings together two strings of research; the interpretation of meanings of places as described above, and the consideration of the geography of places. Wall (1997) develops three categories in which attractions might fall into, these are: spaces, arcs (or lines) and nodes (or points). The connections with the semiotics framework are that icons correspond to nodes (or nodes along a line) and spaces correspond to semiotic landscapes—when both nodes and spaces have undergone iconization processes. Although this relationship is not a one-to-one, it is nonetheless hoped that the conclusions of this article will be of interest to both geographers and researchers in semiotics.

The fieldwork supporting this research consisted of interviews to several city actors in which they explained or gave their opinions about recent or past events in the destination. A total of 7 actors belonging to academia (2), public sector and organizations (3) and businesses (2) were interviewed at length about the destinations' history and development. From here, we inferred the iconization processes presented further below. The rationale behind the interviewees' choice was their knowledge and expertise about the city's tourism development or with its urban management. To better grasp older periods, and to have further sources backing the study of more recent developments, we resorted to the literature and newspaper archives as well as some final projects of students of the Universidad de Cartagena. We then checked the information gathered from these sources in shorter interviews with 8 further local and national experts from the industry.

5.2.3 Literature review: icons, icon management and iconization processes

This section offers a review of the main topics around icons and their processes. We do so by grouping the reviewed papers under headings so as to offer the reader an overview.

5.2.3.1 Icons are socially constructed

Becken (2005) defines them as attractions which, via a consensus among the destination's actors, have become "important". Icons are quickly recognizable, built over time and, perhaps most importantly, "icons are famous because they are famous" (Urry, 2002), a sentence that shortly summarizes the selfreinforcing processes one can observe in many icons. Ram, Bjoerk, and Weidenfeld (2016) conclude that an icon is socially constructed by the residents of a destination, who bestow upon it an "authenticity" of character. Rey Castillo-Villar (2016) stresses the social and identity component of this process and describes icons as "elements of the urban landscape able to influence urban identities and the experiences of people". This social aspect of the definition opens a door to the multicultural construction of icons, so Tang, Morrison, Lehto, Kline, and Pearce (2009) notice that Chinese equate iconicity with antiquity but Americans with modernity. In fact, most current authors attempting at a definition of icons ground them on their social, collective aspect, making it a highly prominent one. Implicit in this approach is the reading that icons might become ground for contestation, as in Bruce and Creighton (2006), studying European walled cities and heritage "dissonances", an article of special interest in consideration of Cartagena's city walls as potential icons.

5.2.3.2 Icons materialize in a variety of ways

The literature gives an astonishing wide array of types of objects which can become icons: they can be natural (Tremblay, 2002; Liu et al., 2016), man-made attractions (Dybedal, 1998), of cultural nature (Grodach, 2008; Ramukumba, 2014; Sharpley, 2007; Tze-Ngai Vong & Ung, 2012) or intangible (Gómez Schettini, 2013; Pearce, Morrison, & Moscardo, 2003). With several authors considering some events also as iconic (Section 3.5) attempting to formulate a definition along this line would be futile.

5.2.3.3 Icons vary in their geographical sizes and spillover effects.

Icons' scales as well as their range of influence can greatly differ: larger sections of the city can be considered iconic, for example certain streets, so the claim of Golan (2015) for Tel Aviv's Rothschild Boulevard. Kong (2007) records the efforts of several large Asian cities to position themselves via cultural icons and place strategies, giving a fine-grained account of motives and goals which are more political than economical. But icons are not only important to big cities: Patachi (2015) chronicles the efforts of three middle-sized European cities at rebranding themselves through iconic architecture. Icons may also have spillover effects over a whole region, thus Simon (2010) reports the efforts that Paris and its region Ile-de-France are making to this purpose. Cànoves and Prat (2015, p. 455), when inquiring about Barcelona's spillover capabilities, ask: "What strategies must be designed to expand the tourist traffic beyond the attractions of the city of Barcelona to all of Catalonia?" In the conclusions we will retake this topic and apply it to Cartagena and its region.

5.2.3.4 Icons show dynamic and complex processes, require careful management

The modern construction and signification of icons has a long history: Billinge (1993) reviews the history of London's Crystal Palace and the attempts at a modern-day reconstruction of it, with both eras full of political significance. Smith (2007) examines the monumentality of Barcelona in two different epochs, studying the political tactics that were behind these two periods and uncovering interesting parallels. As exceptional marks, icons help to differentiate a destination and thus to highlight the location's unique proposition(s). They might also be a source of diversification, as shown by Prat Forga and Cànoves Valiente's (2012) analysis of the Costa Brava and the Dalí Museums in the area. However, icons sometimes pose huge problems in terms of space and image management: Andre, Cortés, and López (2003) report about the case of Figueres, Catalonia, in which the Dalí Museum functions as an icon but "surpasses" and consequently overshadows the town in which it is located.

As a result, the same icon can be a blessing or a blight, therefore requiring a very careful management. In the conclusions section 5.2.5, we will return to this point as we think it has affected Cartagena's product mix. Grodach (2008) in his study about Californian museums acting as flagships, points further that the space in which the attraction is located can favor or deter its regenerating potential, so automatically linking icons and regeneration of places would be wrong. Note that this partly contradicts what is said in the next section about iconic architecture. Additionally, other authors state that icons must be "renewed" in due course, no matter their importance, for instance Rabbiosi's work on Paris (2015).

The need to carefully manage icons, as stated by the authors reviewed in this subsection, connects with one of our theoretical frameworks, namely Sternberg's. His proposal might be a practical solution to the questions posed by some researchers in this subsection and the previous one.

5.2.3.5 Icons are anchors for renovation and development

More than the "inherited", historical icons, in recent decades the new iconic buildings by the world's "starchitects" have aroused huge interest (Specht, 2014). Among these, the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao has become an "icon of icons" and possibly the most studied of this type (Franklin, 2016; McNeill, 2000; Plaza, 2000). The Guggenheim museum is not only interesting as an icon in itself, it is also an outstanding example of urban regeneration and rebranding. Therefore, there have been more studies which have researched into the built environment's influence on the production and representation of space than studies about the iconic character of the building itself. Andersson (2014) extends this idea to five "iconic" hotels which give rise to "iconic spaces" in different locations in Sweden. This combination of an icon and place renewal, the so-called "iconic development", a concept discussed by Taylor, Beza, and Jones (2016), has been imitated throughout the world since Guggenheim's success: Zenker and Becken (2013) chronicle Hamburg's efforts at rebranding itself through the Elbphilarmonie building, a project for renovating a larger area as well, while Miles (2005) illustrates the tensions of cultural regeneration in Newcastle, England. However, these authors recognize the social aspect as a crucial one: "The success of investment in iconic cultural projects depends above all upon people's sense of belonging in a place and the degree to which culture-led regeneration can engage with that sense of belonging, whilst balancing achievements of the past with ambitions for the future" (Miles, 2005). Some events are also considered "iconic" contributing thus to a city's iconicity and rebranding, as the case of Barcelona with the Olympics of 1992 (Degen, 2004; Smith, 2007) or even the events held in smaller places (Eizenberg & Cohen, 2015). Obviously, "starchitecture" and events bring icon management closer to place strategy and place branding initiatives.

5.2.3.6 World Heritage Sites (WHS) as icons: mixed blessings

Some years ago it seemed quite straightforward that UNESCO nominations created strong brands which protected and strongly marketed a site (Shackley, 1998), therefore setting off an iconization process. Later on, it was found that this process was not such a straightforward one and had to be refined on a more case-specific line (Leask & Fyall, 2006). So Dewar, Du Cros, and Li (2012) as well as Tze-Ngai Vong and Ung (2013) found a very low WHS brand awareness in Macao's cultural tourists, which amounts to implying that the UNESCO brand has, in certain circumstances, minimal effects on the heritage it marks. Currently there are even some scholars openly defying the alleged benefits of a WHS nomination, as Poria, Reichel, and Cohen (2011) who found very low brand equity at several UNESCO sites or Caust and Vecco (2017) with the meaningful title "Is UNESCO World Heritage recognition a blessing or burden? […]". So it seems that, in recent years, faith in the WHS brand and its effects, has diminished. This point is to be taken into account when studying Cartagena, as the city's built heritage is a WHS site.

In the next subsections, we will take a closer look at some of the points raised here, like the social construction of icons, which are the object of a public consensus or the basis of strategic city development. Eventually, icons benefit not only a city but a whole region around it or even the country in which they are settled. And in some cases, icons "surpass" or absorb their surroundings. To what extent does this apply to Cartagena?

5.2.4 The production of tourist space in Cartagena and the setting up of the tourist industry

This subsection reviews some of the milestones of the city in becoming a tourist destination while, at the same time, producing the adequate tourist space. We have selected the facts we think are most relevant, but, as the city's history in relation to tourism stretches over a century, this section also necessarily "compresses" these events to form an abridged historical overview. The paragraphs below as well as the timeline template below (Table 5) shall help the reader in navigating through the different eras of the destination. While the turning of Cartagena's urban space into a tourist destination under a semiotic reading is this paper's main point of interest, secondarily it will be touched upon topics like economic development, urban management, built heritage production or public investment.

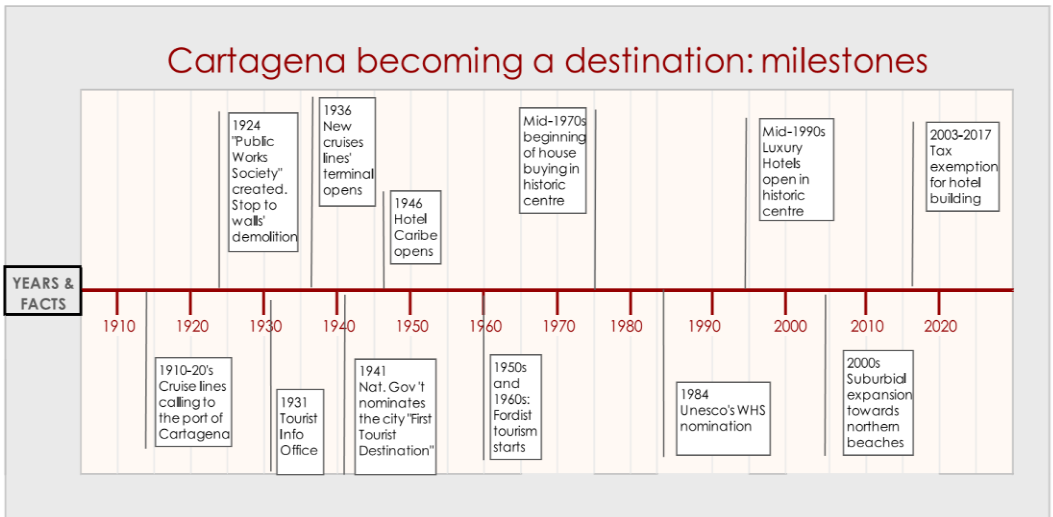


TABLE 5. Timeline of some of the main events which made Cartagena a tourist destination. Source: Author from cited references for this paper.

5.2.4.1 Discovering tourism: 1920–1950

Cartagena's tourism is considered to have started in the 1920s as it became a port of call in the circuits of the nascent US cruise liner industry, so several athors consider this decade and the 1930s as the "foundation" years of the tourism industry in which the city "discovered its tourist vocation" (Ávila Domínguez, 2008, p. 59; Galvis & Aguilera, 1999). The destination offered those visitors two main monuments: the castle of San Felipe and the monastery of La Popa (Figure 16). These were two landmarks located far away from the historic center, which was excluded from the city's sightseeing program, as it was at that time in a deplorable state of decay.

In 1924, the Sociedad de Mejoras Públicas ("Public Works Society") was founded, an institution made up by the local elites whose goal was to ensure the maintenance of the city's military built heritage. They would fulfill this function for the following 90 years. With the foundation of the Society, it became clear that the city walls were to be saved from demolition and the city's military built heritage would be kept. In retrospect, the Sociedad showed three traits that would prevail in Cartagena's built heritage management for decades: the first one was the elites safeguarding the city's heritage mainly for their own enjoyment, excluding the lower classes. The second trait was the economically self-sufficient management of the monuments as an early push towards neoliberal place management. Finally, the third one was putting forth the military architecture as the city's sole heritage—only in the 1980s with the UNESCO nomination did other types of heritage become visible, and only in very recent years have intangible attractions emerged. Interestingly, the start of regular cruise tourism took place in the same period that the Sociedad was founded and the city decided to preserve its military built heritage; therefore the production of space and the selling of it were almost contemporary, as far as this era is concerned.

In the 1930s, two noticeable facts to boost tourism took place: following one of the first national tourist regulations, the local Tourist Information Office was inaugurated in 1931. So was the sea terminal at Manga, relatively close to the city center, which started operations in the mid-thirties to better serve the cruise liners arriving to the city (Figure 2). The success of cruise liners in those decades, as between 1935 and 1940 some 90.000 tourists visited the city in almost 650 ships, can be linked to the city's continued interest in promoting itself as a cruise destination. These beginnings of international tourism also partly explain, in the author's opinion, why Cartagena has shown much more interest in attracting foreign tourists than national tourists.

Not long after this initial opening up of the cruise industry, in the 1930s another process started, which was the festivalization of the city. This process has been continued and enlarged over time. It began as early as 1935 with the first beauty contest pageant for Miss Colombia and, over the years, other cultural or musical events have joined in this festivalization effort, so as to give the city a "cultural allure". In the literature, a great deal of authors argue that, in many cases, festivalization tends to produce social segregation as well as control and domestication of public space. Under this vision, festivals provide public meeting spaces for the elites, whose status is reaffirmed, and at the same time marginalize the lower classes by excluding them from the event, so Belghazi (2006) for the case of Fez, Morocco. In other cases, festivalization becomes a more inclusive strategy, although still centrally controlled (Johansson & Kociatkiewicz, 2011; Ross Macdonald, 2012). In the case of Cartagena, festivals have been a form of exclusion against the lower classes as no effort has been made to involve them in the events. On top of this, the Miss Colombia contest falls together in the same dates as the local festivities, which has meant that, with the passing of time, the former has emptied the latter of significance and resources. Only very recently, some local institutions have worked hard to make the local festivities attractive for the population but this is more of a resistance gesture than an organization of a mass appeal.

Festivals and large events in Cartagena have used the city's built heritage as a necessary backdrop, especially the city walls. They have thus served as a promotional tool and have in turn reinforced the city's architecture, especially the colonial military structures, as an icon in the city, along the lines pointed out in Paragraph 5.2.3.5. Consequently, in Cartagena, as soon as the space is produced, it becomes marketed as well—and this is a process that began very early in the tourist history of the city. Interestingly, the festivalization and its consequences have remained mostly unseen by local researchers, who have favored spatial and socioeconomic causes to explain the city's sharp social segregation.

The early touristification and iconization processes continued into the 1940s with the nomination of the city as the "first national tourist destination" by the national government in 1941. Following this, the national government heavily invested in the destination for decades. This is clearly explained in Colombia (1996, p. 118) which ascribes to the national government the biggest burden in initiatives and investments in Cartagena throughout the decades, leaving the local government and the private sector in quite a secondary place as far as destination development goes. Another noticeable date is 1946, the year in which the city's first international tourist hotel opens, the Hotel Caribe (Table 5), still operating nowadays. Deavila Pertuz sums up this era as follows:

> What ultimately takes place in Cartagena during the 1940s is a restructuring of the city profile. The local politicians around the city's government, the businessmen and the civic leaders began to realize that tourism could become the basis of the local economy. Trade, which had been up to then the spine of the economic activity in the city, had no choice but to give way to a powerfully emergent tourism industry. Deavila Pertuz (2010, p. 2)

5.2.4.2 Developing tourism and re-discovering the City Center: from 1950 to 1980

In the years from 1950 to 1970, tourism evolved very slowly in the city. It was a form of tourism essentially based on the appeal of sun and sand, reflecting the tastes of travelers to other parts of the world at that time. The tourist activity revolved around the peninsula of Bocagrande as, due to a very bad state of conservation, the historic city center and its walls played a very secondary role in the hierarchy of local attractions. Therefore, "cultural visits" were limited to the castle of San Felipe and the monastery of La Popa, both monuments well outside the historic center (Figure 16). Hotel owners in Bocagrande were against the development of tourism activities in other parts of the city than the beaches, as they thought tourists might be lured away from them. This partly explains that, for decades, the city's main product was sun and sea and not built heritage.

In the 1970s, as sun and sand tourism was fully developing in Bocagrande, some members of the national elite set their eyes on the historic center as an alternative, quieter space. Several among them bought houses there and refurbished them, a trend that became popular in the course of that decade and points towards a "re-discovery" of the historic center by the national elites. Rojas (1999) states that, in most cases, this trend was more of a "heart-driven" one than a "reason-driven" one, for it was unlikely that the investments made would be profitable and few people were thinking of their newly-acquired properties as assets. According to Rojas,

> The private sector began investing more heavily in the historic center in the 1970s because of Cartagena's growing reputation for tourism, and because it offered the wealthy a refuge from the massive tourist development that had sprung up [...] in Bocagrande. Rojas (1999, p. 53).

The renewal of historic centers was not only a local tendency but one that can be retraced worldwide starting from that era. Almandoz (2015, p. 158) suggests that a whole host of Latin American historic city centers started renovations by the 1970s out of the need for cities to differentiate themselves by introducing "variety" in their urban landscapes, which puts these efforts in the frame of neoliberal "strategic planning". So a pattern which became quite common throughout the continent was that the public sector paid for the renovation of spaces in the historic centers and some elites bought properties and renovated them, without caring much about the value of their assets, as stated above. Scarpaci (2005, p. 123) enlarges this general philosophy of "strategic city planning" as to encompass the whole of the twentieth century, stating that letting the city centers decay first and renovating them later on were two sides of the same coin.

Alongside investment in private houses, hotel investment took place in the historic city center of Cartagena in a mutually reinforcing process. Rojas (1999) sees the development of the historic center of Cartagena as an almost "perfect cooperation" between the public and private sectors, which happened "by chance", and brought together public and private interests. As a result, one of the "most vibrant and dynamic city centers in Latin America" emerged. In the words of Bromley:

> In Cartagena, planning for tourism and its development outside the historic city has been critical in drawing private investment into the historic center. This private investment is associated with the staying visitor, who would probably not be there had it not been for tourism planning and the wider tourism attractions of Cartagena (Bromley, 2000, p. 39).

Rojas (1999, pp. 34–35) compares the case of Cartagena with Quito, Ecuador, and Recife, Brazil, and remarks that authorities in Cartagena were the most liberal ones, as far as public intervention was concerned, keeping their functions in the revitalization process to a minimum and giving much room to the private investors. This contrasts with the cases of Quito and Recife, where authorities intervened by partly taking over functions of the private sector. Monsalve Morales (2011) compares Cartagena's management with Cusco, Peru, coming to the same conclusions as Rojas does. Nova, Fegali Corena, and Senior Torres (2001) also think that the city planners have mostly applied the principles of laissez faire. That is probably why Scarpaci (2005, p. 148) presents the case of Cartagena chiefly from the point of view of land value and real estate, uncovering phenomena like gentrification or change of functions, phenomena which have become much more advanced in the course of the last decade, as discussed in Subsection 5.2.5.

5.2.4.3 Iconization processes of Cartagena's built heritage: 1980 to 2000

The perfect touchstone for the iconization of the city's military built heritage was of course its nomination as World Heritage Site in 1984. The city expected some promotion from the nomination, but mainly funding for renovation, according to several interviewed experts. However, despite its potential effects, it is worth noting here that the UNESCO declaration had a relatively minor impact on the urban processes that were going on in the historic center at that time. If anything, it just pushed them a bit further—which is surprising, given the powerful, transformational changes that UNESCO nominations generally bring about nowadays. Samudio Trallero (2006) states that, in the year of the nomination, "the world set their eyes on Cartagena's historic center and a frenzy of building activity started there". This cannot be the case, as we have seen that building in the historic city started in the 1970s and by the end of that decade it was well under way. It is conceivable that the 1984 nomination merely accelerated this process, not started it. In fact, De Pombo Pareja (1999, p. 253) sees the beginnings of the building activity in the historic center around 1960 "with the subsequent change of uses and inhabitants", a fact confirmed by Colombia (1996, p. 117) in a report which states that the renovation of the historic center had been going on for three decades and in the mid-1990s "was about to be completed". With Rojas (see above) asserting that building activity started in the 1970s and was "well under way" in the 1980s, we have to be very careful with the claims about the speed at which the renovation of the historic center was made. It is worth mentioning here that Scarpaci (2005) shows evidence that the concession of building permits in the historic center in the 1990s fluctuated greatly from one year to the next, and were quite flat by the beginning of the century as terror and crisis would strike Colombia. However, all this shows an evolution towards a more rational approach to real estate in the 1990s and 2000s than the heart-driven approach reported by Rojas for the 1970s.

It is also important to note that the UNESCO declaration had a very low impact in the promotion of the city, which continued to market itself as a sun and sand destination. Also in 1985, due to severe natural catastrophes and terror waves, Cartagena's nomination effects dissolved into oblivion. This would put Cartagena on the list of WHS properties whose iconicity did not change much after nomination, as in Paragraph 5.2.3.6. However, and according to several of our informants, a surprising effect of the nomination was the rise in importance of the domestic and religious architecture of the city, until then quite overlooked. Although the UNESCO nomination only made reference to the military architecture, apparently the combined effect of renovating the city and the World Heritage nomination resulted in an increased awareness of these two types of architecture. In fact, the most reputed studies about Cartagena's domestic architecture to-date are from that era: Téllez and Moure (1982), Covo (1988) as well as Téllez and Moure (1993).

City planning and conservation were reinforced after the nomination, so that for each building inside the walls conservation rules were given and a typology of edifices was set up in 1992. So finally what the nomination did was to give full recognition to the different types of architecture in the city, until then quite overshadowed by the military architecture. Needless to say, in this rebalancing of monuments and attractions, the military architecture in general, and the city walls in particular, lost some of their weight as icons but the overall image of the city's heritage became better balanced. According to the theories we have introduced in Subsection 5.2.2, a crucial point must be emphasized: this is the beginning of the construction of a "semiotic landscape", i.e. the making of the historic center into an "idea" rather than a functioning space; this will be further discussed in the final section.

A push for the revival of the historic center in that epoch came from an area which had been, at least in part, a competitor to it: since the end of the 1980s, the beach area of Bocagrande started showing some signs of maturity, with infrastructure problems and densification, as no urban plans had been set up for this area, according to an expert interviewed for this paper. Probably the most damaging of these problems was the collapse of the sewage system, so that dirty waters would flow into the beaches making them unusable in the years 1992–3. Therefore, the industry started then to look to the northern areas of La Boquilla and Los Morros (Figure 2) as new development areas. At the same time, the historic center was seen as an alternative to the beaches and, for the first time, all of the city's actors became aware of the potential of the built heritage as a tourist attraction. This further reinforced the value and iconicity of the city's built heritage. The Sociedad de Mejoras Públicas started renting parts of the structure to private enterprises (mainly restaurants or cafés) or for events, a value-catching policy seen in many other historic city centers as well.

While too much building on a seaside area might be related to environmental problems, in the case of Cartagena, the dual space "beach—historic center" has been a benefit to tourism in general, and to heritage conservation in particular. Bromley very clearly explains this fact and makes a highly interesting proposal:

> A symbiotic relationship between beach resort and historic city has meant that the detrimental effects of tourism have tended to be concentrated in the beach resort city. The historic city has not become a crowded tourism attraction. The beach resort has attracted enough tourism interest to draw investment into the conservation of the historic city, but not so much tourism as to have negative effects. The balance is beneficial. A policy lesson might be that in historic cities where there is no obvious alternative tourism attraction to the urban conservation area, then it would be advantageous to

> create such an attraction. The alternative tourist attraction could then adopt the roles both of generating some of the additional income necessary for conservation investments and also of removing some of the potentially damaging tourism pressures from the historic conservation area. Bromley (2000, pp. 40–1).

5.2.4.4 A critical view of today's Cartagena historic center

As for the city's current situation, it must be said that, since the 1990s, rehabilitation of the historic city center and gentrification have gone hand in hand to produce a sanitized and "museumified" space for today's tourist in Cartagena. Nova et al. (2001) found the city to be in a "heritage crisis" due to bad planning and management. Contributions to Angulo Guerra (2001) claimed for a wider concept of planning which avoids "museumification" by welding at the same time the historic center with the newer neighborhoods. Some of our interviewees criticized the historic city's "museumification" process, which is followed by land speculation and high real estate prices, all of which evicts locals (Posso, 2015). Tax incentives for residents to renovate their houses have been found to be too tepid in the course of the last decades, as we can see from the literature and our interviews. Some fifteen years ago, Scarpaci (2005) still found the different uses of the historic city well balanced, though he pointed at the issue of façadism when reporting about house restorations. But in the intervening years, the loss of administrative functions of the center and the displacement of its inhabitants are more than evident, according to Bustamante (2015) and our own observations. Thus, recent renovation efforts by local authorities have apparently failed in attracting residents and diversifying the economy. An example of this is the Plan de Revitalización del Centro Histórico (2006–2010) which went under the motto "Living Center" but was only partially executed and came short of its goals, according to several informants. It comes as no surprise therefore that Bustamante (2015) claims that only a clear political vision with the aim to balance residents' living and tourism development can save the historic center from becoming completely gentrified, like other historic centers in Latin America.

An open question here is whether iconization of spaces and gentrification must necessarily go hand in hand and whether there is the chance to create a highly symbolical space without having locals evicted and the area's economy totally geared towards visitors.

5.2.5 Discussion, conclusions and proposals

This article has explored the central issues and processes which have shaped the city of Cartagena de Indias, Colombia, and made it the tourist space it nowadays is. The author has tried to combine the analysis of different aspects as space production and urban regeneration under the heading of the iconization the city has experienced.

Until the 1970s the city displayed several "standalone" monuments or landmarks to its visitors like the castle of San Felipe or the monastery of La Popa and, to a lesser extent, the city walls. The historic center was not then a semiotic space. The materialization of it came mainly in the 1980s as a semiotic landscape was created by avoiding the emergence of single icons, i.e. by conserving and promoting all types of architecture which were present in the historic center. The production, or rather the emergence, of a semiotic space which corresponds to the "Latin American colonial city" developed without authorities having planned for it, just by providing recognition to all forms of built heritage in the historic center, notwithstanding the fact that UNESCO's nomination made reference only to the military built heritage. The historic center developed thus, as a whole, into an icon, an almost perfect one, i.e. a space with single monuments without any of these being of a "higher value" than others, forming a unique and coherent space for visitors. In fact, there are impressive cathedrals, churches or palaces in other Latin American cities, many of them remarkable standalone monuments ("icons") but only few places on the continent display such a powerful symbolic space as Cartagena's historic center does. Further, it is noticed that the local tourist board promotes Cartagena's historic center as a semiotic landscape, and the long citation in Subsection 5.2.1 is a good example of this: save for San Felipe, no monuments are named therein, but the text is full of expressions suggesting an "ideal space" and how to interact with it.

Icons are dynamic by nature (Subsection 5.2.3), so icons in Cartagena have changed in the course of the last century: as was said in Section 4, until the 1970s the castle of San Felipe and La Popa's monastery were the most prominent sights; however since the 1980s, with the emergence of a semiotic space in the historic city, it is the historic center which has become the most iconic space, overshadowing the other two which are now standalone monuments well outside the center (Figure 16). These interactions among different icons in geographically close spaces are relatively unknown so they are an area for further investigation.

Additionally, the semiotic landscape of the historic center of Cartagena is a double edged one: inside the city walls, one wanders calmly through an idyllic Hispanic colonial city. However, when the place is seen from the outside, either on land or on sea, the city walls and bastions emerge in all their power, suggesting visions of war and military strength, visions which are quite contrasting to the colonial city space inside the walls. Perhaps the semiotics approach to tourist spaces should take into account that some of these spaces are multi-faceted, depending on the making of the space as well as the stance of the observer.

In the conclusion of the literature review, key points were raised about the city's iconic development. First, the social component of the iconization processes is confirmed in our review of the destination's history: in the case of Cartagena, it is mainly the social factor, either deliberately or via laissez faire, that explains the touristification of the city and the creation of iconic spaces within it, much as seen in Subsection 5.2.4. In the literature review (Subsection 5.2.3), the question was raised about the ability of icons to disperse their beneficial effects over a whole region—or "surpass" it. Cartagena is no doubt a Colombian national icon and, as such, it may be a gently disruptive influence on the perception of an extremely diverse country by overshadowing other landscapes or monuments. This danger is acknowledged in some way by the national tourism authorities who in 2015 produced a promotional video for the whole country … excluding Cartagena and having the local tourist board rejecting it (El Heraldo, 2015). But at a regional level the city has limited spill-over effects: Cartagena's region is currently not profiting from the tourism development of the city and in fact tourism there is in quite an early stage of development. The conclusion here confirms what Donaire (2008) says about the power of icons: they are so dominant that they 'engulf' every other tourist resource at both national and regional levels, making their sustainable management very hard.

What has happened at a regional or national level in Cartagena has also happened at a local scale; the semiotic landscape of the historic center is so strong that it has prevented the emergence of other types of attractions. This explains why other local resources have had such a meager development when compared to the military built heritage. That is the case for the *art déco* architecture from the turning of the twentieth century, an exquisite heritage in several neighborhoods, or the intangible heritage (gastronomy, music, dance, etc.) which have been considered very marginal products—if at all—by the local tourist industry. So apparently strong semiotic spaces may overshadow the geographical product mix of a region or nation but also they strongly bias the local product mix as well, confirming the discussion in Paragraph 5.2.3.4

We also have checked the city's heritage, particularly the military built heritage, against Sternberg's framework as mentioned in Subsection 5.2.2, and found out that attractions' staging is impressive: the Sociedad de Mejoras Públicas have taken good care of the city's military heritage and have done a good job in restoring and keeping it, opening it to visitors and locals. Thanks to an activity program targeted to schools and residents, the local population has gained access to the military heritage and has been able to engage with it. The staging of the city walls could of course be much improved if the city had an interpretation center for them: the walls are a distinguishing trait of Cartagena and they have changed over time (as have the surrounding fortresses), according to the different defense schemes adopted by the city. All this is today –very sadly- invisible to the visitor, who leaves the city without having grasped how the walls worked as a defense tool, in combination with the rest of the fortresses which are scattered throughout the Bay of Cartagena.

The second step Sternberg proposes is thematization. Here we must say that the city lags behind: there are no proposals to make the city walls and the rest of the (military) heritage come alive. Cartagena could be a city of navigators, a city of conquerors or a city of pirates, possibly with festivals organized around these topics. Staging a sea battle on the Bay, for example, would be a most attractive event. Reviving the city's characters of the colonial and republican eras would be very appealing. And this staging would be of interest to locals and tourists alike. So we think there is a long way to go until this heritage has been brought back to life or "thematized". Certainly, by thematizing a place one risks overriding its authenticity, so the former must be carried out in a way that does not conflict with the latter—which is easier said than done.

To conclude, we summarize some of the contributions of this paper: we have revealed that the city's UNESCO nomination in 1984 did not essentially alter the urban processes that were in course but just pushed them slightly further. The emergence of the heritage product in the city did not diminish the importance of sun and sand tourism until the 2000s and the UNESCO nomination helped to level the different types of Cartagena's architecture, creating thus a semiotic space. Comparing Cartagena with other Latin American destinations, we have seen that elsewhere the state took up a much more active role in renovating the historic center, whereas in Cartagena a much more neoliberal approach was taken. Therefore, the processes of space creation and urban renovation as well as the making of Cartagena as a destination have seen massive public investment on one hand, but on the other hand a management by the private sector with all the social, economic and managerial consequences that this implies.

Future work building on this article will have to tackle issues left out because of limited space. Governance, financial and social issues or planning history are just examples of topics that would widen our research. Also, a broader comparison comprising other Latin American historic centers would surely shed more light onto the processes we have studied in this paper.

5.3 Exploring destination brand disengagement in a top-down policy context: lessons learned from Cartagena, Colombia

ABSTRACT

Purpose – This paper aims to analyze the case of Cartagena, Colombia, as a case of a failed destination branding. It also broadens the findings by connecting them to the extant literature about place branding, thus making this paper more explanatory. It tries to fit the fieldwork's findings into the two main streams of branding research (bottom-up vs top-down). This paper also gives practical insights into the destination's network of stakeholders and discusses ways to improve the destination's management and branding.

Design/methodology/approach – This paper uses a mixed methodology approach. Field work consisted of an online questionnaire to hospitality employees in the city plus semi-structured interviews conducted with 18 "expert" stakeholders in the destination. This paper is of empirical nature.

Findings – The main cause of the destination's brand failure is found to be the top-down approach to the place brand strategy. The literature shows that cases such as this one are more common than assumed, and a possible way out of the problem is the application of bottom-up or "mixed" approaches, as these may circumvent the problems found.

Research limitations/implications – Cases like this one illustrate very well a local context but might be difficult to transfer to other contexts, so the generalization power of this paper is limited to similar places in the sociopolitical sense of the term.

Practical implications – For place branding practitioners and destination management organizations , this paper is a call for participative approaches which include all of the stakeholders of a place.

Originality/value – This paper offers an in-depth study of a branding case in Latin America, a part of the world relatively unexplored in the branding literature. On the basis of the presented case, this paper pitches top-down versus bottom-up approaches. Finally, it explains the findings by connecting the place to its broad geographical context.

KEYWORDS: Destination marketing, Place branding, Stakeholders' engagement, Branding strategy, Cartagena de Indias

5.3.1 Introduction

The development of successful destination brands is a much-debated topic. Recent findings in the branding literature show that many authorities manage place brands in a rather controlled top-down approach (Eshuis et al., 2014). However, there is a growing stream of literature (Braun, 2011; Braun et al., 2013; Insch and Stuart, 2015; Kavaratzis et al., 2017; Zenker and Seigis, 2012; Zenker and Beckmann, 2013; Zenker et al., 2017) contending that place branding should be carried out in an inclusive bottom-up fashion with an enlarged group of stakeholders. Involving various stakeholder groups in the branding process is supposed to have a positive impact on the outcomes of place marketing (Eshuis et al., 2018). There is evidence that the exclusion of important stakeholders such as residents leads to place brand disengagement (Insch and Stuart, 2015), brand re-appropriation (Zenker and Seigis, 2012) and it endangers the overall functioning of urban democracy (Eshuis and Edwards, 2012). The downsides of non-inclusive branding strategies have been widely acknowledged, but there is little evidence about the factors or internal destination mechanisms that actually lead to the emergence of unsuccessful destination brands.

According to Eshuis et al. (2018), the study of wider stakeholder involvement in the place branding process has been neglected in the literature. Many tourism studies have focused on how tourists perceive destinations, but according to Sartori et al. (2012), the internal mechanisms that underlie destination brand creation require further exploration, as they might be directly related to the success of branding strategies. The success of destination branding campaigns is often tied to brand awareness or brand appropriation (Zenker and Seigis, 2012) and stakeholder's engagement with the brand (Insch and Stuart, 2015), but there is a paucity of research that analyses the factors having a negative impact on such branding strategies. Even if there is a growing stream of research that emphasizes the advantages of inclusive approaches towards branding (Kavaratzis et al., 2017), most of these studies have focused on places in developed countries such as Germany (Zenker and Seigis, 2012) or New Zealand (Insch and Stuart, 2015), whereas the role of top-down branding in emerging economies has been neglected. Research focusing on contexts where top-down decision-making is a commonplace can therefore extend the existing literature and substantiate previous findings from other places. Furthermore, in-depth case studies on the politics of brand decision-making may provide insights into how local players enact brand positionings (Pike, 2009) and how branding strategy outcomes are to be evaluated (Hanna and Rowley, 2011, 2013).

The field case for this study is the city of Cartagena de Indias in Colombia, its branding history and the strategy the destination has adopted. Cartagena can be considered an example of top-down branding with limited stakeholder participation according to the fieldwork in this paper. This paper discusses whether branding theories from the field of place marketing or corporate branding are more likely to fit the observed findings and eventually show the way forward. As places' brands show important similarities with corporate brands (Kavaratzis, 2009), it could be argued that the top-down processes are more effective and flexible, leading to strong destination brands. However, bottom-up place branding gives place users the right to be involved in the brand identity construction of "their" places, and this is supposed to increase place identification among local stakeholders and the overall sustainability of place brands. This paper will therefore focus on the degree to which the enactment of top-down branding has affected the overall situation of Cartagena's brand.

5.3.2 Literature review

5.3.2.1 The purpose of destination brands

It has been widely acknowledged that tourism destinations compete against each other for potential visitors (Kotler et al., 1993; Pike, 2009). As travellers have an increased choice of available destinations, "never before has it been more important for a destination to develop an effective brand" (Pike, 2005, p. 258). Destination branding can be defined as marketing activities that support the creation of a name, symbol, logo, word mark or other graphic that identifies and differentiates a destination to influence consumer's travel choices (Blain et al., 2005). The development of destination brands is often carried out by destination management organizations (DMOs) which try to identify and develop core brand values that positively characterize a place (Hankinson, 2007). One of the main objectives of destination brands is to attract tourism, but in some cases, destination brands go beyond tourism and include all interactions within a place and so become place brands. The term "place brand" therefore refers to a more holistic concept than the term "destination brand" (Kavaratzis et al., 2017).

Destination branding is a tool that aims to facilitate the achievement of tourism policies (Buhalis, 2000). Morgan and Pritchard (2000); Morgan and Pritchard (2002) advocate that branding is the key to success in the competitive realm of tourism destinations. Ritchie and Crouch (2003) define destination competitiveness as the ability to attract visitors and increase their expenditure while, at the same time, enhancing the well-being of the local population and preserving the natural capital of the destination for future generations. The branding of tourism destinations should thus guide the maximization of benefits for the concerned region and its stakeholders (Buhalis, 2000).

5.3.2.2 Inclusive approaches in place branding

The branding of places and destinations generally involves a wide range of stakeholders (Hankinson, 2007). In fact, there is a growing body of literature arguing that local stakeholders need to be involved in the branding of places (Kavaratzis et al., 2017). Kavaratzis and Hatch (2013) note that the field of place branding nowadays shows a particular interest in participatory branding approaches.

Recent studies (Aitken and Campelo, 2011; Braun et al., 2013; Freire, 2009) suggest that a bottom-up approach should be taken to develop place brands, because place brands belong to the place and its people. It has been asserted that place branding is likely to fail without the buy-in of internal stakeholders (Zenker and Seigis, 2012). Especially residents play a decisive role in the place branding process, as not only a target group but also politically involved citizens, ambassadors of place brands and integral parts of the place itself (Braun et al., 2013; Zenker et al., 2017). Eshuis and Edwards (2012, p. 16) argue that the functioning of urban democracy can be improved "if it is embedded in a participatory process" and "if citizens are seen as co-owners of the brand". Local authorities are thus requested to engage in "the dynamic processes of drawing support and cooperation [...] from different tourism agencies and local residents, so that the brand will be accepted, communicated and manifested" (Ooi, 2004, p. 109). This means that there is a strong case for engaging different stakeholders, and especially residents, in the creation of place brands.

The idea of empowering place residents to become active co-producers of place brands is derived from the service-dominant marketing logic (Vargo and Lusch, 2004) which considers consumers as brand-endogenous value creators. In fact, organizations increasingly capitalize on informed, networked and empowered consumers as co-creators of brand value (Prahalad and Ramaswamy, 2004). Under this view, residents are active creators of the symbolic or representational construction of place brands (Warnaby, 2009).

The literature suggests that if important stakeholders are not involved, conflicts among stakeholder groups may arise (Insch and Stuart, 2015). There is growing awareness that topdown approaches for branding may lead to community disengagement (Eshuis and Edwards, 2012; Sartori et al., 2012). Especially in cities where cultural and socio-economic resources are unequally distributed, and where economic benefits from branding strategies are unevenly spread (Pike, 2005), conflicts may emerge – Cartagena being certainly one of such cities.

5.3.2.3 Place branding and top-down approaches

Top-down destination branding is based on the idea that a team of marketers "sells" place images to specific target audiences with the aim of attracting visitors (Kotler et al., 1993; Ward, 1998). In such a scenario, value creation is a process solely tied to the activities of organizations or corporations, with consumers as passive recipients of brand messages. Hankinson (2007), for instance, contends that top-down management of the brands' values is necessary for a corporate brand to be successful. "Main" stakeholders then become de facto brand owners (Mak, 2011) whose actions may mitigate the "brand cacophony" risk of a cocreation process (Schmeltz and Kjeldsen, 2019). The literature on corporate brand management insists on putting the brand as a core strategy and value in the company (Melewar and Walker, 2003). As such, the company's general management must push it in the first place, percolating then down to the rest of the organization (Järventie-Thesleff et al., 2011). Gyrd Jones et al. (2013) argue that a company's management plays a key role in promoting the brand's core values, while, at the same time, allowing for some "decentralized interpretations" of the corporate brand.

In fact, the level of decentralization of place marketing efforts, the economic potential and the extent of municipal service involvement, as well as the local political autonomy, may differ significantly across places. In many cases, the city council represents the strategic level and is responsible for the development of the city (Eshuis et al., 2014). There might be a small marketing team within the municipal authority creating branding messages with a considerable impact on the destination. Consequently, politicians and institutional entities or authorities might be the most influential stakeholders of place brands, as they "own" this sector and its financial budgets on behalf of the local residents (Jorgensen, 2015). This means that place brand identities are in many cases designed "in a top-down manner by local government authorities" and local elites (Bennett and Savani, 2003, p. 81). The outcomes of such a branding approach have recently received much scholarly attention (Insch and Stuart, 2015; Zenker and Seigis, 2012), with empirical findings showing that place brands may be contested in case stakeholders do not feel involved.

At the end, what the present literature review suggests is that the classical divide into top-down as the "natural" way for branding companies and bottom-up as the "natural" way for branding places is not as clear-cut as that. Strategies from one side could be useful to the other and vice versa. This idea ultimately frames the present research as well as the proposed solutions to the study case.

5.3.3 Research context: Cartagena's failed branding strategy

Cartagena de Indias became a tourist destination in a process that took place from the 1920s to the 1940s, as the local elites assumed that tourism could become the main economic driver of the city (Deavila Pertuz, 2010; Bassols, 2019). By the end of the past decade, several years after the first national branding strategy and its subsequent logo were established (Bassols, 2016), some of Colombia's major cities like Bogota

(Duque Franco, 2011) or Medellin (Fierro et al., 2015) created their own branding strategies.

The current city's logo was launched at the end of 2010. The Spanish consulting firm CIAC created it by interviewing the city's main stakeholders and focus groups to try to understand the city's identity (CIAC, 2010). The resulting logo was a design with flame-like lines which, according to its creators, "portrays a vibrant and unique city that blends its past and future, with warm and welcoming inhabitants", and "as a place which is more than just Caribbean sea or city walls" (CIAC, 2010). This statement represents the aims of a brand logo that tries to go beyond attracting tourism (Figure 17).

FIGURE 17: The city logo of Cartagena

However, critical voices called into question the brand's going beyond mere tourism promotion. Under the city's name there is the statement "World Heritage City" which clearly aims at luring (cultural) tourists to the city. Two criticisms to Cartagena's logo came up as soon as it was launched. Besides the to-be-expected criticisms about its design, the first criticism had to do with the fact that designing it costed around 300 million Colombian pesos (some 120,000 euro back in 2010) (El Universal, 2011). Some people argued that it was an exorbitant sum, as the city could have done much promotion with this budget (El Universal, 2011). The other criticism was related to the apparent similarity of the brand logo with the city logo of Hong Kong (see Figure 18). This, at some point, raised plagiarism suspicions and made the high expenditure argument even sounder (El Tiempo, 2011). Although no claims were filed about a possible plagiarism, this granted the city logo and branding strategy a difficult start. In fact, it was not only the logo's debut which went wrong: the predominantly top-down nature of the process that led to its design, together with the lack of interest for the new logo by some of the key stakeholders, would have serious consequences for the effectiveness of the city's new branding strategy and its adoption by the city's residents in years to come (see Subsection 5.3.6).

FIGURE 18: the city logo of Hong Kong

Four years later, the logo's "difficult start" by early 2011 had mutated into its complete blackout, as shown by De La Espriella's (2015) study including a group of 320 tourists (half of them Colombians and the other half foreigners). The city logo was put to test in this study, with quite a disappointing result: only one respondent of 320 said he knew the city logo, and this respondent was a foreigner. This clearly shows a failure in the promotion of the new logo.

To round up this contextual section, the study by Brida et al. (2012) should be mentioned. Focusing on the inhabitants of Cartagena, it reports that the majority of residents were interested in a deeper involvement of the population with tourism. Despite being happy with the development of tourism in Cartagena, some citizens express concerns about certain issues, whereas others, living in or close to tourist areas, openly complain about noise and nuisances.

5.3.4 Methodology

To explore the issues inherent to Cartagena's destination brand development, this paper uses a case study research design. Case studies can capture the processes under study in a very detailed way. Research based on case studies can examine "a typical or particularly instructive example of a more general problem" (Flick, 2014, p. 122). Even if case studies are likely to produce context-dependent findings, they are able to contribute to theory development by providing empirical insights (Flyvberg, 2006; Yin, 2018/1984).

Cartagena's "main" destination stakeholders (i.e. local authorities and institutions dealing with tourism management or promotion) were in the focus of this study. In Cartagena, the opinions of residents and visitors on public matters are generally neglected. This fact directed the research towards the "main" or "expert" stakeholders (i.e. brand influencers, institutional players and organizational entities). Thus, this study complements the previous studies by Brida et al. (2012) and De La Espriella's (2015) which focused on other groups of stakeholders such as residents and visitors.

To better understand the intricacies and types of relations among stakeholders as well as their opinions about the current situation of the destination, its branding strategy and where it should head for in the future, an online questionnaire as well as 18 semi-structured interviews with local stakeholders were conducted. The Web questionnaire had the aim to provide some preliminary insights into pre-defined categories of inquiry (e.g. general situation of the destination, awareness of the logo, etc.). Its findings shed light on certain factors that were relevant to the understanding of the rather unsuccessful brand development attempts in Cartagena, and these factors were explored further with semistructured interviews. The questionnaire was conducted in September 2017. It was sent out to 92 contacts via the social network LinkedIn, and a convenience sampling approach was used to recruit participants. Of these, 30 responded – the enquiry spurred thus a very high interest. The respondents were middle managers (18), high-level managers (10) and base employees (2). In their vast majority, they were hotel employees (24), of which 15 worked in the front office, 6 in the back office and 3 were managers.

Semi-structured interviews give the interviewed person a lot of space to provide answers, while researchers can investigate the reasons behind the given answers (Fontana and Frey, 2005). According to Warren and Karner (2005), it is important to keep questions open-ended, so that respondents are encouraged to think about, identify and develop their own standpoint. The interviews were held in the last quarter of 2017 and lasted between 50 and 90 min each, producing a total of some 17 recorded hours, 904 statements and 16,233 words. The interview's general script touched on topics like the destination's branding, the importance of the different stakeholders and their relationships, the main challenges of the destination and what the future will be like. Interviews were recorded and then transcribed, except for one case were the recorder failed and notes were taken after the interview. The interviewees were from non-governmental organizations (NGO's) (2), academia (3), from the public–private sector (3), the public sector (5) and the private sector (5). The choice and number of interviews was determined by considering the locally operating institutional stakeholders involved in place branding.

A thematic analysis of the interview transcripts was conducted. The authors used QSR International's NVivo 11 to develop nodes and code the data. The statements were grouped into categories related to local tourism development and approaches on how to brand the place. From these two general categories, five sub-themes were identified: "brand governance versus city governance", "cooperation among actors", "political hardship and instability", "positive tourism development and infrastructural issues" and "place branding strategies". Drawing from a phenomenological stance, the authors tried to explore the daily experiences of the private, public and academic stakeholders by incorporating direct quotes as well. Similarities and dissimilarities among single respondents but also among groups have been considered to explore agreements, disagreements and common goals.

As mentioned before, the development of the interview guide was informed by the results of the Web questionnaire with 30 hospitality employees. The following paragraph presents the findings of this pre-study.

5.3.5 Data: Cartagena's main tourism stakeholders come to word

5.3.5.1: A pre-questionnaire to employees of the hospitality industry

In a first research effort, an online questionnaire was distributed to hospitality employees. When asked about the overall situation of the destination, 70 per cent of them said "very good" or "good", with only 30 per cent seeing a more critical situation. As they were asked to identify the city logo by picking it up among five different institutional city logos, only 16 of 30 chose the right answer – a worrying point, as only half of these hospitality professionals seem to know "their" logo. As for brand recognition, only 11 of 30 respondents answered that the city brand is well-known and accepted, the rest putting forth more critical responses. In the same line, only 7 respondents (of 26) answered that the logo's design is a good one, with the other 19 respondents taking more critical stances. Even worse was the knowledge about the destination's marketing policies. Only 5 people of 30 would answer a clear "yes" to this question.

Other interesting results were that half of the respondents state that local public institutions are the ones which should be most concerned with the branding, promotion and improving of the city or that "security" (and possibly street vendors) is an issue in the city.

This pre-field study confirmed the failure of the city branding efforts and missing "buy-in" from the side of local stakeholders, as seen from Cartagena's hospitality employees. It also confirms the "good situation" of the destination as perceived by the respondents, therefore raising here a contradiction to be explained.

5.3.5.2 Interview findings: Statement classification and content

a) Brand governance versus city governance
The general opinion expressed about the overall destination's situation by the "main" stakeholders is one of satisfaction, as they are happy to see that tourism is growing, and most of them think it will continue to grow. There is a general optimism which is hard to come by, although all of the stakeholders acknowledge certain "problems" in the destination or "matters that could be improved". The respondents commonly mentioned that the city's government is dominated by a few economically mighty families. Since its inception, tourism in Cartagena is said to be "a matter of three or four families". As the nation's government has little jurisdiction over local tourism matters, the local elites have pushed for a neo-liberal style of place management (Section 5.2). The elite has been found to prevent innovation and new products from entering the destination.

Nevertheless, new enterprises have come onto the scene, led by young entrepreneurs, who are smaller and more flexible than the large, established businesses and more capable of attracting new market niches to the destination. However, they are quite ignored by the larger actors and do not feel part of the destination's institutional framework. This type of elitism is seen as an obstacle for developing inclusive branding strategies and for spreading the benefits generated by the visitors' economy. Among the interviewees, there is both support and rejection towards the elites. On the ground, it is acknowledged that there is a lot of informality (street vendors, etc.). Investment and management of the place in Cartagena are private-led to a significant extent, with the sole exception of the city centre, which has seen the public sector investing in renovation and the private sector pushing the real estate (Subsection 5.2.4).

The local DMO (known as "Corpoturismo" or simply "Corpo"), the city's sole body concerned with tourism, is highly regarded by most interviewees for their job in convening all of the stakeholders and in promoting the city. Although most of the interviewees agree that they do not have enough budget to accomplish their task, they have done their best nonetheless:

> "The stability of the corporation (i.e., Corpoturismo) as a mixed entity is opposed to changes in the mayor's office and gives institutional stability to the local tourism sector. It also guarantees the continuity of the city's tourism programs" (Public-private stakeholder).

The DMO say that they have been a serious partner by being transparent and, whenever there is an accomplishment to publicly celebrate, by giving the credit to whom deserves it, not keeping it to themselves. However, some interviewees accused the DMO of being subservient to the city's elites and being too bureaucratic:

> "The institutionality depends also on the politics, the Corpo depends too much on the local council and therefore they are subjected to the ups and downs of the local politics" (Private stakeholder).

Certain respondents from small local initiatives were not happy that there is no local public authority concerned with tourism but only a public–private corporation, which absorbs all of the resources devoted to tourism. In fact, certain consensus was expressed about the need for a local public tourist authority. In the current setting, larger companies take advantage of the processes of Corpoturismo; however, they also contribute to their budget. As for residents and tourists, they are not considered stakeholders by the largest part of the interviewees, although almost all of the respondents agreed with the fact that residents should be part of the local tourist product.

b) Cooperation among stakeholders.

As for the stakeholders' relationships, everyone seems to be on good terms with everyone. They all attend the regular meetings or events the DMO organizes. Most of the larger organizations are members in each other's boards, but that is it. There are no joint projects, and information exchange is kept to a minimum, so the real level of cooperation is quite low. There are complex networks of local players with many dependencies on governmental bodies. In many cases, little agreement among institutional players and different agendas or intentions were observed:

> "The different sectors of the city speak with each other and sit together, but the priorities are different and sometimes it is difficult to find an agreement between all of the economic agents to push things" (Private stakeholder).

Business people associate themselves in formal associations but in an informal way as well. A "one-hand-washes-the-other" attitude was observed, always on the look for new alliances. For instance, some of the public stakeholders are in regular contact with each other, whereas others do not participate in their meetings. There are few cases of genuine cooperation: local entrepreneurs were seen as a critical aspect for tourism development, and artisans are regarded as mediators of the local culture. This might bear significant potential for new tourism strategies.

Different stakeholders think differently about how the city should be branded and which tourist attractions to put forth. As the city's tourist policies have been quite ambiguous about that by trying to "attract everyone" (the DMO says the city has products for everyone and has been using a "matrix approach" to promotion for years), the truth is that no one knows what the destination really should stand for in the future. Originally a "sun and sand" destination, in the past 10 years, it has made significant efforts to become a "cultural" destination, and lately intangible culture is emerging, so a branding strategy that satisfies all of the stakeholders might be hard to develop. Some interviewees also complain about poor product development which results in highly uniform experiences for visitors.

An overarching coordination in the destination is not visible, even by all of the efforts the DMO makes. This is one of the reasons why agreements about the big agenda are so difficult to come by. Some stakeholders claimed for a single, powerful local coordinating authority. Corruption and low funding also work against much-needed promotional actions.

c) Political hardship and instability

Few respondents seemed to mind the highly political volatility in the city: the constant change of mayors in the past 10 years has not prevented actors from advancing towards their respective goals. One interviewee explained the downside of this matter:

> "Cartagena has had inconveniences as a city on a political level with so many changes of mayors [...]. This causes bad perceptions in the city, region and

> country. It starts off a bad scenario because there is no respect for governments and institutions, and governance becomes difficult" (Private-public stakeholder).

However, save the DMO (which significantly depends on local public funding), no one else seemed to find this point particularly disturbing. Most interviewees would recall this political instability only when specifically asked about it during the interviews. This point and the previous paragraph show a very poignant fact: the high level of disengagement among local actors towards public institutions and their policies. A respondent from the public sector agreed that working with stakeholders is easier in the region than in the city because there are more actors in the city and they are more powerful.

The mayors' constant changes (one ex-mayor serves currently a prison term) have led to economic resources being allocated to other areas as well as some image problems for the city. This seems to affect the city's image at a national level but not at an international one. However, the consequence is that the public sector is not able to lead the rest of the city's economic sectors, including the tourism sector. The city is thus de facto developed by the private sector and not by the public sector, and this approach may work in the short term but not in the long run. Furthermore, most interviewees argued that the communal action board has been politicized and plagued with corruption for a long time. Besides electoral patronage, collusions were observed, and this was claimed to prevent political progress. On a political level, innovation, perseverance and formality are seen as important future objectives.

In addition to the shifting interests and agendas of the public players, they were said not to know much about tourism. An informant found the mayor in charge being very political and elitist. This respondent suggested creating tourism awareness for local authorities as a measure of improvement, "because 12 per cent to 14 per cent of the local gross domestic product is produced by tourism". However, public institutions have not sufficiently supported tourism.

d) Positive tourism development and infrastructural issues

The fact that large international hotel chains are currently building properties in Cartagena confirms the present-day dynamism of the destination. In the perception of some stakeholders, the tourism sector has a huge potential for growth in Cartagena. For instance, from 2004 to 2018, the number of beds has tripled, large hotels were built and more airlines offer direct flights to Cartagena:

> "Little by little the number of tourists has increased as more direct flights mean better access to the city.And this has meant more foreign arrivals to the city" (Academic stakeholder).

The interviewed stakeholders commonly agreed that Cartagena is an expanding destination witnessing a tourist "boom". The destination seems to be "at a good time" and has "a lot to offer". Respondents said that "the city is full of tourists" and this is "positive", with political changes not affecting the tourism sector. Some respondents even argued that Cartagena can be a great example of progress to the entire region:

> "Cartagena is an emerging destination, which is going forward despite the difficulties it has had. The destination has a great future and big projections but it's still an emerging one" (Private stakeholder).

Nonetheless, urban planning or targeted city development are faulty. Some respondents argued that "chaos impedes growth", whereas other respondents said that Cartagena suffers from low competitiveness. Many stakeholders argued that the government has not provided feasible development plans or that governmental actions are not sustained over time:

> "Tourism in Cartagena was born in a spontaneous way, without being planned. Tourism has never been a priority of the city's leaders" (Public-private stakeholder).

The current growth is not accompanied by a local development strategy (the local tourism development plan has been on the making for the past five years, and it seems it is not progressing), meaning that, despite growth, the required infrastructure is not developed. The public sector, then, cannot be said to have opted for tourism in the city. The tourism sector has not made a good lobby on the issue of public infrastructure investments, so better infrastructure and policies are required.

Another issue is that the destination has not focused on developing tourism products, which might be linked to a low cooperation among stakeholders, which in turn results in a weaker value chain. Furthermore, regional authorities do not seem to be interested in developing a regional strategy which spills over Cartagena's development to its surrounding municipalities, as found out in Article 2 (see 5.2). Mismanagement of public spaces is another cause of complain. This includes the nonpreparedness of the city vis-à-vis future threats related to climate change. Clear regulations and policies allowing for a systematic tourism development were requested by different respondents:

> "Ungovernability is to factor in. But it does not affect the image that the city has for tourists in faraway countries" (Private stakeholder).

Finally, the peace agreement signed by the national government in 2016 has been a great publicity, a real boom, both for Cartagena and for Colombia. This is to be framed in the national improvement image because peace talks to end terrorism started back in 2012 (Bassols, 2016a).

e) Place branding strategies

The city has a clear tourist vocation, as it is the second largest destination in Colombia in terms of tourist arrivals. Respondents contended that there have been many tourist institutions and initiatives in the city, but most of them failed, as there was no tourism policy that would ground on the city's tourist vocation:

> "It is necessary to put the destination in order, before promoting it [...] the priority should be to put order in the destination" (NGO stakeholder).

The respondents consistently agreed that there is no agreement on how to brand the place, which of its products should be promoted and how the identity of the place should be defined:

> "The brand does not show the real Cartagena nor its potential" (Academic stakeholder).

What is of more concern to this research is the fact that all respondents acknowledged that the current city logo has never worked and is not working. However, the interviewees did not seem to mind at all. Instead, they asserted that, notwithstanding the branding strategy failure, the destination has thriven. An interviewee said that the branding process was a "necessary exercise in convening the local stakeholders" that had to be done, as previous attempts did not succeed in creating a common brand relevant to all players and stakeholders:

> "It is not a positioned logo because no one identifies themselves with it, so stakeholders do not call it their own. Everyone uses their own logo to the detriment of the city logo" (Public stakeholder).

This means that the current brand is not seen as an inclusive one, and it is yet another indication for exclusion in the city. The brand suffers from a very low notoriety and is not recognized nor used by anyone:

> "There's no need for people to identify with the brand. The brand is not visible. It's a brand that invites to nothing" (Public stakeholder).

Another point that the interviewed stakeholders debated is that the logo might be "outdated" or "dull" because it does not entice towards innovative products. It was argued that the city brand does not pick up any popular sensibilities. Some argued for the need for residents to know the logo and call it their own to promote it, as it was neither publicized nor appropriated by the population before its launching, so branding strategic efforts were all top-down:

> "Residents are not taken into account when it comes to organizing the destination and this is a big mistake because then they only look at the short-term benefits tourism might bring to them, but do not feel part of the system" (Academic stakeholder).

As for the promotion, respondents from institutional backgrounds claimed that destination branding in Cartagena is affected by poor know-how and scarce resources. For instance, there is no budget to participate in all the world fairs in which the city could participate. Stakeholders are convinced that there is "not enough promotion" of the city. However, a very interesting view expressed by some is that "as a destination, Cartagena sells itself alone".

5.3.6 Discussion, implications and recommendations

Although a significant trend in the literature calls for stakeholders' participation and bottom-up processes when implementing place branding strategies, a destination is described here that goes against these principles. The studied case is therefore another example for residents having little influence on place marketing and local elites often determining the content of place branding (Bennett and Savani, 2003; Eshuis et al., 2014). A myriad of similar cases can be found worldwide, near and far: Sima (2013), for instance, writes about the dissimilar brand visions the authorities and residents have about the city of Bucharest. For the closely related case of Bogota, Kalandides (2011) reports about the setup of a city marketing plan, whose fieldwork included just several hand-picked experts, leaving aside residents' voices.

A reason for explaining this recurrence of top-down patterns in place branding (at least in the Latin American context) might be the fact that social and political processes in Latin America are top-down by default, leaving not much space for bottom-up approaches. The individual and its position in the Latin American society are quite different as, for instance, in North America or Western Europe, in the sense that national and local elites have always pushed their agendas by neglecting the less favoured individuals and the society at large (Gutiérrez et al., 2017; Delamaza, 2013; Lara, 2003; Leff, 1994). This socio-political tendency has also been followed in branding strategies, as Fehimovic and Ogden (2018, p. 8) put it in their book Branding Latin America, in which a vertical governing modus is linked to topdown forms of branding, making it an elite-driven activity:

> The instrumentalization of discourses of national and cultural identity to reconfigure nation-state as nation-brand [...] not only helps to redirect the flows [of goods and capital] [...] but also publicly legitimizes the nation-states authority and control over them.

Fehimovic and Ogden (2018) further state that the final situation is one of inequality and low participation, in line with the present findings about Cartagena. Therefore, this paper's findings reflect a continent-wide trend which helps to explain the local situation in the city. This also clarifies the questions of disengagements and resistances towards territorial brands in Latin America. Lossio Chávez (2018) gives an example of this as the artists' community in Peru derided the new nation logo introduced in 2011. Another example is reported by Sanín (2016) as thousands of Colombian citizens protested on social networks because of the change of the country brand in 2012, as the nation sought to rebrand itself to more peaceful times.

However, although top-down seems to be the default trend in Latin America, the picture is not as clear-cut as that: actions come up here and there which are clearly bottom-up or at least show "mixed visions" on the question. Goulart Sztejnberg and Giovanardi (2017) depict the work of branding consultants in Rio de Janeiro as one relating top-down to bottom-up actions, underscoring the "ambiguity" or "liminality" of this position. In Cartagena, an interviewee said that "businesspeople do a lot for the destination when coming together and acting in favour of it." Seen from this point of view, the dilemma top-down versus bottom-up seems to be rather blurred, as it is probably difficult to find a "pure" top-down managed destination. This echoes the conclusion of the literature review section and justifies case studies like the present one, calling even for more of them.

Authors from both the branding camp (Kalandides, 2011; Giovanardi, 2011) and the tourism management camp (Kelly, 2006; Khirfan, 2014) contend that the setup of attractions and their marketing in destinations is a hard-negotiated matter: what is to be shown or promoted versus what is to be hidden from visitors is in many cases a cause of profound disputes among local stakeholders. This is also the case in Cartagena, but with the aggravating factor that not knowing what to put forth produces a blurred image of the destination as well.

Another matter for discussion regards the branding strategy itself. As Cartagena has clearly been top-down branded, the question of what would have happened had it been bottom-up branded may arise. For instance, would bottom-up branding have solved part of the problems encountered so as to make for a better brand appropriation and performance? Although this question remains partly a matter for speculation, bottom-up branding might have been a better strategy, as it would have included a wider number of local stakeholders, and this was requested by many interviewees and local residents. An overarching institution that designs the public policies and consolidates all of the local stakeholders' interests could have ensured a successful brand development. The interviews, however, have revealed that the brand was not co-created and was badly communicated to businesses and residents, and this has been regarded as one of the main causes for little brand appropriation and recognition, as well as brand disengagement. As this is the main point the bottom-up approach tackles, one may, by all cautions, infer that a bottom-up strategy reaching out to all of the destination's stakeholders would have been more effective.

Participatory issues in Cartagena are quite left out of the picture, but the potential of involving residents in the branding process should be discussed further. Even if it seems to be common practice in Latin America to enact top-down branding approaches like explained here above, the recent literature (Braun et al., 2013; Eshuis and Edwards, 2012) emphasizes that inclusive branding is necessary for place brands to be sustainable. Eshuis et al. (2014, p. 156), for instance, argue that:

> [...] branding processes may allow aggregation of voices (for example, consulting consumers through an internet survey) and integrative processes of

dialogue (for example, via discussion panels) through which citizens can express their ideas and feelings regarding the branding strategy or the product (the place).

For the case of Cartagena, an inclusive approach may therefore also help establishing a 'commonly accepted' destination brand, and this may further strengthen the city's positioning.

A further intriguing issue must be pointed out: as acknowledged by almost every interviewee, and despite its failed branding strategy and socio-political problems, Cartagena has become a vibrant business place and a strongly expanding destination. This seems to point out a contradiction. Consequently, the findings of this paper raise an important question, as to whether and how the success of a place is related to the specific type of branding applied. In fact, this question can be summed up in a small matrix model (Table 6) that introduces four categories into the discussion, setting up a simple classification of four possible scenarios, with our case study Cartagena falling into the third quadrant:

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2" rowspan="2"></td><td colspan="2">PLACE</td></tr>
<tr><td>Success</td><td>Failure</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">BRAND</td><td>Success</td><td>(Place Success,
Brand Success)</td><td>(Place Failure,
Brand Success)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Failure</td><td>(Place Success,
Brand Failure)</td><td>(Place Failure,
Brand Failure)</td></tr>
</table>

TABLE 6: A proposal for a Place vs Brand Evaluation Matrix. Source: Authors

The question here might come up as to how and under which objective criteria a place might fall into one of these four categories. This gives us the chance to plead in favour of a clear system of variables and indicators that allow for a straight measurement of brand performance. The neighbouring field of destination management has developed such a system (Ritchie and Crouch, 2003, and subsequent works), and for more than a decade, there have been consistent performance' measurements in the field of destination management. Perhaps these studies can be the basis for measurement tools of place brands.

A final recommendation has to do with the creation of brands and the management of branding strategies based on our study. Especially in cases where top-down practices seem to be the norm, a "mixed" strategy would be a way of improving things. Specifically, the authors recommend that the brand creation and all its elements (logo, slogan, etc.) be bottom-up, whereas the subsequent management of the brand may be top-down. That would help in creating a brand accepted by a large number of stakeholders, and this output could then be managed by a smaller, professional body. This would ensure that the community is able to create the brand and then the "experts" manage it as an outcome of the community's creation. We think this proposal would be acceptable in places where a strong top-down regulation has been the norm, as it would strike a trade-off between the community as brand owners and the actual brand managers.

5.4 Place marketing, evolutionary theories and the management of multifaceted destinations: Cartagena, Colombia, as a study case

ABSTRACT

Tourist destinations generally offer a variety of attractions that local authorities or destination management organizations (DMOs) may incorporate into their promotional activities. This diversity of available assets has different stakeholder groups having to decide what the destination actually stands for. The present study connects existing frameworks about evolutionary dynamics and place marketing and applies them to multifaceted destinations to provide fresh insights into how these can be managed. It extends the discussion by taking the city of Cartagena de Indias, Colombia, as an in-depth case study to illustrate how multiple assets as well as multiple place identities can impact the management of a given destination. The main data source consisted of semi-structured interviews which were used to explore the (typologies of) attractions that best represent the destination and how these should be promoted according to the local institutional stakeholders. The results show that being a multifaceted destination poses significant challenges to the definition of tourism marketing strategies, even if most stakeholders agree that a shift from the traditional, beach-related elements towards more (intangible) cultural resources is necessary. The paper concludes by drawing some theoretical implications as well as practical recommendations for multiple asset destinations.

KEYWORDS: Multifaceted destinations, destination marketing, place management, evolutionary theories, Cartagena de Indias, Colombia

5.4.1 Introduction and goals

In tourist destinations, local/regional authorities and institutional stakeholders are often responsible for designing strategies showing the way towards a sustainable place development (Eshuis and Edwards, 2013; Kljin et al, 2012). In many cases, such stakeholders may use a variety of (typologies of) tourist attractions that can be commodified or leveraged in order to achieve the goals set by tourism development plans (Warnaby and Medway, 2013).

The overall objective of this article is to explore and critically discuss the challenges that multifaceted destinations pose to stakeholders when defining the 'right' approach towards destination marketing and management. A number of studies has already dealt with the issues affecting multi-asset tourism places, ranging from focus on specific place aspects, such as sun and sand (Bujosa et al, 2015), to the challenges of promoting multifaceted places (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2005; Vinyals-Mirabent, 2019). Powerful explanations have also been offered by models dealing with the evolutionary dynamics of tourism places (Butler, 1980; Chadefaud, 1988; Singh, 2011; Suchet, 2015). However, few works have tried to apply these theories and models to the development of tourist strategies in contexts marked by little stakeholder collaboration, informality and political hardship, which is the case in Cartagena de Indias, Colombia. Furthermore, few of them have tried to connect evolutionary models and place marketing to find solutions to this question.

In addition, some authors point out that there is a dearth of research focusing on internal aspects of destination management (Hankinson, 2004; Sartori et al, 2012; Zavattaro et al, 2015; Koufodontis and Gaki, 2019) as most studies in the literature have focused on tourists, with Su et al. (2019) being one of the few exceptions. Different scholars (Ramao et al., 2016) have already pointed out that tourism destinations always represent multi-product areas for multi-segment markets, but few studies have attempted to analyze how disputed destination identities can affect the cooperation of different stakeholders when it comes to defining a destination development strategy for the future.

This article considers the city of Cartagena de Indias, Colombia, as a field case study because it offers a particularly informative background. The following bullet points underpin this decision:

- Cartagena is a well-developed destination where a variety of stakeholders interact and several typologies of attractions can be found. One of the oldest in the country and in the Caribbean, it has been through different phases, from 'classical' resort development in the 1960s, to present-day attempts at a more sustainable place development.
- Due to its historical role in the colonial era, as well as its geographic location, Cartagena is a 'multifaceted' destination whose study may prove interesting. As a multi-asset place, its promotion is a complex matter fought over by different stakeholders.
- Its identity is contested: located on the Caribbean and with clear Afro-Colombian traits, it is part of Colombia, a country mainly characterized by Andean landscapes and culture (See Sections 5.2 and 5.3).
- The city is also contested from a political perspective because of political turmoil, with the constant change in mayoral leadership. There is also informality and political veniality among local authorities and some organizational stakeholders.
- Furthermore, it is a very imbalanced city where many residents feel excluded and displaced. Rather than alleviating these matters, tourism development in the city has aggravated them, bringing issues of gentrification and nuisance.

- Cartagena might be representative of a whole host of Hispanic colonial cities across Latin America and the Caribbean. Former colonial strongholds, nowadays many of them have switched to tourism as one of their revenue sources. So, the city's asset combination is present in other (similar) places, with which Cartagena is in fierce competition. Beyond its geo-cultural area, the findings of this paper are also of interest to a whole host of Mediterranean and even Southeast Asian destinations. In many of them, beaches and built heritage and some kind of diversification or rejuvenation process may be found (see further below).

5.4.2 Literature review and theoretical frameworks

5.4.2.1 Destination marketing strategies: concentration or diversification?

Some researchers contend that one, iconic attraction standing for a whole destination seems to be more effective in terms of branding and promotion strategies than several (or even a plethora of) less important attractions, as it sends out a clear, unambiguous message. This brings the discussion closer to the 'unique selling proposition' (USP) found in several studies. George (2016) notes that in some Caribbean destinations during the last decade, USP's were generally found in destinations with a lower number of assets and, conversely, were less used in destinations with a broader offer of attractions. It also seems difficult to promote destinations with too many attractions because of the risk of producing a blurred image of the place, as promoting many products for many different segments may result in an undefined image. The question here is how to strike the balance between a widely recognizable anchor attraction and a number of smaller ones attached to it (Becken, 2005). Erkuş-Öztürk & Terhorst (2018), on the other hand, discuss a case of a single-asset destination where tourism seems to have an overall economic positive impact, so the discussion of single versus multiple assets seems far from conclusive.

While the advantages of becoming a multifaceted destination seem clear (expanding into new market segments, less dependence on few 'main' attractions, etc.), this process comes with problems as the management intricacies of the place increase in two ways. First, as more complex niche products require longer service value chains, the number of stakeholders grows, and, perhaps more importantly, the power balance among them may shift. Kagermeier (2016) reports the case of Cyprus, rather top-down managed during the 20th century, had to switch to more horizontal governance processes as it sought to offer added-value products like wine trails or cycling tourism (Farmaki, 2012). Therefore, a careful management of stakeholders is called for here (Line and Wang, 2014). The importance of local authorities in this issue is highlighted by Dredger et al. (2011). Second, a destination that offers several attractions must (obviously) change its promotional mix and strategies, which might not be a straightforward matter, as Vinyals-Mirabent (2019) discusses in the case of online promotion. This might also pose an intrinsic challenge because the established stakeholders may disagree with the new strategies (Gould and Skinner, 2007). Lemelin et al. (2012) conclude that resistance to evolution in a destination might come from the stakeholders if they are not sufficiently motivated to develop new products and hence the need for engaged, visionary stakeholders (Komppula, 2016:73).

Many destinations in the world have tried out diversification strategies since the 1990s, as they evolved into 'mature' places in the sense of Butler (1980). Among these, especially the cases of the Mediterranean and Caribbean coast destinations are worth mentioning, as they have become canonical examples of a transition from massive beach tourism areas to more niche-focused, diversified destinations. Much research (Smith, 2003:76-78; Donaire, 2008) links the development of cultural tourism in the Mediterranean to the decadence of seaside resorts, and hence to the urgent need for 'rejuvenation'. So, in Italy, López (2011) studies the feasibility of nautical tourism on the southern coast of Puglia. Arrom Munar et al. (2011) look into the possibilities of cultural tourism as a means of diversification in the city of Palma de Mallorca, a destination known for its massive influx of beach tourists. Cànoves Valiente et al. (2016) chronicle Spain's efforts to become a "cultural destination", where its attractions shall "complement" the sun and sand areas. The emergence of rural tourism in Spain has also been related to this trend, see Cardona and Serra Cantallops (2013) for the case of rural tourism development on the Balearic Islands. For the coastal region of Algarve in Portugal, Valle et al. (2011) conclude that product diversification enhances visitors' satisfaction, but they also see a gap so they call for more studies and the dissemination of good practices.

Even if the term "complementarity" describes a setting which might please all the stakeholders in a destination, the 'transition' to, or the 'co-existence' of, different types of tourism is sometimes not easy to manage, and it becomes difficult for a DMO to change the destination's positioning. The case of the city of Tarragona, in southern Catalonia, exemplifies this issue: Calabuig and García (2004) examined the emergence of the city's UNESCO-marked Roman heritage as a tourist "complement" to the nearby beach area of Costa Daurada and even to Barcelona, stating however that the take-off of cultural tourism was very slow. Ten years later, Bové-Sans and Laguado-Ramírez (2013:122-123) asserted that this "transition" was far from over: "despite the effort of local tourism policies to improve and to re-valuate Tarragona's cultural heritage sites and its recognition by the visitors, it has not yet achieved the status of an attraction strong enough to characterize a large tourist cluster visiting the city."

5.4.2.2 From diversification to re-positioning

The search for diversification, especially for new products, can be seen inter alia in the 'festivalization' processes many Mediterranean destinations went through. Festivals and events of all sorts have emerged in recent years, for instance, music festivals (see Díaz Soria et al., 2014, for examples in the Empordà region, in northern Catalonia) or food and wine tourism (see Oliveira, 2011, for a case in Portugal). Even mature mass destinations have prioritized gastronomy to renovate themselves, as for example Mazón et al. (2014) chronicle for the case of Benidorm in Spain. In Latin America and the Caribbean, Guzmán Ramos et al. (2005) discuss the "complementarity" of sun and sand and cultural tourism in the Buenos Aires region. Segrado Pavón (2011) and Sosa Ferreira (2011) debate about different aspects of the rejuvenation of destinations in the Mexican Caribbean. Barrado Timón et al. (2014) propose sustainable natural and cultural products for Central America as an alternative to beaches.

One of the first to conceptualize these processes were Ashworth and Tunbridge (2005) who pointed out the transition difficulties when changing from beach ("blue") to heritage ("grey") tourism, applying these concepts to Malta. Most notably, they introduced interesting theoretical remarks to this process as they postulated three possible scenarios relating both types of tourism: the supplemental one, the parallel one, and the substitution one, each with different implications. As for Cartagena, two decades ago, Bromley (2000) reflected on the interaction of the 'grey' (historic city center) with the 'blue' (the beach area of Bocagrande) positing a "complementary scenario" between these two spaces which worked positively for both of them.

The dynamics of destinations have been discussed for decades with the help of evolutionary models, from Butler (1980) onwards. However, for our purposes, the framework by Chadefaud (1988) as laid out by Suchet (2015) seems much more adequate. Instead of proposing a single destination lifecycle, they propose a cycle for each type of attraction or product in a destination. Change is not so much pushed by time but by the shifting preferences of the society's elites, which then influence the demand. According to Singh (2011:1186), destination evolution is linked to visitor evolution, and it must be ensured that "the right sort of tourists arrive [at a destination] at a particular stage of development". Richards (2018), on the other hand, argues that, with the passing of time, destinations evolve towards cultural-based (tangible) attractions and further towards intangible products, as tangibles and the basic destination's attractions lose in importance. Other authors would add to this with the concept of "upgrading"; as time passes for a destination, it becomes more 'refined' in the sense that it looks more intensely for added value and differentiation (Sanz-Ibáñez and Anton Clavé, 2015). As external competition grows and the destination matures, a process of specialization takes place where new attractions emerge, and at the same time an interest develops for niche markets.

However, a destination's image has a very strong inertia, which impedes quick change. So Morillo (2014) chronicles the difficulties in creating a 'medical tourism image' for Costa Rica, even basing it on the closely-related and strong 'natural tourism image' the country has. Berrozpe et al. (2017) study the case of Eivissa/Ibiza asserting that the margin for image change is quite small. The need to re-define places is also based on the fact that people from outside the place develop their own place perceptions that may not be in line with the purported positioning (Dzenovska, 2005). Gould and Skinner (2007:110) argue that the re-positioning of places is rather complex due to "the sheer number and type of stakeholders involved in creating and communicating messages". The main issue is that multiple stakeholders must agree on a consistent, credible and convincing message (Hall, 2004), but it is widely acknowledged that different stakeholders may have different interests or views of the place (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005), which in Cartagena have led to disengagement from the 'main' stakeholders (see 5.3 and further below).

5.4.3 Context: Cartagena's tourist development and branding

Cartagena's origins as a destination are connected to cruise tourism, as it became a port of call for the then-nascent cruise industry in the 1920s (Bassols, 2016b). From the 1960s, as many other coastal destinations worldwide, it developed into a purely sun-and-sand destination. Although quite visible to any city visitor, it was not immediately acknowledged that the city's built heritage could have been a much more competitive tourism source than sun and sand. Not even the UNESCO declaration regarding the city's military built heritage in 1984 pushed the city towards the heritage product. Only by 2010 had the promotional focus shifted slowly from beaches to heritage. Quintero and Bernal (2007) reviewed the city's promotion materials in international trade shows and found that, although heritage had started being put forth, beaches were the most promoted attraction still by the mid-2000s. However, some years later, there was a clear shift towards a heritage-based promotion, as reported by Ramos Calderón (2011).

Cartagena basically displays two 'main' attractions: its military built heritage from the colonial era and its beaches, so in principle it is able to attract quite different groups of visitors and so it may be described as a 'multifaceted destination'. However, although being profoundly Caribbean in terms of geography, race, culture and linguistic accent (and thus being culturally more related to the Caribbean Islands than to the Colombian Andean inland), it never put forth this feature as a salient one. This is a bit puzzling, as the Caribbean identity constitutes the basis of local life and culture. Besides, the 'Caribbean brand' enjoys an outstanding tourist reputation (Sheller, 2004), so the city could have thrived on it. One might argue that, in the narrow sense of the word, the 'Caribbean territories' are only the islands, but in the Spanish speaking world, 'Caribe' comprises both the islands and the coastal mainland facing this sea. Therefore, it is surprising to see Cartagena 'out' of this geo-cultural area. In fact, Quintero and Bernal (2007) saw Cartagena promoted alongside other inland Colombian or South American destinations, because, according to them, the city did not show a defined identity.

According to Solano (1998), the Caribbean identity was widely ignored in the formation of the Colombian nation, which saw itself as mainly Andean. Since then, the Caribbean and its residents have remained more or less 'on the edge'. Still today, in Colombia, the preferred demonym for a Caribbean is not 'caribeño' but 'costeño' ('Coastal') which is, of course, dismissive of the local identity and somewhat provincial in its denotation. As a result, Cartagena relinquished, or was unable to showcase, its Caribbean identity. This background may explain the current resistance of stakeholders towards intangible cultural products: these would be based on the Afro identity of many of city's inhabitants, but the city's white local elite disagree with that.

Ironically, only once, Cartagena was accorded 'Caribbean status' In 1987, a peak year in the country's terrorism, the promotional efforts for the most important Colombian destinations would not mention them as 'Colombian', but as 'Caribbean' or 'Amazonian', as was the case. This was a most surprising and unique promotional decision, but it was taken "to discreetly protect the markets (…) at a time where the mere mention of the country's name would only bring about the hardest of rejections" due to political conflicts and safety issues (Jaramillo, 2006: 44).

To sum up this contextual section, it is interesting to mention a study on the motivations of the city's tourists. De La Espriella (2015) carried out a study with a group of 320 visitors, half of them Colombians and the other half foreigners, approximately. When asked to say something 'nice' or 'positive' about the city, the standalone term 'people' took the lead with 13%. The combination of 'beach' and '[benign] climate' were mentioned by 22%. The combination 'architecture', 'history', 'culture' and 'streets' were cited by 26%. This would point to a city product quite balanced among cultural products and sun and sand, plus a certain amount of intangibles, thus highlighting the division between a cultural perception of the city and another one focused more on beach, relaxing and parties, revealing a multifaceted destination.

5.4.4 Methodology

There are different ways of looking at the features and processes of a destination, but a widespread vision is that each destination has its own story which is to be adequately explained, from which to derive good and bad practices. So, the fact a 'history' is observed in every tourist place is something to reckon within every destination study, therefore it is essential to choose an overarching framework to identify, describe and explain the phenomena found. Case theory was therefore a compelling choice for the present article. As Neale et al. (2006: 4) bluntly put it: "case studies are appropriate when there is a unique or interesting story to be told." It is also suitable to remind readers of the central importance place takes in case studies (Bartlett and Vavrus, 2017: 900).

With Cartagena set as a case study, the aim of this research was to capture the destination's ongoing processes in a detailed way, as they were supposed to be "a typical or particularly instructive example of a more general problem" (Flick, 2014:122). Even if case studies tend to produce context-dependent findings (Yin, 2018/1984), they are able to contribute to theory development by providing fresh empirical insights (Flyvberg, 2006).

Several authors have tried to set up categories of cases so as to better understand their impact and contribution. Stake (1995) classifies case studies into three categories: intrinsic (when the case is studied per se); instrumental (when the case has to have an explanatory force to create or redefine theories) and collective (when multiple cases are studied and compared). Yin (2018/1984) establishes the following categories of cases: explanatory, descriptive, evaluative and explorative. Neale et al. (2006: 3) state that a case might be chosen because "it is highly effective, not effective, representative, typical, or of special interest". Therefore, this study case may be seen as instrumental and explanatory (synonym terms indicating that an attempt will be made to create/modify theory) as well as representative (Cartagena is considered a 'representative' destination, see the final paragraph of Subsection 5.4.1).

The field work consisted in 18 semi-structured interviews with local 'expert' stakeholders. The interviews were held in the last quarter of 2017 and lasted between 50 and 90 minutes, producing some 17 hours of recordings. The transcriptions produced a total of 16,233 words. The interview guide touched on topics like the destination's branding, the importance of the different stakeholders and their relationships, the main challenges facing the destination and how the destination could be developed in the future. Interviews were recorded and then transcribed, except for one case where the recorder failed and notes were taken after the interview. The interviews were held in a semi-structured fashion in order to reconstruct the current situation of stakeholders in Cartagena. In semi-structured interviews, respondents have a lot of freedom to provide their own answers, while researchers can investigate the reasons behind the given answers (Flick, 2014).

Case studies using qualitative research methods are often based on purposive sampling (Flick, 2014). For the purpose of the interviews, the authors tried to identify the 'main' destination stakeholders in Cartagena, from institutional or associative backgrounds. Choosing only 'expert' stakeholders relates to the fact that in Cartagena (and mostly in Latin America), social and political processes are top-down by default, with little involvement by residents (see Subsection 5.4.1). The data sample thus included destination-internal 'expert' stakeholders leading organizations that have, to a larger or lesser degree, a direct influence on the definition of tourism strategies or on the management of the place. More specifically, the sample was made up of interviewees from non-governmental organizations (NGO's) (2), academia (3), the public-private sector (3), the public sector (5) and the private sector (5).

Qualitative content analysis was used to process the interview transcripts. The opinions of the stakeholders were encoded with the NVivo software. This allowed to identify which types of stakeholders opted for which type of marketing approach. In-text verbatim citations were used to substantiate the given reasons by the concerned stakeholders.

5.4.5 Data: Cartagena's main stakeholders come to word

This section presents the collected data in the form of two tables. Table 7 serves as a general approach to the stakeholders' buzz, by classifying the 904 collected statements into 6 general topics, which emerged after a first quantitative analysis of the data via keywords. These topics are: Local Players & Institutional Framework, Destination's Strengths & Weaknesses, Local Tourism Development, Local Population Involvement, Destination Branding & Marketing and Climate for Businesses & Entrepreneurs. Table 7 confirms the interest of the subjects discussed in this paper, as the majority of statements produced by the stakeholders touch on the topic of the branding and marketing of the destination, with 34.6% of the collected statements. This is followed by the closely-related topic of local development (27.1%), as the destination is in fact at a crossroads, reflecting on its future. This is a matter of discussion or even conflict among the stakeholders (See Section 5.3), confirming the interest of this research in its focus on place marketing, branding and asset strategies. It is also worth noticing that local residents and entrepreneurs are not currently part of the destination strategies, and just 6% and 3.1% of the buzz is directed towards them, a finding that fits perfectly into the current situation (see further below). The two topics in-between (weaknesses/strengths of the place as well as the institutional framework and the relationships among stakeholders) seem to be a matter of consensus in the city, i.e. everyone has them in mind but does not question them. Table 7 below shows these findings in more detail.

TOPICS' ANALYSIS OF THE STATEMENTS BY CARTAGENA'S STAKEHOLDERS		Local Players & Institutional Framework	Destination's Strengths & Weaknesses	Local Tourism Development	Local Population Involvement	Destination Branding & Marketing	Climate for Businesses & Entrepreneurs	TOTAL No. OF STATEMENTS	%
PUBLIC	PU1	3	5	10	2	0	0		
	PU2	13	6	10	5	17	0		
	PU3	13	2	31	2	15	0		
	PU4	5	5	15	8	15	10		
	PU5	2	0	5	1	11	0	PUBLIC: Totals and %	
	Sub-Totals	36	18	71	18	58	10	211	23,3
	%	17,1	8,5	33,6	8,5	27,5	4,7		
PUBLIC-PRIVATE	PP1	27	2	12	2	10	0		
	PP2	10	10	15	1	45	3		
	PP3	6	1	30	0	27	0	Public-Private: Totals & %	
	Sub-Totals	43	13	57	3	82	3	201	22,2
	%	21,4	6,5	28,4	1,5	40,8	1,5		
PRIVATE	PR1	7	2	17	0	16	0		
	PR2	10	1	23	2	11	0		
	PR3	25	8	27	3	17	0		
	PR4	5	1	6	0	11	9		
	PR5	15	5	7	6	27	6	PRIVATE: Totals and %	
	Sub-Totals	62	17	80	11	82	15	267	29,5
	%	23,2	6,4	30,0	4,1	30,7	5,6		
NGO's	NG1	15	13	10	17	22	0		
	NG2	11	8	2	0	24	0	NGO's: Totals and %	
	Sub-Totals	26	21	12	17	46	0	122	13,5
	%	21,3	17,2	9,8	13,9	37,7	0,0		
ACADEMY	AC1	1	1	1	1	3	0		
	AC2	8	6	18	2	21	0		
	AC3	2	10	6	2	21	0	ACADEMY: Totals and %	
	Sub-Totals	11	17	25	5	45	0	103	11,4
	%	10,7	16,5	24,3	4,9	43,7	0,0		
								Total of Statements:	
TOTALS PER TOPIC		178	86	245	54	313	28	904	
	%	19,7	9,5	27,1	6,0	34,6	3,1		

Table 7: Buzz Analysis of Cartagena's main stakeholders

As the topics of destination branding and place development were further pursued, Table 8 was compiled to sum up the most relevant findings in these areas and explore these two topics more in-depth, which are currently the most pressing ones in the destination.

Generally speaking, there is a feeling of certain destination mismanagement among the interviewees. Different institutional entities or organizations already tried to develop destination brands that suffered from a lack of identification:

> "The [current] brand does not show what Cartagena is, or its potential." (Academic stakeholder)

In fact, the different stakeholders in Cartagena hold different opinions on the best approaches to promoting the destination, see Table 8 here below, which gives an overview of these differing perspectives.

No.	Stakeholder type & Id.	Focus or multi-product?	Products/Attractions to be promoted	Approach towards branding
1	Public_1	Focus	Historical image	Tourism with locals
2	Public-private_1	Focus	History and culture	Sustainable & responsible tourism
3	Academic_1	Multi-product/ multi-market	Beach and culture	Residents and local culture
4	NGO_1	Multi-product	People, culture, heritage, beach	Experiential tourism
5	Private_1	Multi-product	Culture, history	Involve locals and reinforce conventions and hotels, more attractions needed
6	Private_2	Multi-product	New products	Alternative forms of tourism
7	Private_3	Multi-segment	People, heritage and islands	Focused on community
8	Private_4	Focus	Local people & culture	Empower locals and community
9	Academic_2	Multi-product	New products & innovation	Ensure that brand is adopted
10	NGO_2	Focus	Intangible heritage	Abolish exclusionism, integrate locals
11	Private_5	Multi-product	Culture-beach as complementary	Sustainable tourism with culture, heritage, locals
12	Academic_3	Focus	Culture, gastronomy	Local culture
13	Public-private_2	Multi-product	Culture and new products	Sustainable development
14	Public_2	Focus	Culture, sustainability	Eco-tourism
15	Public_3	Multi-product	Products currently being offered	Nautical tourism
16	Public-private_3	Multi-product	Heritage, weddings, MICE	MICE and wedding tourism, varied tourism, prevent from mass tourism
17	Public_4	Focus	History	Empower locals
18	Public_5	Focus	Place, culture, heritage	Include local population

Table 8: Overview of stakeholder opinions about the right marketing approaches for Cartagena. Source: Authors from the field work for this article.

Several respondents mentioned that Cartagena has been strongly promoted for its sun and sand, even if the city's beaches are not of high quality. That is why many think that cultural tourism is on the rise. In this regard, several respondents insisted that culture and beach are complementary in the destination. To these stakeholders, Cartagena is heritage, nature (islands, beaches) and its people (in equal parts):

> "All of these resources must be maintained as they are complementary." (Academic stakeholder)

Nevertheless, the majority of respondents insisted that cultural tourism related to the built heritage in the historic center is the priority for the future. The shift towards cultural tourism is partly due to missing alternatives:

> "The beaches have not been well-managed and no one has invested in them. The shift towards cultural tourism responds in part to this fact: since we are not able to properly manage the beaches, let us offer cultural tourism." (Academic stakeholder)

However, cultural tourism products such as "historic" tours (so as to gain a deep understanding of the city's history) have not yet been developed. One of the stakeholders argued that Cartagena should promote its "intact historical image" and take Florence in Italy as an example, but on the other hand, promoting history in Cartagena was difficult because new skyscrapers on the seaside seemed to suggest that the city is rather trying to become a business or trade epicenter. Some respondents also said that more focus needs to be put on the city's intangible heritage instead of the material heritage and the walls of the ancient fortresses:

> "Definitely, the material heritage of the city is overrated." (NGO)

In fact, some institutions have recently begun to realize the importance of intangible culture. Food was mentioned as a tourist product for the destination, so food tourism is considered a new market niche. Other intangible resources related to culture were festivals, or musical heritage and handicrafts. Further products/attractions include weddings and religious tourism. The demand for MICE tourism is high, as Cartagena is an appropriate destination for meetings, incentives, conventions and exhibitions. In this context, Cartagena has witnessed a new trend of wedding tourism in the city. Thanks to the city's features and beauty, it has become a 'romantic place'. Nevertheless, several expert respondents bemoaned that the city has not been very successful in developing new products, due to much informality, elitism and low stakeholder collaboration. Therefore, tourism is more standardized than innovative, and this has been so for years. In spite of the city's good attractions, the tourist offer was claimed to be both quite limited and undefined:

> "We have many types of tourism here in the Caribbean but we don't focus on any of them. We have to focus on something. Of the multiplicity of typologies, we are not good at anything." (Private stakeholder)

> "We have to create new proposals: We do not have a "Cartagena 7 days" package, as we lack innovative products. The average stay in the destination is currently 4 days." (Private stakeholder)

Besides, the majority of respondents also asked for better transportation means and for more on-site technology deployment. As the destination's space is relatively small, the different attractions are within each other's reach, so a multi-package approach could be adequate. However, product integration is not easy in a multifaceted, multi-market destination, especially when institutional entities have diverging views. The respondents accepted that it is a challenge to allow the different products and markets to co-exist in a relatively small space:

> "Considering how small the destination's space is, the different attractions are well integrated and it is easy to move from one to the other. However, it is not easy to integrate all products and be a "multi-market" destination. Such reduced spatiality does not allow competition between products or therefore specialization of the destination, something badly needed." (Public-private stakeholder)

Some think that having strong attractions like the city walls has been detrimental to the design of new products, so they are a blessing but also a blight. Tourists have different tastes and therefore each one has to be catered for in a different way, and so to expand into new markets, more personalized products should be designed. While multi-segment tourism is a good thing, respondents criticized, for instance, that activities for children at the destination are not yet well developed because of the lack of an overall strategy:

> "The destination is not experiential; everything is very mechanic and rationalized." (NGO)

Several stakeholders observed that different parts of the city attract different market segments according to the types of lodgings they offer: Getsemani with its hostels caters for backpackers; the Historic Centre with its boutique hotels caters for upscale guests and the beach area of Bocagrande with its high-rise hotels receives sun and sand tourists, among these many families with children:

> "The destination displays a variegated mix of products and therefore very different market segments arrive here." (Private-public stakeholder)

As for future developments, it was mentioned that mass tourism would "kill" the destination, so it must be avoided. Respondents stated that tourism in the city should be more experiential and that tourists "do not want to be treated as tourists". Heritage is nowadays a static concept in the city, but it must be "brought to life and enacted". Conservation must also comprise the inner parts of the houses, not only their façades. The tendency towards the 'museumification' of the historic city was also criticized: originally preserved spaces should co-exist with others suitable for new developments.

So, the interviewees suggested establishing different ways to allow for a more experiential stay in the destination. Several respondents stated that some forms of community-based tourism would bring locals and visitors closer. Incentives could be granted to families in the neighborhoods to transform their houses into tourist inns if they wish. This closer contact is especially important to the visitors who stay for months in the city to learn Spanish:

> "Apart from history and architecture, the essence of Cartagena is its people". (Private stakeholder)

Most stakeholders wish that local residents were more integrated into the branding strategy. Respondents emphasized that Cartageneros are extremely welcoming people, who display a lot of energy and flavor, and were described as warm, tourist-friendly people. One respondent saw a great advantage in this:

> "The warmth of the human resource is a plus." (Private stakeholder)

Respondents therefore underscore that the inhabitants of the city should be directly involved in the tourism development plans. However, the truth is that residents are not taken into account and feel annoyed by touristification processes over which they have no say. Some interviewees argued that residents show indifference towards the city and its brand because of the apathy caused by the misrule by the city council. In particular, the fragmented leaderships in the neighborhoods and many diverging interests were mentioned as an obstacle. Furthermore, gentrification processes were problematized by several respondents. They emphasized that locals must see benefits from the industry in order to understand that locals and visitors may peacefully share the space:

> "In the neighborhoods and the city there is a lot of apathy when it comes to putting the locals in value. You've got to be interested and empower the community. But this is difficult to organize." (NGO)

On the other hand, certain respondents saw a chance in the current increase in tourist arrivals, arguing that tourism "awakens" a large part of the community. A process of "awakening" to training and entrepreneurship was put in place so that many residents were encouraged to seek the benefits of tourism. If residents are put first, this would result in a better experience for tourists. New initiatives therefore seek to reinforce the local idiosyncrasy and the manner of the Cartageneros. This implies reinforcing the festivities, the traditions that may have been lost, and the support to recover the neighborhood life, so the city's original culture is strengthened. With regard to tourism development, respondents emphasized that locals and visitors must be brought together, so a need for 'uncontaminated' encounters was observed:

> "The product must be centered on Cartagena, which has a culture of its own. It is an expressive, very special one. It is important to empower the whole community." (Private stakeholder)

Informants emphasized the importance of residents as part of the destination, and as a first-order resource that is not yet understood. Even if there will always be a segment not interested in meeting locals, there was consensus that Cartagena becomes more attractive to tourists if locals are present. Regarding the local culture, the city is a complex situation, caught between the monopoly of the white elite and the inferiority complex of the Afro-Colombians (see Subsection 5.4.1). Respondents claimed that the racism from the colonial era has lasted to-date and the Afro-Colombian population still feel excluded. Historical manipulation has also been an issue: the Hispanic-Cartageneros were often represented as heroes while Afros were not. Regarding the identity of the destination, certain respondents emphasized the Afro-Colombian essence of Cartagena (see also Subsection 5.4.3):

> "The government sells a different image to the real one. Cartagena is a Caribbean destination." (Private stakeholder)

5.4.6 Discussion and managerial implications

Expert stakeholders see the development of new products and experiences as a priority. Residents seem to be the up-and-coming attraction in Cartagena, even if intangible attractions have been found to be very secondary in today's city. Can residents be the basis of the new products the destination needs?

From the interviews, a very important result is the dominance of cultural tourism over beach tourism. This progression is in line with other findings from the literature (Su, 2010; Richards, 2018). With the stakeholders mostly seeing cultural tourism as the destination's current main attraction, one can say that they have bought into the promotion policies of the DMO in recent years, which consistently have pushed material heritage as the city's main attraction.

These different intentions and perceptions towards the destination by the stakeholders are illustrated by the interviews which show an evenly split picture among those wanting a USP-like promotion of the destination and those wishing for a multifaceted approach to its marketing. Therefore, it can be said that in this context of low cooperation, there is no clear strategy: should the destination go for a USP or a multiple asset strategy? Add to this the lack of consensus about the approach to branding, and one ends up seeing quite a lot of disorientation in the city. The disagreements among many stakeholders about "what to show or what to hide" (Giovanardi, 2011) demonstrate that the city is at a cross-roads and repositioning is a difficult process here as well. This all correlates with the discussions in earlier parts of this paper, and that is why Cartagena is a good example of the dilemmas faced by multifaceted destinations.

When comparing stakeholders with visitors, the tourists' image of the city is 26% for culture and 22% for beach and leisure. However, the interviews' analysis of the expert stakeholders show a much more acute preference for cultural tourism than found in the studies about tourists. Probably, the professionals working in the destination are much more aware of its competitive edges than the visitors, for whom Cartagena seems to be a mere list of attractions without a clear hierarchy.

The upcoming new products will not come at the expense of the existing ones, according to most respondents, so in terms of Ashworth and Tunbridge (2005) this is not a "substitution scenario" but rather the "parallel scenario". Twenty years later, the "complementarity" discovered by Bromley (2000) has turned into a parallel scenario, this time with three different spaces instead of the two she analyzed.

Furthermore, the need for more horizontal governance is apparent in the destination, pushed by locals and young entrepreneurs who cater for new niches and therefore make the destination attractions progress in the sense of Richards (2018), whose evolutionary path for attractions is confirmed by the case of Cartagena. So, possibly, in the near future intangible attractions related to food, music or local residents will strongly emerge. The interviewees are practically unanimous about the importance of the residents, so their emergence as 'attractions', as empowered stakeholders or as new entrepreneurs is about to take place, with some foreseeable consequences.

The question is how to brand the city, or what attractions to promote and how intensively. If one looks at the stakeholder opinions and tries to make a promotion proposal based on them, today Cartagena should be promoted mainly for cultural and heritage attractions, then for sun and sand, with intangibles and MICE/business tourism making up the smallest part of the mix. This turns the city into a multifaceted destination, and perhaps points in turn to a solution to the local promotion dilemma of USP versus multiple-asset strategies.

At the end of this section, the lesson learnt is that, managerially speaking, multifaceted destinations are much harder to direct than single-asset places: there are likely to be many more disagreements among stakeholders, the perceptions of visitors versus stakeholders also vary much more and the different timings in the evolution of attractions is a further added difficulty. Moreover, there are factors equally affecting both types of places (global changing tastes in demand; competition in other places, etc.). Also, this paper has shown the difficulties in finding agreements in top-down governed places and how this makes things worse in terms of promotion and branding. All this combined, the DMO's of such places face a daunting task when putting the destination to work. A solution to this might be reinforcing the role of the DMO by expanding their functions beyond branding and promotion towards place making, which is what has happened in Cartagena, where the Corpo today also oversees matters regarding quality, planning or stakeholder coordination, therefore adopting a highly central and preeminent role in the local network of stakeholders

5.4.7 Theoretical implications and further research

As a matter of fact, the management and marketing of destinations are dynamic over time and not static. Which products or attractions are to be put to the fore is something that changes over time (Singh, 2011). For example, in Cartagena some fifteen years ago, beaches were by far the primary attraction in the destination, with built heritage playing a very secondary role. The shift towards built heritage as primary attraction has happened while the destination has constantly been in a growing phase. Therefore, Chadefaud's theory might be much more explanatory and fine-grained than Butler's, at least as far as multifaceted destinations are concerned, as the former considers the evolution of different products in a destination and not the destination as a whole. Suchet (2015) argued that it is the tourism products that pass through a lifecycle and not the destination itself. For destinations with a strong USP, Butler's model might suffice, but for more complex, multifaceted destinations, Chadefaud's model seems to be more suitable.

In this context, one might also ask how far apart in time the perceptions of visitors and stakeholders are. While this surely varies among destinations, one thing is clear: this is a mid- or long-term matter and probably it is difficult to find a place where both locals and tourists come together under a single vision. The local stakeholders will always be on the lookout for new attractions or products, and tourists will be invariably 'behind' the local industry in this process. Therefore, to complete this evolutionary view, what emerges in the end are two different cycles in the destination, in which tourists are 'behind locals' in their product preferences. This generalization is important and a matter for further research. It also supports the statement by Dzenovska (2005) in Paragraph 5.4.2.2 when he says that visitors might not have the same image as the DMO tries to push: as far as advanced destinations are concerned, this will most likely be the case. If one tries to (very tentatively) quantify this time shift among local stakeholders and tourists, a mid- to long-term time shift emerges. The sections above show that the visitor pulling attractions in 2016 were similar to the ones the stakeholders had in 2010, therefore resulting in a gap of 6 years approximately in this particular destination.

The lesson for DMO's is that it is necessary to push for innovation, albeit knowing that local businesses and stakeholders will look for more innovative attractions and products than the visitors to the place, who show a slower transition process and so stick to a projected destination image which for locals might be dated.

The multifaceted character of this particular destination comes up when looking at the geographical sustain of the different markets the destination caters for today, and seems willing to cater for in the future. Cartagena is a destination containing hyper-specialized spaces which are close-by and each of them caters for different segments, like Bocagrande with its beaches, the historic center with its architecture and finally Getsemaní as the new neighborhood where intangibles are showcased. Singh (2011) stated that the right visitors must come to the right point of the destination lifecycle.

However, in destinations with hyper-specialized spaces this holds only partly true: several types of visitors may be in the destination at the same time as each of these hyper-specialized spaces cater for a different type of visitor. Little is known about how such spaces relate to each other in a destination and how they should be managed in general; perhaps only Bujosa et al. (2015) offer some first hints at this question, so this is a matter for future research.

6 CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Transversal discussion of results

This section offers a transversal discussion of the four papers on Chapter 5, so as to relate them to each other, similar to what has been done in the introductory chapters. We restate here that the original purpose of this research was to show a destination deemed 'interesting' from four different points of view, each making up a research question (see 2.3), which in turn corresponds to one of the articles. In the end, a 360-degree vision is given of the destination's production and management, which, jokingly, might be seen as a free consultancy for the place.

So, this dissertation has examined a multifaceted destination from the points of view of its production and branding/management processes. First, it has been shown that, in the case of Cartagena, these two are intimately related: Cartagena's tourist space was produced by an elite which has managed it in an elitist way for decades. Besides, the many frameworks under which the destination has been studied posit a strong connection between production and management/marketing. For instance, the semiotics framework (Article 2) is useful for studying the inception of the destination, but also yields planning recommendations for today's destination. The evolutionary frameworks discussed in Article 4 are both evaluative but also prospective tools. The theoretical review has shown that most management theories are also good production theories, and vice versa, so perhaps the difficulty might not be in connecting these two aspects but rather in keeping them apart. In fact, possibly each one is not sufficiently explanatory to stand alone, and a strong connection of dependence might even be posited, creating thus a *continuum* from the origin of a place to its current management. This way, the academic relevance of path theories (Anton Clavé and Wilson, 2016; Sanz-Ibáñez, 2017) is confirmed in explaining production and management aspects of destinations.

In Cartagena, in fact, there seems to be a certain 'tradition' of not-such-good management practices of the place over time: Article 1 concludes that its military built heritage was saved by chance, and Article 2 states that the most iconic spaces in the city were produced with a *laissez faire* attitude. The results of Article 3 conclude that there are tensions and differences among the city's main stakeholders and these may be seen as a consequence of 1 and 2 and, up to a certain point, they are an expected outcome.

All in all, the general perspective given by the four papers is one of concern: Cartagena is a contested place from its outset as a destination to today. The place had an 'elitist' start, saving its heritage 'by chance' (Article 1), built a tourism industry with a *laissez faire* attitude that was only good for the local elite (Article 2). Consequently, the place brand has been enacted in a top-down way which has caused brand disengagement (Article 3), and finally the stakeholders cannot agree about which attractions or products are to be put to the fore (Article 4). As stated in 4.1, it is a place where tourism has not been beneficial to the whole community, and instead has accentuated the existing social divide. Most Latin American theorists who are mentioned in 2.2 would surely point at Cartagena as an example in their criticisms.

However, not everything is bad news: in Cartagena, young entrepreneurs are pushing forth innovation and a more social view of tourism affairs. Futhermore, perhaps unavoidably, intangible heritage is emerging (Richards, 2018). Slowly but surely, locals are considered an important part of the destination. Products and experiences relating locals with visitors are appearing: cooking, dancing, drum-playing, boat tours on the mangrove, etc. While still minoritarian and not supported by any local tourist establishment, these initiatives and products are prone to expand in the near future. As intangibles are largely associated with the traditions of the local Afro-Colombian population, they might be a way to empower this community and help them improve their living conditions. This is the very beginning of a to-be-expected evolution as posited by the conclusions of Article 4.

Each of the four papers has been drawn up under the CTR methodology, so there is another trait that binds them. The dissertation is therefore a 'case of cases'. However, these differ when observed closely: two papers are more descriptive in nature (Articles 1 and 3), whereas the other two are much more explanatory and theory-oriented. Therefore, Articles 1 and 3 are more interesting to practitioners, while Articles 2 and 4 are more appealing to theorists. Irrespective of the 'orientation' of the paper, Case Theory makes for an excellent umbrella for all of them. This would also have been the case, had the articles had different field work. Therefore, CT has been a true 'broad church' to this research, allowing it to grow and develop in different ways.

A further strength of CT is the possibility of using several types of data, not only qualitative. While qualitative data is the most used type of data in this research, the questionnaire technique was also used. The many sources used for this research (observation, documentary research, online questionnaires and semi-structured interviews, see 3.2) allow for ample cross-validations, thus reinforcing the conclusions of each article and the dissertation in general. See also point 9 in Section 6.3 below for the specific contribution this paper makes to Case Theory.

6.2 Answering the Research Questions

The four sub-questions in Section 2.3 are answered here 'in the spirit' of CTR, which is the theory framing this whole research work, see 3.1 and here above.

1) Are multifaceted destinations born organically or in a planned way?

Multifaceted destinations possess different typologies of attractions. Therefore, we should look at the inception of each typology to understand the question of the creation of these destinations, according to Chadefaud (1988) and Suchet (2015). In the concrete case of Cartagena, its inception as a heritage destination was not planned (at least openly planned or in the sense of today's understanding of the term 'public planning'), and instead in 5.2.4 a *laissez faire* attitude is uncovered. As for the beach areas, these also grew spontaneously and not in a planned way (see theoretical discussion in 2.2.1). This double spontaneity helps us understand the difficulties Cartagena has had to become a well-organized destination.

The origins of Cartagena (and also San Juan) as heritage destinations were marked by 'chance', social disputes and exogenous valorization processes (Article 1), which seems to be a common trait in many built heritage destinations throughout Latin America.

In the end, it seems obvious that the more attraction typologies found at a destination, the more likely it is to uncover a combination of organic and planned growth. In Latin America, the CIP of Cancun is one of the few cases of a completely planned, multifaceted destination, where both archaeological attractions and sun and sand are planned (though nowadays the main attraction is, by far, sun and sand). There are then several cases of combinations of planned and organic multifaceted destinations and finally, for most of the destinations in the region, all attraction typologies grew spontaneously.

2) What is the role of icons/flagships in multifaceted destinations? How do they evolve in the context of such destinations?

The variety of assets multifaceted destinations contain means that several icons (or types of icons) might likely emerge in the place, and iconicity increases or diminishes over time, which makes icons hard to manage (Subsection 5.2.3). While being relatively 'safe assets' for the destinations, icons have to be very carefully managed so that they 'go in the same direction' as the rest of the destination.

The phenomena studied in 5.2 about flagship status and iconicity become even more important in multifaceted destinations: if icons from different typologies emerge, how will this affect the destination's self-understanding and, consequently, the branding and marketing of the place? Besides, icons strongly influence spatial matters in a destination (see 5.2.5). Having one icon means carefully managing the place; having several icons (possibly with different iconicity values or at different stages of their lifecycle) makes sustainable place management harder.

A solution to this question might be having the different icons in a place with a large spatial separation between them: that is the solution some big European cities have adopted when creating new iconic areas (La Défense in Paris or South Bank in London). This way, the tourism impact is more evenly distributed and different market segments might be catered for without them interfering with each other. This is a less workable solution in mid-sized cities like Cartagena: while possessing several differentiated spaces, these are actually close to each other, showing some entanglements. And this is not an option at all in small places.

There does not seem to be a satisfactory managerial solution to this question, but place managers are only advised to carefully and permanently check on the place's icon(s) to make sure these are contributing to the destination's overall image and sustainability goals.

<u>3) What do stakeholders think a multifaceted destination should be branded and promoted for?</u>

It seems obvious that multifaceted destinations are intrinsically more disputed places than single-asset destinations. The variety of attractions pulling different market segments makes it likely that the offer will also be variegated so as to respond to this demand. In such a scenario, disagreements about what the destination primarily stands for are likely to emerge.

The evolution of attractions and products in a destination posited by Richards (2018) and others also confirms that destinations, on their way to becoming multifaceted, regularly see an increase in the number of their stakeholders, with 'older' stakeholders having different visions for the place than the 'newer' ones. Add to this the trend in many places of top-down branding strategies (both in creating brands and in managing them), and no wonder that a certain degree of stakeholder disengagement is to be bemoaned in many destinations. Multifaceted destinations worsen this trend. This also describes what has happened in Cartagena (5.3).

We are afraid that the three above answers to the first 3 sub-research questions give quite a somber panorama about the possibilities of a 'good' management of multifaceted destinations, posing many different and extreme challenges, although this general trend may be moderated from place to place. Mostly spontaneous production of the places, coupled with the difficulty in managing the flagships the place eventually possesses, and finally the disagreements among stakeholders, are almost insurmountable obstacles for sustainable place management. So, for all these reasons, multifaceted destinations add layers of complexity to the arena of destination management when compared to single-asset destinations. We have not touched on consumption and demand matters in this dissertation, but it is easy to assume that visitors to these places are quite variegated in terms of origins and motivations (see De La Espriella, 2015 or Bassols and Coromina, in press, confirming this for the concrete case of Cartagena), and our observations on the ground also corroborate this, therefore making visitor management quite a challenging process as well. Hence, we must moderate the optimistic vision of Anton and González (2007) of a multifaceted destination as an "agora"; at least in Latin America, we must speak about places contended by different groups of visitors, or at least an indifference among groups, so it is more of a "collective cacophony". For his part, Russo (2009) warns that tourist segmentation is a phenomenon well on the rise in developed countries, so it is to be assumed that it will be a matter to reckon with in emerging countries in the near future, adding more complexity to visitor management. Therefore, place negotiations and disputes are to be expected in the future in LatAm's destinations, along the lines of Brandajs and Russo (2019).

As for the concrete branding of the studied destination, we restate here what we wrote in Subsection 5.4.6

> *The question is what to brand the city for, or what attractions to promote and how intensively. If one looks at the stakeholders' opinions and tries to make a promotion proposal based on them, nowadays Cartagena should be mainly promoted for culture and heritage, then for sun and sand, with intangibles and MICE/business tourism making up the smallest part of the mix. This turns the city into a multifaceted destination, and perhaps points in turn to a solution to the local promotion dilemma of USP versus multiple-asset strategies.*

<u>4) How do the marketing and promotion of multifaceted places evolve and which theories are most adequate at explaining this?</u>

A destination becomes multifaceted in an almost natural way (Subsection 1.1). As it grows in arrivals and time passes, then a process commences of looking for more added value and differentiation. In terms of lifecycle, this happens in the maturity phase, as 'rejuvenation' is needed, and new attractions or products shall bring it about. This has been the case in many Mediterranean destinations under the heading of 'diversification', a trend that arrived in the Caribbean in recent years (5.4.2). However, this general trend needs to be explored case by case, and in the particular case of Cartagena, changes in the importance of the destination's attractions are better explained on different grounds.

Chadefaud's theory (1988; see also Subsections 2.2.2 and 5.4.2) contends that change might be due not to time passing and some assets in the place losing value, but simply to the shifting tastes of the demand, which cause the offer to react. In the case of Cartagena, it is rather Chadefaud's theory that explains this phenomenon more adequately than Butler's, irrespective of the growth in arrivals. The destination started out as a cultural one for cruise ship tourists in the 1920s, developed as a sun and sand destination since the 1960s and as a cultural tangible destination since 2010. The destination has always been a multifaceted one, boasting built heritage and beaches, but the attractions coming to the fore have changed according to the epoch's tastes rather than to the stages the place has been through. Notice that these changes are not necessarily linked to any rejuvenation processes: Cartagena has almost always been a 'growing' destination since tourism started there (see Table 4). Notice also that this only partially fits into the evolution of attraction typologies laid out by Richards (2018). In Cartagena, there is a first development stage based on cultural assets, then this 'dies out' and another cycle of development (more in Richards' style) begins in the 1960s, see Figure 19 here below:

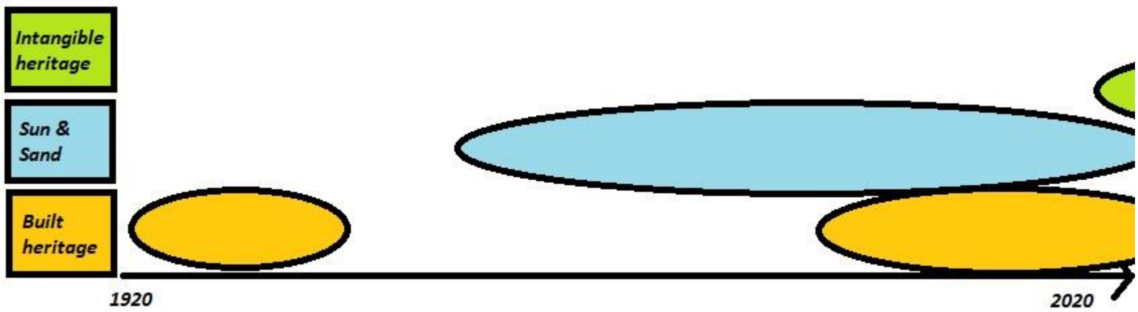


FIGURE 19: Cartagena's main attraction typologies as they have unfolded over the last century. Notice that since the development of sun and sand, the typologies and their emergence fit into Richards' model, however the pre-existing typology of a heritage tourism from 1920 to 1940 does not. This shows that progressions are not as lineal as assumed by Richards, and there is a considerable degree in local variation. Source: Author from literature sources and fieldwork for this dissertation.

6.3 Contributions by the dissertation to the extant body of knowledge

We sum up the contributions of this research to the extant body of knowledge in the form of bullet points, as these are to be found in the four Articles in an extended way, and so we include them here in a shorter form. Notice also that the contributions are theoretical as well as managerial, with some of the latter having been discussed in the previous Section. While all the contributions have a practical edge, some are more theory-oriented and others practice-oriented (save for Contribution 2, which is totally theoretical). Regarding their 'applicability', Contributions 1, 2, 3, 8 and 9 are more theoretical in nature, 4 to 7 more practical. Within these two groups, order does not reflect any kind of attributed importance.

1) DEFINING MULTIFACETED DESTINATIONS. A consequence of this research is that multifaceted destinations can now be better conceptualized. We define them from the point of view of their attractions, offer, demand, stakeholders and management. Rather than a sentence-like definition, we prefer to enumerate their five most salient features as derived from this research:

a) **A multifaceted destination is a place displaying two or more attraction or product typologies whose importance and value change over time due to shifts in tastes induced by demand.**
(Demand is the most important factor, above local planning, offer strategies and the time factor)

b) **Therefore, a multifaceted destination is capable of pulling different market segments, which show different motivations when visiting the place. The typologies of visitors also vary over time in parallel to the changes and shifts in the attractions**
(As happens with attractions, visitors are also a varying factor in multifaceted destinations)

c) **Local stakeholders tend to show a consistent and permanent degree of discrepancy as to the importance and hierarchy of local attractions**
(This is what makes multifaceted destinations truly disputed places)

d) **Between local stakeholders and visitors there is also a difference in how the destination's attraction typologies are perceived and their potential and future. This is noticed as a 'time gap'.**
(While confirming b. and c. in the case of Cartagena, this point is the specific finding this research adds to the understanding of multifaceted destinations)

e) **Consequently, multi-faceted destinations are very dynamic places whose marketing and management may prove a daunting task**

(Alongside c) this is the other main point differentiating the management of multifaceted destinations from the management of single-asset places)

2) ATTRACTIONS DIFFER IN IMPORTANCE TO VISITORS AND STAKEHOLDERS: The conclusions in Article 5.4 highlight this fact, and it is one of the most important findings in this dissertation, relevant to theory and management at the same time. It was found that there is a time shift among the place's stakeholders and visitors regarding the importance of attractions. The latter visitor group will always be 'behind' the former since local stakeholders, spurred by global and local demand shifts and concurrence with other destinations, are always on the lookout for new attractions and products. This process triggers specialization and diversification within the destination. This is an important assumption, again both theoretical and managerial, which moderates Chadefaud's model as well as Santos' assumptions. Therefore, the forces pushing for products and shifts in attraction/product typologies in a destination are threefold: the market segments of the demand, the local stakeholders' reaction to the demand's tastes, and finally the lifecycle of each of the place's assets. It is as if there were two Butler's cycles, shifted in time, one for the stakeholders and the other for visitors. The following scheme summarizes this, highlighting the 'time gap' between the way stakeholders and demand view a destination (Figure 20):

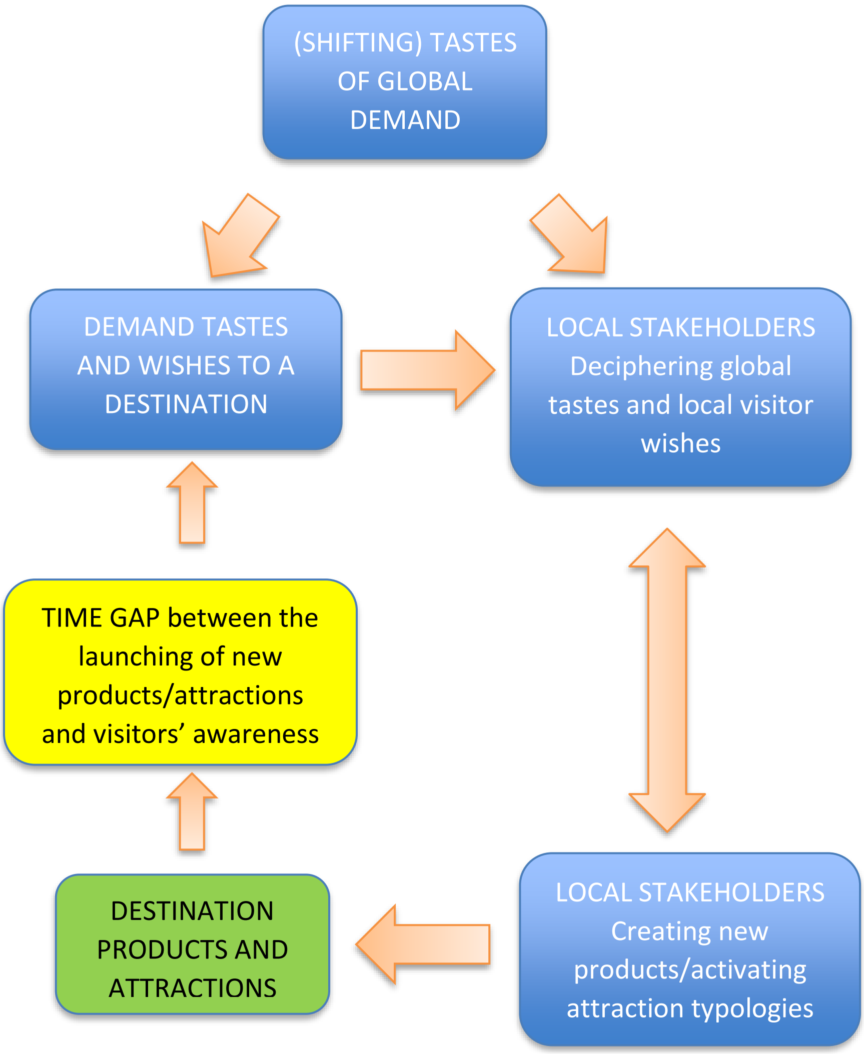


FIGURE 20: EXPLAINING THE GAP between the stakeholder and visitor vision of a destination. Source: Author

If we subsequently map this finding onto Butler's cycle, we get the following figure, which expresses the time shift between stakeholders and visitors for each product/attraction in the destination. Crucially, the model posits different time gaps for every product/attraction at a destination. The final image is one of great heterogeneity: different products/attractions are present showing different lifecycles and 'time gaps' (Figure 21):

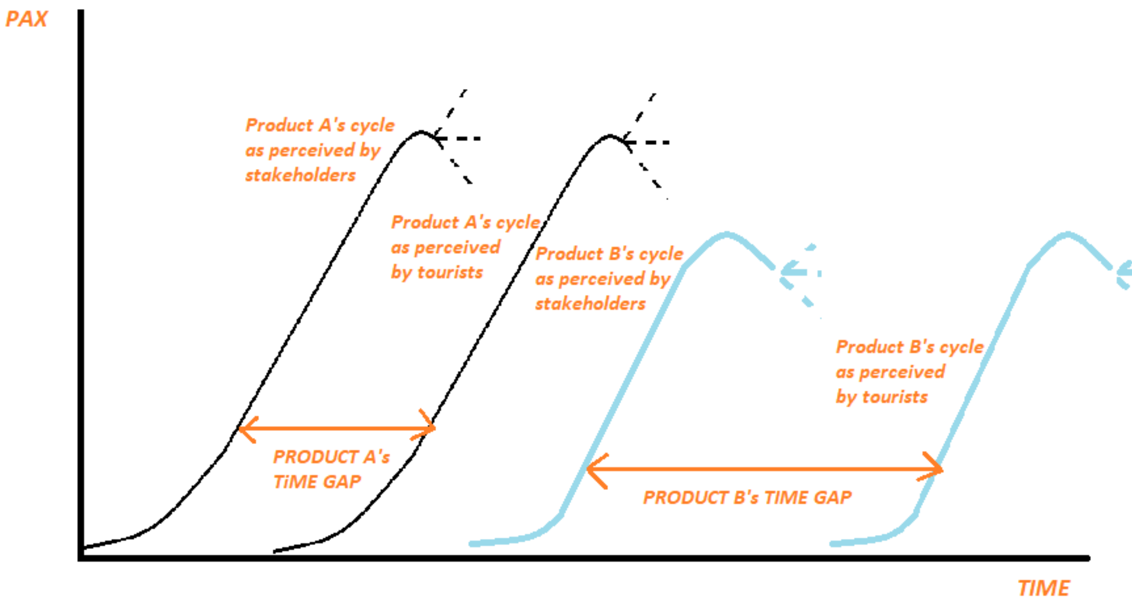


FIGURE 21: The "Time Gap" concept applied to the destination lifecycle model. Source: Author

3) PRODUCT CHANGES IN A DESTINATION ARE MAINLY DEMAND-LED: Rather than time-led (Butler's model) attractions and products change in a destination basically due to the shifts in demand (Chadefaud's model). The central importance of time models is thus questioned, as are the local tourist industry or the local policies as drivers for new attractions and products, which are deemed of secondary importance (see also Santos works according a vital role to the tastes of the global elites). In fact, the innovations in destinations will only succeed if they correspond to the 'Zeitgeist', which reveals itself as a primary constraining factor to a destination's offer. This is not only a theoretical finding but a practical recommendation as well. Notice further that we can only posit the superior explanatory force of Chadefaud when looking at multifaceted destinations. For single-asset destinations, both theories are equally valid. Notice also that assuming Chadefaud as the best explanatory theory questions the deterministic view of Richards (2018) about the evolution of attractions in a destination.

However, we totally agree with Richards as he states that the newer attractions 'add' to the older ones, eclipsing them but never wiping them out, as this is the case for Cartagena's sun and sand: a primary attraction for many years, it got edged in the 2010s by the city's built heritage (See Figure 19), but in recent years there have been two attempts at upgrading the beach product in the city: the first one, pushed by the national authorities, concerns the development of nautical tourism and its connected services. The second one is the recent initiative by the academia towards implementing quality procedures on the beaches in order to earn them quality mentions ('blue flag', etc.). Both of them are clearly elitist as they try to set the place for the upscale visitor and forget about the communities offering fishing and boat tours on the mangrove. Thus, elitism continues to be the big force managing the place, and it seems difficult integrating the produts the local communities put forward into the destination's mainstream offer. So, the destination does not follow proposals like the one by Alegret Tejero et al. (2014), in the sense of 'enlarging' the beach product as to include other tangible and intangible maritime elements of the place, see page 56.

4) WHAT TO BRAND MULTI-FACETED DESTINATIONS FOR: Taking into account the changing nature of these places and that they are disputed by the local stakeholders, for the case of today's Cartagena, the branding should be primarily based on tangible cultural assets, secondarily on sun and sand and also business/MICE, and tertiarily on intangible cultural attractions (see 6.2, Paragraph 3). This reflects the current status of attractions in the destination. However, this was not so a decade ago and probably will not be so in a decade's time, hence the need for periodically checking that the branding really showcases the destination the way stakeholders intend.

5) THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN SUCCESS/FAILURE OF PLACES AND BRANDS: One of the conclusions of Article 3 is that brand success does not necessarily imply place success and vice versa. This might be a puzzling situation as one would expect that a good brand management brings about (or at least favors) place success. There is no direct causality here, therefore Table 6 is proposed as a simple model to capture this finding.

6) THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE CREATION VS THE MANAGEMENT OF A BRAND: In view of the strong top-down tendencies in Latin America (see 5.3.5), a mixed model of brand management is proposed. It is suggested that the creation process is done by the community, using a participation process that is as large and as deep as possible, but then that the outcome is managed by a small, professional team. This would strike a balance between top-down and bottom-up, and facilitate a general transition from the former to the latter.

7) THE USEFULNESS OF USP IN DESTINATIONS: This marketing technique is found to be useful for destinations in their early stages as they tend to have fewer attractions, or even may be single-asset places. As the number of

attractions grows in a place, USP becomes a less interesting strategy and some form of 'multi-marketing' approach must be applied, hence the interest of a multifaceted approach to these destinations. However, we think the terms "multi-USP's" or "several USP's in a destination" used by Morrison (2018) are contradictions in terms. As noticed in 5.4, a large number of attractions and products in a multifaceted place risks blurring the place's image, so a balance is necessary among USP and multiproduct strategies (Becken, 2005 and Subsection 5.4.2).

8) REFINING THE SEMIOTIC THEORY OF SPACES: Putting to work something *prima facie* as abstract as the semiotics theory has been fruitful for the goals of this dissertation, and also has helped improve the theory itself. 'Semiotic spaces' had been defined as having one single salient feature. In 5.2.5, we assert that this is not the case: these spaces may be multi-featured and, depending on the stance of the observer, they may be interpreted one way or another. Thus, we bring closer semiotics to the observer's point of view, which is given a central role here replacing the space designers' point of view.

9) CONTRIBUTIONS TO CASE THEORY: As stated in Chapter 4 and in Table 3, the case studied in this dissertation is unique but, at the same time, shares traits with other destinations. Hence, it is clear that some objects display unique features and common features respect to other objects and may be applied in CTR for different research goals and to demonstrate different hypothesis. Yin (2018, chapter 2) is not specific about this question, or the bibliography explored in Chapter 3. The fact that a destination is a complex object allows for the selection of certain variables for one study, and the selection of other variables for another study, so that is why in Article 1 the destination serves as an example on a paper about urban planning and is a 'unique case', whereas in Article 4 the place is studied under the point of view of its branding and marketing and becomes a 'representative case'. This adaptability of some objects to CTR (in this case tourist destinations) has not been discussed by authors like Yin (2018) or Stake (1995), and it is an interesting contribution to Case Theory. Probably, the more complex an object, the more features it contains and the more purposes it will serve.

6.4 Generalizations, limitations and further research

As for the generalization abilities of this work, these must be seen in connection with the CTR framework used. One of the features of cases is their generalization power by creating theories or modifying existing ones. In the previous Section, this occurs with the most theoretical contributions, i.e. 1, 2, 3, 8 and 9.

But as a field case, it is interesting to consider which results found in Cartagena might be of interest to other places. The answer may seem trivial: places similar to this one, i.e. displaying identical variables (see last paragraph in the previous section). A first and general ambition is that several aspects of this work are generalizable worldwide to multifaceted destinations, wherever they might be and whichever their attractions might be, since these are the majority of destinations worldwide (see 1.1). However, a more detailed similarity is found in all those destinations combining built heritage and sun and sand, which are a considerable number globally, especially in Asia Pacific and the Mediterranean.

The most likely generalizations can be made about culturally and geographically close destinations, i.e. other places in Latin America boasting beaches and (military) built heritage. As we enter this terrain, dozens of destinations come to mind, from Mexico's Acapulco, Veracruz or Campeche to several places in Central America, to destinations on Caribbean islands (Havana, Santo Domingo, Santiago de Cuba, San Juan PR) and also in the Lesser Antilles, as well as along the South American Coast (Guayaquil in Ecuador; Lima, Trujillo and Arequipa in Peru or Valparaíso in Chile). Similarly, several cities in Brazil fit the bill: Sao Luis, Recife/Olinda and Salvador de Bahia are just the best known among several other coastal places with built heritage, especially in the Northeastern part of the country.

As for limitations, these are inherited from CRT: the researcher's identity in the research process, some subjectivism issues, etc. (Cousin, 2005). As this author recommends, the researcher should make their personal opinion felt in the early stages of the research, so the reader knows where possible 'personal interferences' might come from. In part, this is what I have done in the introduction and the preface to this dissertation.

An obvious limitation is having omitted the consumption aspect from the destination, although it would have made for a well-rounded discussion on the three processes of production, management and consumption of a single place. This omission was due to time constraints, but certainly remains a limitation. This restriction also connects with the 'future research' proposals here below.

Another area for further research is selected from the conclusions in Section 5.4, and regards the interest in further exploring the relations that may be found between icons in a single destination. This would help us understand how these work as a group in a multifaceted destination and how they relate to each other, in case there are several of them in one place. Out of the further research proposals in the Articles, perhaps this is the most interesting and challenging one on a theoretical level, and worth pursuing.

Another interesting topic for further research around this dissertation would be trying it on a larger-scale, comparative studies in the sense of Bartlett and Vavrus (2017), to see whether this would confirm or moderate the conclusions herein. Rivera Alicea (2012) was a pioneer comparing four 'similar' destinations in the Caribbean (San Juan, Havana, Santo Domingo and Cartagena), but not much has happened between his dissertation and our Article 1.

Even if it might be quite a challenge, introducing the longitudinal vision to the research questions herein would be a very relevant endeavor. Diachronic aspects are especially important to destinations, and having the field work done at two or three different time points would definitely be an enriching contribution. So, the proposal in this and the previous paragraph consists in expanding the studied case in both time and space. This is partly done in Bassols and Coromina (in press) as far as 'time' is concerned.

Another possible domain to expand research is to study other types of multifaceted destinations. It would be an intriguing question to explore whether, for example, multifaceted Alpine destinations with their winter vs summer activities and offers behave the same way as multifaceted Caribbean destinations with their sun and sand plus built heritage offer.

Finally, an in-depth study or a broader comparison among single-asset and multifaceted destinations would also shed more light onto the processes differentiating them. Some of the things that have been stated here about the dynamics of single-asset destinations are deductions or abductions, and it would be relevant to have them confirmed by actual fieldwork.

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