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Racial Segregation and Urban Planning in Latin America: a Historiographical Study of Contemporary Cartagena, Colombia

Abstract

Latin America is a continent living amidst strong inequalities, and the region's cities reflect this in a distinct way. In order to analyse and explain urban inequality in the region, this article studies the case of Cartagena de Indias, on the Colombian Caribbean coast, from the points of view of different historical studies about the racial gaze, gentrification, racial capitalism, and the research connecting urban planning and racial segregation, among others. By applying the historical method, the authors delve into institutional primary and secondary sources from the contemporary historiography, which relate urban development to racial issues. The main outcome is a deeper understanding of the urban and racial phenomena in the context of current theories, with some re-weighing of their impacts. Much of the discussion about racial segregation in Latin America has revolved around metropolises and forgotten medium-sized cities. To remedy this, an overview of studies and theories is offered and subsequently applied to a medium-sized city such as Cartagena, with examples from this city's planning history in conjunction with its social history and tourist development.

Keywords: Latin America, Cartagena, urban history, segregation, racial gaze, gentrification, racial capitalism

Resumen

América Latina es un continente que vive en medio de fuertes desigualdades y las ciudades de esta región reflejan esta circunstancia de forma muy clara. Con el objetivo de analizar y explicar dichas desigualdades en los ámbitos urbanos latinoamericanos, el presente artículo estudia el caso de Cartagena de Indias, ubicada en la costa del Caribe colombiano, desde diferentes estudios históricos sobre la mirada racial, la gentrificación

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o el capitalismo racial en su conexión con la planificación urbana. Aplicando el método histórico, profundizamos en fuentes primarias institucionales y secundarias de la historiografía contemporánea, las cuales relacionan el desarrollo urbano con las cuestiones raciales. El principal resultado es una mayor comprensión de los fenómenos urbanos y raciales en el contexto de las teorías actuales. Algunas de dichas teorías son replanteadas en cuanto a sus impactos sobre los contextos estudiados.
En América Latina, la discusión de las temáticas acá abordadas se ha ceñido mayormente al contexto de las grandes metrópolis, olvidando las ciudades medianas. Para colmar este vacío, el presente trabajo ofrece una visión general sobre las teorías mencionadas más arriba y las aplica al contexto de ciudades intermedias, como es el caso de Cartagena de Indias, con ejemplos de la historia de planeación de esa ciudad conectados a su historia social y su desarrollo turístico.

Palabras clave: América Latina, Cartagena, historia urbana, segregación, mirada racial, gentrificación

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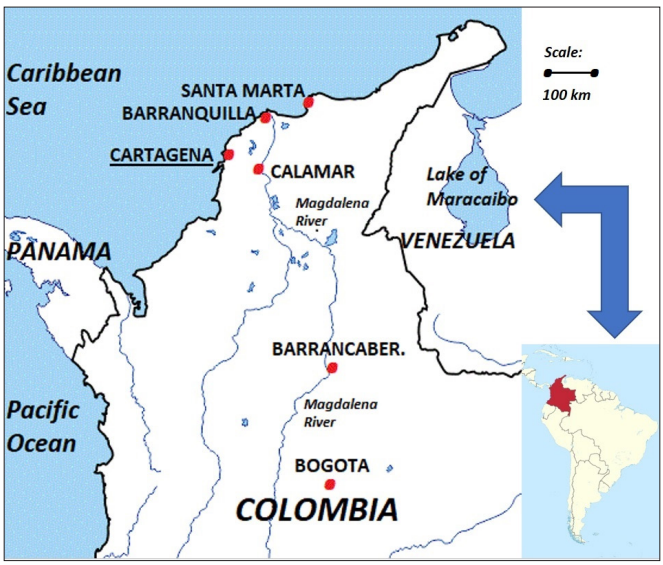
Introduction: Goals, General Context, and Justification

This research deepens into the study of racial issues in the context of urban planning and development. The persistence of the racial gaze in some regions such as Latin America is a chance to study this issue from a chronological perspective. So, in this article, the century-long urban history of a Latin American city is reviewed in parallel to its racial issues in order to uncover reciprocal influences and enmeshments.

The chosen city is Cartagena de Indias, one of the most iconic towns in Latin America. It is located on the Caribbean coast of Colombia (figure 1) and is currently Colombia's fifth largest city, with one million registered inhabitants. It is a commercial and administrative centre at regional level, as well as an important trade port for imports and exports and, in recent decades, it has emerged as a leading regional tourist hub. Thanks to its built heritage from colonial times, it has been on UNESCO's World Heritage List since 1984. Historically, it has been a place where Amerindians, Europeans, Africans, and navigators from the Pacific Ocean have converged.

FIGURE 1
Locating Cartagena and the other places mentioned in this article



Source: Authors on a free map by D-Maps, Cartagena, Colombia, available at https://d-maps.com/pays.php?num_pay=131&lang=es [accessed: January 28th, 2023].

Founded in 1533 as one of the oldest European-founded cities in continental America, Cartagena was a main post in the Spanish colonial port system; it became a gateway for new trends and ideas, and thus it was one of the first places to claim independence in Hispanic America at the beginning of the 19th century. It gained its independence in 1821 but, for most of the 19th century, the town was in a state of decay. However, in the later part of that century, Cartagena pushed for political renewal in Colombia, as the local politician Rafael Núñez became Colombia's president and partly transferred the capital city functions to Cartagena. In recent decades, the city's symbolic and social value has increased since it has developed as a tourist hub, and especially has become a meeting point for the national social elites who spend their holidays there and attend festivals[1].

A noticeable feature in the city is that it has seen rampant social and racial discrimination throughout its history up to the modern day, and this feature is seemingly hard to uproot[2]. Therefore, this research critically scrutinises Cartagena's history from an urban

[1] Jorge Melo, *Historia mínima de Colombia*, Bogotá, Crítica, 2017.
[2] Dairo Sánchez-Mojica, *El eterno retorno de la segregación. Genealogía de la clasificación-distribución racial del territorio en Cartagena de Indias*, PhD Thesis, Quito, Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar, 2017; Dairo Sánchez-Mojica, *Del otro lado de la muralla. Experiencias de educación en derechos humanos en Cartagena*

planning perspective, reviewing it alongside the city's record of social segregation and elitism in a historical study across five centuries, from the city's inception to today.

There are many urban, cultural, and social similarities between Cartagena and numerous other Hispanic colonial cities across Latin America, so a study like this one might be interesting to similar cities across the continent, as they share a similar history and face some of the same challenges. Furthermore, as most of the research on Cartagena has been written in Spanish, the authors intend disseminating this research to make it accessible to a wider English-reading audience.

This article is organized in the following way: the literature review here below touches on two broad areas in the Latin American and local contexts: racial issues and urban planning. The two following subsections see the emergence of the racial gaze in Cartagena's colonial and nineteenth-century eras. As these eras had no formal planning enacted –it began in 1914, see below–, they serve as a social and historical framework leading to the section about segregation in contemporary planning and tourism development, the largest one in the paper. In the conclusions, the authors retake some open issues and put forth some proposals.

Literature and Conceptual Review

The racial gaze in Cartagena

Racism and segregation have been studied locally in Cartagena: in recent years, research has come up with several visions of this issue in the city, such as Yesica Bedoya[3], who goes in-depth into local race identity issues, or Airlin Pérez and Davide Riccardi[4], who discuss the modalities of the exclusion (apartheid) of Afro-descendant women in the city. Sergio Solano, Muriel Vanegas and Roicer Flórez studied the social privileges as a counterpart to racial segregations in Cartagena's education system since the colonial period, finding strong continuity patterns[5]. All these mentioned issues have found an open channel for expression: the plastic and visual arts as a reaction to these local segregation policies[6].

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*de Indias y San Basilio de Palenqu*e, Bogotá, Universidad Central, 2017, pp. 21-44.

[3] Yesica Bedoya, "Estudios sobre las mujeres afrodescendientes en el Caribe colombiano: una revisión del tema", in *Memorias: Revista Digital de Historia y Arqueología desde el Caribe colombiano*, n.° 48, Barranquilla, 2022, pp. 150-169.

[4] Airlin Pérez and Davide Riccardi, "La mujer afrodescendiente frente al fascismo del *apartheid* social en Cartagena de Indias: ¿esperanzas para el cambio en un contexto de histórica discriminación?", in *Memorias: Revista Digital de Historia y Arqueología desde el Caribe*, n.º 38, Barranquilla, 2019, pp. 162-185.

[5] Sergio Solano, Muriel Vanegas and Roicer Flórez, "Sociedad, raza, educación y movilidad social: Colegio Real y Seminario Conciliar San Carlos Borromeo y Sacerdotes en Cartagena de Indias (1750-1810)", in *Historia*, vol. 53, n.º 2, Santiago de Chile, 2020, pp. 631-660.

[6] Carlos Gómez, "Cultura, resistencia y representación visual de los Afro en Cartagena de Indias", en *ANIAV*

Next to the above studies centred on identity, María Bustillo, Yesid de La Espriella and Jhorquis Machado move to governance frameworks as they investigated how the local community councils in the city have ignored the Afro citizens' identity in their polices and projects[7]. In a similar vein, Orlando de Avila[8] analysed the use of racial mixing discourses by social leaders and their detractors during the 20th century, these discourses apparently geared towards solving the racial conflicts in the city.

The literature review demonstrates that racial studies in Cartagena are limited to certain eras or facts, but studies giving a broader perspective are missing. In searching for a more general explanation about when and how the 'racial gaze' developed and became integrated into the local mentality, in our view, Kendi's book[9] with the intriguing title "Stamped from the beginning" points in the right direction. The deterministic classism issued from the first encounters between Europeans and Africans or Amerindians would 'stamp' the way these races would meet in the future –up until the present day[10]. Several authors have studied the subject of 'early stamping', which has become one of the research and explanation lines over the decades, as for example in the Portuguese empire[11]. Apparently, no force has been able to change this historical gaze.

Urban planning and segregation in Latin America

Segregation is a phenomenon long contended with in Europe and the Americas, as far as urban planning concerns. Schein tried to demonstrate how "inherited urban geographies help shape racial patterns in the American city" with a historical study about the city of Lexington, United States[12]. For their part, Richard Gale and Huw Thomas[13] uncover evidence of struggles and negotiations in British cities in the past century; Eric Avila and Mark Rose also found segregation patterns in recent renewal processes in several US cities[14].

Revista de investigación en artes visuales, n.º 11, Valencia, España, 2022, pp. 87-104.

[7] María Bustillo, Yesid de La Espriella and Jhorquis Machado, "Pertenencia ciudadana: estudio de caso de las comunidades afro de la ciudad de Cartagena de Indias, Colombia", in *Información tecnológica*, vol. 32, n.º 4, La Serena, Chile, 2021, pp. 23-30.

[8] Orlando Deavila, "'La ciudad de los mil colores': mestizaje, política y tensiones raciales en Cartagena entre las décadas de 1940 y 1970", in *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*, vol. 49, n.º 2, Bogotá, 2022, pp. 187-214.

[9] Ibram Kendi, *Stamped from the beginning. The definitive history of racist ideas in America*, New York, Nation Books, 2016.

[10] Paul Wong, *Race, Ethnicity and Nationality in the United States*, New York, Routledge, 1999; Joe Feagin, *Racist America. Roots, Current Realities, and Future Reparations*, New York and London: Routledge, 2001.

[11] Charles Boxer, *Race relations in the Portuguese colonial empire, 1415-1825*, Oxford UK, Clarendon Press, 1963.

[12] Richard H. Schein, "Urban Form and Racial Order", in *Urban Geography*, vol. 33, n.º 7, London, 2012, pp. 942-960.

[13] Richard Gale and Huw Thomas, *Race, Faith and Planning in Britain*, New York, Routledge, 2020.

[14] Eric Avila and Mark Rose, "Race, culture, politics and urban renewal", in *Journal of Urban History*, vol. 35, n.° 3, London, 2009, pp. 335-347.

Francisco Sabatini put forth some important ideas about urban spatial segregation in Latin America in general terms, stating that, for most of the 20th century, Latin American cities displayed segregation patterns like the European ones[15]. Local research has mostly looked into the social side of these ideas, so for example, for the displacement of black people from the centre of Sao Paulo from 1960 onwards[16]. Maya Manzi, Glória dos Santos Figueiredo, Laila Nazem Mourad and Thaís de Miranda Reboucas chronicle how Salvador de Bahia's central residents claim for their own urban plans in a context of accelerating urban neoliberal space policies[17]. Displacement is also due to the region's megaprojects: Juan Carlos Domínguez publishes several cases in Mexico, relating megaproject development to forced displacements[18].

In our research, two important planning concepts are 'gentrification' and 'sprawl'. These are much-studied topics worldwide, so here we give some Latin American visions. According to Michael Janoschka[19], aggressive gentrification processes –like the ones found throughout Latin America– generate symbolic violence against the local natives, who see their culture and lifestyle belittled, as well as over-valuation of the land assets and the decaying building stock, as the local elites lobby for rules and norms that allow for an expansionist transformation of the space with high-standard residential areas, upper-end malls, etc.

Racial diversity is sometimes promoted in tourist neighbourhoods via marketing or social media campaigns to create a certain 'doomed' racial image[20] once locals have been expelled and the place refurbished. Lucas Ramírez uses data about Buenos Aires, as he inquiries into the socio-emotional effects of this process, stating that those who are forced into such intra-urban displacements show profound changes in their social and cultural interactions, as they must share new spaces with other equally less-favoured residents[21]. Moreover, Diva García[22] suggests that the combination of gentrification and tourism leads

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[15] Francisco Sabatini, *La segregación social del espacio en las ciudades de América Latina*, Santiago de Chile, Baco Internacional de Desarrollo, 2006.

[16] Ana Barone, "Through the bridges: The Black Cultural Association in São Paulo, urban planning and the contours of the white city", in *Planning Perspectives*, vol. 38, London, 2023, pp. 855-876, available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/02665433.2022.2152080 [accessed: January 28th, 2023].

[17] Maya Manzi, Glória dos Santos Figueiredo, Laila Nazem Mourad and Thaís de Miranda Rebouças, "Neighbourhood planning and the right to the city: confronting neoliberal state urban practices in Salvador, Brazil", in *International Journal of Urban Sustainable Development*, vol. 10, n.º 1, London, 2018, pp. 1-15.

[18] Juan Carlos Domínguez Virgen (coord.), *Megaproyectos, desplazamiento forzado y asentamiento involuntario en México: testimonios y reflexiones*, México, Instituto de Investigaciones Dr. José María Luis Mora, Contemporánea, serie Sociológica, 2017.

[19] Michael Janoschka, "Gentrificación, desplazamiento, desposesión: procesos urbanos claves en América Latina", in *Revista INVI*, vol. 31, n.º 88, Santiago de Chile, 2016, pp. 27-71.

[20] Carolina Serrano, *De arrabal a barrio 'cool': historia, patrimonialización y turistificación en el barrio Getsemaní de Cartagena de Indias (Colombia)*, PhD Thesis, Bogotá, Universidad Externado de Colombia, 2016.

[21] Lucas Ramírez, "Movilidad residencial intrametropolitana en Buenos Aires", in *Población & Sociedad*, vol. 25, n.° 2, La Pampa, Argentina, 2018, pp. 111-143.

[22] Diva García, *Convergencias y divergencias sociodemográficas en el sistema residencial bogotano*, PhD Thesis, Barcelona, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2019.

to 'horizontal segregation', *i.e.*, a sociocultural one, as this generates differences and stereotypes among residents in terms of gender, race, age, origin. These differences impede peaceful coexistence among natives and newcomers to the spaces of relocation. Needless to say, in these circumstances, it is very difficult to build up a common city identity. As it will become apparent further below, Cartagena has seen comparable segregation processes in both its central area and some peripheral areas.

When trying to connect social and spatial issues, some researchers use the concept of 'place informality', a wide concept referring to many physical and socioeconomic conditions, such as dispossession, poverty, or elitist place building. Axel Bosdorf and Rodrigo Hidalgo[23] studied these in general terms for Latin America as far as urban development models are concerned; by Tom Angotti[24] who investigates the question of violent enclaves and by Brodwyn Fischer, Bryan McCann and Javier Auyero[25] who reported on the poverty and informality in Latin America. In the specific case of Colombia, the work by Carlos Torres[26] is useful as it illustrates the (re)production processes of informal urban planning across the country. A more descriptive approach of these questions for Colombia's three largest cities (Bogota, Medellin and Cali) is offered by Eduardo Moncada[27]. For their part, Andrés Guarín as well as Carmen Cabrales[28] provide Cartagena's local account of the issue of place informality. Informal planning also entails hard and unclear place negotiations among the concerned parties, and this is also the case in the cities on the Colombian Caribbean coast, see Florian Koch[29] for a top-down case of planning and political veniality in Barranquilla, and Peter Kellett[30] for a bottom-up case of urban corruption and local politics in Santa Marta; both of these cases have a contextual interest for our study. In the end, informality and its connected issues may lead to social urban violence, which in the continent's cities takes on very specific forms[31], as do the ways authorities respond to it, see Luisa Sotomayor[32], who researches into this issue in the city of Medellin, Colombia.

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[23] Axel Bosdorf and Rodrigo Hidalgo, "The fragmented City", in *The Urban Reinventors*, n.º 3, Berlin, 2009, pp. 1-18.

[24] Tom Angotti, "Urban Latin America: Violence, Enclaves, and Struggles for Land", in *Latin American Perspectives*, vol. 40, nº. 2, London, 2013, pp. 5-20.

[25] Brodwyn Fischer, Bryan McCann and Javier Auyero (eds.), *Cities from Scratch Poverty and Informality in Urban Latin America*, Durham NC and London, Duke University Press, 2014.

[26] Carlos Torres, "Ciudad informal colombiana", in *Bitácora Urbano Territorial*, vol. 11, n.º 1, Bogotá, 2007, pp. 53-93.

[27] Eduardo Moncada, *Cities, business and the politics of urban violence in Latin America*, Stanford CA, Stanford University Press, 2016.

[28] Andrés Guarín, "Cartagena de Indias. Asentamientos informales en la década de los 90", in *Bitácora Urbano Territorial*, vol. 7, n.º 1, Bogotá, 2003, pp. 101-109; Carmen Cabrales, "Los barrios populares en Cartagena de Indias", in Haroldo Calvo and Adolfo Meisel (eds.), *Cartagena de Indias en el Siglo XX*, Cartagena, Banco de la República, 2000, pp. 181-209.

[29] Florian Koch, "The Rules of the Game and How to Change Them: Urban Planning Between Formal and Informal Practices. A Colombian Case Study", in *International Planning Studies*, vol. 20, n.º 4, London, 2015, pp. 407-423.

[30] Peter Kellett, "Santa Marta: City Profile", in *Cities,* vol. 14, n.º 6, China, 1997, pp. 397-402.

[31] Kees Koonings and Dirk Kruijt, *Fractured cities: Social exclusion, urban violence and contested spaces in Latin America*, London and New York, ZED Books, 2007.

[32] Luisa Sotomayor, "Dealing with Dangerous Spaces. The Construction of Urban Policy in Medellín", in *Lat-*

Finally, since an essential part of Cartagena is its Historic Centre (henceforth HC), we want to round up this literature review by touching upon some ideas from Latin American researchers about these areas. The controversial aspects of heritage are a central topic in the region's research: Carlos Hiriart[33], among many others, contends that heritage, and especially urban built heritage, is linked to selection processes and therefore liable to trigger disputes among different stakeholders. Researchers mostly agree with the fact that the HC is the city's prime reservoir of local memories[34]. Therefore, it must be open to all citizens, regardless of how each group uses it – in fact, it is enriched by a diversity of uses[35]. We are especially interested in highlighting a lesser-studied process which we call 'juridization' of heritage spaces, following Patrice Melé[36]. He studies some Mexican HC's concluding that behind their production and preservation there is a consistent body of national laws and local rules 'forced top-down' onto the community via a consistent process of institutionalization. This 'technification' accounts for very conservative approaches to heritage, freezing many 'regular activities' that residents usually would carry out, and consequently enacts 'museumification' of heritage spaces, eventually alongside other phenomena such as gentrification or banalization.

Developing a Racial Gaze during the Colonial Era: Urban and Social Milestones in Hispanic Cartagena

The present section offers an abridged socio-historic context of the city in the colonial era. More than offering a chronological account to the readers, we are interested in underscoring the facts that led to the birth of social discrimination in these centuries, which would be then carried over to independent Cartagena after 1821, in the form of less opportunities for ethnical residents, as well as top-down socio-political processes.

Before the arrival of the Spanish, an Indian settlement called Calamari stood on today's site of the Historic Centre. The natives lived in huts made of perishable materials in a similar way to the rest of the Caribbean peoples. Although the Bay of Cartagena had been discovered in 1501, it had remained unexplored until 1533, when an expedition led by Pedro de Heredia set off from the nearby city of Santa Marta to investigate the area[37]. As the Castilians settled in –actually on the very place the Indians were occupying, a physical and symbolical occupation pattern which might be seen in a number of Hispanic American cities–, natives were soon edged out and, within a few decades, they

in American Perspectives, vol. 44, n.º 2, London, 2016, pp. 71-90.

[33] Carlos Hiriart, "El centro histórico de Morelia, un espacio en pugna. La gestión en pro del patrimonio", in *Michoacán: arquitectura y urbanismo, temas selectos*, Morelia, México, 1999, pp. 115-121.

[34] Erika Moreira and Rosângela Hespanhol, "O lugar como uma construção social", in *Revista Formação*, vol. 14, n.º 2, Presidente Prudente, Brasil, 2007, pp. 48-60.

[35] Néstor García, "Los usos sociales del Patrimonio Cultural", in *Cuadernos,* vol. X, Andalucía, 1999, pp. 16-33.

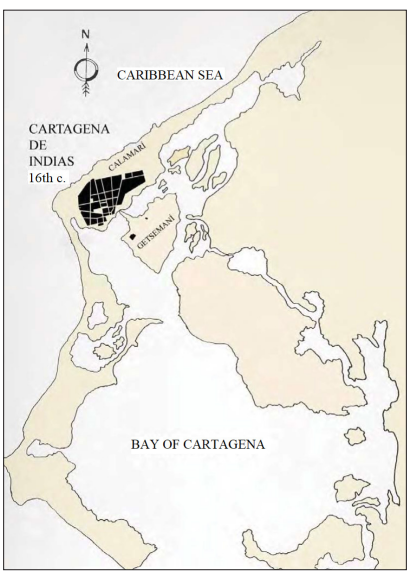
[36] Patrice Melé, *La producción del patrimonio urbano*, Ciudad de México, CIESAS, 2007.

[37] Orlando Fals Borda, *Historia doble de la costa*, Bogotá, Carlos Valencia, 1979.

became extinguished because of forced labour, dispersion, and the illnesses brought over by the Castilians; this was the fate of most Indian communities on the shores and islands in the Caribbean Sea. We contend that this marks the start of a racist gaze by white people over other ethnic groups in Cartagena[38].

As the colonisers occupied the pre-Hispanic town of Calamari in the 1530s by founding Cartagena, the native Indians were relocated to the so-called 'doctrinas de indios', or Indian doctrinal towns, temporary settlements where natives were kept[39]. Several such settlements rose up around Cartagena, where Indians could be easily controlled, converted to Catholicism, forced to work and separated from the whites[40] (figure 2).

FIGURE 2
Cartagena de Indias: drawing of the primigenial settlement on Calamari Island and its surroundings



Source: Modification of the plan used by José Manuel Zapatero in *Historia de las fortificaciones de Cartagena de Indias* (1979) by María Borrego, Sigfrido Vásquez y Francisco Muriel, "La trayectoria urbana de Cartagena de Indias", in Haroldo Calvo and Adolfo Meisel (eds.), *Cartagena de Indias en el siglo XVII*, Cartagena, Banco de la República, 2007, p. 186.

[38] Monika Therrien, "Arqueología urbana de Cartagena, o 25 hallazgos para contar su historia", in Haroldo Calvo, Adolfo Meisel and Diana Ricciulli (eds.), *Ensayos sobre la historia de Cartagena de Indias*, Cartagena, Universidad Tecnológica de Bolívar, 2021.
[39] For more contextual information about this matter, in Mexico, see Karen Melvin, *Building Colonial Cities of God*, Stanford CA, Stanford University Press, 2012.
[40] Adolfo Meisel, "Esclavitud, mestizaje y haciendas en la provincia de Cartagena: 1533-1851", in *Revista Desarrollo y Sociedad*, vol. 4, n.º 1, Bogotá, Colombia, 1980, pp. 227-277.

In its first decades of existence, Cartagena mainly consisted of buildings made of perishable materials. After some fires, the inhabitants started using stone, and the first of the new edifices was the Cathedral –which comes as no surprise, as this was a building of the highest symbolical value in any Hispanic colonial city. Religion's central role in the Spanish colonial process explains why, just one year after its foundation, Cartagena became a bishop's seat, even though it was little more than a small settlement[41]. In 1537, the first cathedral, built of perishable materials, was consecrated; in the 1570s, its reconstruction in stone began, to be finished in 1612.

The nascent city expanded northeast from the port's plaza, growing at a good pace. As a result, by the end of the 16th century, a significant number of plots were occupied and King Felipe elevated Cartagena to city status in 1574, just four decades after its foundation. This distinction denotes its importance and status in the network of Hispanic American colonial port cities. During the 16th century, the city's landscape visibly shifted: from its humble buildings in the mid-century to a number of houses and public edifices in stone by the end of it[42].

Consequently, within a few decades, and into the 17th century, the city changed its appearance as the incoming institutions (authorities, religious orders) and the affluent residents built their own palaces and churches, ostensibly marking the cityscape. Many of these edifices are still standing and contribute to today's impression of a 'romantic' place. The official historiography contends that, in this era, Cartagena cemented its position as a military and merchant port and accordingly became a prosperous place. Therefore, it upgraded its housing with buildings made of coral stone foundations, brick walls, wooden decorations, and tile roofs[43]. Most of the houses feature a shady inner patio to escape the midday heat. In their outer and inner layout, the historic houses of Cartagena are very reminiscent of those in southern Spain –for example, with the protruding, ceiling-long windows–. As a certain number of colonisers came from those areas in Spain that have similar weather conditions to those in the Caribbean, architectural solutions were transferred quickly. However, while the city's economic wealth in the 17th century might point to a fast pace of building and a luxurious lifestyle, archaeological evidence[44] suggests the city's elites had a relatively humble lifestyle, and that the building pace was not that fast and included more sober style edifices than fancy ones.

Generally speaking, Cartagena's 17th century is considered by the official historiography as the city's golden century. The Spanish colonization process came into full

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[41] Manuel Serrano, *El obispado de Cartagena de Indias en el siglo XVIII. Iglesia y poder en la Cartagena colonial*, PhD Thesis, Sevilla, Universidad de Sevilla, 2015, pp. 125-137.

[42] Maruja Redondo, *Transformación en la estructura urbana de Cartagena de Indias. Siglos XVI al XIX*, Master Thesis, México, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2002.

[43] Marco Dorta, *Cartagena de Indias. La ciudad y sus monumentos,* Sevilla, Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 1951.

[44] Monika Therrien, "Más que distinción, en busca de la diferenciación: arqueología histórica de Cartagena de Indias en el siglo XVII", in Haroldo Calvo and Adolfo Meisel (eds.), *Cartagena de Indias en el siglo XVII*, Cartagena, Banco de la República, 2007, pp. 18-72.

swing and some of the landmarks of Cartagena's military architecture were completed[45]. Since the city fulfilled important military and port trade functions, it seemed obvious that it would also become the region's power centre –called The Vice-Royalty of New Granada, a huge area encompassing today's Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Panama–, but it lost out to Bogota, where the Spanish decided to locate the capital. However, Cartagena did maintain one powerful institution: the Inquisition Court, *i.e.*, the religious affairs court. With their edifices quite visible in the city's landscape, the religious orders, and especially the Inquisition, who had been present in Cartagena since its first decades of existence, exerted considerable influence over the city's affairs during the three centuries of the colonial era[46]. As colonial port cities were a mixture of people from different walks of life, the religious institutions in Cartagena had the task of making sure that those diverse cultures did not get past the harbour and into the territory.

This is especially true of the African slaves arriving in Cartagena. Since the first decades of its existence, the city became the most important slave trade hub in the New World[47]. The slaves were brought in from West Africa after a strenuous journey, and sold in Cartagena's port to plantation owners, cattle raisers, ship owners, etc.[48] Groups of them had to face a second, equally harsh journey, as they were transferred inland to work in the mines and replace the native Indians, who would get sick and die very quickly or escape[49]. The constant influx of enslaved Africans, who became the majority of Cartagena's population for most if its history –nowadays Afro-Colombians make up one third of the city's residents, the largest proportion among Colombia's big cities–, brought racial mixing, cultural exchanges[50] and linguistic influences –still visible to visitors today–, but also new settlements in discrete, secluded areas started by those who were able to escape, the so-called *palenques*[51]. All these facts reinforced racial discrimination, as several ordinances came into force about how incoming (living) slaves must be handled and how they must be spiritually repressed and converted[52]. The Jesuits were the religious order whose mission was to protect the slaves' bodies as well as save

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[45] Rodolfo Segovia, *Las fortificaciones de Cartagena de Indias: Estrategia e historia,* Bogotá, Carlos Valencia, 1982.

[46] Andrew Redden, "The Problem of Witchcraft, Slavery and Jesuits in Seventeenth-century New Granada", in *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, vol. 90, n.º 2, Liverpool, 2013, pp. 223-250.

[47] Ildefonso Gutiérrez, "El comercio y mercado de negros esclavos en Cartagena de Indias (1533-1850)", in *Quinto Centenario*, vol. 12, Madrid, 1987, pp. 187-210; David Wheat, "The first great waves: African provenance zones for the transatlantic slave trade to Cartagena de Indias, 1570-1640", in *Journal of African History*, vol. 52, Cambridge UK, 2011, pp. 1-22.

[48] Antonio de Ulloa, *Noticias americanas* [vol. 15], Madrid, Imprenta de don Francisco Manuel Mena, 1772.

[49] Enver Montaña, "Ethiopian blacks, American blacks, wild blacks. Ideas of freedom and representation of 'blacks'", in *Revista Colombiana de Sociología*, vol. 44, n.º 1, Bogotá, 2021, pp. 1-26.

[50] Alonso de Sandoval, *Naturaleza, policía sagrada y profana, costumbres y ritos, disciplina y catecismo evangélico de todos los etíopes*, Sevilla, Francisco de Lira Impresor, 1627.

[51] Mikael Parkwall and Bart Jacobs, "Palenquero origins A tale of more than two languages", in *Diachronica*, vol. 37, n.º 4, Amsterdam, 2020, pp. 540-576.

[52] Gunnar W. Knutsen, "Witchcraft and slavery in Cartagena de Indias", in *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft*, vol. 15, n.º 2, Pennsylvania, 2020, pp. 173-193.

their souls. The Catalan priest Pere/Pedro Claver (1580-1654) excelled in this task and was declared a saint in 1888. Thus, slavery led to a new, reinforced racial gaze, focused on the black population, by the white residents. This added to the original racial gaze against the Indians reported further above.

Further reinforcing the racial gaze was the severe social segregation imposed by the colonial regime[53], thus institutionalizing the initial racial gaze, which became permanent, from a legal point of view. This issue also became a territorial matter during the 17th century: next to the island of Calamari (today's HC), the two islands of Getsemani and Manga became settlements for the less favoured, *i.e.*, subordinated races like enslaved blacks, tax-paying Indians, and different mixed raced peoples[54]. The ill, the poor, the foot soldiers and others would be moved further afield. White supremacy became territorially visible with the whites protected within the city walls and the others left outside. It is true that, with time, the island of Getsemani would also be walled off, but this process took time and was carried out reluctantly only because of the island's strategic importance, not mainly to protect its inhabitants. Still today, the differences in housing between the HC and Getsemani are obvious: in the latter, one-storey, relatively small houses cannot compete with the two or three storey houses built on larger plots in the HC. However, even here, the blocks around the Cathedral boast much more distinguished houses than the ones in the northern section, called San Diego (figures 3 and 4).

Figure 3
A street in today's HC

Source: Authors

[53] Louisa Hoberman and Susan Socolow (eds.), *Cities and society in colonial Latin America*, Albuquerque NM, University of New Mexico, 1986.
[54] Felipe Salvador Gilij, *Ensayo de historia americana. Estado presente de la tierra firme*, Bogotá, Editorial Sucre, [1782] 1955.

FIGURE 4
A row of houses in Getsemani

Source: Wikimedia Commons, Cartagena Colombia, available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Cartagena,_Colombia [accessed: January 28th, 2023].

The 18th century is defined by historians as a 'consolidation century': the Bourbon kings, who reigned in Spain from 1710, cared considerably about Cartagena and so, following the English attack on the city in 1741, a 'silver age' began thanks to the growing trade and booming building activity, both private and public. Some built landmarks still standing from that era are the Jesuit Church and the Inquisition Palace, but also less significant edifices were built, like schools or hospitals. The viceroys came back to reside in Cartagena so it would get a greater say in political matters[55]. The diverse social backgrounds –and the segregation– continued as the 1777 census shows, even if some successful businessmen turned up among the mixed raced population[56]. By the eve of the declaration of independence in 1811, Cartagena de Indias was definitely a fulfilled colonial city, despite showing the described social tensions and racial inequalities.

DECADENCE AND REBIRTH: THE 19TH CENTURY

The urban, social, and political context of the 19th century

Cartagena's middle classes of mixed raced skilled workers and traders declared the city's independence in 1811, as one of the first territories in Hispanic America. Spain's

[55] Germán Colmenares, *Relaciones e informes de los gobernantes de la Nueva Granada*, Bogotá, Ed. Banco Popular, 1989.
[56] Sergio Solano, "Trabajadores, jornales, carestía y crisis política en Cartagena de Indias, 1750-1810", in *Historia*, vol. 51, n.º 2, Santiago, 2018, pp. 549-596.

response was quite cruel, and the city was besieged for several months in 1815 until it had to surrender; hundreds of lives were lost. Years of repression by the Spanish followed and the myth emerged about the 'hero city', as Cartagena is still known today. In 1821, a republican liberation army retook the city for good[57].

The decades after the liberation wars saw profound decadence. Having lost its position as a military and trade port with the collapse of the colonial trading routes[58], the city struggled to find new economic activities to sustain it. Several minor port attacks and blockades during these decades and continued civil unrest in Colombia hindered recovery. The growing centralism in Bogota, which equalled minor public investment in the Caribbean region, and alternative trade routes via the Magdalena River or the Lake of Maracaibo, further complicated Cartagena's position[59]. By the 1840s, Santa Marta became Colombia's main merchant port[60] (see figure 1). Walls, fortresses, and the built stock decayed and the number of inhabitants quickly diminished. As some foreign travellers who visited the city wrote in the 19th century, the place was in a total state of decay, and houses would be given away for free, only if the buyer planned to stay with his family and would upkeep the building. According to some sources, in the 1840s the city had around nine thousand inhabitants and was on the brink of disappearing altogether. The low numbers remained until the 1870s, when the city had an estimated all-time-low of 8,600 inhabitants.

The newly created Colombian republic in 1821 was a federation until 1886, with a high degree of self-government for its provinces, but with a trend towards centralism as well. The political reform of 1857 and the constitution of 1863 set out a centralized government in Colombia, pushing a national project which connected with the Hispanic traditions, including the pre-eminence of whites and the Catholic religion, perhaps the most poignant legal act endorsing white racial superiority in the young republic. Cartagena did not lose much in this transaction as the local man, Rafael Núñez, became Colombia's president for two terms in the 1880s and 1890s, and he helped some big urban and regional projects to materialize, see further below.

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[57] Luis Pérez, "La provincia de Cartagena de Indias: Epicentro de la independencia neogranadina y de la revolución española", in *Miradas al Bicentenario*, Cartagena, Universidad Tecnológica de Bolívar, 2010, pp. 45-71; Narcís Bassols*, Producing, branding and managing multifaceted tourist destinations: the case of Cartagena de Indias, Colombia*, PhD Thesis, Tarragona, España, Universitat Rovira i Virgili, 2020.

[58] Adolfo Meisel, *Cartagena 1900-1950: a remolque de la economía nacional*, Cartagena, Banco de la República, 2000; Luis Pérez and Narcís Bassols, "Military or trade port cities? About the form and function of the Hispanic colonial cities in Latin America and the Caribbean", in *Planning Perspectives*, vol. 37, n.º 4 London, 2022, pp. 1-24.

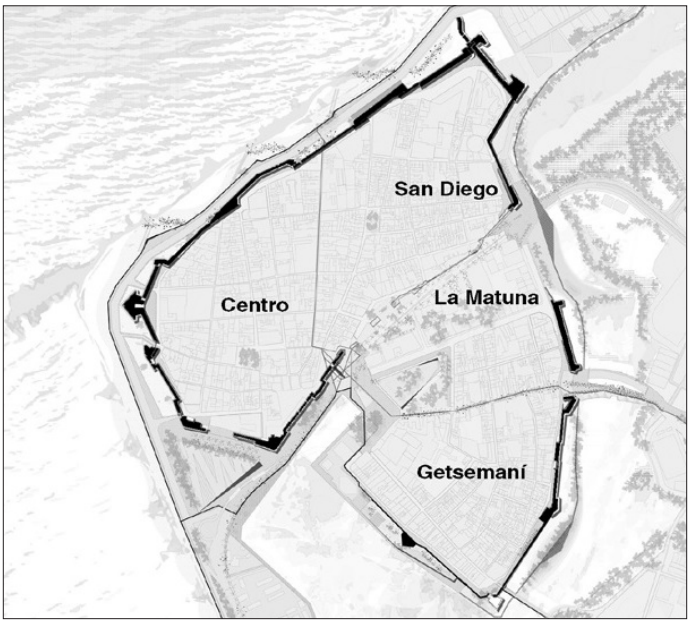
[59] Luis Pérez, *Historia del empresarismo en el Nororiente de Colombia*, Bucaramanga, UNAB, 2015.

[60] María Ripoll, "El Central Colombia. Inicios de industrialización en el Caribe colombiano", in *Boletín Cultural y Bibliográfico*, vol. 34, n.º 5, Bogotá, 1997, pp. 59-92.

Looking for more value by developing the city: the new centre of La Matuna and the first suburbs

Possibly, the most important and largest urban work in this era was the enlargement of La Matuna district, immediately adjacent to the east side of the historic centre (figure 5), an outer settlement which was expanded by desiccating San Anastasio's stream (figures 6 and 7). For centuries, the stream had divided the island of Calamari, the city's foundation spot (see figure 2), from the island of Getsemani, its first suburb. The latter made for an ideal place to separate the black and mixed raced from the whites. La Matuna was the first expansion area built outside the walled precinct after its partial demolition. This development took place to take the services and industrial functions away from the HC, as it no longer fulfilled them adequately (see figures 6 and 7).

FIGURE 5
The four districts making up today's Cartagena downtown: Centro, San Diego, La Matuna and Getsemani



Source: Narcís Bassols and Carlos Soutto-Colon, "Keeping the city walls or demolishing them? Urban planning and social disputes in Cartagena, Colombia, and San Juan, Puerto Rico (1880-1920)", in *EURE*, vol. 46, n.º137, Santiago, 2020, p. 53, available at http://www.eure.cl/index.php/eure/article/view/2870/1245 [accessed: January 28th, 2023].

FIGURES 6 AND 7

The evolution of La Matuna: from a stream (left) to a central district (right)

Sources: Bassols and Soutto-Colon, "Keeping the city…", op. cit.; Free map from OpenStreetView, Cartagena Colombia, 2021, available at https://wiki.openstreetmap.org/wiki/Cartagena [accessed: January 28th, 2023]. In both figures, the red shapes highlighting La Matuna area on the maps were drawn by the authors.

La Matuna had experienced an impetus when the railway station and the new port had been built. Thus, in a few years' time, it became the city's financial and administrative centre. This had the local authorities passing the first rules in the city's history on the height and volume of buildings. It was also in this context that the bay front area was redeveloped into much as it looks today, with the Centennial Park and the Pegasos Promenade. Furthermore, this was a road crossing area, thus guaranteeing decongestion of the HC and concentrating the burden of the traffic on Heredia Avenue, making it the city's main west-east axis[61].

La Matuna replaced the business functions of the HC but left it to uphold the city's historical past and its symbolical importance. This emergence of a Central Business District (CBD) separated from the historic district fits well in current urban theories and, in the particular case of Cartagena, it was instrumental in saving its built heritage. In fact, other Latin American cities whose HCs were also their CBD's, or even their industrial districts, witnessed a large-scale destruction of their colonial-built heritage.

This era of political and economic rebirth, with the infrastructure improvements reported here above, is marked in urban development by two facts: the beginning of building outside the historic city[62] and the emergence of the discussion about demolishing the

[61] Rubén Álvarez, "La Matuna, la cuchilla que divide al Centro Histórico", in *El Universal*, February 27th, 2019, available at https://www.eluniversal.com.co/artagena/la-matuna-la-cuchilla-que-divide-al-centro-historico-JY818803 [accessed: March 12th, 2021].

[62] Alberto Samudio, "El crecimiento urbano de Cartagena en el Siglo XX: Manga y Bocagrande", in Haroldo Calvo and Adolfo Meisel (eds.), *Cartagena de Indias en el Siglo XX*, Cartagena, Banco de la República, 2020, pp. 139-174.

city walls[63]. Both subjects may be broadly connected with the urban ideas born in Europe in the 1860s, which favoured wide spaces and streets as basic urban schemes, with the most remarkable outcomes being Vienna's Ringstrasse and the Parisian boulevards. Soon the European ideas arrived in the Americas and were eagerly embraced by the newly forged nations, as they represented an opportunity to abandon the urban colonial heritage and define a new urbanism more in line with the ideologies of the young republics. As Arturo Almandoz puts it, urban planning in Latin America in those decades was, to a significant extent, the implementation of European urban ideas on American soil[64].

For the walled cities in the continent, this meant deciding what to do with these walls: they were seen as useless artefacts in a pre-tourist era, a hindrance to expansion and suspected structures since public hygiene debates began, and so most of them were demolished. The demolition debate became quite emotional in Cartagena; in fact, it was perhaps the most important public debate in the city since its independence. The walls were finally kept for various reasons[65], like a shortage of funds to carry out the demolition, but also because the city's white elites of Hispanic descent wanted to keep a strong visual symbol of the city's colonial past[66].

The first urban planning policies for Cartagena, drawn up in 1914 by the consultants Pearson and Co., caused a further stir as they recommended the demolition of the walls for public health reasons. This 'public health' argument has been found by several authors to be a form of discrimination towards the less favoured in the city[67], so the first urban plan was controversial as it recommended reinforcing hygiene and public spaces. The Plan also offered technical backing for removing the informal settlements that had sprung up in different parts of the city, some just outside the city walls[68] (figures 8 and 9). However, these were only removed as late as the 1950s when the city started its touristification process.

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[63] Bassols and Soutto-Colon, "Keeping the city…", *op. cit.*

[64] Arturo Almandoz, "Urbanization and urbanism in Latin America: from Haussmann to CIAM", in Arturo Almandoz (ed.), *Planning Latin America's Capital Cities (1850-1950)*, London and New York, Routledge, 2002, pp. 27-58.

[65] Bassols and Soutto-Colon, "Keeping the city…", *op. cit*., p. 57.

[66] Gaceta Municipal, en Archivo Histórico de Cartagena (hereafter AHC), 1912 y 1914.

[67] Fabricio Valdemar, "Modernización urbana y exclusión social en Cartagena de Indias, una mirada desde la prensa local", in *Territorios*, vol. 36, Bogotá, 2017, pp. 159-188, available at https://www.redalyc.org/journal/357/35749527008/html/ [accessed: January 28th, 2023].

[68] Acuerdos Municipales, AHC, 1912-1928.

FIGURES 8 AND 9
General view of the Chambacú slum neighbourhood (left) and Houses in the El Boquetillo slum, leaning on the city walls (right)

Source: Valdemar, "Modernización urbana…", *op. cit.*, p. 162.

Demolition of the walls was completely stopped in 1924 as the Sociedad de Mejoras Públicas[69] was set up, an organization made up of some members of the local elite, who took over the task of 'safeguarding' and 'embellishing' the monuments –including the city walls and fortresses[70]–. Some authors remark the elitism of this arrangement, perhaps the most radical in the continent as the private sector was given responsibility over matters managed ordinarily by the public sector –maybe following up on the Andian National Corporation experience[71]–.

Abiding by European standards, since the 1870s, Cartagena had started an active policy of 'embellishing' its central areas and works from that era include the Torre del Reloj[72] still standing, built on one of the city gates[73]; the Camellón de los Mártires[74] or the Centennial Park, as well as sculptures dedicated to local heroes and the nation's founding fathers scattered throughout the central sections of the city. These monuments served to mark public spaces and to reinforce the historical and ideological aspects of the new nation, much as in other Colombian and Latin American cities[75].

Despite all these landmarks of 'progress' and the tributes paid to the past, racism continued as an ever-present factor in the city. By the independence centennial year's commemoration in 1911, the Afro-Colombians and lower classes were excluded from an event that promoted the Andean vision of the independence facts, not the Caribbean one[76].

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[69] Public Improvements Society.
[70] See next subsection. Narcís Bassols, "Evolving iconization and destination building: the example of Cartagena, Colombia", in *Tourism Planning and Development*, vol. 16, n.º 3, London, 2019, pp. 334-352.
[71] Actas, en Archivo Sociedad de Mejoras Públicas de Cartagena, 1923-1940.
[72] Clock Tower.
[73] Massimo Leserri and Gabriele Rossi, "La Torre del Reloj de Cartagena de Indias. Estudio sobre las transformaciones arquitectónicas por medio del levantamiento de la permanencia y ausencia", in *EGA Expresión Gráfica Arquitectónica*, vol. 25, n.º 38, Valencia España, 2020, pp. 78-89.
[74] Martyr's Promenade.
[75] Lorena Monsalve, *Gestión del patrimonio cultural y cooperación internacional*, Medellín, Universidad San Buenaventura, 2011.
[76] Raúl Román and Vanessa Niño, "El día de la Independencia en Colombia. La exclusión de los hechos históricos de la región Caribe, 1821-1919", in *Memorias*, vol. 10, n.º 21, Barranquilla, 2013, pp. 101-129; Edgar

As other colonial cities in the region did, Cartagena also started expanding outside the walls' precinct, though relatively late, only by the 1890s. These newly built neighbourhoods were for the elites, as they were leaving the HC to take up residency in the new suburban areas, in a move seen in many other places across the continent. In the first decades of the 20th century, Cartagena grew northwards with the suburbs of Crespo, Cabrero and Torices[77]. Some of these 'upper' neighbourhoods had originally no public services or facilities so that this settlement process was –ironically– quite close to the informal settlements[78]. Lower-income classes settled eastwards along the road to Turbaco (figure 10). In sum, elite and poor neighbourhoods emerged in parallel, and in quite an informal way, and so did the informal settlements outside the city walls like Pekin, Pueblo Nuevo, or Chambacú[79] (figures 8 and 9).

The practice of informal settling has been going on in the city for centuries. In fact, it is the result of cyclical expelling processes that the elite performed on racial groups, minorities, or immigrants in the course of the 18th and 19th centuries. Dairo Sánchez-Mojica[80] chronicles the origins of these informal settlements in Cartagena, which he sees starting back in the 1840s. The local authorities demolished some of these informal neighbourhoods in the 20th century as part of the gentrification process the city underwent[81]. However, informal settlements are still there: they have continued to spring up mainly to the south and east of the city, as well as on the nearby island of Tierrabomba[82]. Their underprivileged residents are mostly Afro-Colombians, with some people displaced from inland, due to long-lasting domestic conflicts. More recently, they have been joined by Venezuelan immigrants, escaping the situation in their country[83].

Gutiérrez, "La celebración del Centenario en Cartagena de Indias: ¿Fue excluyente en sus imaginarios populares?", in *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, vol. 22, n.º 5, Madrid, 2010, pp. 187-200.

[77] Gina Royett, *El barrio de Torices en el proceso de expansión urbana de la ciudad de Cartagena 1920-1960*, Bachelor Thesis, Colombia, Universidad de Cartagena, 2013.

[78] Samudio, "El crecimiento...", *op. cit*., p. 7.

[79] Orlando Deavila, *Políticas urbanas, pobreza y exclusión social en Cartagena: El caso Chambacú 1956-1971*, Bachelor Thesis, Colombia, Universidad de Cartagena, 2008.

[80] Dairo Sánchez-Mojica, "Geografías del destierro: los barrios afro y populares de Cartagena de Indias, 1844-1885", in *Nómadas*, vol. 48, n.º 1, Bogotá, 2018, pp. 65-81.

[81] Ana Cañón, *La segregación y turistificación étnica/racial en suelo periurbano cartagenero*, Bachelor Thesis, Bogotá, Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2020; Aarón Espinosa, Jhonnatan Ballestas and Astrid Utria, "Segregación residencial de afrodescendientes en Cartagena, Colombia", in *Economía & Región*, vol. 12, n.º 1, Cartagena, 2018, pp. 95-132; Torres, "Ciudad informal…", *op. cit*.

[82] Cabrales, "Los barrios populares...", *op. cit.*

[83] Simón Gaviria, Eric Goldwyn, Yang Liu, Nicolás Galarza and Shlomo Angel, "Invisible walls: Measuring the impact of organized violence on urban expansion", in *Cities*, vol. 97, n.º 1, China, 2020, pp. 1-10; Juan Saldarriaga and Yuan Hua, "A gravity model analysis of forced displacement in Colombia", in *Cities*, vol. 95, n.º 1, China, 2019, pp. 1-11.

Cartagena in the Twentieth Century: Urban Planning, Tourism Development and Social Segregation

The first decades: new immigration and the Andian Corporation's impact

The expansion reported in the above paragraphs was also driven by the numbers of national migrants and foreign immigrants arriving in the city in the 1910s. Some of these people came from inland, escaping from the constant civil unrest in Colombia, others came from well-established families from the inner parts of the Cartagena province. The largest groups, however, came to the city in the aftermath of World War I. These were mainly of Arab origin, though some Asians also arrived in Cartagena, as did groups from Spain, Italy, and Germany[84]. The new immigrants mixed with the local whites, blacks, mestizos and mulattos, accounting for the multi-racial city Cartagena is today.

The arrival of these communities redefined the settlement patterns in the city's neighbourhoods and residential areas, so a racial zoning came up based on affluence and race. The most affluent residents living within the HC chose to settle in La Matuna or San Diego. The descendants of the free whites settled towards the west of today's HC, whereas most Afro-Colombian families went to Getsemani. The multicultural origin of most of Cartagena's new residents should have made it plausible for racial issues to diminish in the city by this time, but, as a matter of fact, the opposite occurred, and race-based spatial segregation became a permanent feature in Cartagena; see the research by Aarón Espinosa, Jhonnatan Ballestas and Astrid Utria for an up-to-date study on this issue comprising the entire city[85].

The other neighbourhoods outside the city walls also continued to expand[86]. In the first decade of the 20th century, Manga Island was developed with houses in *art deco* style for upper class families. More generally, Cartagena's enormous growth in the 20th century –both in terms of built surface and inhabitants– took place along a north-south axis following the coastline, for the more affluent, and along a west-east axis for the low-income classes. The same can be said for the economic activities: the more value-added activities have been traditionally located along the coastline and the others inland. See figure 10 with the white arrows showing the new Afro-Colombian expansion and the black arrows showing the expansion of the elite neighbourhoods. Notice that the former takes on a west-east direction, whereas the latter a north-south direction, a pattern unchanged since.

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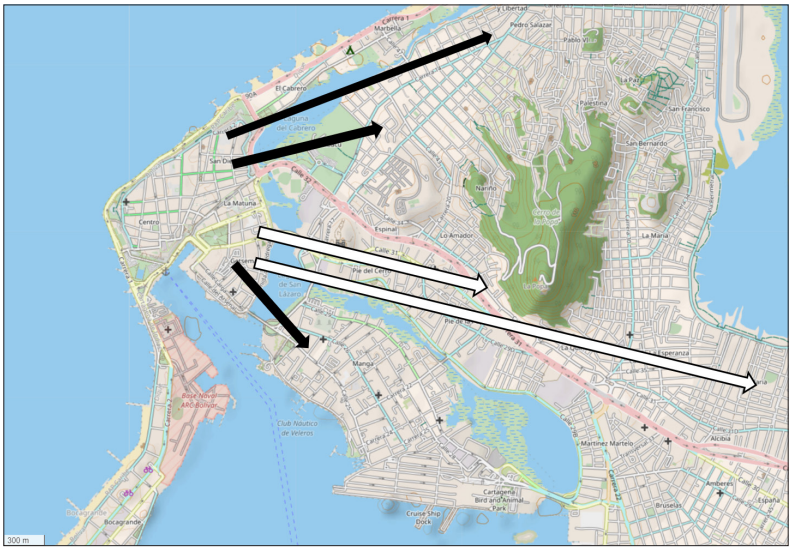
[84] Karen David, *Casas Moriscas de Cartagena de Indias y Barranquilla. El neonazari en la arquitectura republicana (1918-1930)*, Medellín, Universidad de Antioquia, 2011.
[85] Espinosa, Ballestas and Utria, "Segregación residencial…", *op. cit.*
[86] Silvia Arango, "Cartagena en el siglo XIX (1821-1911)", in *Villes en parallèle,* vol. 47-48, Lyon, 2013, pp. 68-91.

FIGURE 10

The expansion of Cartagena's new neighbourhoods by the first decades of the 20th century



Source: OpenStreetMap, Cartagena Colombia, 2021, available at https://wiki.openstreetmap.org/wiki/Cartagena [accessed: January 28th, 2023]. Adaptation and drawings by the authors.

In those years, the Andian National Corporation, a subsidiary to the Canadian Standard Oil Company, arrived in the city. They opened an oil pipeline in 1926 from Barrancabermeja to Cartagena, as well as the first Caribbean oil refining oil plant in the city, whose port became the exit point for Andian's oil.

As Cartagena became Andian's 'company town', long-lasting, ground-breaking urban and economic (and even social) changes occurred, although the Company only remained in the city for just about two decades. Its establishment implied the arrival of qualified professionals from the US and the UK, for whom the company built some houses and opened the city's first social club, the Country Club. Furthermore, they opened up new development areas in the city's northeast, giving an initial push to the neighbourhoods of Torices, Canapote, Bosque and others[87].

Andian became the city's largest developer: it erected the first multi-storey edifice in the city, its seven-storey corporate offices located in Plaza de la Aduana, but, sadly, in doing so, it had to demolish the Casa de la Isla, a fine building from colonial times[88]. Andian was also responsible for initially developing the Bocagrande peninsula, where it

[87] Adela Colorado, "Cartagena en el siglo XX, breve cronología urbana", in *Revista Dominical de El Universal*, October 2nd, 2011, available at https://www.eluniversal.com.co/suplementos/dominical/cartagena-en-el-siglo-xx-breve-cronologia-urbana-46666-OTEU126923 [accessed: April 19th, 2021].

[88] Protocolos de la Notaria Primera de Cartagena, AHC, 1923-1929.

built Californian-style houses for its employees in the 1920s. Some years later, in 1946, Hotel Caribe opened in this area –the city's first hotel with international standards–, and this laid the foundations for one of the largest TBD (Tourist Business District) in the Caribbean (figure 11).

FIGURE 11
Aerial view of the Bocagrande peninsula from 1952. Below, the Hotel Caribe. Further above, the compounds of the houses originally built by Andian

Source: Gustavo Tatis, "Bocagrande, una historia desconocida", *El Universal*, September 20th, 2020, available at https://cutt.ly/p9UpKPb [accessed: January 28th, 2023].

Andian also developed infrastructures or managed existing ones: the port road to Mamonal, the La Machina docks, the railway station buildings, and warehouses. They also opened a new maritime terminal on Manga Island in 1934. In sum, if there were a city developer and planner from the 1920s to 1940s in Cartagena, it was undoubtedly the Andian Company[89] (figures 12 and 13).

[89] Carmen Meza, *Desarrollo urbano y arquitectura en Cartagena*, Cartagena, Universidad de San Buenaventura, 2009, available at https://es.slideshare.net/gides/desarrollo-urbano-y-arquitectura-en-cartagena-9952940 [accessed: May 9th, 2021]; Meisel, "Cartagena 1900-1950", *op. cit.*

FIGURE 12
Cartagena's train station

Source: Adela Colorado, "Cartagena en el siglo XX, breve cronología urbana", *El Universal*, October 2nd, 2011, available at https://bit.ly/3JsA1ih [accessed: January 28th, 2023].

FIGURE 13
View of the ancient market and docks

Source: Andrés Pinzón, "La memoria de la ciudad", *El Universal*, January 23rd, 2016, available at https://bit.ly/3Joha82 [accessed: January 28th, 2023].

Beyond its physical footprint in the city, Andian left another crucial mental footprint in the city's elites: the unshakeable belief in the effectiveness of private urban planning. This would be a non-forgotten lesson as, from the 1920s onwards, most urban planning issues have had a 'private penchant', starting with keeping up the city walls and the subsequent touristification process (see next subsection), and opening up the Mamonal industrial area, decades later.

In fact, in order to keep tourism apart from industry as the 20th century proceeded, an industrial and port area was set up in Mamonal under a completely private management framework[90]. This totally changed the southern bay and the southern sections of the city by prompting road and bridge developments. Law 786 from 2002 sanctioned this development, creating discriminatory zoning. This meant the city's prime areas –basically the aforementioned north-south axis along the coastline– would be devoted to tourism and industry[91], and the other areas would be occupied by low-income neighbourhoods and lesser-valued business activities, far from the tourist sectors, so as not to interfere with them. Whether this has been an effective division of the place or an invisibilization strategy towards the low-income population is an open question to debate.

Urban planning and touristification processes from 1940

The 'Hygiene Plan' of 1914 was retaken and reinforced with the Regulatory Plan of 1948. This plan wanted to ensure the prosperity and modernity highlighted by the opening of the Hotel Caribe and the start of operations in Cartagena's airport in 1947. The surroundings of both had to be developed 'with all modern facilities' according to the plan, which also foresaw constructing roads and the sea front avenue, cleaning and dredging the city's streams, and constructing a baseball stadium, general sewage services, public WC's, school buildings in the city and the surrounding villages, and much more[92].

Financing all these works was of course impossible, so the nation's government ordered Law 88 of 1947 'For the Urban Development of the Municipalities'. The modernization of Colombia's middle-sized cities (Cartagena among them), had to be carried out with tight budgets and reflect the basic city goals and functions set forth in the urban plan of Bogota, such as: living, working, moving around in the city, or enjoying recreation. The city of Bogota, then, became the model for the rest of the country, regardless of the fact that it was the largest city in Colombia –far larger than other cities which had this plan pattern imposed onto them and irrespective of issues such as different local climates, economies, or social needs.

The ambitions of the 1948 Plan were accordingly shortened. Its milestones were developing the Heredia Avenue (figure 14), which is the city's main west-east axis, constructing the Intercol oil refining plant, the first stretch of the city's sewage inside the HC, opening Hotel Americano and further developing La Matuna[93] (see figure 6). It is a matter of dispute whether these works favoured the city's growing population or further pushed elitist processes (figure 15).

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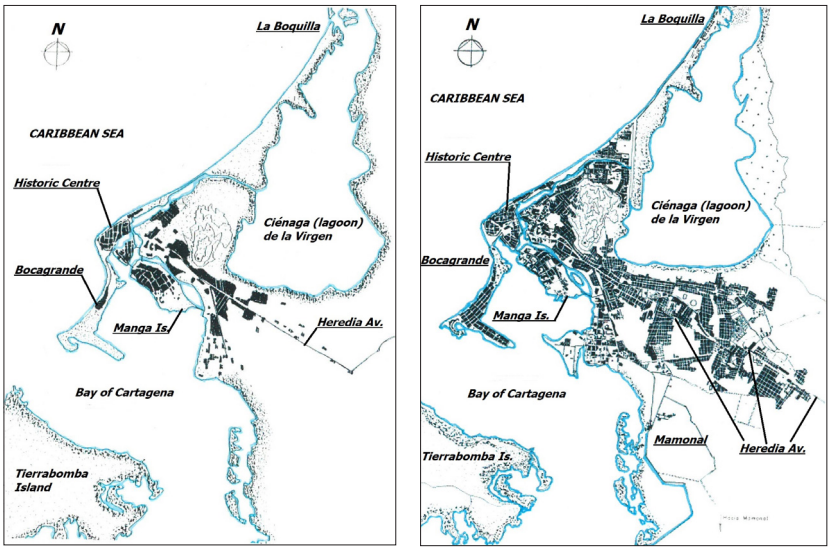
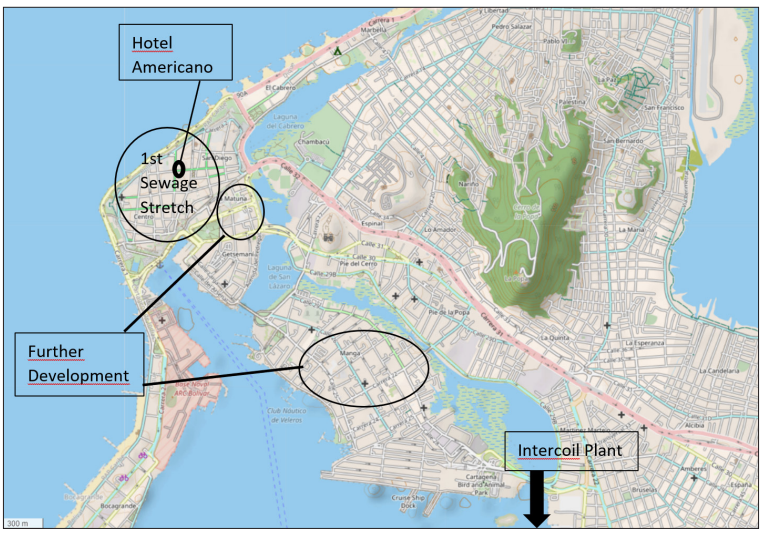
[90] Adriana Llano, *Organización del puerto de Cartagena, Sociedad portuaria regional de Cartagena y Contecar,* Bogotá, Villegas, 2007.
[91] Jesús García, *Cartagena de Indias*, Madrid, Gaesa, 2017.
[92] Valdemar, "Modernización urbana...", *op. cit.*; Fabricio Valdemar, "Plano regulador de 1948: diversifiación espacial y exclusión social en Cartagena", in *El taller de la historia,* vol. 5, n.° 1, Cartagena, 2013, pp. 279-317.
[93] *Op. cit.*, p. 183.

FIGURE 14
Cartagena's urban growth from 1940 (left) to 1990 (right).



Source: Augusto de Pombo, *Trazados urbanos en Hispanoamérica: Cartagena de Indias*, Bogotá, ICFES, 1999, pp. 78-79.

FIGURE 15
Some of the areas of urban development touched by the 1948 plan



Source: Map by OpenStreetMap, adapted by the authors. Cartagena Colombia, 2021, available at https://wiki.openstreetmap.org/wiki/Cartagena [accessed: January 28th, 2023]. Adaptation and drawings on map by the authors.

Preserving the city walls in 1924 had been the first step towards the city becoming a tourist destination. The tourist city, set well apart from the residents' everyday city, consists of the HC surrounded by the wall precinct and other fortresses scattered throughout the bay. Modern hotels and 'paradise' beaches would start appearing in the 1950s and 1960s in Bocagrande, reinventing the place to turn it into a tourist mecca[94].

With the declaration of the HC as a National Monument in 1959[95], the nation's government rewarded the decade-long efforts by the Public Improvements Society to maintain local heritage. This paved the way for Cartagena's inclusion in UNESCO's World Heritage List in 1984[96]. Both declarations implied setting up extensive protection plans as well as an over-valuation of the HC[97].

Law 163 of 1959, December 13th, established a series of protection and conservation norms for Colombia's heritage and monuments. It gave the old section of Cartagena the National Monument status –this was also the case for all provincial capital cities from the colonial era such as Popayan, Giron, Villa de Leyva, etc.–. In 1963, these 'old sections' included in Decree 264 the streets, squares, walls, and other edifices dating from the 16th, 17th, 18th, or the beginning of the 19th centuries. Further, Law 163 considered these areas as heritage repositories useful for understanding and studying the past, and what is more, following the conclusions of the 7th American International Conference –held in Montevideo, Uruguay, in 1933–, authorities gave these historic sectors special importance as they displayed strong connections with the independence struggles and the initial period of the Republic. In order to prevent demolitions or modifications like the ones performed on the city walls from 1890 to 1923, no repair works, demolitions, or changes to the localization of monuments could be carried out by any national, regional, or local authority without the consent of the National Monuments Council. Consequently, Law 163 unleashed extremely conservative processes and centralist approaches to heritage management.

In November 1984, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) declared Cartagena's set called 'Port, Fortresses and Group of Monuments' as mankind's heritage (code C-285). As the declaration states, 'the Spanish endowed the city with the largest and most impressive fortification system in the New World'[98]. After a petition from the Colombian authorities, in May 1984, the International Council of Monuments (ICOMOS) had recommended including Cartagena's military-built heritage into UNESCO's list, taking into consideration its strategic location, which gave rise to its foundation, the port's fortifications and the development of the neigh-

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[94] Isela Caro, "Cartagena: ciudad monumental para el turismo y discurso glorificador en la prensa local de mediados del siglo XX", in *Visitas al patio*, vol. 5, n.º 1, Cartagena, 2011, pp. 67-84.
[95] Jacques Osorio, *Cartagena de Indias. Centro Histórico y Getsemaní*, Cartagena, JOA, 2018.
[96] Alexandre Magre and Adela Colorado, *La Cartagena de Mangini*, Cartagena, Demantinada, 2015.
[97] Monsalve, *Gestión del patrimonio…*, *op. cit.*
[98] UNESCO, "Cartagena de Indias", Paris, UNESCO, 2003, available at https://whc.unesco.org/en/soc/2781 [accessed: May 7th, 2021].

bourhoods within the walls' enclosure. Cartagena joined other Hispanic colonial port cities on this list, such as Havana, Cuba, San Juan, Puerto Rico, as well as Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. According to ICOMOS, Cartagena is specifically 'an outstanding example of military architecture from the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, the most extensive in the New World and, at present, the best preserved, too'[99]. At the same time, ICOMOS acknowledged the preservation challenge facing this set of monuments within an expanding tourist city, which was evolving around the monuments. Therefore, besides protecting the walls and the fortifications, they recommended creating 'a large buffer zone, inside which the urban rules restrict the height of contemporary buildings'[100].

The combined effect of these and other lower-level preservation norms applied to the city centre had two end results: the first one was the 'juridizacion' of the place. For most of the 20th century, urban norms just affected the buildings (and in a very restrictive way) but showed no concern for the spaces –a parallel process here was the expelling of the economic and social activities from the Historic Centre since the mid-1960s[101]–, see also further below. The second one is the greatly increased appeal of Cartagena's prime areas –further augmented by festivals and cultural events since the 1930s–. The latter resulted in the over-valuation of the HC, with the national elites buying houses and restoring them from the 1960s[102]. Therefore, within a few decades, the HC has gone from being a run-down space to becoming a completely museumified area, with boutiques, luxury hotels, a visitor-orientated economy and a strong tourist image as tourists and investors have been lured to the area[103]. This section and its residents –4% of the city's surface and a bit more than 1% of the population– withstand strong pressure from tourism, as hundreds of thousands visit every year. Residents who cannot afford to live in such areas are expelled[104]. This gentrification process, which started in the HC half a century ago, has continued in recent years in the nearby quarter of Getsemani[105]. A decade ago, this neighbourhood seemed to be developing as an alternative

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[99] ICOMOS, "World Heritage List, Property No. 285", Paris, ICOMOS, 1984, available at http://www.ipcc.gov.co/index.php/component/phocadownload/category/17-documentos-de-la-unesco [accessed: April 29th, 2021].

[100] *Ibid.*

[101] Orlando Deavila and Lorena Guerrero, "Historia, turismo y patrimonio en la configuración del centro histórico de Cartagena durante el siglo XX", in Angélica Camargo (ed.), *Políticas urbanas y dinámicas socioespaciales: vivienda, renovación urbana y patrimonio*, Bogotá, Universidad Sergio Arboleda, ACIUR and Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana, 2020, pp. 263-282.

[102] Alberto Samudio, "Cartagena veintiún años después de ser declarada patrimonio mundial", in *Memorias*, vol. 3, n.° 6, Barranquilla, 2006, pp. 1-12; Monsalve, *Gestión del patrimonio…*, *op. cit.*

[103] Freddy Ávila, *Las representaciones de Cartagena de Indias y Palenque de San Basilio (Colombia) en el discurso turístico, 2005-2018*, PhD Thesis, España, Universidad de Salamanca, 2019; Bassols, "Evolving iconization...", *op. cit.*; Alexander Pérez, "Ese barrio vale plata ¡pero no está a la venta! Imaginarios urbanos en el barrio Getsemaní en Cartagena de Indias", in *Tabula Rasa*, vol. 18, n.º 1, Bogotá, 2013, pp. 237-254.

[104] Sairi Piñeros, "Tourism gentrification in the cities of Latin America. The socio-economic trajectory of Cartagena de Indias, Colombia", in Maria Gravari-Barbas and Sandra Guinand (eds.), *Tourism and Gentrification in Contemporary Metropolises. International Perspectives*, London and New York, Routledge, 2017, pp. 75-104.

[105] Josep Rius-Ulldemolins and Ladys Posso, "Cultura, transformación urbana y empoderamiento ciudadano

area, catering for unconventional tourists who looked for a more authentic contact with locals[106]. But in the intervening years, Getsemani has also become a gentrified space from which locals are being expelled. Scarpaci theorizes these phenomena in Latin America (from run-down to gentrified HC's), stating that both facts are connected, like the two sides of the same coin, and they unveil the two strategies of the capitalist (de) valuation of historic areas[107], a research line developed at a local level by Gutiérrez, among others[108].

In parallel to these processes in the HC, building in Bocagrande has boomed since the 1960s with multi-storey hotels, shopping malls and apartment towers, turning it into the country's hotspot with the highest number of rooms on offer[109]. Some authors, however, reckoned that this building activity in Bocagrande has helped to spare the HC[110]. In 2009, the Plan for the Historic Centre that was led and mainly funded by the Inter-American Development Bank[111], came up with the motto Living Centre, but fell short of its goals of diversifying the HC and its economy. That is why some commentators are pushing for a more sustainable vision of this area, which avoids gentrification and its consequences[112].

As some of Cartagena's areas became highly desirable, authorities had trouble dealing with real estate pressure. Extensive speculation has led to conflicts among UNESCO, the national government and local authorities as uncompliant building has taken place. UNESCO's officials have even threatened Cartagena with withdrawing its World Heritage status. The recent case of a high-rise building within the HC buffer zone ended with demolition. Almost forty years after UNESCO's declaration, controlling the heights of buildings is still a challenge, as pressure comes from a high demand for second residences. Façadism or inadequate uses of old buildings are, needless to say, further problems the authorities are facing in the HC.

Cartagena's urban plan is outdated and this has caused further difficulties for public officials as there has been no consensus within the local council to pass the new one. The same is true for the city's Tourism Sectoral Plan. The Special Management Plan

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frente a la gentrificación. Comparación entre el caso de Getsemaní (Cartagena de Indias) y el Raval (Barcelona)", in *EURE*, vol. 42, n.º 126, Santiago, 2017, pp. 97-122.

[106] Natalia Dáguer, *El tejido social como elemento creador y transformador del centro histórico en Getsemaní, Cartagena*, Bachelor Thesis, Bogotá, Universidad Pontificia Javeriana, 2011.

[107] Joseph Scarpaci, *Plazas and barrios. Heritage, tourism and globalization in the Latin American Centro Histórico*, Tucson AZ, University of Arizona, 2005.

[108] Ramón Gutiérrez, "Las propuestas de desarrollo urbano y el centro histórico de Cartagena", in *Villes en parallèle,* vol. 47-48, Lyon, 2013, pp. 308-342.

[109] Juan Yunda and Bjørn Sletto, "Densification, private sector-led development, and social polarization in the global south: Lessons from a century of zoning in Bogotá", in *Cities*, vol. 97, China, 2020, 102550.

[110] Rosemary Bromley, "Planning for tourism and urban conservation: Evidence from Cartagena, Colombia", in *Town Planning Review*, vol. 22, n.º 1, Liverpool, 2000, pp. 23-43.

[111] Nelson Melero, "Ciudades patrimonio: pasado y presente: La Habana y Cartagena de Indias", in *Jangwa Pana*, vol. 12, Santa Marta, 2013, pp. 35-51.

[112] Germán Bustamante, "Un destino más noble para el Centro Histórico", in *Textos convexos: Desarrollo Urbano de Cartagena,* Cartagena: Gobernación de Bolívar, 2015, pp. 8-14.

for the protected sites (PEMP) is progressing quite slowly and only because UNESCO exerts pressure on the national government[113]. Like in other cities in the region, laws and rules are difficult to enforce 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"[114].

The HC is a tourist attraction but also a source of identity for the local population. However, by unleashing a 'juridization' process inside it, other urban processes within it have been frozen, restricted, or ejected to peripheral areas. These activities and processes, related to the economy, dwellings or even the leisure dynamics of the 'real' city, are much more factual to Cartagena's inhabitants than the UNESCO heritage, but they are rendered invisible to many visitors (see also further above). Therefore, the HC is absent from the residents' mental geography, and it is only perceived as a real place by the few wealthy residents who can afford to live there, that is, the national elites from the capital city of Bogota, and their local associates.

Tourism development has not particularly benefitted the community at large: there is a wealth of documented studies in many destinations on this matter, *cf.* Elisabeth Cunín and Christian Rinaudo as well as Alexander Diz for the specific case of Cartagena[115]. Another consequence has been the invisibilization of the underprivileged neighbourhoods, to the point of legitimising the discourse about the 'Two Cartagenas' –the 'nice' and the 'ugly'[116]–. For her part, Angélica Santamaría[117] contends that, in Cartagena, 'the racial and spatial segregation caused by the tourist processes has split the city into two: the tourist city, full of exotism and wooed by marketing campaigns, and the other one, which is edged out, marginal and black', see figure 16 depicting the processes shown in figure 15, still in force one century later: spatial segregation coincides with low-income areas.

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[113] Nelly Vásquez, Luz Gómez and José Palomino, "Plan Especial de Manejo y Protección: herramienta de sostenibilidad del turismo en Cartagena de Indias y su integración con América Latina y el Caribe", in *TEACS*, vol. 9, n.º 20, Barquisimeto, Venezuela, 2017, pp. 81-94.

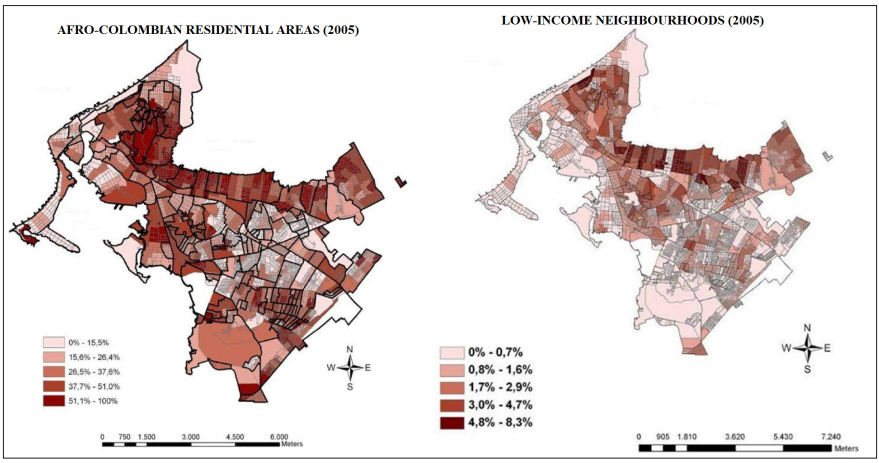
[114] Bassols, "Producing, branding, and...", *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[115] Elisabeth Cunín and Christian Rinaudo, "Consommer la ville en passant: visites guidées et marketing de la différence à Cartagena de Indias (Colombie)", in *Espaces et sociétés*, vol. 135, n.º 1, Paris, 2008, pp. 1-14; Alexander Diz, "Turismo, modernidad y exclusión social en Cartagena de Indias, 1913-1946", in *Alaula*, vol. 2, Cartagena, 2014, pp. 24-38.

[116] Distrito de Cartagena de Indias (DTYC), *Política de inclusión productiva para población en situación de pobreza y vulnerabilidad*, Cartagena, Concejo Municipal, 2009; Libardo Sarmiento, *Cartagena de Indias: el mito de las dos ciudades*, Cartagena, Observatorio Derechos Sociales y Desarrollo, 2010.

[117] Angélica Santamaría, *¿Apartheid en la amurallada? Segregación racial-espacial por turistificación en Cartagena de Indias, Colombia*, Master Thesis, Brasil, Universidade Federal de Integraçao Latinoamericana, 2020.

FIGURE 16
Mapping Afro-Colombian and low-income areas in Cartagena



Source: Jhorland Ayala García and Adolfo Meisel Roca, "La exclusión en los tiempos del auge: El caso de Cartagena", in *Economía & Región*, vol. 10, n.° 2, Cartagena, 2019, p. 23, available at: https://revistas.utb.edu.co/economiayregion/article/view/126 [accessed: January 28th, 2023].

However, in assessing the pre-eminence of the visitors' economy in terms of economic impact and city image, we must be careful about overstating such impacts: nowadays the city derives much more revenue from its functions as an industrial hub, regional trade node or second-tier administrative capital, with the port being Colombia's top container hub[118].

It should be highlighted that the gentrification processes have occurred in parallel to sprawl, *i.e.*, there are two spatial directions to note here: inwards towards the HC and outwards, taking up prime natural areas (figure 16). Two axes are clearly visible: north-south and west-east. The city has continued expanding along these two axes in the last thirty years, with some upscale developments far north from the urban built area. As for the elitist urban sprawl, it should be noticed that, since the 1990's, Cartagena's new Zona Norte, and other development projects further afield, reveal ever-expanding urbanism patterns with apparently no limits –some gated developments are 15 kms away from the built urban area–, an unsustainable urban sprawl.

[118] Camila Amador and Yanina Ariza, "El puerto marítimo de Cartagena y su importancia en el desarrollo económico de la región", Bachelor Thesis, Cartagena, Universidad San Buenaventura, 2018; Julio Arenas, *Aproximación a la Cartagena empresarial: un análisis coyuntural*, Cartagena, Comfenalco, 2009.

The case of La Boquilla neighbourhood is exemplary here. It is a traditional fishing community bordered by big estate developments for tourism over recent decades[119]. In this case, a two-step expelling process took place, as Ana Cañón writes:

> "The physical space of the 'boquilleros' became over-valued in a twofold process. At first, the territory split into two: the southern section with high-rise blocks of apartments and hotels, and the northern section inhabited by the community. But, more recently, social forces from the southern section have further exerted pressure, which has resulted in an over-valuation of the northern area. This has had a significant share of the population expelled or relocated to other neighbourhoods in the city"[120].

This marginalisation –and other similar ones which have taken place in Cartagena's peripheries– coincides with the UNESCO heritage marking the city as the 'romantic capital city' of the Americas[121]. Clearly, running these two processes –bordering of traditional communities and romantic marking– parallel to one another reinforces the discriminatory aspects of the city, and the narrative of the 'Two Cartagenas'.

At the end of this section, it is important to mention that the uncontrolled growth the city has experienced has led to difficulties in supplying the population (especially informal settlers) with basic infrastructure, health services and education[122]. However, it is partly understandable that the municipality has fallen chronically behind in its investments due to Cartagena's huge demographic boom over the last century: the city began the 20th century with some eighteen thousand inhabitants, then grew to about 130,000 by 1950, and to 800,000 in the 1990s, further expanding to some 950,000 by 2010 and recently hitting the million mark[123]. It is difficult to set up the necessary infrastructure and services for a population growing at this rate, even more so within the tight budgets of an emerging economy and under the spatial conditions and problems reported further above.

Implications, Conclusions and Further Research: Overcoming the Ever-Present Racial Gaze

This research has confirmed ever-present segregation and elitism in Cartagena from its very beginnings –as the Castilians sent off the Amerindians they found on the island of

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[119] María Porras and Kati Arnedo, *Entre la tradición y el progreso: modernización urbana en La Boquilla*, Bachelor Thesis, Colombia, Universidad de Cartagena, 2016.
[120] Cañón, *La segregación...*, *op. cit*., p. 4.
[121] César Velandia, Juan Ospina and Mirjana Ristic, "Cartagena de Indias, Colombia: heritage as a mediator between spatial, historical and social transformations of the Old City", in Mirjana Ristic and Sybille Frank, *Urban Heritage in Divided Cities: Contested Pasts*, London and New York, Routledge, 2019, pp. 162-172.
[122] Israel Cabeza-Morales, "Desequilibrios territoriales en Cartagena de Indias, análisis desde la distribución de los equipamientos", in *Perspectiva Geográfica*, vol. 19, n.° 1, Tunja, Colombia, 2014, pp. 145-164.
[123] Mario Aguilera and Adolfo Meisel, *¿La isla que se repite? Cartagena en el censo de población de 2005*, Cartagena, Banco de la República, 2009.

Calamari– and throughout its history up until today[124]. Therefore, the 'stamped' idea posited by Ibram Kendi is a good description of the particular case of Cartagena: a gaze or mentality shaped since the very first encounters between these two worlds –white Europeans and American Indians– which has lasted ever since, taking in Africans later on[125]. In taking this explanatory idea from a North American author, we would like to point to the need for a better connection between North American and Latin American race studies. It is true that each region has seen its own racial processes, but nonetheless there is common ground to be explored further: some of the problems that have emerged in recent decades are shared[126], so studies encompassing both regions would surely explore new ground and bring out new ideas.

While many scholars have equalled racial segregation to the one practised by the Whites, Cartagena's history demonstrates that this is a pattern produced and reproduced by all races in the city throughout its history: in the eighteenth century, the mixed raced became the city's middle class, developing colonial attitudes towards inferiors. Furthermore, from that era some upwards social mobility is reported, as some of the mixed raced made it to jobs usually reserved for whites[127]. Also, in that century, the mulattoes were able to become officials in the Spanish army –with historical reports about the tensions between them and the white officials–. Studying the 1777 census, Linda Greenow[128] found out that the spatial segregation was upheld but some clusters of residents or activities showed spatial mixtures, a finding which shows the begin of a trend toward more mixture in the city. As stated further above, the mixed raced were the main promoters of independence in 1811. Furthermore, Alexander Diz[129] asserts that, as tourism started in the city, the mixed raced house owners in the HC had no apprehensions about profiting from the valuation processes. Also, a number of mixed raced individuals took their chances in the industry as tourism took off. In La Boquilla, a case discussed at the end of the last section, the community have reacted to touristification pressures by creating tourism-oriented businesses in a shift revealing a capacity for adaptation[130]. Therefore, two conclusions must be drawn here: the racial gaze is not exclusive to the whites in the city since everyone else has practised it as well –as soon as they were in a position to do so–. Thus, horizontal segregation is to be reported here, alongside vertical segregation[131]. The other conclusion is that non-whites have not just been passive

[124] Espinosa, Ballestas and Utria, "Segregación residencial…", *op. cit.*
[125] Kendi, *Stamped from the beginning…*, *op. cit.*
[126] Wong, *Race, Ethnicity…*, *op. cit.*; Feagin, *Racist America…*, *op. cit.*
[127] Jorge Calderón and Hugues Sánchez, "La integración política de negros, mulatos, pardos y zambos al orden hispánico: los sitios de libres en el Nuevo Reino de Granada", in *Panorama Económico*, vol. 27, n.° 4, Cartagena, 2019, pp. 764-782.
[128] Linda Greenow, "Urban form in Spanish American colonial cities. Cartagena de Indias, New Granada, in 1777", in *Middle States Geographer*, vol. 40, 2007, pp. 47-56.
[129] Diz, "Turismo, modernidad...", *op. cit*., p. 35.
[130] Cañón, *La segregación...*, *op. cit*.
[131] Ramírez, "Movilidad residencial…", *op. cit.*

recipients of elitist (land) policies, as they have reacted or adapted to them, sometimes with considerable success. Thus, with a background of white discrimination, a picture emerges of interracial negotiations and tensions in which white supremacy does not always win. This is a possible research avenue for the future.

This expanded racial gaze touches the city's lands and environment in a very special way, becoming an 'exploitative gaze'. The territory is thus seen as an area to be looted or be taken freely –much as in the colonial era– by the interests of any social group, and both upscale sprawl and informal settlement expansion reflect this state of affairs, since expansion takes place inwardly (gentrification) and outwardly –upper end sprawl and informal settlements– in the city. In fact, residential areas for the upper classes are produced in parallel with an informal living space for the poor. Thus, the final vision is a space devoured by everyone, anywhere. Even if moral judgements must be nuanced in the case of the informal settlers, the truth is that, with this aggressive expansion pushed by everyone, it comes as no surprise that the city remains one of the most unequal cities in Colombia, and that the environmental degradation is a fact to contend with in today's Cartagena.

It is also interesting to notice that today's city's elites clearly reproduce past settlement patterns, therefore spatial segregation has always been visible in the city: in the colonial era, the whites lived inside a walls' enclosure which gave them safety. In the first decades of the twenty-first century, they opened up new neighbourhoods in undeveloped areas. Thus, today's sprawl in gated communities reflects both traits, making clear he parallels between yesteryear's urban patterns and these communities. Studies abound depicting certain details from these issues, but more theories and models are needed to explain them better and provide the overall picture.

This 'exploitative gaze' accounts for some value-catching processes in today's touristified city as well, particularly in the HC. As commented above, gentrification alone does not suffice to explain what has happened to Cartagena's HC, since 'juridization' must also be considered. It is the combined effect of these two forces that has turned the HC into what is today: a 'clean' space emptied of every memory. Ironically (or perhaps not), the legislators have worked for the speculators in the end.

The 'exploitative gaze' also accounts for today's banalization of the city walls and fortresses: these were built by enslaved workers or convicts, so they could be a remembrance element to all those who suffered slavery in Cartagena. Instead, the official discourses glorify their 'magnificence' and 'uniqueness'. The exploitative gaze monetizes these monuments to the detriment of the memories they represent, as they are primarily seen as economic assets rather than cultural or social assets.

These social tensions in the city help to explain the emergence of strong narratives and counter-narratives when new urban strategic developments or infrastructure are promoted. Such was the case with Cartagena's Convention Centre: in the 1970s, when local officials moved Getsemani's market to the city's eastern perimeter in order to build the Convention Centre on its site. Some greeted this as an improvement in hygiene and em-

ployment opportunities[132], while others saw it as a measure to dispossess the poorer, inner-city population[133]. Therefore, more dialogue between the various social and political groups is needed to look for consensual planning proposals that benefit all *cartageneros*.

Returning to the idea of a 'dialogue' from the preceding paragraph, we would like to finish this paper by underscoring the need for Cartagena's society to engage in large-scale dialogue as the only way to bring about sustainability and social fairness in the city, and overcome the racial gaze that has existed there for centuries. In this respect, some Latin American experiences in bottom-up planning, environmental justice, or inclusion[134] are hopeful and point to the possibility of a common future for all Cartagena's residents, so we advocate for their transfer and implementation in Cartagena.

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[132] José Rizo, *Historia del Centro de Convenciones de Cartagena. Gestación y nacimiento*, Cartagena, Tecnar, 2012.

[133] Fabián García, *Expansión urbana, prácticas de higiene y relaciones de poder en Cartagena: el caso del mercado de Getsemaní (1970-1978)*, Bachelor Thesis, Colombia, Universidad de Cartagena, 2010.

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