

WORLD HERITAGE AND COMMUNITY CHANGE:
THE CASE OF SANTA CRUZ DE MOMPOX, COLOMBIA

BY

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ABSTRACT

The inscription of sites as World Heritage is largely motivated by the need to protect, conserve, and communicate Outstanding Universal Value. This designation process has mainly been a top-down decision without considering how communities engage with their heritage and its local values and how these change in time. This thesis examines the relationships between a local community and their heritage in the remote and marginal city of Santa Cruz de Mompox (Mompox), Colombia, which was designated a World Heritage Site in 1995 as a colonial historical centre on the banks of the Magdalena River. Using a qualitative, participative methodology, this research explores the changes in the social fabric and spatial relationships that have unfolded in the town since its inscription on the World Heritage List. The study examines how the local communities – the *Momposinos* – have engaged and negotiated their heritage through the processes of development in social life and economic growth. The study reveals that the changes that have taken place in Mompox, including the development of tourism, have had little to do with World Heritage designation but rather have emerged in a slow evolutionary process and through wider networks. Indeed, the findings reveal a divergence between the heritage values embedded in the World Heritage designation and the heritage values that are practiced by the local communities. The communities displayed a lack of engagement with the meaning of World Heritage, but nonetheless valued functional aspects relating to it, along with their own sense of vernacular heritage including intangible elements. The thesis adds to the debates that continue to challenge the meaningfulness of community involvement in the World Heritage process, and the over-simplified arguments that see inscription on the World Heritage List as leading to a series of development impacts irrespective of wider issues of normative community development.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BIC	<i>Bien de Interés Cultural</i> – Cultural Interest Good (CIG)
CIG	Cultural Interest Groups
CONPES	<i>Consejo Nacional de Política Económica y Social</i> - National Council of Social and Economic Politics
HC	Historic Centre
ICOM	International Council on Monuments
ICONTEC	<i>Instituto Colombiano de Normas Técnicas y Certificación</i> - Colombian Institute of Technical Standards and Certification
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
MINCIT	<i>Ministerio de Comercio, Industria y Turismo</i> - Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Tourism
OUV	Outstanding Universal Value
PEMP	<i>Plan especial de manejo y protección</i> - Special management and protection plan
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WHC D/L/S	World Heritage Convention / Designation / List / Site

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION



*Figure 1. Padlock on a door in Mompox.
Source. Rueda, N. 2019.*

1.1. INTRODUCTION

Inscription as a World Heritage Site (WHS) entangles multiple issues regarding the effects and changes in heritage and in the social and cultural development of local communities, that have not always been considered. These effects have been analysed (Albert, Bandarin, & Pereira Roders, 2017; Dearborn & Stallmeyer, 2009; Kim, 2016; Millar, 2006; Park, 2014), but tend to ignore the voice of the locals, which has significance because *“true satisfaction for local people would depend more on their views of the changes rather than on the actual changes”* (Jimura, 2011, p. 288).

There is a limited understanding of the impacts of World Heritage designation in the short, middle or long term; which requires community surveying and interviewing, considering that in general terms, the plans and programmes in the WHS named by UNESCO only cover the community that lives in the heritage site and surrounding areas, not the local people from the municipality (Viñals & Morant, 2012).

Communities were usually sidelined during the process of inscription, nomination, designation and drawing up of heritage sites management plan, even though it is their heritage, their values and their town. The community is not aware of the benefits of World Heritage Status or motivated to achieve it unless there is a financial reason, but this is due to the lack of communication and confidence (Viñals & Morant, 2012). Their involvement can bring multiple benefits for the conservation and management of heritage, beginning with the sustainability of the site, creating trust and opportunities (Deegan, 2012; Sinamai, 2014). Sustainability is not part of the aims of the thesis, but is important to consider that in urban places there is a dichotomy between the preservation and conservation of the values of heritage and the development that responds to the changing societies (Nasser, 2003), even more in when the cities are the results of changes and continuity (Fouseki et al., 2019).

The involvement of local communities could also help the understanding and communication of heritage to others and could bring positive economic impacts on their lives. As Barney (1996) has argued it is the people who share in heritage, need it, and must work for it.

Because of these needs and benefits, the role of the community in the designation started to have importance after 2007, when it was added to the objectives of the implementation of the WH Convention, making the inclusion of the community mandatory in the WH process.

Cultural heritage as a concept has evolved from elements to processes and according to Smith (2006), it changes with activities, memories and realities that happen in the heritage places; it also changes depending on the cultural, social, political, or economic contexts of communities who construct and re-construct it (González-Varas, 2015; Harvey, 2001; Lowenthal, 2009; Smith, 2006;). It acquires a cultural meaning only when the community gives value beyond the materiality of the cultural elements (Castellanos, 2010).

According to González-Varas (2015) the meaning of heritage is no longer the homogeneous and unique legacy of a nation. Rather, each community defines its own cultural heritage as part of the process of identity affirmation (González-Varas, 2015). In this context, multiple identities are created, to some extent, by different scales in the relationship between heritage and individuals, and these scales need negotiation, which does not always happen.

This is how heritage is at the same time interwoven with identity and sense of place from local to a national level, besides being a historical marker and a resource for economic and social development, mainly through tourism (see for instance: Ashworth, Graham & Tunbridge, 2007; Ashworth, 1994; González-Varas, 2015; Harvey, 2001; Lowenthal, 2009 & 2015). Today heritage has three different objectives according to Larkham (1995): preservation, conservation and exploitation; achieving all three is, however, a challenge.

Host nation-states have established processes to value and prioritise those heritage elements that require protection and recognition, depending on the level of importance of heritage. At a global level, the World Heritage Convention established in 1972 by UNESCO seeks to prioritise the protection of heritage through the recognition of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) (UNESCO, 1972), but it was not until 2003 when intangible heritage was given recognition, correcting the emphasis given to the material elements in the past, at the expense of ignoring the importance of the immaterial heritage of the communities (Park,

2014). After 2003 and despite these developments, the intangible heritage that is interwoven with the tangible elements in WH designations, is not protected or cared for (Dearborn & Stallmeyer, 2009; S. Kim, 2016), leaving a gap in the management plans, and in the appropriation process of this heritage by the community.

The original intention of inscription of heritage sites as WH was the need to protect sites. However, as Leask (2006) points out, motivation for UNESCO designation also relates to ambitions to stimulate economic development through tourism and to promote local, regional, and national interests on a global scale, besides the prestige and recognition earned. As a result, the mechanisms for nominating sites for World Heritage at the national level, along with the process of designation has been characterised as a ‘top-down’ driven process, taking little account of community voices (Leask, 2006; Millar, 2006; Rössler, 2012; Viñals & Morant, 2012), which raises the question of who is the WH for.

Some issues and limitations of WH Designations have been analysed (Leask, 2006; Millar, 2006; Park, 2014; Viñals & Morant, 2012), but these studies have been limited to some extent to the tourism created in the destinations (Jimura, 2011). Other positive and negative effects encountered in WH sites have been identified: economic development, investments in infrastructure, conservation of heritage, creation of jobs, accessibility of places, but also the creation of social and economic limits, distortion of the local values, changes in the lifestyle of communities, and movement of people (Comer, 2014; González-Varas, 2015; Millar, 2006; Sinamai, 2014).

Rössler (2012, p. 30) defends the idea that *“World Heritage is not only the success story of heritage conservation efforts on a global scale, it is also a success story of local people and communities who make this global heritage possible”*. Deegan (2012) complements this idea arguing that it is local communities who are responsible for the future of their WHS and need to be empowered to conserve it and manage it properly, because as Droste (2012) explains, WH should bring wellness to the local community where it is located.

This research examines the role of the community in a WHS and how they have negotiated living in the site since the designation in 1995. The case study is Santa Cruz de Mompox (also called Mompox), an isolated and marginal town with a colonial Historic Centre (HC), where it was also possible to analyse the effects of the designation on marginal places; understanding that peripheral destinations tend to have different characteristics from core destinations, with limited accessibility and contrasting economic and social development (Botterill et al., 2000).

Tourism is proposed as an option because it can develop easily in these peripheral places since it is considered as a *“low skill industry with low entry levels that can easily provide alternative employment for those who have lost jobs in other sectors”* (Hall, 2007 p. 24). This is an acknowledgment that tourism can improve the quality of life of the community, bring in investment and reduce social differences (Saarinen, 2007). Besides this, isolated places have a special appeal in that they seem unique and authentic for tourism (Brown & Hall, 1999b). Nonetheless, for Hall (2007) tourism creates a high expectation in communities and governments of the benefits it can bring, even if these expectations are not always fulfilled. These expectations come with the WH Designation; development and tourism are two reasons why states seek this designation (Leask, 2006; Park, 2014).

Santa Cruz de Mompox is a colonial historic centre; the heritage from the colonial times is the one built by the colonizers in the territory of the colony for political, economic, or religious use. This heritage speaks of the construction and negotiation of identities (Niell, 2015), and represents the legacies and ideologies left because of the social, cultural, political and economic changes in a community (Cheer & Reeves, 2015), mainly representing the colonizer's culture, considering the culture of the colonized little advanced, pagan and insignificant. The colonial heritage, after the independence wars or after the liberation period, represents a period of oppression for the former colonies, and therefore is in many instances destroyed and under-valued. Nonetheless, in Latin America, especially in Colombia this heritage was not destroyed entirely. Some buildings were demolished and rebuilt, and new elements were introduced to the ones left, giving a new image to the constructions

inside and in the facades (Barney, 1996). In Colombia, this architecture is called “republican architecture”, born in the “republican period” (Téllez, 1995b). Even if the issues around the discussions on colonial heritage and the indigenous past is an important subject in Mompox, this is not the focus of the present thesis and remains to be considered in future research.

In this first chapter, the rationale for this research will be explained. Then, the research aims and objectives will be stated, followed by a brief explanation of the methodology used in the research and an outline of the basic context of Santa Cruz de Mompox is provided. This introduction ends with a description of the structure of the thesis.

1.2. RATIONALE OF THIS STUDY

Mompox is a town with bumpy streets, uneven sidewalks, irregular houses, diverse windows and exceptional peacefulness. History has left it with an authentic, original and well-preserved historical centre with six churches, beautiful houses and public buildings that ensemble altogether; but that was forgotten in the middle of the country. It is a small municipality, growing day by day, where the uneven social conditions are evident and strong contrasts can be seen in the streets and in people’s speech.

The first impression of this small town in the trip I made with my family one year before starting my Ph.D. was a Historic Centre perfect for a family picture with a beautiful colonial landscape or the quiet Magdalena River behind. A supermarket was nowhere to be seen and the pineapples sold in the Albarrada next to the “*Comedor Costeño*” Restaurant was a perfect match for breakfast. The fried fish with *patacones* (green fried plantain) or the layer cheese that is unwound as it is eaten and the lemon sweets, filled the trip with incredible flavours. But how is it that a place so far away from everything, with minimal tourism development and that was just starting to be known as a destination was designated a WHS so long ago?

Although this was not my first option when I started my Ph.D. in Cultural Heritage, it became a perfect town to understand how a community relates to their heritage and the role of the WH Designation in their lives. Even if getting there was not an easy task, the multiple heritage

discussions and issues around WH Designation that could be applied in this isolated community become evident.

The WH Designation has the objective to protect and preserve heritage with Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) for future generations. In 1972 UNESCO stated that the international community should "ensure(ing) the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage" (UNESCO, 1972). However, motivation for UNESCO designation does not cover only the protection of heritage, but also relates to government ambitions to stimulate economic development through tourism and to promote local, regional, and national interests on a global scale, besides the prestige and recognition earned (Leask, 2006). The strategic objectives that were added in 2002 to the WH designation are: Credibility, Conservation, Capacity-building, Communication and Community –the last one being added in 2007 –, shows the evolution of the process and the growing concern of UNESCO for the social and economic development of the local people in the World Heritage Sites (WHS). However, it also shows the lack of significance of communities in the designation before 2007, even if they were in the background.

The consciousness of the importance of the role of the local community in the WH process was belated, and the designations are made *"without any consideration as to whether local people and local infrastructure has the capacity to respond effectively to the demands"* (Millar, 2006, p. 39), making the negative effects of designation and tourism hit hardest on its communities. These negative effects include acculturation, destruction of heritage, disregard and distortion of local values, mass tourism, gentrification, changes in lifestyle, creation of social limits and economic differences in society (González-Varas Ibáñez, 2015; Millar, 2006; Sinamai, 2014).

However, the perspective of the community on the process of the nomination and designation, as well as in the management of the sites, is not always taken into account. There is a gap in understanding the role of local community in heritage process. Moreover, local people's points of view of the effects of the designation over their territory, their

heritage and lifestyle, have not been subjected to in-depth research (Jimura, 2011). Such studies that do exist *“have tended to focus more on the actual and tangible changes in local communities since WHS designation rather than on the local communities' views of the changes”* (Jimura, 2011, p. 288).

Besides, the analysis of the designation on isolated communities have been minimal, whilst acknowledging that these territories have different characteristics and that their social evolution has been different, as well as the possible positive or negative effects that the WH Designation can have over their territories, lifestyle and heritage. Tourism has been examined in remote communities, but as Müller & Jansson (2007) argue the knowledge of tourism in peripheral areas is limited due to the physical, social, economic and political differences existing in these destinations. This is because most of the time the studies have been about specific isolated case studies and have not used a coordinated approach to explore the wider issues, as this research aims to do.

1.3. RESEARCH AIM AND OBJECTIVES

Santa Cruz de Mompox is a town in the northern part of Colombia in the South of the Bolivar department. It had great importance and development between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries when, thanks to commerce, smuggling, transportation and the training of boaters or rowers, it entered its golden age (Peñas & Arquez Van-Strahlen, 1994). Although, at the end of nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth, the importance of Mompox fell, leaving it as a peripheral capital, it was bequeathed with an authentic and integral Historic Centre worthy of a WH Designation in 1995. Furthermore, in understanding how locals see heritage, WH and what they consider to be part of their identity as *momponsinos* (the community's term for themselves), it is important to comprehend the role of the UNESCO Designation in their daily lives, their culture and their social relations, in the specific time frame elapsed since the designation. This led to the research question: What are the changes that have taken place in Mompox and its community since the Designation as a World Heritage Site in 1995?

My research aims to examine the effects that the World Heritage designation of Mompox has had upon its communities. Given that the city has held the World Heritage appellation for more than twenty years, the case will provide scope for understanding community – heritage relations in an isolated community within a meaningful time-frame, and within this the notion and understanding of World Heritage. Besides, it studies the wider heritage landscape and what aspects of the preserved past in Mompox are the most meaningful for its residents. To achieve this overall aim, four objectives were established:

- To understand the context for World Heritage designation at national and local level and to assess levels of community engagement;
- To analyse how WH designation has affected Mompox's communities in terms of social and economic relations;
- To contextualise change or stasis in the wider frame of the period between World Heritage designation and the present;
- To understand the effects of World Heritage status on the spatial Development of Mompox, and on its community.

This analysis followed two main approaches: the changes in the form and function of the historic centre as part of the evolution of town, and the how the communities of Mompox have interacted with their heritage. For this, first, the understanding of the history and development of the town is needed, along with the comprehension of how heritage has been protected and cared for from the different levels – local, regional, national, and supra-national. It is then possible to analyse the changes since the designation socially and economically and to understand how Mompox's spatial development has been transformed in this specific period of time: since 1995. Within these changes, how the community feels about their heritage and the designation is studied to understand the heritage – community relations that exist in Mompox as a WHS.

1.4. OVERALL RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research seeks to understand the effects of the WH Designation from the point of view of the community, therefore in the development of the study shifting and multiple

perspectives of locals were analysed. A qualitative approach was selected with an inductive and participative method, based on the WHS of Santa Cruz de Mompox and its community as a case study, which allows the researcher to interpret the reality around the subject/object (Cerdeña, 2013). Along with this research method, the constructivist approach was chosen, which takes into account multiple views in line with the idea of heritage as a social construction, including the experiences, values and behaviours of the community. Besides, constructivism has an interpretative approach, which allows us to understand and interpret the relations between the local people and between the local people and their heritage. Within interpretivism methodology lies the phenomenological approach, which focuses on the perception of experiences and realities (Hawkesworth, 2006).

To fulfil these objectives, the methods for data collection were varied and tried to cover multiple groups of the community including: in-depth, non-structured interviews, focus groups, participative workshops, social cartography, as well as observation inside and outside of the WHS. This enabled the analysis of different perspectives about the effects of the inscription on local life, but also to analyse and understand the unique relationship between the people and their heritage.

The methodology of the research is presented in Chapter four, where the five phases of the data collection and fieldwork are explained, as well as the way the different methods were applied and the different participants in each one during the three field trips to Mompox. Due to the participative nature of this research, multiple groups of the community were included, and people from the local, departmental and national level were included due to their past or present importance in the development of Mompox, taking into account the map of actors and stakeholders constructed prior to the fieldwork.

1.5. THE CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

Santa Cruz de Mompox has an architecturally significant Historic Centre (HC) dating from the colonial period. This has been protected by legislation since 1959 when the first declaration of National Monuments gave the town its designation along with 14 other HC in Colombia.

The main importance of the town since the moment of its foundation in 1537-1540 was because it held a strategic position as a fluvial node for the riverine transportation between Cartagena (port) and Santafe (centre of the country). Nonetheless, this importance was lost at the end of the nineteenth century.

During the XVI century, its importance was due to the trade route using the Magdalena river, trade that was carried out by the *bogas* (rowers) and the construction of canoes and *champanes* (light boats) (Peñas & Arquez Van-Satrahlen, 1994). In the seventeenth and eighteenth century, Mompox was important for the transportation of merchandise from and to the centre of the country, the transportation of gold from the mines in Antioquia (near Mompox), and smuggling from Riohacha (North-east of the country). This importance was reflected in the construction in Mompox of public and military buildings and churches from different religious communities during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Salzedo, 1987). At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Mompox was an economic capital, and an educational and cultural axis (Peñas & Arquez Van-Satrahlen, 1994).

During 1840 the Magdalena river started to change its course and the arm of the Mompox river diminished. This event caused the loss of the importance of Mompox as an economic axis, because it lost its strategic position in the river. Gradually, the economy was limited to agriculture, cattle rearing, goldsmithing, blacksmithing and pottery and ceramic building material manufacture (Peñas & Arquez Van-Satrahlen, 1994). During the twentieth century, the cemetery was constructed, which became a historic landmark for the city (Alcaldía de Mompox, 2012). Since the end of the nineteenth century, Mompox became an isolated and peripheral town in the Bolivar department.

The importance of the town during the colonial and republican periods and the lack of development that came afterwards left a well-preserved Historic Centre declared in 1995 as a WHS by UNESCO, due to the authenticity and the integrity of the complex composed by street patterns and the surviving earlier buildings (UNESCO, n.d.). The WHS of Mompox meets UNESCO's criteria numbers four and five:

“Criterion (iv): The Historic Centre of Santa Cruz de Mompox forms an integral part of the processes of colonial penetration and dominion during the Spanish conquest and the growth of communications and commerce during the 17th to early 19th centuries.

Criterion (v): The special circumstances of the development of the town, which grew freely and longitudinally following the sinuous path of a road roughly parallel to the river, have given it a special quality with few parallels in the region of northern South America. The subsequent economic decline and the remarkable state of preservation that resulted confers a further dimension on this quality, making it the region’s most outstanding surviving example of this type of riverine urban settlement.” (UNESCO, n.d.).

In 2017, it was certified as a “sustainable touristic destination” by ICONTEC (Colombian Institute of Technical Standards and Certification- Instituto Colombiano de Normas Técnicas y Certificación) and the Ministry of Commerce, Industry, and Tourism (*Ministerio de Comercio, Industria y Turismo* [MINCIT]). In 2017, the National Government gave to Mompox the title of Touristic, Cultural and Historic Special District (*Distrito Especial, Turístico, Cultural e Histórico*) under Law 1875 of 2017. Nonetheless, the numerous titles do not reflect the social and economic development of town, because, even if it has had amelioration in infrastructure and quality of life in the past few years, it is still a town with no resources, high social needs and few options for development.

The historic centre is representative of the riverine urban settlement of the Spanish colonial period (UNESCO, n.d.), mixed with the natural environment which makes Mompox a touristic destination in Colombia (Alcaldía de Mompox, 2012), promoted nationally and internationally because of the HC, arts and crafts like the filigree and woodworks, along with its gastronomy, and the two most important events – for tourism -: Holy Week and the Jazz Festival.

However, Mompox is far from being a sustainable destination or, even more, a competitive touristic destination, because of the economically hard social conditions of its community,

consequence of the crisis lived for so many years and the lack of opportunities in the municipality, also the lack of management strategies to involve the local community as a whole. Tourism is seasonal, which means that in certain periods of the year (Holy Week and during the Jazz Festival) the city is full of visitors and the touristic infrastructure is not enough to welcome everyone; but at other times the town owes its economic survival to other activities. This also means that employment in touristic enterprises is seasonal, as are the activities that depend on tourism such as handicrafts.

1.6. STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

This thesis is organized in seven chapters, starting with the present introduction where the significance of the research is stated and a basic context of Mompox is given, as well as the rationale and the overall research methodology.

Chapter two, the literature review, establishes the interrelation between heritage – World Heritage, community and tourism. This chapter starts with the shifting meanings of cultural heritage and how its definition has developed over time from objects to process, as well as the debate relating to issues such as value, authorised heritage discourse and co-production. Afterwards, the WH progression will be explained, along with a brief overview of the effects and expectations around the title, also involving the role of the community during the designation and in the management of the heritage sites. Last, I explore how tourism is triggered by the WH Designation, along with its effects and the analysis of peripherality and isolation in general and in other touristic destinations.

The context of Santa Cruz de Mompox is explained in Chapter Three, including the geographical aspects, important to understand its present isolation. It examines the wider historical background of the town as a product of Spanish colonialism and the subsequent development due to the country's independence and the ensuing republican period. Social and economic development is analysed and the ways in which the communities of Mompox are structured and how the WH status was born. Besides this, in order to understand the

designation and protection of heritage, an overview of the national and local legislation is made, as well as the difficulties of historical centres in general in Colombia.

Research methodology is explained in Chapter four starting with the description of the Epistemological Approach & Theoretical Paradigms used to view the reality studied in Mompox. This is followed by the research method and fieldwork and data collection methods, where the interviews were carried out, the workshops and the observation will be shown. I then discuss how the data were analysed, the ethical implications, the researcher's position in relation to the research and the methodological limitations encountered.

Information analysis was divided into two chapters. Chapter five analyses the changes in the form and function of the historical centre as part of the evolution of the town, studying the Outstanding Universal Value (OUV), the peripherality (buffer-zone) issues, as well as the conservation and importance of the historical centre for the local people. This latter aspect examines differences in traditional use of heritage places, the creation of social limits because of the designation, the process of displacement of local people and gentrification phenomenon in the historical centre.

Chapter six explains the ways in which the communities of Mompox have interacted with their heritage and demonstrates how the WH Designation has shaped their lives creating changes in the daily movement of town. The recognition of tangible heritage and its indivisibility with intangible heritage for the local community will be explained, as well as the issues over the patrimonialization of their houses and the expectations they have of the WH title from now on.

Lastly, Chapter seven, will draw the final conclusions of the thesis and will answer the main research question along with the objectives of the thesis. It explains the role of WH Designation in the preservation of heritage sites in peripheral and isolated destinations such as Mompox, followed by the analysis of the effects it can have over the social tissue of a community, their cultural elements, and the economic development of town. The primacy of intangible heritage and the complementarity between tangible and intangible heritage for

locals is also explored. Finally, the meaning of the concept of WH is analysed through the lenses of the community. The theoretical contribution of this study is entangled in this chapter and it ends with the limitations encountered and the future research opportunities.

CHAPTER II

INTERRELATION BETWEEN HERITAGE – WORLD
HERITAGE, COMMUNITY AND TOURISM:
A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE



*Figure 2. Lamp post in Santa Barbara Plaza in Mompox.
Source. Rueda, R. 2017.*

2.1. INTRODUCTION

As the overall aim of the research is to examine the effects of the World Heritage designation upon a marginal and isolated city, it is important to review the entangled relationships between communities and their heritage with special reference to the issues relating to World Heritage designation. The research will be framed in the wider context of cultural heritage, therefore, first it discusses its shifting meaning, characteristics, categories and values. In addition, World Heritage will be conceptualized and a brief overview of its evolution and process will be made, along with its close relation to tourism as how heritage and WH can be seen and used as a resource or attraction and the impacts related to the phenomenon.

The meanings of the concept of community will be explored, identifying key characteristics relevant to understanding the relations shared with heritage and World Heritage. Additionally, it focuses on the relationships that emerge between WHS and local communities, and their implications and role on the listing, designation and management process. Besides this chapter explores the issues relating to community engagement with the multiple layers of heritage, acknowledging that this engagement varies according to social, cultural and political contexts (Crooke, 2010).

When problematizing the role of communities on heritage and WH Sites, the role of heritage in the construction of community identities emphasised in the context of World Heritage is studied, and the ways heritage is implicated in notions of sense of place and identity in a community. Additionally, the issues around the urban heritage and WH cities are explored to understand the pressures that exist in this context, as well as the characteristics of isolated and peripheral heritage places where tourism is triggered by the WH Designation, taking into account the distortions and disruptions in local community identities. Last, an overview of the many positive and negative effects of the WH Designation is made, to understand the great extent and the implications of this designation.

2.2. SHIFTING MEANING OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

History, memory, heritage, objects, traditions, different elements, are used to understand the past of a community. It includes things that can be big, beautiful or that represent admirable facts, but also negative or imperfect. This past is reviewed with today's perspectives of reality and constructed through it; always transforming (Lowenthal, 2015).

As Blake (2000) argues there is a lack of established criteria or a settled meaning to define what cultural heritage is; there are as many definitions as practitioners in heritage studies (Harvey, 2001), and it is understood as an open concept in constant re-definition (González-Varas, 2015, p. 22). For Harrison, this term is difficult to conceptualize because it can be applied to a great number of categories and objects: *“from large to small, grandiose to humble, natural to constructed”* (Harrison, 2013, p. 5) in any spatial, temporal or institutional scopes and of a great context in modern society (Harrison, 2013). It is also complicated because scientific, economic, identity, religious, political, ideological and emotional elements converge to create the concept of heritage (González-Varas, 2015).

The meaning of heritage depends on history, culture, community or country. Nevertheless for Lowenthal (2009) even if it has existed for years, *“only in our time has heritage become a self – conscious creed, whose shrines and icons daily multiply and whose praise suffuse public discourse”* (p. 1).

Heritage can be defined as *“the part of the past that we select in the present for contemporary purposes whether these be economical or cultural (...) and choose to bequeath to a future, whatever posterity may choose to do with it”* (Ashworth, Graham, & Tunbridge, 2007, p. 35). Therefore, heritage brings the events, activities, places, objects, landscapes, and people from the past into the present and is reproduced as an inheritance for future generations (Palmer & Tivers, 2019). For Smith (2006) heritage is not an object or a site by itself, but is emotions, meanings, communicative acts of receiving and passing to other generations, memories and knowledge about those heritage objects/sites. They are

considered narratives that enable an individual to connect to his predecessors, who are unknown, but allow them to be part of his past and his culture (Di Giovine, 2009).

Smith (2006) sees it as a cultural and social process; for Lowenthal (2015) heritage is always transformed and Harvey (2001) adds that is a process that responds to people's experiences according to their concerns in a specific period of time; for Castellanos (2010), it only acquires cultural meaning when the community gives value beyond the material object. But this value can be based on the historical, artistic and cultural attributes from a concluded past or it can be lived emotionally today in the present. In fact, the value of heritage does not depend on the cultural good itself, but on the recognition by the community; therefore the construction of heritage has two elements: the objects and the values given to them (González-Varas, 2015).

The discourse of heritage was marked by principles such as materiality, sense of aesthetic and hierarchy (Smith, 2006), disconnected from its values and meaning. Since the nineteenth century, it was marked by the monumentality, elitist determinations, exclusion and disposed with top-down decisions representing local, regional and national values. Nonetheless, this notion was reconsidered and enlarged to incorporate and integrate a bigger number of human manifestations (González-Varas, 2015). For Chitty (2018) the cultural heritage practice in the twenty first century is centred in the human recognition with characteristics such as *"locally led, active participation and social relevance"* (Chitty, 2018, p. 2).

The construction of heritage has inconsistencies, its meaning and the way it is used today is moulded to a certain set of values, handled by certain people to represent specific values or events previously chosen and is to be used as an economic resource. Lowenthal (2009), points out five objections to the concept and representation of heritage today: first, heritage helps the creation of nationalist values, it enhances them in excess; second, it belongs to elite classes, they decide what and how to expose to the public. Third, it changes the past – unconsciously or on purpose – by upgrading and improving people and facts, and by excluding bad or unpleasant things, or by upgrading the past to suit the present. Fourth, it

gives a price to what it is conceived as sacred, it has become an enterprise, made to entertain, erasing history from it; and last but not least, its meaning is incoherent.

Other important discussions found in the literature are the effects and impacts created not only in the sites, but also in the values around them and in the communities they belong to. Some of the concerns that have been studied by the academic community are: the commodification of heritage (von Droste, 2012), economical exploitation/use, competition with other touristic activities, commercialization of values (Harvey, 2001), conflict of interests and the link between heritage, identity, and place (Ashworth et al., 2007), where *“real life communities are not only misrecognised but misrepresentations of identity become institutionalised In the heritage process”* (Waterton & Smith, 2010, p. 20).

Heritage has been used also as a tool for social and inclusive economic development and transformation for sustainable development: *“it has the potential to attract investments and employment in a variety of sectors such as the arts, crafts and tourism industry, conservation and food production, and traditional healing and pharmacopoeia”* (Asante, 2015, p. 286). In fact, the involvement of community will ensure the sustainability of the heritage site and the development in a long term (Alatalu, 2012; Galla, 2012a, 2012c, 2012b; Inniss, 2012), including sustainable development as a principle for heritage management (Albert, Bandarin, & Pereira Roders, 2017). Here is important to acknowledge culture as a tool for sustainable development (Auclair & Fairclough, 2015), as well as heritage as a cultural construction (Auclair & Fairclough, 2015); since culture has been recognized as the fourth paradigm – economic, social, environmental and cultural – but also *“as a condition or driver of sustainable development, a bridge and a mediator between the three other dimensions”* (Erlewein, 2017, p. 89). Even if sustainability is not the focus of this research, is important to acknowledge the importance of this concept in cities, where it tries to balance the needs of the population, as well as the conservation of the *“natural, built and cultural environments”* (Rodwell, 2008, p. 132)

In order to be sustainable, the planning of heritage needs the involvement of all the stakeholders, taking into account the characteristics of the urban and natural environment.

According to Nasser, there are four objectives to have a sustainable discourse in tourism, conservation and planning of urban places: *“(1) the need for long-term planning, (2) the need to protect the cultural heritage as a natural resource that if overexploited will be degraded, (3) the acceptance of change and development to ensure continuity, and (4) the need to consider equitable access to heritage resources by the local community and visitors”* (Nasser, 2003, p. 477). For Larkham, three aspects need to be taken into account in the planning process: preservation, conservation and exploitation. Preservation entails maintaining its unchanged form; conservation involves restoration to make it usable, and exploitation sees the value of heritage for its development, many times with tourism; the planning process is always made with economic motivations (Larkham, 1995). In this process is important to engage communities and strengthen their ability to participate, helping the access to new audiences and enhance the relevance and effectiveness of their participation (Wijesuriya et al., 2018) However, in this exploitation aspect, there can be obstacles in the development, because of *“leaks in the multiplier process”* (Grefe, 2004, p. 307). Also, the development of tourism in heritage places can also bring speculation in the prices of the land because *“the desire to earn more money will only increase with the possibility of developing tourism in the area and some inhabitants are bound to be more interested in earning short-term gains from speculation rather than in the long-term development of their town”* (Grefe, 2004, p. 309).

Cultural heritage has different categories to help its classification. There are also labels added to heritage depending on the level of importance: local, departmental, global. A category of heritage that is recognized by governments is the World Heritage created by UNESCO in 1972; it was established to protect heritage with an OUV from destruction or disintegration in time (UNESCO, 1972). This label entangles multiple questions regarding the transformation, changes and impacts in heritage and in local communities that have not always been taken into account – and will be explained in the next subheading – even if in a WHS global, national and local values are intertwined (Lindström, 2019). These points have been addressed because of the importance in the conception of heritage, the impacts on the local communities and the anticipation of heritage in future generations.

2.3. WORLD HERITAGE: HISTORY, PROCESS AND EVOLUTION

UNESCO stated in 1972 during *The Convention concerning the protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* that the international community should "*ensure(ing) the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage*" (UNESCO, 1972); and in 1978 began the designation of cultural heritage as World Heritage Sites (WHS). This process has reinforced the idea of a heritage that can transcend frontiers, to be admired, supervised and enjoyed by humanity (González-Varas, 2015). For Cleere (2006, p. xxi) the beginning of the convention was "*marked by a great deal of enthusiasm but a lack of coherent policy-making*", which evidenced the dilemmas, questions and issues found today in multiple WHS.

The meaning of heritage stated by UNESCO in the beginning was marked by principles such as beauty, materialization, monumentality and artistic values; this limited view of heritage did not take into account the natural context, the social and cultural relations coexisting with heritage, and excluded local population diverse interests (Smith, 2006). In response to this limited view, UNESCO made a bigger categorization of heritage: tangible cultural heritage; intangible cultural heritage; natural heritage; mixed cultural and natural heritage and cultural landscapes (UNESCO, 1972, 2003, 2016). The values attached and the intangible heritage were recently accepted– and a broader view of heritage was accepted, validating also the differences between cultures.

Even if intangible heritage was recognized by UNESCO in 2003, there has been an "*emphasis on physical and material heritage rather than intangible and immaterial heritage (...) in the practice of heritage protection and conservation*" (Park, 2014, p. 204), and on many occasions, this could lead to an undervaluation of intangible heritage even if it is important for the history and culture of places. Its conservation and preservation are harder in many ways, according to Kim (2016) "*these intangible elements are more sensitive to change, more vulnerable to time and more difficult to transmit than physical environments, so careful concern for management is required*" (p. 13).

The acceptance of this heritage can lead to a better understanding of the diverse values and symbolic meanings of tangible heritage due to its interdependence (Park, 2014). Nonetheless, on many occasions, where the tangible heritage is designated a WHS, this intangible heritage that is interwoven with the tangible elements is unrecognized and not safeguarded by regulations or norms (Dearborn & Stallmeyer, 2009) and the designation only affects tangible heritage (Kim, 2016).

The tangible cultural heritage is considered as follows (UNESCO, 2016, p. 10):

“Monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of Outstanding Universal Value from the point of view of history, art or science.

Groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, due to their architecture, homogeneity or place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science.

Sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological points of view.”

The system created for the designation process is the *inscription*, which includes six steps: tentative list, nomination document and management plan preparation by state parties, nomination submission to UNESCO World Heritage Centre, evaluation of nomination, World Heritage Committee (rejected, deferred or included), WHS inscription on WH list (Leask, 2006). The two advisory bodies that help UNESCO are: for cultural heritage the ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments), and for natural heritage the IUCN (International Union for Conservation of Nature); they “*evaluate properties nominated for inscription on the World Heritage List*” (UNESCO, 2016).

According to Leask (2006), this process is politicized because is the central government who nominates the sites to UNESCO, following the political power, making it a very subjective procedure with top-down decision making where local communities *“have endured a less than equal footing from which to make claims about their past, their heritage and their self image”* (Waterton & Smith, 2010, p. 21). Besides, it has been *“criticized for its complexity, political bias and expense”* (Leask, 2006, p. 15), and because the process is done, *“without any consideration as to whether local people and local infrastructure has the capacity to respond effectively to the demands”* (Millar, 2006, p. 39). This is why, according to Comer (2014), it is important to ensure the management capacity of the site before the tourism increases or, better, prior to the nomination.

To be in the World Heritage List, heritage needs to demonstrate Outstanding Universal Value, understood as *“cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity”* (UNESCO, 2016, p. 11). This OUV is the centre of the WH Convention by acknowledging that there are sites around the world worth value by people around the world, having an objective analysis of the intrinsic value (Labadi, 2012).

To have this universal value, the WHS, must prove one of the ten criteria¹, and must have the conditions of integrity and/or authenticity (UNESCO, 2016), even if the notion of

¹ The ten criteria listed by the UNESCO are:

- i. “represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;
- ii. exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;
- iii. bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;
- iv. be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;
- v. be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;
- vi. be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria);
- vii. contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance;
- viii. be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features;
- ix. be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals;

authenticity is *“neither defined nor mentioned in the text of the Convention”* (Khalaf, 2020, p. 244). The conditions of integrity and authenticity may be challenging in the urban heritage because: *“in seeking to conserve an ever changing city, authenticity cannot just rest on the integrity of individual buildings and monuments”* (Pendlebury et al., 2009, p. 352). The sites are authentic when they are *“the closer (...) to its original form, design, workmanship and material, the more authentic it will be”* (Labadi, 2012, p. 20); the later changes also makes part of the historical stratification, although they tend to be discounted and undervalued (Labadi, 2012). The Authenticity has to be evident only for tangible cultural heritage in one of four attributes: *“design, materials, workmanship and setting”* (UNESCO, 1977, p. 3), but not in the intangible cultural heritage nor for natural heritage, which can be considered as artificial barriers and dichotomies (Khalaf, 2020). Nonetheless, according to Khalaf (2020) in the practice, authenticity it’s been replaced by the notion of continuity, arguing that many properties in the WHL were inscribed *“because their values and attributes continue to exist”* (Khalaf, 2020, p. 248). The attribute of continuity will allow *“treating heritage as one integrated whole (...) for the recognition of a more holistic range of values and interlinkages”* (Khalaf, 2020, p. 249).

Besides, when analysing the OUV, at the beginning it was not clear how it should be defined and verified on the different cases (Schmutz & Elliott, 2017), nonetheless, *“the World Heritage Convention explicitly aims to establish a common World Heritage across distinctive places, times, and cultures by formally identifying places with OUV”* (Schmutz & Elliott, 2017, p. 155).

For Blake (2000, p. 69), universal heritage brings the notion of *“common heritage of mankind”* which is one of the ideologies of WH. In the beginning this OUV was determined from a European view and tended to be exclusionary (Labadi, 2012). These criteria of universal values have been greatly discussed because it tends to cover the specific and diverse local values and meanings (Witcomb, 2012), excluding the local population’s

x. contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of Outstanding Universal Value from the point of view of science or conservation.” (UNESCO, 2016, pp. 17-18).

interests through adaptation to the outstanding universal value (Albert, 2012). This designation deterritorializes and globalizes heritage through this universal value and appears to belong to humanity, transforming it into a universal icon (González-Varas, 2015). Besides, as Albert (2012) argues, 60% of WHS belongs to industrialized countries, which does not represent the globe equally nor the diverse values of different countries, evidencing the uniformity and set of universal criteria in the conditions evaluated. Nowadays WH is seen as a relative value: *“Human beings can, first of all, relate to and use common principles and theories in their implementation of universalist frameworks, even though these may not have originated from their own”* (Labadi, 2012, p. 24)

UNESCO is trying to overcome these restraints in recent years, creating numerous strategies: in 2002 in the Budapest Declaration four objectives were created, the first was *“credibility of the World Heritage List”* (UNESCO, 2002), seeking a *“representative, balanced and credible WHL”* (UNESCO, 2016, p. 12). The other three objectives are conservation, communication, and capacity-building (UNESCO, 2002); and in 2007 in New Zealand, a fifth C was added: community (UNESCO, 2007). This was to make the concept more inclusive and open to the local population in every WHS. Besides, in the implementation of the WH system, it had been reinterpreted and translated to different cultures trying to associate it with new meanings and frames of references (Labadi, 2012).

In 2005, sustainability was named for the first time in the operational guidelines (Rössler, 2012) and in 2015 the Convention adopted the *Policy on the integration of a sustainable development perspective into the processes of the World Heritage Convention*. Considering heritage as a contributor of *“sustainable development and the wellbeing of people”*, understanding sustainability in this context as development encompassing all three dimensions established by the United Nations: *“environmental sustainability, inclusive social development, and inclusive economic development, as well as the fostering of peace and security”* (UNESCO, 2015, par 3). In fact, heritage provides *“meaning and value to economic, social and economic criteria”* (Stubbs, 2004). For Fouseki, Guttormsen and Swensen (Fouseki et al., 2019) heritage should have an active role in the sustainability of cities taking into

account the relation between the protection of heritage and the urban development with *“key principles of heritage values, such as between holistic versus fragmented heritage values and the valuation of time specific cityscapes of the historic city versus historical transformation or urban change”* (p. 5).

Nonetheless, sustainability is not always taken into account in the uses of heritage sites, which may be considered a danger, like mass tourist or commercial use (Albert et al., 2017); this applies also to Intangible heritage where there is a gap between commercialization and sustainability (Albert et al., 2017). This is why it is important to understand how heritage is commercialized and becomes a touristic product.

2.4. HERITAGE PRODUCT AS TOURISTIC ATTRACTION

There are key reasons to explain why State parties want to be included on the World Heritage Listing, including: *“the recognition and prestige, improved protection and management, planning, partnerships and projects, economic and social improvement, political and ethnic recognition, increased tourism activity”* (Leask, 2006). The last of these is one of the current issues in heritage studies: the use of heritage as an economic resource and how communities are benefiting from it as a touristic attraction, many times commodifying values and meanings (Ashworth et al., 2007). As discussed by Park (2014) World Heritage is commercialized and commodified to be a lucrative resource, capable of creating attractions and experiences for tourism; however, is also called to serve the global community while maintaining its cultural integrity.

Heritage is one of the main resources of international tourism. It has a duality according to Ashworth, Graham & Tunbridge because it is *“a resource of economic and cultural capital that is simultaneously multi-sold in many segmented marketplaces”* (2007, p. 44). Heritage as a touristic attraction development began because of the potential to open new markets seen by touristic enterprises worldwide (Viñals & Morant, 2012). Actually for Schouten heritage is *“history processed through mythology, ideology, nationalism, local pride, romantic ideas or just plain marketing, into a commodity”* (1995, p. 21). Therefore, heritage is usually

commoditized to be sold for tourism intentionally or unintentionally, and by doing so it can become a threat to the conservation of heritage (Park, 2014).

For Ashworth, Graham & Tunbridge (2007) heritage has an important role in contemporary societies, because it is a *“process and practice”*, created by numerous actors; and at the same time helps to enhance cultural and social diversity. For them, heritage is *“the use of the past as a cultural, political, and economic resource for the present”* (2007, p. 3). Lowenthal argues *“the relics of time help us both to know the past and to bend it to our own uses”* (Lowenthal, 2009, p. xi), explaining the purpose of heritage today for people who give meaning to heritage through interaction, consumption and activity (Ashworth et al., 2007).

Monuments, heritage sites and museums are the main attractions for cultural tourism, because in Ashworth & Larkham words, *“history provides the resources, not only for ‘cultural’ or ‘heritage tourism’ (...) but, more broadly serve as an amenity resource base for a wide range of high-order economic activities”* (1994, p. 14). In the twentieth century, the ideology of having heritage as a commodity started to shape in the European world, and academics began to see heritage as an industry (Rampley, 2012).

For Ashworth (1994), today heritage is a product *“created to satisfy contemporary consumption”* (1994, p. 16). For him, the development of the concept of heritage evolved in three stages: the preservation approach; the conservation, which expanded to regeneration or rehabilitation; and the market, where heritage is a commodity. In Viñals & Morant’s (2012) words, today the development of tourism in heritage sites has two main objectives: preservation – conservation and profitability.

Understanding tourism not just as an economic activity, but also as a social fact created by the interaction of the visitor and the local, produced by the movement of the tourist during a specific period of time with a particular motivation; this social phenomenon is expressed by economic outcomes (Jiménez, 1986). In general, this activity has positive and negative impacts: economic, social, and environmental, depending on how the activity will develop, the planning and the main actors.

Positive impacts can include the following: strengthen the local economy, stimulates local and foreign direct investment as well as public investment, employment creation, development of infrastructures, equipment and support services, creation of new small and medium enterprises, aid for regional equilibrium through land use planning, reactivate economies, enables the approach and understanding between cultures, promotes local cultural identity, reinforces openness towards values of tolerance and well-being, helps to improve the quality of life, and promotes the protection and conservation of nature along with the creation of awareness and appreciation of the natural environment.

On the other hand, negative impacts can be: Inflation, displacement of traditional activities and migration of local people, unstable economic activity, inequitable commerce, loss of local economical control, loss of tranquillity and safety, change in the way of life of local populations, acculturation, loss of cultural identities, cultural homogenization, deterioration and destruction of natural elements, waste of natural resources and contamination (Bataillou, 2007; González-Varas, 2015; Maldonado, 2006). Sometimes, according to Sims & Winter (2015, p. 34) *“touristscapes become spaces that exclude local residents in the name of ‘accommodating’ wealthy tourists”*.

Cultural tourism is used to refer to a specific type of traveling and its main objective is to know other cultures, which includes multiple products, using cultural heritage as one of them; allowing knowledge of the visitor's own heritage but also the understanding and valorisation of the cultural diversity, contributing to tolerance and curiosity for the cultural differences (González-Varas, 2015).

Based on this new step on heritage development, countries have been simulating the past, with villages and sites and recreating parts of the past in a modern way (Rampley, 2012). Different resources such as relics, events, personalities, myths, legends, memories, are converted into products through the interpretation process, in which specific elements and events are chosen to be produced and sold to the public (Ashworth, 1994). For Lowenthal (2009) one of the objectives of heritage today is to create experiences for people, altering

the past to make it more attractive and interesting, which tends to change the meaning and value of heritage for communities and its role in identity and sense of place.

Every category of heritage – local, regional, or national – tends to be set as attractions for a touristic destinations. However, when the label of WH is set on a specific site, it becomes attractive in the eyes of tourism (Viñals & Morant, 2012) almost automatically, it actually encourages unlimited, indiscriminate mass tourism (Millar, 2006); but tourism is also expected to arrive, even wanted (Albert, 2012; Witcomb, 2012). Even if tourism by itself cannot change a destination, as said before; if it is not well planned and managed it could have great social and cultural costs, culture being one of the most important but also the most fragile (Sinamai, 2014). Still, the destination is not always ready in terms of planning to receive tourists and manage the impacts it can cause (Hall, 2007).

The impacts of tourism on cultural heritage and heritage destination entails the effects named before, but also covers effects on the cultural attractions that depend on the type of tourism developed, the planning and the objectives with which it is developed. For example, the positive impacts could be safeguarding and conservation of cultural heritage through protection and safeguard plans, awareness of historical and cultural value, valuation and protection of the patrimony, rehabilitation of historic sites, reactivation of local traditions, development of interpretation centres and museums and greater access to culture for the local community. Nonetheless, the negative impacts that tourism could bring are: physical and valuational degradation of cultural heritage, disturbance of the nature of the site or historic centre, creation of acoustic, visual and architectural contamination, commercialization of cultural events, staging of culture and heritage and streamlining the process of loss of culture, among others (González-Varas, 2015; Maldonado, 2006).

For Viñals & Morant (2012) tourism planning is only designed for the designated area and surroundings, this is one of the reasons the negative impacts happen; also because of the lack of respect of tourism carrying-capacity, but additionally because the:

"high visitation levels at many sites, construction at sites or areas adjoining them not in keeping with World Heritage values, few sites with tourism management plans, lack of staff to monitor impacts, few sites educating visitors and local people about World Heritage and a site's importance, inability to involve the tourist industry in addressing critical site problems, etc." (p. 40).

The development of tourism in heritage sites has threatened their integrity and the impacts have also touched host communities, culture, environment and the economy of the destination, *"it can be the fastest destroyer of livelihoods when it collapses or if it is not controlled by proper management policies"* (Sinamai, 2014, p. 65). Viñals & Morant (2012) argue that the impacts could be: cultural impoverishment, loss of vitality of the site, loss of authenticity, loss of value from the local community, loss of integrity and loss of the 'spirit' of the place and the change of function; the dependence of local economy on the touristic activity and the minimal implication of local community on the development of this activity due to external stakeholders and the lack of sustainability of projects are also current inconveniences. For Harrison, in a way, heritage can be considered a performance made for others, commoditised for the visitor's benefit and understanding (Harrison, 2005), which on many occasions could be seen as a negative effect of tourism development.

However, if heritage is well managed, benefits can also arise: *"support conservation, labour markets, structural changes and the reduction of environmental/cultural restoration costs"* (Viñals & Morant, 2012, p. 45). For Viñals and Morant the WHS need a tourism management plan that takes into account recreational carrying capacity and tourist carrying capacity; they need to include the role of stakeholders and local community (2012), these actors should discuss and share their different views, concerns and interests for the future, not only as a touristic destination, but as a place to live (Jimura, 2018).

Nonetheless, is not an easy task to create a balance between the preservation of the sites and the touristic activity; for this, consensus management has to be created involving all stakeholder's opinions, which can be difficult at the same time (Leask, 2006). In fact, for Sinamai, *"development should not only focus on the World Heritage Site but also focus on*

communities whose culture is represented by the World Heritage places” (Sinamai, 2014, p. 65).

Tourism does not develop equally in every destination: the geographical, political, economic, environmental and social characteristics define how tourism is going to act and impact. This is why the role of the community in WH Sites and heritage, in general, has to be active to maintain the appropriation, value and care for it.

2.5. UNDERSTANDING COMMUNITY

Before analysing the role of communities in WH it is important to understand the meaning of community, which is *“complex, multidimensional, and essentially contested”* (Somerville, 2011, p. 1). It cannot be restricted to a series of criteria (Mooney & Neal, 2009), because its meaning tends to adjust to the actual context, transformed by current phenomena like: globalization, migration, individualism, fragmentation and new ways of life. Academic studies divide into two different comprehensions of culture: a) the community begins with the idea of people feeling part of a group, creating an identity; and b) it is a network of relationships or a spatial concept whose boundaries are set (Giuffre, 2013; Mayo, 2000; Mooney & Neal, 2009).

Community’s meaning differs depending on the discipline analysing the issues and problems surrounding its construction, according to Waterton & Smith (2010) there are so many understandings of this word but not that many theoretical advances, in fact for them, the term is used with ‘impunity’ (2010, p. 15). For sociology, community has been defined as a social structure of small groups; for anthropology, is defined as the groups established by a common culture; conversely, for philosophy and history, community is utopic (Delanty, 2003). Until 1970 theories of community were centred on the idea of space. A community was considered a group of people that lived in one place, where bonds and practices were set by face – to – face interactions (Mooney & Neal, 2009).

With industrialization, changes came to the way people socialized and lived in communities (Mooney & Neal, 2009). For instance, community and society were understood as synonyms,

but with time, society was seen as civil, political and economic relations; while community encompassed social relations (Delanty, 2003), exposing the transformation in the lives of people and the different dimensions that needed to be separated because of the modifications in their construction.

For Tönnies (1957) community – *Gemeinschaft* – is a living organism; it is life as a group with your own people, the interior and intimate part of the relations and common, long-lasting and authentic part of life. Union is the essence of community. On the other hand, society – *Gesellschaft* - represents the public, the common, apparent and passing life; it is the relations with strangers and outsiders, defined as the economic and political relations in and with the state (Giuffre, 2013; Tönnies, 1957). Tönnies exposed the evolution from community to society (Giuffre, 2013), based on the community as life as a family and a small and local group of people; the society is the life in the city or in the urban environment (Tönnies, 1957). Somerville (2011, p. 3) adds that it serves to create a collectivity making individuals “*feel obliged to act in a certain way*”. These definitions marked the transformation of the concept of community.

Nonetheless, the different phenomena that encompass today's life have shifted its concept once again, including the connection with people from different places (Mooney & Neal, 2009). These elements are: the influence of globalization, a transnational process where borders are dissolving (Hirst et al., 2015); the rapid economic development linked to capitalism; migrations of people from rural to urban areas and people movement from one country to another.

Basch, Glick & Szanton (1994) stated that due to people movements through countries, transnationalism was created, defined as a process in which immigrants create and manage to sustain relations that link the original and settlement societies; therefore, the boundary of place is no longer a requirement for a community. Nonetheless, for Cohen the perception of its boundaries is needed to understand community, but this boundary depends on a symbolic construction, not on a physical one (Cohen, 1985). Each community defines its boundaries, they are not static or everlasting, they change (Mooney & Neal, 2009).

Community is understood as *“(embodied or imagined) connectedness among individuals”* (Somerville, 2011, p. 2).

Cohen (1985) described community as a wide element of multiplicity: *“the concept provides both, a mean of encompassing a wide variety of social processes and, an idea which has much more than simply technical meaning, for it refers to symbols, values and ideologies which have popular currency”* (p. 8).

In the same way, Anderson (1983) argues that a community is not a structure limited in space by political frontiers, but is symbolic and imagined with imagined connexions, which changes with time, context and societies; and therefore is adapted and transformed, to this imagined setting. Accordingly, Waterton & Smith (2010) explain that *“communities thus become social creations and experiences that are continuously in motion, rather than mixed entities and descriptions, influx and constant motion unstable and uncertain”* (Waterton & Smith, 2010, p. 16-17)

For Block (2008) the conversations with this setting create a human system: *“the history, buildings, economy, infrastructure, and culture are products of the conversations and social fabric of any community. The built and cultural environments are secondary gains of how we choose to be together”* (p. 30). These contemporary settings are possible because of the *“technological developments, financial flows and geographical mobility”* (Mooney & Neal, 2009, p. 16).

Because of these transformations, it can be argued that community is doomed to disappear due to the growth of individualism through the isolation of people and self-interests. However, it is not disappearing, it is changing to fit a globalized, connected and open world, by looking people for their own roots and identity (Delanty, 2003). To make this change and create a sense of belonging, for Block (2008, p. 1) it is important to begin *“by shifting our attention from the problems of community to the possibility of community”*. Therefore, community nowadays is not limited to physical boundaries, it depends on the symbols and

constructions around it, and *“coalesces around shared interests, common causes or collective experiences”* (Waterton & Smith, 2010, p. 17).

Although, as it has been clearly stated, geographical limits are not the ones that determine a community nowadays, this is just a restraint to be used in this document, because the plans and programs in the WHS named by UNESCO only cover the community that lives in a heritage site and the surrounding areas (Viñals & Morant, 2012), they are locality-based communities (Jimura, 2011). For this study, the concept of community will be the one accepted by Pacione as the *urban community* (2009, p. 376) *“a group of people who share a geographic area and are bound together by common culture, values, ‘race’ or social class”*. Complemented by the meaning given by Jimura (2018, p. 66) *“a group of people who might have a certain degree of differences in their characteristics, interests or aspirations at an individual level, but who share a geographic area and a sense of place as their place to live, and are connected to each other through daily social interactions”*

Nonetheless, is important to keep in mind that community is the *“entity to which one belongs (...) It is the arena in which people acquire their most fundamental and most substantial experience of social life outside the confines of the home ”* (Cohen, 1985, p. 15). Therefore, two elements are going to be kept in this research: the geographical boundaries, but also the attachment and learning of a set of cultural and social values. This set of values are tangible through heritage (Breen, 2014), which will maintain its value if the community care and are willing to inherit the elements and see a value in this inheritance (Alatalu, 2012). In this conception of the relation of community and heritage, both concepts weaved with *“lived experiences and expressions of community. The community group is defined and justified because of its heritage and that heritage is fostered and sustained by the creation of community”* (Crooke, 2010, p. 25)

2.5.1. WHS Communities: their role and responsibilities.

The role of the community that lived nearby the WHS begun to be appreciated from 1990 (Rössler, 2012), but it was not until 2007 when this became one of the main objectives to

promote the implementation of the WH Convention. Before this date, communities were barely kept in mind in the inscription, the nomination and in the management of the site; they were kept aside and seldom considered. According to Millar (2006), the only actors involved in the consulting and management process were governments, conservation experts and local authorities; leaving aside local people, community groups, local business, visitors, besides others, because professionals in heritage do not want to give away their power to allow the participation of different groups of the society (Waterton & Smith, 2010). Nonetheless, this view of community is not coherent with the understanding of heritage as *“community oriented, dynamic rather than static, systemic not linear”* (Ripp & Rodwell, 2018, p. 243).

From the beginning of the Convention, UNESCO (1954) has stated that it is the responsibility of all people to protect the common heritage. The local community should *“safeguard these treasures, where people may reflect, study, enjoy the benefits of the earth and appreciate the diversity of culture and nature”* (von Droste, 2012, p. 10). Today they are one of the stakeholders that need to be taken into consideration for the WH process (Rössler, 2012), integrating and balancing the different interests as the first step (Ripp & Rodwell, 2018); acknowledging the difficulty this adds to the process. This view matches, according to Ripp & Rodwell (2018) to the view of heritage *“as being both determined by and the responsibility of local communities”* (p. 243). However, as argued by Wijesuriya et al. (2018) community cannot *“just be considered as another category of stakeholders, but must be a sine qua non within the heritage discourse”* (Wijesuriya et al., 2018, p. 38).

The role that communities play in WHS has been limited, even though the fact nomination touches every aspect of their life: economic, social, cultural. Local community is usually involved in the WH process after the designations and the approval of the plans, not before and not in the construction of this programme. As argued by Ripp and Rodwell (2018 p. 248) *“The human factor of heritage management, in terms of resources and skills, is often not present and rarely understood”*. Most of the time, they are not aware, motivated or

interested unless there is a financial reason, but this is due to the lack of communication and confidence (Viñals & Morant, 2012).

For Rössler (2012, p. 27), *“most World Heritage nominations were prepared and processed by central institutions and ministries and inscribed on the World Heritage List without any consultation with local communities and stakeholders”*. This, in part, is due to the fact that only government authorities are permitted to submit nominations (Rössler, 2012), and because *“the conceptualisation of community that dominates in the heritage sector aids and reinforces the process of insubordination and the affirmation of the status of expertise”* (Waterton & Smith, 2010, p. 19).

Nonetheless, for von Droste (2012) the community involvement could bring a great number of benefits, because WH not only helps the preservation and protection of WHS, but also promotes sustainability values and global ethics. For Deegan (2012) and Sinamai (2014), it is necessary to have local community involvement to have long-term sustainability of WHS in preservation and development, besides creating trust and opportunities. Besides, community development, according to Jimura (2018, p. 67) *“must be planned carefully and realized in a sustainable way, considering economic, sociocultural, environmental and attitudinal impacts of WH status and tourism after WHS designation”*

Community involvement in heritage conservation puts in their hands their own destiny, ensuring that the *“traditions and lifestyles are respected; and creates local employment, hence reviving the local economy”* (Waziri and Swazuri, 2012 cited in Rukwaro, 2016, p. 183). Moreover, for Kausar (2009) the WH Convention should also help to reduce poverty through development cooperation, as it has been used since the nineteenth century to help solve social problems and to contribute to regional economies, providing pride and identity to a community (Newman & Mclean, 1998).

Governments have used heritage to regenerate urban territories with the help of the community and recognize that museums and heritage sites could help against social

exclusion (Newman & Mclean, 1998). In fact, this heritage landscape with which people identify should empower them emotionally, socially and economically (Lindström, 2019).

No matter if the value for heritage is social, cultural, or economic, the conservation cannot fall only into the hands of the state. It is the people who share and need it who have to work for it (Barney, 1996); this engagement in management involves the empowerment of people and is a process that evolves over time (Chirikure et al., 2010). Also, the partnership between the community and cultural/heritage institutions has a positive economic impact due to the development of tourism (Newman & Mclean, 1998). Another important reason for their involvement is that local people help in the understanding and appreciation of heritage by communicating it to visitors and tourists (Millar, 2006).

Because of this, the best option is to achieve every stakeholder's cooperation in the decision-making, including local community (Viñals & Morant, 2012). Rössler (2012, p. 30) defends the idea that *"World Heritage is not only the success story of heritage conservation efforts on a global scale, it is also a success story of local people and communities who make this global heritage possible"*, or this is the way it should be. Von Droste (2012) states *"that World Heritage is not a luxury item but important to the welfare of the people of every nation and in particular to the local community where it is located"* (p. 10), specifying that local community should benefit from the WHS.

Deegan argues that even if *"World Heritage sites may have been recognized as the 'heritage of humanity', (...) in the long run it is the local community which has the future of World Heritage in its hands, and which needs to be effectively empowered to manage and protect it"* (Deegan, 2012). As Block argues, *"to belong to a community is to act as a creator and co-owner of that community"* (2008, p. xii), therefore, every person is important to create the value of heritage and to make it their own. They have a great responsibility in their hands, but most of the time, this responsibility is not given to them, even if it is their own heritage that is been protected, used, and sold. In some WHS, the community is the one responsible to keep the outstanding universal value through their traditional knowledge and the

generational communication of the traditional arts, crafts and techniques, like Kaipi Diaolou in China (Zhan, 2012).

When local communities are empowered, they can have new knowledge, about the history and importance of their heritage, they feel proud of it and they protect it in a long term (Zhan, 2012). Even nowadays, there is still a gap in the knowledge on how to determine a community and how this community identifies itself with their heritage sites (Lindström, 2019). Hence, there are no clear definitions of what community is or what does it includes in heritage sites. They *“are often defined, or have their ‘authenticity’ judged, against standards set by the heritage that has been preserved ‘for them’ by heritage agencies and their experts”* (Waterton & Smith, 2010, p. 21). Their participation is seen as a principle, but they are rarely included in the conservation practice (Chitty, 2018). The local community should always be included in the process of WHS no matter the place or the specific characteristics of heritage, the needs and benefits of the locals should be a priority in every heritage management and activity (Ripp & Rodwell, 2018).

The WH is just a label on the cultural heritage of a community; the ones that give the meaning of heritage today are the ones that live near or in the WHS, they are the ones that give the essence. But, if it is taken from them to be sold and commoditized, who does it belong to? What does it mean? What does it represent? And here is where the construction of a sense of place and identity due to heritage becomes important even if they are in urban or peripheral territories.

2.6. PROBLEMATIZING THE ROLE OF COMMUNITY ON HERITAGE AND WH SITES

As seen, the role of the community in the process and management of WH Sites has been minimal and only recently recognized officially. This passive relation between WH and community thrives on issues that need to be understood and studied. The problematization of the role of community on heritage sites for this thesis will entail four main subjects: the identity and sense of place of a community enhanced by heritage, the urban heritage and

WH cities, the peripheral destinations and an overview of the effects and issues around the WH Designation found in the literature.

2.6.1. Identity and sense of place of a community enhanced by heritage

The past also helps to create identity and a sense of place, through the different representations of history, heritage or memory, helping to build common values in a society (Lowenthal, 2015). For González-Varas (2015) cultural heritage is a construction and a symbolic selection of elements from the past in the present; these elements are part of the collective memory that helps the construction of the historical identity from a group of people.

Heritage is capable of creating identities beyond national boundaries, becoming a shared interest of an empowered community to conserve it (Miele, 2011), and World Heritage are places for *“encounter, discovery and learning between distinct and various identities”* (Thiaw, 2014, p. 77)

Identity can be defined as *“a multifaceted phenomenon that embraces a range of human attributes, including language, religion, ethnicity, nationalism and shared interpretation of the past”* (Guibernau, 1996 cited by Ashworth, Graham & Tunbridge, 2007, p. 4); is also a *“changing intellectual and emotional construction that seeks self-assertion in the cultural heritage”* (González-Varas, 2015, p. 64).

Place identity has been used to deal with problems between place and people, nonetheless, even if its meaning *“have not been unanimously agreed upon to date, it is undoubtedly positive that “place identity” has acted as an outlet to integrate physical reality and social cognition”* (Peng et al., 2020, p. 14). It has been studied by different disciplines and multiple theories have been created to help understanding it. For Jaspal, the theories *“seek to articulate the intersections between the intrapsychic, interpersonal and societal levels of analysis and to provide a holistic framework within which identity, change and action could be collectively examined”* (Jaspal, 2014, p. 6).

One of the approaches used to understand identity is the *Identity Process Theory* proposed by Breakwell (2015) and is governed by four principles: distinctiveness (uniqueness), continuity (in time and space), self-esteem (social value) and, self-efficacy (personal goals achievement). For instance, continuity divides into two: in place referent, when the past is a reference for someone; and place congruent when there are specific places that keep an emotional value for the person. *"People will look for places in which to live that seem to represent their values"* (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996, p. 208). Heritage, therefore, determines some specific characteristics of places that could be determinant for its identity and become a reference for people to feel attached to their city or town.

For Breakwell, *"identity should be conceptualized in terms of a biological organism moving through time which develops through the accommodation, assimilation, and evaluation of the social world"* (cited in Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996, p. 206). Even if the study of identity has - in some way - become separate from place and physical environment, for Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) there are two ways in which identity relates to place: the first one considers place as a "social category", this *"place identification would express membership of a group of people who are defined by location"* (p. 206). The second one refers to the term "place identity" that focuses on the relation of the person with the "physical world" (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996, p. 206). This is important given the fact that communities no longer define themselves by physical boundaries, but by symbolic ones.

In taking into account this complex phenomenon, geographical location is *"not enough to create a sense of place. It emerges from involvement between people, and between people and place"* (Pretty et al., 2003, p. 274). For Tuan (1979), the places have meanings, spirits, personalities that *"lies in the expressions that people use when they want to give it a sense, carrying greater emotional charge than location or functional node"* (Tuan, 1979, p. 409).

This relation between place and identity is linked to heritage. For example, Hawke (2011) took the four Breakwell principles and linked three of them with heritage: distinctiveness, continuity and, self-esteem:

- Distinctiveness support uniqueness of the place where a person lives by creating the belief of himself being different from the people who live in other places; the natural characteristics and the cultural heritage helps to create this conviction, because there are not two heritage sites with similar characteristics, nor similar meanings.
- Heritage contributes to self-esteem because it helps to build pride for the place they live in: the natural and cultural heritage that is in their hometown. Besides creating this self-esteem, they can teach others and show why it is important for their community.
- The continuity because it situates people in past and present recreating memory in time and remembering the past. Place referent, because heritage represents part of the past of a community; and place congruent, because people have an emotional attachment to heritage because of its meaning and importance.

Heritage has powerful symbolic and aesthetic attributes that create social bonds that could improve social unity (Asante, 2015) and is key to shape local representations of a place to strengthen the local identities (Graham et al., 2016). Ashworth (1994) argues that heritage is used to create an identity with political or nationalistic purposes. Sara McDowell states that heritage *"is a process that draws on the past and which is intimately related to our identity requirements in the present"* (McDowell, 2008, p. 49). For her, heritage changed in order to find validation and unity, having political and territorial functions that enhance the identity of a community (McDowell, 2008), because, even if it is the past that is preserved, valorised and consumed, this should be done within the present socio-economic and political environment, to link it with communities (Thiaw, 2014). Besides, a shared sense of belonging is needed to create the *"social fabric of community"* (Block, 2008, p. 9). As said by Lindström (2019), identity is a social construction that transmits value to material elements. It is not a characteristic of space and comes with everyday interactions. As argued by Peng et al. (Peng et al., 2020) in the understanding of 'place identity' there is the people's place identity and the place identity of a place, both are subjective and comprise the relation between individuals and the physical world, but *"people's place identity is part of individuals'*

personalities related to places that are significant in the formation of their identities. Place identity of a place is the personality of the place. Such personality is, in most occasions, ascribed by people to the place where they live or that they care about” (Peng et al., 2020, p. 14). Therefore, there is a direct relationship between both elements, responding also, to the changes in the social environment.

The discourse of heritage during the nineteenth century was used to create a certain set of values, linked to nationalism, colonial expansion, and sovereignty ideas, which gave people security and identity (Smith, 2006). For Blake (2000) heritage is used, most of the time, to support political ideologies, because the elite and political classes are the ones choosing what to protect for the future, therefore they are the ones that establish the relation between heritage and society (Blake, 2000). However, there are always moments of crisis and transformation that lead one to question or reject these established discourses, to create others (González-Varas, 2015).

In fact, the meaning of heritage is changing. It is no longer an homogeneous and unique legacy of a nation, as it used to be; but, each community within the nation defines their own cultural heritage as part of the process of identity affirmation. Globalization is ensuring that the different new-born identities within the nation join to create a hybrid capable of encompassing all its multiplicity (González-Varas, 2015).

In this context, multiple identities are created, partly by different scales in the relationship between heritage and individuals. Heritage can develop at many levels of identity that can overlap being harmonious or dissonant (Graham et al., 2016). Local/national, private/public, national/global can be levels of encounter that can compete with each other. As explained by Relph (2020) there is a human need to have significant places, understanding that the meanings of places are given by the people’s emotions, experiences and intentions.

Considering the identification of people with a place and a community, the same use for heritage is applied. For Ashworth *“heritage is one of the main determinants of the individual character of places”* (Ashworth, 1994, p. 19), it creates differentiation and gives uniqueness

to a place. Now, if heritage is the symbolic representation of cultural identity (Blake, 2000): both tangible and intangible heritage helps to create a sense of identity. For Breen, cultural heritage gives the tangible representation of the ideas, traditions, identities and aspirations of people (Breen, 2014).

Cultural heritage not only helps the construction of individual identity, but also a collective identity, because *"it is both a symbol of the cultural identity of a self-identified group, be it a nation or a people, and an essential element in the construction of that group's identity"* (Blake, 2000, p. 84). However, for Castellanos (2010) this sense of belonging created by cultural heritage has contradictory principles: spiritual links, sense of nationality, right of property and land sovereignty. Also, it can create a sense of place and identities that can be different for each stakeholder in a site: *"local inhabitants value heritage differently from outsiders means that fundamental distinctions exist between global and local claims on the past"* (Graham et al., 2016, p. 240). Also, the places change, and their character too, as argued by Norberg Schulz (2012) *"as a rule places change, sometimes rapidly. This does not mean, however, that the genius loci necessarily changes or gets lost"* (Norberg-Schulz, 2012, p. 279), therefore the spirit of the place needs to manifest its essence in new historical contexts constantly (Norberg-Schulz, 2012).

The sense of place is linked to the awareness people have of the place and recognition of the genius loci; for Tuan (1979) *"people demonstrate their sense of place when they apply their moral and aesthetic discernment to sites and locations"* (p. 410). Accordingly, Jivén & Larkham (2003) explain that group identity *"is closely linked with the form and history of place, creating a sense of place or genius loci"* (p. 74).

Consequently, as heritage helps the construction of a sense of place and identity of a community, it is the community that builds the meaning of the past through a cultural process that is influenced by cultural, economic and political context, establishing levels of significance from their own heritage (Witcomb, 2012). World Heritage is one of these levels of significance and is a different category of cultural heritage that needs to be taken into account because of the effects it can have on local communities. However, there is not much

literature focusing on the implications of WHS on the creation of identity at a local level (Jimura, 2015). Jimura (2015) argues that this contribution could be assumed in the mission of the WH, but is not stated clearly on it; for him, there have to be three conditions in the territory to have a positive effect of the designation over the identity of the local people: the site should not be well known for tourism before the listing so that through the discovery of their heritage by outsiders, local people rediscover their heritage; the site must not play an important role on the community, so this can be enhanced; and third, the site should be where people live (Jimura, 2015). However, this value of WHS can be questioned when the local community receives minimal benefits and development associated with the designation (Keshodkar, 2015).

People and communities can change this place identity over and over again depending on the evolution of the heritage site (Lindström, 2019). The value over heritage is not static, it changes depending on time, individuals and communities; it also could exclude other versions or significances of the past, because it depends on the level of credibility (Labadi, 2012). This local attachment is developed also in urban places, according to Pacione (2009), even if people are physical or physiologically withdrawn; as explained by Lynch (2012) *“the quality of a place is due to the joint effect of the place and the society which occupies it”* (Lynch, 2012, p. 231).

2.6.2. Urban Heritage – World Heritage cities

The concept of urban heritage tends to be determined by each country and their characteristics are determined by time and space (Pacione, 2009). Heritage is different depending on the specific characters of the environment where it stands, and the historical, architectural or artistic characteristics. The urban heritage and colonial heritage will be explained due to the special characteristics of the case study: Mompox.

According to Pacione (2009), urban places are determined thanks to four elements: population, economic base, administrative criteria and functional definitions; and in these urban places, culture and heritage have facilitated urban regeneration and urban

development (Park, 2014). Heritage centres in cities have a direct relation with three urban attitudes: size, spatial clustering and urban design, which can be locally managed; usually, the heritage city has social and economic processes happening at the same time (Graham et al., 2016). World Heritage cities is not a category recognized by the World Heritage Convention; its notion is broad and includes different typologies (Rodgers & Van Oers, 2011). As argued by Vahtikari (2016) urban WH sites are called 'historic centers', 'historic cities' or 'old towns'; they can *"be labelled in almost countless ways, and individual cities may fall into multiple categories in relation to one variable"* (p. 93). For Rodgers and Van Oers (2011), a World Heritage city is an *"urban settlement where one or more World Heritage properties would be located"* (p. 279).

Urban WHS *"encompass parts of cities that generally have a heterogeneous character and scope for very different interpretations of heritage value"* (Pendlebury et al., 2009, p. 351). For UNESCO, it is defined as *"ensembles of any group of buildings, structures, and open spaces, in their natural and ecological context, including archaeological and palaeontological sites, constituting human settlements in an urban environment over a relevant period of time, the cohesion and value of which are recognized from the archaeological, architectural, prehistoric, historic, scientific, aesthetic, socio-cultural or ecological point of view"* (2005, p. 2).

Urban heritage tends to *"reflect the evolution of a society as well as its distinct cultural identity"* (Najd, Ismail, Maulan, Yunus, & Niya, 2015, p. 115). They are essential to understand how these specific societies live today and the connection they have to determine the sense of place of the community (UNESCO, 2005). For Zancheti & Hidaka (2011, p. 98) urban heritage *"comprises objects and processes that have value for people"*. Besides, the architecture reveals memories and symbols from the past and gives places a historical dimension; giving cities contradictory but complementary values such as: continuity and renovation, old and new, traditional and vanguard (Barney, 1996). Accordingly, Nasser (2003) argues that to reach sustainability the building preservation should shift towards urban conservation, which aims at three objectives: physical, spatial and social; as Orbasli

(2000) explains: *“Urban conservation is a long-term political, economic and social commitment to an area with the intention of providing a better quality of life for its users. Conservation encompasses not only the physical urban fabric, but also an understanding of the spatial morphology and a social dimension which makes urban heritage so distinct from the more ‘object’ qualities of the singular built heritage”* (Orbasli, 2000 p. 8)

This classification of this heritage is unique due to its characteristics, and also because of the singular challenges in trying to balance between preservation and economic development in the cities (Pendlebury et al., 2009). Population growth, the changes in the urban landscape, and the economic concentration is threatening the conservation of these heritage sites and can cause irreversible damage and decay (De Noronha Vaz et al., 2012). These issues were recognized by the UNESCO in 2005 with the ‘Vienna Memorandum on World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture - Managing the Historic Urban Landscape’, where the many social, political, economic, structural and context changes that can impact urban WHS are taken into account for decision making, involving every actor and stakeholder. Besides, these heritage sites need to respond to the dynamics of urban movement to facilitate these changes (UNESCO, 2005). These concerns have been studied in depth due to the difficulties in the conservation of urban sites and the tangible and intangible values, which need to be considered in the planning and management of the site (Zancheti & Hidaka, 2011).

These challenges are not only in the conservation of heritage, but also in what a historic village should do for the local community and to keep its value. According to Kim (2016) *“The value of historic villages is formed by reflecting residents’ daily lives, and for securing community sustainability, it is material to keep residents’ daily lives, including lifestyles, customs, traditions and other living conditions”* (p. 257).

According to Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge (2016), the evolution of cities which have a historical centre, pass through a series of stages in its social and economic development: first *“include all urban functions, and subsequent growth is likely to occur outwards in all directions”* (p. 209); second, after an urban growth there is a separation of a commercial function in the old centre and a new periphery created; third, there is a conservation of a

historic part of the old city and a relocation of some commercial functions, although this stage does not happen in every case; and fourth: *“a partially relocated commercial district overlaps with a heritage district in part of the original city”* (p. 210).

One effect that is seen in many cities, not only in heritage centres, is the gentrification, understood as the *“process involving a change in the population of land-users”* (Clark, 2005, p. 258) or as the *“the reoccupation of an urban space by a socioeconomic class in detriment of another”* (Checa-Artasu, 2011). On many occasions, the “new” population has a higher socio-economic status and it tends to change the environment of the place (Clark, 2005). This phenomenon has been studied in urban areas all across the world in cases of restructuring of urban spaces (Smith, 1986). Nonetheless, this term should not always mean winner – loser relation; it might entail winner – winner process, where both sides have benefits, depending on the urban development (Arkaraprasertkul, 2018).

As Mathews and Picton argue heritage designations are usually precursors of gentrification, because they attract people and businesses with higher incomes (Mathews & Picton, 2014), but at the same time designation facilitates the protection and restoration of heritage buildings (Shaw, 2005). Nonetheless, it allows the loss of the general context where heritage values are framed (Checa-Artasu, 2011). For Navarrete (2017), certain aspects that make gentrification possible in historic centres, such as weakening of the historic centrality, under-utilization of infrastructure, overflowed urbanization, loss of housing use, commercial speciality, among others, although it is not a phenomenon that happens in every historic centre in Latin America. Therefore, on many occasions, the gentrification is accompanied by the touristification of places, but not always.

In Latin America, gentrification in central urban heritage areas could be explained by two different phenomena: gentrification without expulsion and gentrification in productive activities which entails the change from housing use to commercial use. In this last example, the gentrification in historical centres in Latin America and Mexico is conducted by the touristic consumption directed towards the historical, cultural and spatial elements from the

destination; and the built heritage becomes very important in the extensive tourism in heritage cities (Navarrete, 2017).

Atkins and Bridges (2005) argue that there are positive and negative impacts of gentrification; positive as: *“stabilisation of declining areas, increased property value, reduced vacancy rates, encouragement and increased viability of further development, increased social mix, rehabilitation of property”*, among others; and as negative impacts, there are: *“displacement through price increases, secondary psychological costs of displacement, community resentment and conflict, loss of affordable housing, commercial/industrial displacement, increased cost and changes to local services”* among others (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005, p. 5).

As Checa-Artasau (2011) argues, in some examples, gentrification is motivated by the local policy to avoid the degradation of certain areas. However in the case of tourism it could bring social issues because *“the excess for assuming a certain image of renovation supported by the heritage factor becomes even counterproductive when the demands of the residents are questioned and forgotten by the abusive consumption of space by visitors and tourists”* (2011, p. 14), changing the landscape and the uses of heritage for the touristic activity. For Navarrete (2017), this gentrification and transformation of the space, *“can counteract the conservation, originality and heritage value of architecture and urban space. Also in this process, the identity and appropriation of values of the local society that sustains the built heritage and that paradoxically motivate the visit of tourists can be contravened”* (Navarrete, 2017, p. 80).

Land ownership can also render difficult the management and conservation of a historic urban centre, creating tensions between stakeholders and making the management and conservation process more complex (Pendlebury et al., 2009). This is one of the reasons why UNESCO created the “buffer zone”, a zone that does not make part of the nominated property, but that gives protection to it. This zone is defined as *“an area surrounding the nominated property which has complementary legal and/or customary restrictions placed on*

its use and development to give an added layer of protection to the property. This should include the immediate setting of the nominated property” (UNESCO, 2016, p. 22).

However, the geographical limits of the inscription that are set in all WHS are very specific and the plans or programs only cover the surrounding area (Millar, 2006; Viñals & Morant, 2012). This means the community referred in WH is reduced to those that live or work in this space, which excludes a big part of local people from the destination outside these programs. As argued by Sims & Winter (2015, p. 34) little attention has been given to how the modernization of cities affects local residents beyond the buffer zone, which is why work is still needed to ensure welfare to those living outside the protected area. Moreover, the analysis of how development and modernization come to a peripheral city after the designation and how the community evolves in places with isolated characteristics needs to be analysed.

2.6.3. World Heritage and tourism in peripheral destinations

Periphery indicates that something is away from the centre but is also a concept linked to economic development. It is not only defined by the geographical characteristics of a place, but also because of the lack of power, the limited accessibility, limited population, limited resources, lack of infrastructure, lack of education and training, high migration of young people, limitation to traditional agricultural and industrial activities, alongside other characteristics (Botterill et al., 2000; Frances Brown & Hall, 1999a; Müller & Jansson, 2007a, 2007b).

From this point of view, the differences between core-periphery are enhanced: core is the place with high economic level, where the political decisions are made and there is a good standard of living; the periphery is where there is a low economic level, a lack of infrastructure and social development, with high levels of migration and remote decision making and high transportation costs (Botterill et al., 2000).

In these areas the economic opportunities are minimal and tourism emerges as an option to revitalize the local economy, and there is a need to create visitor attractions (Fonseca &

Ramos, 2012). In fact, in research about the WH peripheral sites, most of them have centred foremost on the development of tourism after the designation, but there is a gap in the literature about the effects and implications of the designation over these sites. Tourism is chosen as the primary option because of the development it can have and because some of the characteristics found in these places can be beneficial for some touristic destinations, because tourists will see them as unique, authentic and, with natural beauty (Brown & Hall, 1999a). For example, because of the poor accessibility and small population, they have a high natural richness (Hall, 2007), which is seen as a major attraction for visitors. The “otherness” is another characteristic that can be found in the local people, that makes it different and motivates people to visit; essentially, the peripheral areas depend on their unique image and in the distinctiveness, which makes them greater, in comparison with another place (Irvine & Anderson, 2007).

Müller & Jansson (2007) argue that knowledge of tourism in peripheral areas is limited due to the great physical, social, economic and political differences existing in these destinations, and because most of the time the studies have been specific to case studies and are uncoordinated. According to Müller & Ulrich (2007), the rural and peripheral areas are having an economical restructuration, which is leaving the touristic activity as one of the few options for local development; for Hall (2007) this tends to create high expectation of the benefits this activity can bring to a peripheral region, even if these expectations are not always fulfilled.

The concept of peripherality is related to the conception of marginality (Hall, 2007), a term that describes conditions of environmental, cultural, social, political or economic disadvantages (Mehretu et al., 2000). These are divided into four typologies according to Mehretu et al (2000), two primary and two derivatives: contingent, systematic, collateral and leveraged.

The contingent marginality refers to competitive inequality due to social, cultural, location and environmental disadvantage that impacts in the market; the systematic marginality indicates the social disadvantages due to inequitable relations; the collateral marginality is

when there is contingent or systematic marginality but they have marginality by contagion; last, the leveraged marginality is when the contingent or systematic marginality creates a disadvantage in the bargain position to enterprises in labour or supply (Hall, 2007; Mehretu, Pigozzi, & Sommers, 2000). For Hall (2007) the contingent marginality is the one that can best be applied to tourism because distance and accessibility can affect positively or negatively the touristic activity.

One of the main reasons for the touristic activity to be developed in peripheral destinations is that tourism is considered as a *“low skill industry with low entry levels that can easily provide alternative employment for those who have lost jobs in other sectors”* (Hall, 2007, p. 24). It can also help to improve the quality of life of the community, bring investors and capital, reduce social and regional economic differences and help modernization of the destination (Saarinen, 2007). It will also, attract income and benefits, and at the same time, it will improve the unique features of the place (Brown & Hall, 1999a). Nonetheless, is essential that local people have a positive attitude towards tourism development, to achieve community development through this activity (Jimura, 2018).

Nonetheless, high seasonality, lack of human and social capital and policy failure are limitations to the proper development of this economic activity (Hall, 2007). Another issue in the development of tourism in peripheral destinations is that tour operators outside destinations exploit the place and attractions and they usually conceal the reality in which people live (Nilsson, 1999). For Hall (2007) this is why tourism needs to develop at the same time as other economic possibilities, and the integration of all stakeholders in the planning process is vital (Müller & Jansson, 2007a). For Scott (1999), depending on the kind of touristic development, destinations can protect themselves from the worst part of tourism with isolation and difficult accessibility, nonetheless, these are likely characteristics that change with development.

However, there are also limitations for heritage and it is a factor that jeopardizes its development *“including competition, community support and participation, funding, human skills, remoteness (accessibility and distance), facilities and appeal of the attractions”*

(Fonseca & Ramos, 2012). It is important to note that this is a phenomenon that changes with time. The status of peripheral destinations and its characteristics are not static, because they depend on economic, political and social development (Brown & Hall, 1999a), which tend to improve or worsen the conditions of the territory.

2.6.4. Effects and issues around the World Heritage Designation

UNESCO wants to create an open, equitable, representative and inclusive process for the inscription of WHS, as should be; after all, was created with the purpose to *“represent the world’s diversity of cultural heritage”* (Labadi, 2012, p. 38). Nonetheless, the WHS are still between a complex relationship of global, national and local values and politics, and on many occasions, it disregards the diversity of heritage and cultures in nations (Park, 2014).

The convention can be seen as a driver for sustainable development of WH sites, however, according to Albert, Bandarin, & Pereira Roders (2017) sometimes the convention becomes a risk contradicting the original goals, but this is more related to the implementation of programs at national or local level: *“In many cases it can be observed how, due to unrestricted use and financially oriented goals, World Heritage properties are being damaged or even destroyed. The inscriptions of intangible heritage have, in some cases, risked bypassing the spirit of the convention, with interest for the inscription of elements being largely linked to their economic values, rather than cultural or identity values”* (Albert et al., 2017, p. 4).

What are the impacts and implications to the WHS inscribed before? The major negative effects of WH nomination, stated by Millar (2006) encompass mass tourism, distortion of authenticity and traditional values, creation of the need of special management and additional conservation; also, the effects on lifestyle, traditions, social relations and economic development. Keshodkar (2015) states that UNESCO policies need to be modified and redefined to determine the value of the designated heritage in local people when this listing was imposed. Also, as Deacon (2014), who analysed the issues of the designation in Africa, argues, the local communities must be part of the decision-making in the promotion,

conservation and management of heritage. For Jimura (2018), the WH status brings sociocultural impacts, which entails the division between the WHS and the surrounding community, the conservation, the conflict of interests, handling aspirations and concerns, congestion and loss of privacy, among many others.

Moreover, the negative effects are maximized when the designation does not fulfil the promised benefits for the local people and the WH is imposed. Keshodkar (2015) analyses the case of Zanzibar Stone Town where the listing did not bring economic development for the local people, nor better living conditions; the houses cannot be modernized and the conservation became a financial burden for the community, they are even considered by the conservationists as an obstacle for the restoration. Nonetheless, since 2014, *“economic empowerment and the social sustainability of communities are now seen as priority areas for the World Heritage Committee”* (Sims & Winter, 2015), because of the issues and problematics in different WHS listed before.

The positive economic effects are one of the drives to become a WHS, mainly because of the arrival of tourism, although this includes complimentary options as argued by Comer (2014), such as *“construction of roads, establishing airline connections and marketing through international tourism organizations and media”* (2014, p. 40). The conservation of these sites could also help *“national building, creation of jobs, education and safeguarding of cultural heritage”* (Makuvaza & Chiwaura, 2014, p. 45). Many times, the sites develop like islands where the development of business, investment, and infrastructure is made because of the need of the visitors and local communities are left aside (Sinamai, 2014).

Also, it is known to help tourism arrival and development, even if as some researchers like Sinamai argue, *“on their own the World Heritage Sites cannot boost tourism”* (2014, p. 58) and do not become touristic destinations because of *“conservation status, development, interpretation, (...) lack of interest of touristic organizations”* (p. 58). Is important to understand, that tourism itself can bring multiple factors that create changes in local communities, such as: psychological impacts that involve attitudinal changes towards tourists and heritage, as well as local identity, attachment, pride and sense of place; the

economic impacts that encompass the strengthening of local economy, employment, income and living costs; Sociocultural impacts, comprising quality of life, authenticity, local culture, conservation, recognition; and last, Environmental impacts on the natural and built environment (Jimura, 2018). This impacts could be positive or negative depending on the planning and management of the activity and the territory.

Nonetheless, the WH designation somehow creates globalization in and around these heritage sites, generating negative impacts such as: loss of local culture and replacement by trading symbols, tendency to become thematic parks created for tourism consumption, fracture between the person and space where he lives, loss of emotional connection (González-Varas, 2015), movement of people and transformation of the environment. All this is jeopardising the integrity of heritage and its values, especially in urban surroundings where the pressures of economic and social development tend to be growing day by day. However, every WHS is different, therefore the impacts in each site are different also (Kim, 2016)

Moreover, WH designation along with the national regulations for the protection and conservation of sites have, in some cases, frozen *“the physical environment of the city as an imagined space/time”* (Dearborn & Stallmeyer, 2009, p. 268), partially created because of the division of tangible, intangible and natural domains of heritage (Dearborn & Stallmeyer, 2009). The management of WHS needs *“for development planning to more systematically incorporate the livelihoods and wellbeing of local residents”* (Sims & Winter, 2015, p. 33).

Nonetheless, the WH brand, for King & Halpenny (2014), signals outsiders and tourists that properties are *“so irreplaceable to humankind that its values must be sustained intact in perpetuity for the benefit of future generations”* (p. 768), therefore it should be conserved and preserved. Besides, is undeniable, that the WH brand is a *“standard certification of authenticity and quality”* (King & Halpenny, 2014, p. 768).

2.7. CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has presented the relation between the local communities and their heritage and with the WHS and its designation, giving a theoretical framework for the understanding

of the effects of the designation over the local community in a peripheral city such as Mompox. The shifting meaning of heritage has been analysed, as well as its evolution from objects to process in communities, as well as the categories and values that can arise.

The analysis of the WH label, the procedure and development help to understand how this designation can affect a territory and a community, and the role the local community has had over time. Also, how the procedures and UNESCO principles have changed to include them more, due to the many problematics that have been evidenced in sites designated before 2007.

The effects of World Heritage Designation on communities are varied and different for each case. The characteristics of the site and the town-city determines how positive, negative or neutral these effects will be. Also, the reactions and empowerment of the community, the affections, conflicts, and the identity created vary every time. The projects made around these two elements – heritage and community engagement – are the ones that can make a difference in the sustainability and development of the heritage site and the surrounding community.

In the next chapter the context of Mompox will be explained, a small peripheral town with historical importance in colonial times. The geographical context, history and main characteristics will be studied; along with an overview of the heritage legislation in Colombia, to understand the development of this historical centre, protected by national laws and designated as a World Heritage Site.

CHAPTER III.

THE WORLD HERITAGE SITE OF MOMPOX: CHANGE AND CONTINUITY



Figure 3: Santa Barbara Church in Mompox.
Source. Rueda, R. 2017

3.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to provide an understanding of how the city of Santa Cruz de Mompox was inscribed on the World Heritage List and the overall context of the development of the city before its inscription. As my work seeks to examine the ways in which the World Heritage label has impacted upon the wider social and economic life of the communities of Mompox it is necessary to understand not only the specific aspects of its heritage but also the wider historical and geographical conditions which have shaped this Colombian City.

In this chapter, I will provide a general overview of the geographical aspects of the Municipality of Mompox within the Department of Bolivar. The current day peripherality of Mompox is the result of both environmental and economic changes that arguably have helped shape the heritage assets it is noted for. As with many cities in South America, Mompox is largely a product of Spanish colonialism which not only left its mark in terms of built heritage but also systems of governance and administration and in terms of shaping the economies of the City.

As Corradine (1981) has noted, Mompox did not follow the patterns of Spanish colonialism in the structure of the town, because it depended on the river; nonetheless, the architecture responded to the colonial style that has since been shaped by the various iterations of nationalisms that emerged within the post-colonial period. Given that Mompox is designated World Heritage mainly on the grounds of its preserved colonial architecture, it is important to understand the City also in the context of the changes associated with post-colonization.

Since my research focuses upon the changes that have taken place since the date of World Heritage inscription in 1995, it is important to understand how the communities of Mompox are structured and have developed, how they interface with the economies that were long-established and those which have emerged. As with other World Heritage Cities, Mompox had a past – a population, landscape, economy, and relations with the rest of the country – before designation, thus it is important to understand the context, into which World Heritage status is born.

3.2. ISSUES OF LOCATION

Colombia is situated at the North Western tip of South America, and is bordered by five countries: to the east with Venezuela and Brazil, south with Ecuador and Peru and North East with Panama (Pedraza, 1991). It is the only country in South America that borders two oceans: Pacific Ocean and Caribbean Sea.

Because of the topographic diversity, this country has a natural richness: there are three mountain ranges that go through the country: east, central and west, and two main rivers born in the south of the country (Cauca and Magdalena), though there are numerous other rivers that cross through the territory (Pedraza, 1991).



Figure 4: Map of Colombia

Source: Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi, taken from: Wikipedia [Public Domain].

Colombia is divided into five regions: Atlantic, Pacific, Andina, Orinoquia and Amazonas, and is sub-divided by 32 Departments. The capital of the country is Santa Fe de Bogotá, located in the centre of the country (as Figure 4 shows). One of the Departments is Bolivar, located in the north of the country in the Caribbean Region, which is crossed by the Magdalena river (Briceño & Briceño, 1991). Its Capital is Cartagena de Indias, known because of its Port and fortress, inscribed in the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1984 (UNESCO, n.d.-f) which today is one of the main touristic destinations from Colombia. Santa Cruz de Mompox is also located in the Department of Bolivar, as shown in Figures 4 and 5.



Figure 5: Location of Bolivar in Colombia and of Mompox in Bolivar

Source: Wikipedia [Public Domain].

The city is generally called Mompós or Mompox, as is the case throughout this thesis. During the sixteenth and until mid-nineteenth centuries, it was surrounded by the Magdalena River and its small arms: La Loba, Mompox and Chicagua, forming a great island. Its climatic characteristics define this territory as a Dry Tropical Forest, 16.5 metres above the sea level,

with an annual average temperature of 31.8 degrees Celsius and average relative humidity of 75% (Alcaldía Municipal Santa Cruz de Mompox, 2008, 2012; Corradine Angulo, 1981), this has determined the architecture, lifestyle, and economical activities that have shaped the territory.

Due to high temperatures, humidity, and the influence of rivers, the flora and fauna of this territory are very rich. The city of Mompox is between a big rural area characterized by swamps and high lands, which have been basically used for cattle raising. The river provides a great number of aquatic species, even if the pollution levels have grown in recent years, and fishing is important to support everyday life (Alcaldía Municipal Santa Cruz de Mompox, 2012).

The municipality is 645.37 Km² in extent with level topography and a predominance of swamps (Corradine Angulo, 1981; Peñas & Arquez Van-Satrahlen, 1994). This forced the creation of the cities and villages in the highest places of the territory, for example, the municipal head (urban area), where the WHS is located. Besides, the municipality has smaller towns and groups of houses in the rural area (Alcaldía Municipal Santa Cruz de Mompox, 2008, 2012; Corradine Angulo, 1981). This rural area covers 97% of the territory (623.67 Km²) and the urban area only 3% (21.7 Km²) (Alcaldía Municipal Santa Cruz de Mompox, 2008, 2012).

Mompox has had an accessibility problem since the changing of the river. It has been isolated from the rest of the country: during the rainy season the roads are damaged, while, during the summer or dry season, the rivers and swamps that serve as fluvial communication dry out (Viloria, 2011). In 2015 the bridge “Talaigua Nuevo” was opened, making Mompox accessible by land from Cartagena and Barranquilla. In 2019 the bridge “Roncador” give the opportunity of crossing the river without the need of a Ferry, joining the “momposina” depression with Magangué. This bridge is beneficial for tourism and the times of transportation (Montaño, 2018).

Before, Mompox was accessible by river. Nowadays, due to navigability limitations, it is not possible to go to other cities by these means. Therefore, today the access to the territory of Mompox is limited to terrestrial roads and only a few charter flights from Cartagena, Barranquilla and Bogotá to San Bernardo Mompox Airport. Nonetheless, this airport was opened for commercial flights in 2019. Before these developments, the normal access ways were to travel to Barranquilla and then travel by ground transportation for eight hours until Mompox. The second option is to travel from Cartagena, for six hours by ground; both roads are still in use.

3.3. A CITY WITH A COLONIAL PAST

To understand the context and historical moment in which Mompox developed as an economic and political centre, it is important to start from the colonization of South America and the territory known today as Colombia.

Simán (2016) explains that colonization started after the European countries began the conquest of new lands because of their low economic development. The territory known today as America and the Caribbean, called the New World was the first but not the only one found during this colonization process, aiming to obtain an overseas empire. Cristobal Colón in 1492 representing the Spanish Monarchy was the first to arrive to America. Colón saw two great economic opportunities when he arrived at the New World: gold exploitation, and slavery of the people who lived in these territories (Simán, 2016).

When the conquerors arrived at the continent, they encountered tough climate conditions, extensive jungle regions and indigenous communities who either fought against them or showed them their richness in gold and resources; in any way they were murdered or died from introduced diseases, the survivors being enslaved. As the Europeans advanced in the Caribbean islands and continental land, indigenous communities started to diminish their population due to massacres, overexertion, slavery or sicknesses (Simán, 2016).

Mejía (1991) argues that when the first European colonists arrived in America they reviewed the need to reformulate the principles of their stay in America. Simán explains that they

addressed this issue by building settlements: small towns from where they could control larger pieces of land and indigenous communities (2016), like Cartagena, Santa Marta, Bogotá and Mompox. For Giraldo & Ladrón (1981) the rivers Magdalena and Cauca were used as communication channels, which facilitated the dominance over the land. The three main economic activities undertaken in the colonies were mining, agriculture and commerce; the settlers needed slaves to develop these activities and to build roads and cities (Giraldo & Ladrón, 1981).

This cheap labour came from the indigenous people in the beginning, but because of massive numbers of deaths, the Spanish saw the necessity of bringing slaves from Africa who happened to be more resistant to the work conditions and more skilful in various activities, starting a great slavery market between Africa and America in 1513 (Simán, 2016). For Serje, this started a multi-coloured and multi-cultural society, based on the physical and cultural miscegenation (2005) that characterizes the society in Colombia and Mompox.

According to LaRosa & Mejía (2013) the different revolutions around the globe, such as the independence of North America, the French Revolution and the Haitian Revolution, influenced the independence process of the Colombian territory. Colombia's liberator was Simón Bolívar and the independence process was led by *criollos* (decedents of Spanish people born in Latin-America) (LaRosa & Mejía, 2013). This is an important element for the conservation and use of colonial architecture because they used and lived in the same constructions, therefore most of this architecture survived through the battles and during the Republic.

The independence process was fought between 1810 and 1819, after numerous battles between the defenders of the Spanish regime and those who fought for independence. In 1819 the name of the territory changed from Nueva Granada to República de Colombia (LaRosa & Mejía, 2013; Mejía, 1991).

With the liberation of Panamá and Ecuador, Simón Bolívar in 1822 founded a new country comprised of Colombia, Panamá, Venezuela and Ecuador which was named La Gran

Colombia. However, as described by LaRosa & Mejía (2013) and Mejía (1991) this dream was short-lived and in 1830 the countries divided with Colombia consolidated as a Republic, initially named Estado de la Nueva Granada. In 1885 it was re-named as República of Colombia, as known today.

As it is stated in the 1991 Constitution, Colombia is a *“Social state of law, organized in the form of a unitary, decentralized Republic, with autonomy of its territorial entities, democratic, participatory and pluralist”* (República de Colombia, 1991, Art.1). This will rule in every aspect of the estate, including heritage, as will be explained further in this chapter.

3.3.1. The rise of Mompox as an economical axis in Colombia

The first settlers in what today is known as Mompox were the *Zenúes*, an indigenous community that lived in various territories in Colombia. This community left this land after 1000 a.C. Then it was occupied by the *malibúes* (another indigenous community), whose main economic activities were agriculture, hunting and fishing (Alcaldía Municipal Santa Cruz de Mompox, 2008; Botiva et al., 1989; Peñas & Arquez Van-Satrahlen, 1994). The division of the city still maintains the distribution of the territory between the three *cacicazgos* (territory of three indigenous leaders): Mahamón, Zuzuá and Mompoj, this last one is the most important (Alcaldía Municipal Santa Cruz de Mompox, 2008); even if today there is no trace of these indigenous communities today in the city.

After the arrival of Spanish people to America in 1492, and during sixteenth century, the Spanish people began to spread through different regions. For the conquest of the new land, they annihilated the indigenous populations in their conquering path (Simán, 2016). In 1501 the river-mouth of the Magdalena was discovered by Rodrigo de Bastidas, nonetheless, it was not until 1529-1530 that they could go through the river-mouth to the inner lands (Peñas, 1988). This created migrations by the indigenous peoples to higher lands, to escape the Spanish troops (Peñas & Arquez Van-Satrahlen, 1994).

The Magdalena River was the fastest and easiest way to carry goods, provisions and people from Cartagena (the port in the north of the country) to Santa Fe (the capital in the centre

of the country). According to Peñas & Arquez Van-Satrahlen (1994), this is the main reason why Mompox was founded in this location between 1537 and 1540, because it was a strategic position to make a stop in the journey. Salzedo (1987) explains that with the foundation of the city, different religious orders arrived and started building convents and churches, one reason why today there are numerous churches in the city.

In Mompox the indigenous people were used for the construction of canoes and *champanes*, as *bogas* (rowers) and for navigating in the rivers (Peñas & Arquez Van-Satrahlen, 1994). Vilorio (2011) suggests that, because of this, Mompox began to gain importance as a fluvial axis for the river transportation between Cartagena and Santafe.

During the seventeenth century, the indigenous enslaved population was mixed or replaced with African population (Salzedo, 1987) to work in the *bogas*, but also to work in filigree craft, blacksmithing and cattle raising (Peñas, 1988). During this century, Mompox obtained the name of Villa (Alcaldía Municipal Santa Cruz de Mompox, 2012) and was not only important for the transportation of merchandise from and to the centre of the country in *champanes*, but also to transport gold from the mines in Antioquia (near Mompox), and to transport the smuggling from Riohacha; it was the only place who could provide the vessels (*champanes*), the rowers (*bogas*) and the provisions for the journey (Peñas, 1988). Salzedo argues that this importance is also represented in the construction of public and military buildings and churches from different religious communities (1987).

According to Peñas & Arquez Van-Satrahlen (1994) in the eighteenth century, the merchants predominated, but there were also the cattle ranching, that started to flourish since the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and the smuggling. The one big problem that besieged the city was the constant attacks of the *cimarrones* (slaves that escaped and formed small towns) (Peñas & Arquez Van-Satrahlen, 1994). During these centuries families of great importance lived in this city, who gave to the city its beautiful architecture (Senado de la República - Presidencia, 1989).

During the first years of the nineteenth century Mompox was an educational and cultural axis (Peñas & Arquez Van-Satrahlen, 1994). Besides, LaRosa & Mejía (2013) explain that this was the first city proclaiming the independence from Spain and from the king during the 5th and 6th of August 1810. It was an important place for the story of Colombian independence (Peñas & Arquez Van-Satrahlen, 1994; Senado de la República - Presidencia, 1989); winning the title of Courageous City (*ciudad valerosa*) (Alcaldía Municipal Santa Cruz de Mompox, 2012; Peñas & Arquez Van-Satrahlen, 1994).

3.3.2. The Decline of Mompox as an economical capital

During 1840 the drying of the arm of the river Mompox accentuated, caused by the changing course of the Magdalena River creating a new arm called La Loba. For Peñas & Arquez Van-Satrahlen (1994) this meant the loss of the strategic position and its commercial importance; besides the country was submerged in a bi-partisan war, the territorial ordering of Mompox was inefficient and the administration did not respond to the needs of the people or the territory. The economy was limited to agriculture, cattle ranching, goldsmithing, blacksmithing and pottery (Peñas & Arquez Van-Satrahlen, 1994). The development of the city was low during this century (Alcaldía Municipal Santa Cruz de Mompox, 2012).

During the twentieth century, there was a significant growth of the city, however, the lack of planning resulted in gaps in the city and the loss of urban uniformity; the construction of the cemetery during this century was a historic landmark (Alcaldía Municipal Santa Cruz de Mompox, 2012). Also, some communication highways were built, but not enough for the territory (Peñas & Arquez Van-Satrahlen, 1994). During these last two centuries, the city suffered great fires (1793, 1922, 1997, 1998) that destroyed numerous buildings, although modern buildings with similar architecture replaced them, retaining a stylistic coherence (Alcaldía Municipal Santa Cruz de Mompox, 2012). In 1959 the historical centre was named a “National Monument” and in 1995 was inscribed as World Heritage Site by the UNESCO (Viloria, 2011).

3.4. SHIFTING ECONOMIES

In Colombia, the main economic activities in 2016 were (1) financial establishments, insurance, real estate activities and business services; (2) construction; (3) agriculture, livestock, hunting, forestry and fishing; (4) Commerce, repair, restaurants and hotels and (5) manufacturing industry (DANE, 2017). In the Department of Bolívar, the main economic activity is agriculture, livestock, hunting, forestry, and fishing. Only the District of Cartagena centres its economy in commerce and services, tourism, the petrochemical industry and construction (Gobernación del Departamento de Bolívar, 2016). On the other hand, the economy of Mompox is supported by activities such as: fishing, goldsmithing, pottery, woodwork, blacksmithing, brickwork, roofing factories, tourism, agriculture, livestock, and commerce (Alcaldía Municipal Santa Cruz de Mompox, 2012).

The handicraft such as filigree, pottery and woodwork predominates as exclusive activities for the people, but are not well-paid jobs. The filigree is made today with silver, not with gold as it was made in the eighteenth century, this activity began in the Pre-Columbian period with the *zenú* people (indigenous community); it has been passed on from generation to generation and through being an apprentice in a workshop. Pottery and ceramics are two of the most important handicraft activities in the territory but are going through difficult times because of the lack of stimulation. The woodwork is done with tree species from the region, the most representative element is the rocking chair, but there are other elements made, such as: bedroom sets, living room sets, dining room sets, kitchens, doors, windows, colonial ceilings. The forging of the window grilles is one of the most representative elements of the architecture of Mompox, representing the colonial construction, therefore, there are still people working in blacksmithing (Alcaldía Municipal Santa Cruz de Mompox, 2012).

Agriculture and fishing are two activities that turn depending on the season of the year: during the dry season, the countrymen dedicates activity to agriculture (which is the second line of economy in Mompox), although there is little mechanisation and it has limited economical support for the development of the activity from the government. During the rainy season, when the rivers are high, people are dedicated to fishing, being the only

economic activity for 30% of the families in the Mompox region (Alcaldía Municipal Santa Cruz de Mompox, 2008, 2012). Cattle raising is the first line of the economy of Mompox, although it tends to be expensive and seasonal (Alcaldía Municipal Santa Cruz de Mompox, 2012).

Commerce is the third line of economy in the municipality and is the most important activity of the city of Mompox: agencies, stores, drugstores, warehouses. Also, there are families that are dedicated to the production of traditional gastronomic products like layer cheese, cakes, candy's, fruit candies, fruit wines, among others (Alcaldía Municipal Santa Cruz de Mompox, 2012). Tourism has flourished in the past few years in Mompox.

In Colombia, tourism is a growing activity and has been accelerating in the last years, because of the cultural and natural richness, but also, because a lot of places are being targeted as potential touristic destinations thanks to the recent peace agreement. For 2016 Colombia received 5,092,052 tourists and for 2017, 6,531,226. The main touristic destinations based on the number of tourists are: Bogotá, Cartagena, Medellin and Cali (Procolombia, 2016, 2017). In Bolivar, the most important touristic destinations are Cartagena, Mompox, San Basilio de Palenque and San Jacinto (Procolombia, 2013).

The development of tourism in Mompox was recent, the municipality, as explained, is isolated and peripheral, two characteristics that have limited the arrival of people to the destination. The historic centre was named in 1995 as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO, but it was not until 2010 that the municipality actually began to be noticed and involved in heritage and touristic agendas.

In 2010, Mompox was part of the municipalities that created the Network of Heritage Towns, composed of 17 heritage towns named National Cultural Good (Red de Pueblos Patrimonio, n.d.). In 2017 it was certified as a "sustainable touristic destination" by the ICONTEC and the Ministry of Commerce, Industry, and Tourism (Ministerio de Comercio Industria y Turismo, 2017). This certification *"includes the conservation of cultural heritage and the possibility for this municipality to access the economic resources of the State, international tourism circuits*

and the presence of more national and foreign tourists” (Ministerio de Comercio Industria y Turismo, 2017). Also, in 2017, the National Government gave Mompox the title of Touristic, Cultural and Historic Special District (*Distrito Especial, Turístico, Cultural e Histórico*) with the law 1875 of 2017; this will help the touristic development of the municipality and will allow it to look for new and different resources. Nowadays, is one of the destinations promoted nationally and internationally by the Colombian government.

3.5. POPULATION GROWTH AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

These economical activities and the isolation that Mompox endured during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have determined the growth of the population and their life conditions. The population in Mompox has been growing over the past 50 years. The population in the city/urban space has always been greater than the people who live in rural places (Viloria, 2011).

The total Mompox reported population in 2015 was 44.124 people, 22.206 female and 21.918 male. Even if the population growth has been constant, the unsatisfied needs of the population have been higher than the national since 1973. This can be seen because the levels of poverty are higher in Mompox than the national average (Viloria, 2011), evidencing the low levels of economic development in the municipality.

It is important to note that the percentage of illiteracy in the people over 15 years (2005) is 18.9%, higher than the Department of Bolivar level (13.6%) and the percentage of unemployment was 38% in 2015 (Alcaldía Municipal Santa Cruz de Mompox, 2016). The public service coverage is still lower than the national average, the electrical energy and the water supply are the two services with greater coverage, while the sewage system and the natural gas were still precarious (Gobernación de Bolívar, 2008 cited by Viloria, 2011).

These numbers evidence that the municipality has not covered the basic needs of the local people. Today, the government is expecting the tourism to help the economic development, giving more opportunities to local people.

3.6. THE PRODUCTION OF HERITAGE IN COLOMBIA

Colombian governments, through history, have shown a continuous interest in heritage and have declared since the beginning of the Colombian State different objects or sites as heritage. Before the Constitution of 1991, the referents about heritage are based on international agreements and conventions, the decision making had a top-down model: the government identified and decided about the management without the participation of the local communities; there were no plans or political guidelines (Garavito, 2006). After this constitution they were complemented by the peculiarities of the national-local context; this meant: a participative democracy in the identification and management of heritage sites, the declaration of a multicultural identity and a decentralized administration. The government has to make the politics and it should procure the participation of local communities (Garavito, 2006).

3.6.1. The beginning of the acknowledgment and declaration of Cultural Heritage: the importance of colonial heritage

As Duque argues (1996) the first legal dispositions about heritage started in 1918, 1919, 1920 and 1930. These stated that the objects, monuments, buildings, fortresses, paintings, sculptures from the colonial period, the pre-Columbian monuments and any other items with historic, ethnographic or artistic value should be kept, maintained and cared for. The archaeological monuments and objects from San Agustín, Pitalito and Alto Magdalena were already considered in 1931 as National Monuments. These laws were the background for the protection legislation existing today.

The law 163 of 1959 and the decree 263 of 1963 were next, and they made a previous characterization of heritage, that includes: the pre-Columbian epoch, the colonial epoch, the independence and the beginning of the republic epoch (Garavito, 2006). Giving the same importance to the findings of cultures of ancient indigenous communities, the constructions that came with the colonial era and those created after independence, in the period of the

republic (Duque, 1996). The values were not only because of the age of the objects or sites, but also because of the importance for the national government and identity.

These laws gave the first declarations of heritage to 14 of the 44 historical centres and the streets, plazas, walls, houses, historical constructions and the perimeters of those centres during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. The historic centres identified as National Monuments were: Tunja, Cartagena, Mompox, Popayán, Guaduas, Pasto, Santa Marta, Santa Fe de Antioquia, Mariquita, Cartago, Villa de Leyva, Cali, Cerrito y Buga (Garavito, 2006). All these towns/cities were founded in the colonial period and have representations of colonial architecture. Two of these sites were named as World Heritage Sites: the Port, Fortresses and Group of Monuments of Cartagena in 1984 (UNESCO, n.d.-f); and the Historic Centre of Santa Cruz de Mompox in 1995 (UNESCO, n.d.-c).

Besides, the monuments that represented the independence and the liberating campaign were also important and in 1975 four monuments that represent multiple battles and martyrs were declared as Heritage. These were: Monument to the Battle of Ayacucho, Obelisk to the Martyrs, Template of the Liberator and Monument to the Battle of the Pantano de Vargas (this last one was declared as mixed heritage along with the natural site of Cerro el Cangrejo) (Garavito, 2006). In 2001 the first intangible heritage of the country was declared: Carnaval de Negros y Blancos de Pasto, which was then inscribed in the World Heritage list in 2009 (UNESCO, n.d.-e).

The historical centres or the urban heritage have had a series of problems trying to participate in the social and economic development of towns and cities in Colombia. The norms and laws have been trying to avoid the destruction of heritage and its value, and at the same time understanding it as an important part of the city, adjusting it to modern life (Salazar, 1996). In Colombia, as said by Benjamín Barney *"Most of the historical sectors of the cities have been destroyed and its space has been drastically modified and its natural landscape has deteriorated. Those places that have not invaded "development" or "progress" have been partially saved, but they are saved because they do not evolve, because they are almost dead"* (Barney, 1996, p. 25).

3.6.2. The recognition of the multicultural identity of Colombia: laws, plans and process

Today the legal system around heritage begins with the Political Constitution to the legal dispositions and national and departmental councils. The Cultural Heritage is protected by the Constitution of 1991: *“The cultural Heritage of the Nation is under the protection of the state”* (Art. 72). This article also establishes that *“the archaeological heritage and the cultural goods that conform the national identity are inalienable, unembargable and imprescriptible”*, (Art. 72), nonetheless, they can be loaned to non-profit private entities (Art. 6. Law 1185, 2008; Ley General de Cultura: Ley 397, 1997). The territorial development law, Law 388 of 1997, protects the historical, cultural, and architectural heritage and gives them an important role in the urban development of cities.

In Colombia cultural heritage is divided into intangible heritage (Decreto 2941 de 2009: Por El Cual Se Reglamenta Parcialmente La Ley 397 de 1997, Modificada Por La Ley 1185 de 2008 En Lo Correspondiente Al Patrimonio Cultural de La Nación de Naturaleza Inmaterial., 2009; Resolución 0330 de 2010: Por La Cual Se Desarrollan Algunos Aspectos Técnicos Relativos Al Patrimonio Cultural de La Nación de Naturaleza Inmaterial., 2010) and tangible heritage (Decreto 763 de 2009: Por El Cual Se Reglamentan Parcialmente Las Leyes 814 de 2003 y 397 de 1997, Modificada Por Medio de La Ley 1185 de 2008, En Lo Correspondiente Al Patrimonio Cultural de La Nación de Naturaleza Material., 2009; Resolución 0983 de 2010: Por La Cual Se Desarrollan Algunos Aspectos Técnicos Relativos Al Patrimonio Cultural de La Nación de Naturaleza Material., 2010). The tangible heritage comprises a) goods of cultural interest: immovable cultural heritage, movable cultural goods; b) archaeological heritage; c) heritage of moving images and d) archival heritage (Decreto 763 de 2009: Por El Cual Se Reglamentan Parcialmente Las Leyes 814 de 2003 y 397 de 1997, Modificada Por Medio de La Ley 1185 de 2008, En Lo Correspondiente Al Patrimonio Cultural de La Nación de Naturaleza Material., 2009).

Cultural goods with special interest for the communities and specific values can be declared as cultural interest goods (CIG) (*Bien de interés cultural- BIC*) by the governmental territorial

entity (Art. 5. Law 1185, 2008). It is important to note that there is not a single definition for national cultural heritage, but this can be constituted by:

“all the tangible goods, the intangible manifestations, the products and the representations of the culture that are expression of the Colombian nationality, such as the Spanish language, the languages and dialects of the indigenous communities, black and Creoles, tradition, ancestral knowledge, cultural landscape, customs and habits, as well as material goods of tangible and intangible nature to which are attributed, among others, special historical, artistic, scientific, aesthetic or symbolic interest, in areas such as plastic, architectural, urban, archaeological, linguistic, sound, musical, audiovisual, film, testimonial, documentary, literary, bibliographic, museological or anthropological”. (Art. 1. Law 1185, 2008).

The general law of culture, Law 397 was made in 1997 and was modified in 2008 by the Law 1185 named as Law of Cultural Heritage; it establishes that the main objective of this state policy is *“safeguard, protection, recovery, conservation, sustainability and dissemination of cultural heritage, with the purpose of serving as a testimony of the national identity, both in the present and in the future”* (Art. 1. Law 1185, 2008). For this, the Development Plans made by the territorial entities (departments, municipalities) must coordinate with the Plan of Culture and the National Development Plan (Art. 1. Law 1185, 2008).

The 2008 law also establishes the National System for the National Cultural Heritage, which is composed of the organizations that plan, control and protect heritage, by the goods and manifestations of national cultural heritage, the goods of cultural interest and by its owners and those responsible for it (Art. 2. Law 1185, 2008); the National Council of Cultural Heritage is part of this system, its functions are stated by the Decree 1313 of 2008 and Decree 763 of 2009. This council is responsible for advising the national government in the safeguarding, protection, promotion, sustainability, conservation, regulation and management of national heritage (Art. 2. Decree 1313, 2008), also in the promotion and encouragement of the appropriation and valuation of cultural heritage (Art. 2. Decree 763, 2009).

The Decree 1313 of 2008 also institutes the creation of the Departmental and District Heritage Councils, which have the same functions said before, but for the delimited territory (Art. 10. Decree 1313, 2008). The Decree 763 of 2009 establishes the specific competencies of each territorial entity regarding the national, departmental, municipal and district cultural heritage, such as: creating and managing the list of candidates of cultural interest goods, declaration of cultural interest goods, revocation of the declaration, approval of the Special Plan of Management if needed, authorization of the interventions, among other powers (Art. 4. Decree 763, 2009).

The declaration of CIG can be done over one particular good or a collection of goods (considered as an indivisible unit) (Art. 1. Law 1185, 2008). This declaration is the responsibility of the territorial entities, depending if it is of national, departmental, or municipal scope. In the national scope, is the Ministry of Culture which declares and manages the CIG, with the previous approval of the National Council for Cultural Heritage. The departmental and municipal entities have the responsibility to declare and manage the cultural heritage goods at each level, with the previous approval of the Departmental/District Council for Cultural Heritage. In this, it follows the principle of decentralization that governs the country, but the principle of coordination between the different levels needs to be always followed (Art. 5. Law 1185, 2008).

The process for the declaration at any territorial level can be seen in Figure 6.

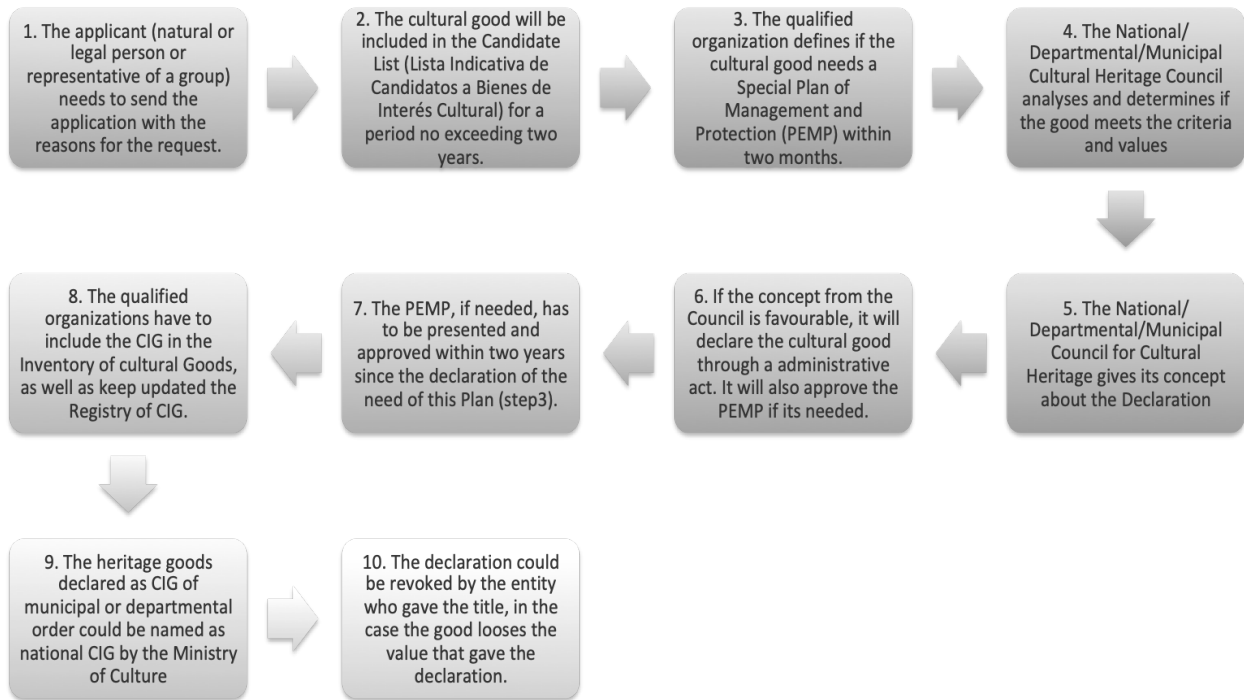


Figure 6: Process for the declaration of Cultural Goods, at National, Departmental and Municipal Level in Colombia.

Source: Author's own creation, based on (Art. 5. Law 1185, 2008) & (Art 2-19 Resolution 0983, 2010)

When required, the CIG will have a Special Plan of Management and Protection (PEMP, in Spanish), considered as a management instrument that establishes actions for the protection and sustainability in time; these plans have to be included in the territorial ordering plan of the department/municipality (Art. 7. Law 1185, 2008). The cultural goods are divided depending on their characteristics: immovable goods: urban group (urban sector or public space) and architectural groups; movable cultural goods: private or public collections and monuments in public spaces (Art, 17-30. Decree 763, 2009). This plan is the responsibility of municipal or district authority for the urban groups of cultural goods, such as Mompox (Art, 31. Decree 763, 2009). Every PEMP requires the development of two phases: analysis and diagnosis, and an integral proposal (Art, 33. Decree 763, 2009). The application of this plan will be verified once a year by the competent authorities (Art, 34. Decree 763, 2009).

Regarding the immovable cultural goods, every urban group requires a PEMP, but the architectural groups only when they are at risk or when they have to redefine their conservation norms. For the immovable cultural goods, the plan has to establish the affected area, the influence zone, the level of intervention permitted (level 1: integral conservation; level 2: architectural conservation; level 3: contextual conservation); the management conditions (physical-technical aspects, administrative aspects and financial aspects); and the dissemination plan (Art. 17-22. Decree 763, 2009).

In this plan any intervention needed is also established, such as: *“acts of conservation, restoration, recovery, removal, demolition, dismemberment, displacement or subdivision”* (Art. 7. Law 1185, 2008); these interventions need the approval of the territorial entity that gave the declaration and the supervision of professionals accredited by this same institution. All the cultural heritage goods have to be registered in the National Register of Cultural Interest Goods (Art. 7. Law 1185, 2008).

The Law 1185 of 2008 also included intangible cultural heritage, which generates identity, and establishes links of collective memory. This heritage also needs a plan for the strengthening, revitalization, sustainability and promotion of the manifestation: Safeguard Plan (Art. 7. Law 1185, 2008).

The Decree 763 of 2009 explains the evaluation criteria for the Declaration of a CIG, there are 10 criteria: antiquity, authorship, authenticity, constitution, shape, conservation, environmental context, urban context, physical context, representativeness, and sociocultural context. These criteria allow the attribution of values to the goods, such as: historical value, aesthetic value, and symbolic value. The goods can have one or all the values and fulfil one or all the criteria named before (Art. 6. Decree 763, 2009).

It is important to note that in the laws there is no mention of the involvement of community in the process of Cultural Heritage. The only stage where the community is named is in the last element of the PEMP: the dissemination plan. This plan has to ensure the support of the

community in the conservation of the cultural heritage, through the divulgation of its characteristics and values (Art. 22. Decree 763, 2009).

Nonetheless, in the latest governmental documents such as *Cultural heritage for All* (2010) from the Ministry of Culture, where all the definitions, process and documents needed for the cultural heritage and its declaration are explained, heritage is seen as a tool for social economic development, capable of influencing the quality of life positively. Besides, with this document, they want to involve all actors including the private sector and the civil society; acknowledging that it has been a process assumed by the public sector for years (Mincultura, 2010). In 1999 the program “Cultural Heritage Watcher” (*Vigía del patrimonio cultural*) was launched, a strategy of citizen participation that will help “*recognize, value, protect and disseminate cultural heritage through the formation of voluntary brigades of citizens who ensure the protection of the cultural heritage, and to expand the operational body dedicated to the valuation and care of the heritage*” (Mincultura, n.d.). This shows the efforts to include the local communities and give them the responsibilities for their own heritage.

On the other side, Conpes (National Council of Social and Economic Politics - *Consejo Nacional de Política Económica y Social*) is the “*highest national planning authority and serves as an advisory body to the Government*” (CONPES, n.d.). It studies and approves documents for the development of general policies (CONPES, n.d.). In terms of heritage, there are three Conpes worth naming: 3162, 3255 and 3658.

Conpes 3162 (2002) gives the guidelines for the National Cultural Plan 2001-2010, where they argue the need to strengthen the culture to be part of the economic development of Colombia to generate benefits for the community. In addition, it makes it clear that the government has to preserve cultural heritage and needs to support people, communities or institutions that develop or promote cultural expressions. In this plan, acknowledgement is given that popular participation in culture has been limited, due to multiple current situations:

“The Colombian tragedy may be inscribed in the fact that, in the face of this wealth of social life and cultural creation, there has been an absence of spaces for systematic and efficient political participation of popular sectors and media whose exclusion had a negative impact on the development of a political culture of plural participation, able to respond to challenges of acute conflict and neutralization of armed violent agents” (Plan Nacional de Cultura 2001-2010: Hacia una ciudadanía democrática cultural, Un plan colectivo desde y para un país plural, Ministerio de Cultura, 2001-2010, p. 26)

The Colombian government has focused in the last decades to: *“Recognize the cultural diversity of the country; improve the institutional and legislative structure of the sector; formulate guidelines of cultural policy; promote the participatory construction of cultural policies; and develop programs with social impact”* (Conpes 3162, 2002). These guidelines reaffirm the need for updated information about cultural expressions, as well as the need for financing and a strong decentralized administration. The awareness and training of communities to appropriate different knowledges, is also important in the participation of local people (Conpes 3162, 2002). So too is the acknowledgement that each group has to value, preserve and conserve integrally their cultural heritage, and to strengthen their link with their social process, even if this relation has been disregarded in the past (Ministerio de Cultura, 2001-2010).

On the other hand, the National Cultural Plan 2001-2010 establishes as one of its principles the *“Creative appreciation of the memories and projection of heritage in the plural construction of the Nation”* arguing that tangible and intangible heritage has to be constituted in reference and in dialogue between the different national identities (Ministerio de Cultura, 2001-2010). Also, that the cultural national heritage is the result of the constant dialogue between the different collective memories from the groups that live in the country (2001-2010). This National Plan has not been modified or updated as it is considered appropriate and valid for today’s needs.

Conpes 3255 is about the distribution of resources and taxes; part of these resources have to go to Social appropriation of cultural heritage. It is agreed that this will be achieved through revitalization of heritage, historical centres, archaeological parks, natural reserves; articulation of heritage with the socio-economic development; process of citizen participation; the inventory and preparation PEMP's; promotion and dissemination of heritage; conservation, maintenance and protection of heritage knowledge, and enjoyment of cultural heritage.

This Conpes argues that there are some national projects that help the previous objectives: the National Inventory Program, the National Plan for the Revitalization of Historic Centres - PNRCH, the Program for the Restoration and Maintenance of National Cultural Interest Goods, the Cultural Heritage Watchers, and Cultural Tourism (Conpes 3255, 2003).

Last, but not least, in Conpes 3658 (2010) - Policy guidelines for the recovery of the historical centres of Colombia – it is stated that including heritage in the social process, urban dynamics and sustainable development could improve the quality of life of the community and also help strengthen a sense of place and identity. This is emphasized in the National Plan for the Recovery of Historical Centres (*Plan Nacional de Recuperación de Centros Históricos* – PNRCH), which looks for a better quality of life, the recovery of housing and public spaces in historic centres, promoting the social and economic progress, incorporating cultural tourism to bring benefits to local people (Dirección de Patrimonio - Ministerio de Cultura, 2003).

The PNRCH is a planning and management instrument for the recovery and revitalization of historical centres, that include the needs of communities. This plan wants to

“Recover, conserve and update the functions of the historical centres of the cities with a vision to the future, where (...) they update their functions as active areas of the city, where the sustainable development is promoted from the preservation existing structures, complementing them with new actions within their territories” (Dirección de Patrimonio - Ministerio de Cultura, 2003).

In fact, in Conpes 3658 (2010) the problems of physical, social and economic deterioration of the Colombian historical centres is acknowledged, understanding this as a non-homogeneous process. These problems are explored in Figure 7.

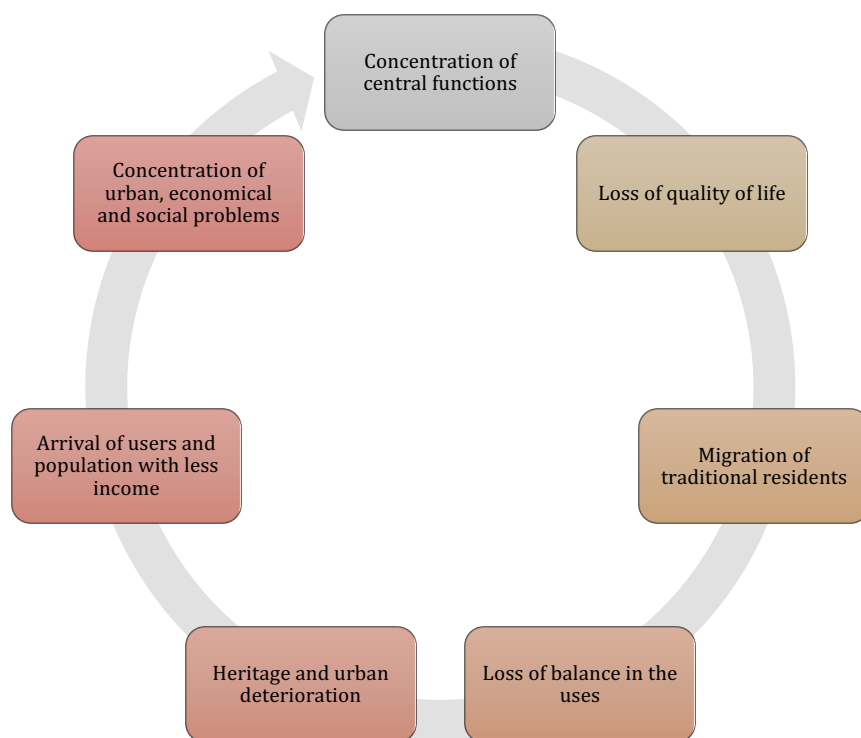


Figure 7. Problems of the Historical Centres

Source: Author's creation based on (Conpes 3658, 2010)

The principal problems found in the 44 historical centres that are National CIG are: weak institutionality, high costs in recovery of public spaces, high costs in recovery of immovable cultural goods, change of use from residential to tertiary uses (commerce and services), the obsolescence of buildings and infrastructure (Conpes 3658, 2010). To respond to these general problems Conpes 3658 proposes national level objectives to contribute to the integral recovery of these historic centres. These consist in supporting the governmental actors and territorial entities in the materialization of the revitalization politics of historical

centres, the optimization of financial resources, and the adaptation of urban functions and architectural conditions (Conpes 3658, 2010)

Based on these problems, is possible to see that the national government is acknowledging the change that is needed in the process to fulfil the regulations and legal norms to be a more integral, engaging process; accommodating the needs of the communities and the interests of conservation and preservation of cultural heritage.

3.7. WORLD HERITAGE IN COLOMBIA

Today there are 1106 Cultural Interest Goods (Mincultura, 2018) that represent every department of the nation. From this there are six that are part of the Cultural World Heritage List and ten in the Intangible World Heritage list; and there are a further 18 elements in the tentative list (UNESCO, n.d.-h). In 1983 Colombia adhered to the 1972 World Heritage Convention and the national legislation started to shape accordingly with the international guidelines.

The first WHS inscribed in Colombia was the Port, Fortresses and Group of Monuments of Cartagena in 1984; followed in 1995 by the Historic Centre of Santa Cruz de Mompox along with the National Archaeological Park of Tierradentro and the San Agustín Archaeological Park (UNESCO, n.d.-g). In 2001 the Coffee Cultural Landscape was inscribed, because of the productive and sustainable landscape that represents a national symbol (UNESCO, n.d.-b). And in 2014 the Qhapaq Ñan, Andean Road System, a transnational site shared with Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador and Peru was added (UNESCO, n.d.-g). In this list, there are two elements representative of the colonial epoch, three that represent past indigenous communities and one cultural landscape.

There are also twelve intangible cultural heritage by UNESCO: two carnivals: Carnival of Barranquilla (2008) and Carnival of Black and White in Pasto (2009). Two religious events: Festival of Saint Francis of Assisi in Quibdó (2012) and the Holy Week processions in Popayán (2009). Three musical representations: Marimba music, traditional chants and dances from the Colombia South Pacific region and Esmeraldas Province of Ecuador (2015), the

Traditional Vallenato music of the Greater Magdalena region (2015) and the Colombian-Venezuelan llano work songs (2017), also the Traditional knowledge and techniques associated with Pasto Varnish mopa-mopa of Putumayo and Nariño (2020) and the Safeguarding strategy of traditional crafts for peacebuilding (2019). Two elements of Colombian indigenous communities: Wayuu normative system, applied by the Pütchipü'üi (*palabrero*) (2010) and the traditional knowledge of the jaguar shamans of Yuruparí (2011). And there is one Cultural space that was created as a community of escaped slaves in the seventeenth century: the cultural space of Palenque de San Basilio (2008) (UNESCO, n.d.-d).

3.8. SANTA CRUZ DE MOMPOX AS A WORLD HERITAGE SITE

According to Corradine Angulo (1981), the economic activities (transportation, storage and exchange of merchandise) defined the type of constructions made in Mompox since the beginning: places of storage for merchandise, houses, supply sites, breeding of *bogas* (rowers) and the construction of *Champanes* (Small ships). The important families, merchants, who lived here also build beautiful houses (Senado de la República - Presidencia, 1989) and important religious communities who arrived gradually built churches, schools and hospitals (Salzedo, 1987).

Today, it is possible to see the architecture and houses of the eighteenth century, in part because of the isolation Mompox had to live after the nineteenth century when the river changed its course. The houses of the eighteenth century predominate, because of the fires during the eighteenth and nineteenth century and the quick reconstruction in a similar architecture (Alcaldía Municipal Santa Cruz de Mompox, 2012).

The development of the city depends on its relationship with the Magdalena River, even the construction of the main roads: *Albarrada* (protection wall against the river-river road), *Calle del medio* (middle street) and *Calle de atrás* (back street). Corradine argues that it does not follow the traditional Spanish structure (rectilinear grid), because of the dependence on the river and its shape (Corradine Angulo, 1981).

The architectural styles that can be found in Mompox are: Baroque, Modéjar (Moorish), Romanesque and Neoclassicism. Most of them are expressed through different elements mixed in the same buildings, there is not a homogeneous panorama so what is created is a blend of styles from different periods. The special architectural elements that can be found in Mompox are: pillars and columns, arches, windows with ledge, gratings, and overhangs, wall studs and posts, house covers, among other features (Corradine Angulo, 1981).

Some important houses, that belonged to the elite of the society and represent the architecture from the town are: *Casa Baja*, *Casa Alta*, *Casa del Te Deum*, *Casa de la Cultura*, *Casa de los Postales de la Marquesa*, *Casa 1734*, *Casa del recuerdo*, among others. A construction with a different use considered of great architectural richness is the *Colegio San Pedro Apostol* also called *Colegio Pinillos* (Corradine Angulo, 1981).

The religious architecture is one of the most important, not only in Mompox, but in Colombia, because of its richness and history. Mompox has six churches, two of them were partially rebuilt and therefore changed from their original architecture: *Iglesia de la Concepción* and *Iglesia de Santo Domingo*; four of them kept their original colonial characteristics, similar to those throughout the country: *San Francisco*, *San Juan de Dios*, *San Agustín* and *Santa Barbara*; this last one has a tower in a moorish style, unique in its kind in the Colombian territory (Corradine Angulo, 1981).

Mompox was named as a National Monument in 1959 by the Law 163, along with other historical – colonial centres: Tunja, Cartagena, Mompox, Popayán, Guaduas, Pasto and Santa Marta. This law was made to protect and conserve the artistic and historical heritage of the Nation (most of the articles of this law were repealed by the Law 1185 – 2008). Mompox was named as a National Monument because of its architectural, urban and landscape values. Before its nomination in 1959, the local government and national heritage institutions for this time (COLCULTURA), created the Agreement 001 of 1994 that comprises the urban area of Mompox, divided into the historical centre and the influence area.

This agreement constitutes a regulation to avoid the destruction of the cultural interest goods, to give to municipalities the responsibility and management of their heritage goods and also to preserve and recover the values and to give rational use to the public and private spaces in the protected area. Its objective is to be an instrument of control under two principles: guarantee the protection of heritage and give alternatives to immovable heritage to adapt to the new conditions and needs of the city, for this, it gives the criteria for the interventions allowed. The idea is to create an equilibrium between protection and urban development (Pizano, Alcaldía Municipal de Mompox - Colcultura, 1994).

It is clear that any change, construction or demolition of the historic centre cannot be done without the authorization of the National Monuments Council or the local Heritage Board and the Secretary of Planning. Besides, it is a duty of every person from Mompox to look after the conservation and protection of the houses declared as cultural heritage and ensure the correct use of the public spaces; although, the owners are the ones that have to ask for permission for any act of conservation or restoration (Agreement 001, 1994). This shows the consideration and the importance of local community in the conservation of their local heritage.

The immovables that have exceptional qualities and represent the urban history since the sixteenth century have the condition of “integral conservation” which intends the protection of the cultural good in its whole, where the only works accepted are: maintenance, repair, adaptation, reconstruction, consolidation, or liberation. The other type of constructions has a “typological conservation” which gives the option of adaptation always keeping the elements of the architectural type (Agreement 001, 1994).

In 1995, the Historical Centre of Santa Cruz de Mompox was inscribed in the World Heritage List because of the criteria IV and V (Table 1):

Table 1: Criteria of the inscription of the Historic centre of Santa Cruz de Mompox

CRITERION	UNESCO CRITERION	JUSTIFICATION
Criterion IV	“Be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history.”	“The Historic Centre of Santa Cruz de Mompox forms an integral part of the processes of colonial penetration and dominion during the Spanish conquest and the growth of communications and commerce during the 17th to early 19th centuries”
Criterion V	“Be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change.”	“The special circumstances of the development of the town, which grew freely and longitudinally following the sinuous path of a road roughly parallel to the river, have given it a special quality with few parallels in the region of northern South America. The subsequent economic decline and the remarkable state of preservation that resulted confers a further dimension on this quality, making it the region’s most outstanding surviving example of this type of riverine urban settlement.”

Source: (UNESCO, n.d.-c, 2017).

The historical centre shows integrity because the boundaries *“ensure the complete representation of the features and processes that convey the property’s significance, and it does not suffer from adverse effects of development and/or neglect”* (UNESCO, n.d.-c). The authenticity was kept because of the lack of pressure of redevelopment, due to the loss of its economic importance in nineteenth century. The pattern and most of the buildings are preserved for their original residential function, although there is a risk due to flooding and humidity (UNESCO, n.d.-c). In the evaluation report is recommended to use the same wall

pigments as before; the removal of the market between the Conception Plaza and the San Francisco Plaza and the restoration of this part of the town; to set up a tourist information point and a small commercial centre (today they are in the building of the ancient market); continue the efforts for the cleaning of the river bank; select a single pavement system for the streets of the historical centre (today there is not a single system and the streets are not in the best state); and the development of a tourism plan (made in 2018) (Plan Especial de Manejo y Protección, 2009).

The news of the inscription was of great joy for the population of Mompox, as said by the National Newspaper *El Tiempo*: “A parade of *comparsas*, drums, *cumbiambas*, costumes and everything traditional was organized along the main streets” (Melendez, 1995). It was the second city of Colombia to be declared as a World Heritage Site and they were very grateful that they were taken into account (Melendez, 1995).

In the news, the expectations of this inscription were clear: Mompox will receive additional resources for the preservation of the monuments (Melendez, 1995), specifically for restoration, management plans and emergency situations, but also for the worldwide recognition (Pizano, 1996; Redacción el Tiempo, 1995). Also, the commitment of the Colombian people and the local community not only to live and enjoy this heritage but to protect and conserve it (Pizano, 1996), as well as to appreciate these sites (Perez, 1995).

It also means that the country is responsible for the protection of the places, the universal values (Semana, 1997); and for “*the identification, protection, conservation and dissemination of these goods and supports their conservation through financial contributions to the World Heritage Fund*” (Pizano, 1996, par. 2).

The inscription had immediate effects such as: the publication of numerous books that helped the knowledge and diffusion of the architecture and beauty of Mompox (Pizano, 1996); TV documentaries (Redacción el Tiempo, 1996); the arrival of tourism, as said in an article of 18 January 1996 a little more than a month after the inscription, the town was visited by a lot of tourism in the last eight weeks (Redacción El Tiempo, 1996). The

investment of resources for the construction and restoration of accessibility roads, for the restoration of monuments and the modernization of the sewerage system (Redacción El Tiempo, 1996a). The opening of the “school workshop” for restoration to teach smithing, painting, ceramics and masonry (Redacción El Tiempo, 1996b). They even wanted to re-establish their importance as the principal city and asked to be the capital of the department Bolívar (Daniels, 1996).

The ownership of the properties in the historic centre is shared between private individuals or organizations, governmental institutions and the Catholic church (UNESCO, 1995a). Those responsible for caring for the WHS have asked numerous times for the financial assistance of UNESCO: in 1995 international assistance for US\$30.000 was approved for a study on the impacts of tourism on the site (UNESCO, 1995b). In 1998 it approved an emergency assistance for the restoration of six buildings that got damaged in a fire (US\$50.000) (UNESCO, 1998). In this same year it approved an amount of US\$20.000 for conservation; in 2007 it helped with US\$30.000 for the restoration of the *Colegio Pinillos*, an important historical building; and in 2011 approved an emergency assistance consolidation and protection of *La Albarrada* (UNESCO, n.d.-a). Additionally, in 2012, the historical centre entered the World Monuments Watch, which helped in the restorations of *Plaza de la Concepción* and San Juan Street and in 2013, they helped pay for work in the *Plaza de San Francisco* and *Plaza de Santa Bárbara* (World Monuments Watch, 2012).

In 2006 the Protection and Management Plan was released for the historic centre of Santa Cruz de Mompox, this Plan was made due to the cooperation agreement signed between the departmental government of Bolívar, the municipality of Mompox and the Spanish Agency for international cooperation for development (*Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo* – AECID). (Sociedad Colombiana de Arquitectos, 2009). In this Plan the values of the HC of Mompox are stated as: historic value: being a witness of the country history between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries; aesthetic values: its urban, architectural and constructive unique characteristics; symbolic values: the HC links the

tangible heritage with the intangible heritage such as the Holy Week, the dances, the music, the filigree, among others (Plan Especial de Manejo y Protección, 2009).

According to the diagnoses of the current state made, the main problems found are: the hard social and economic conditions of the population; the deterioration of the environment and the problems of urban order; and the conservation problems of the architectural heritage (Plan Especial de Manejo y Protección, 2009).

In 2006 the objectives set for the management plan besides the creation of strategies and actions for management, communication, and divulgation, were to preserve and value heritage, to strengthen the links between the people with their history and heritage and have the HC as a useful and productive place to assure urban functionality. It is important to note that the plan creates actions to ensure that the historical centre will continue being the main centrality of the town and the most important part of Mompox. It holds that management should be integral to maintain the symbiosis between the HC and the rest of the urban area. In addition, it maintains that citizen participation should be strengthened (Plan Especial de Manejo y Protección, 2009).

This plan sets the rules for the protection and conservation of the city, but also for the constructions and modifications allowed in the houses and parts of the city. The touristic activity is also set as an important economical basis for the development (Plan Especial de Manejo y Protección, 2009).

In the plan, one of the most important actions was the renewal of the urban part of the “*Albarrada*” (the street adjacent to the river), because it is one of the most important parts of the historical centre. For this, in 2009, the municipality of Mompox contracted the Colombian Association of Architects (Sociedad Colombiana de Arquitectos) to make a competition for this renewal of only section 1 of the Albarrada, only the part that belongs to the historical centre:

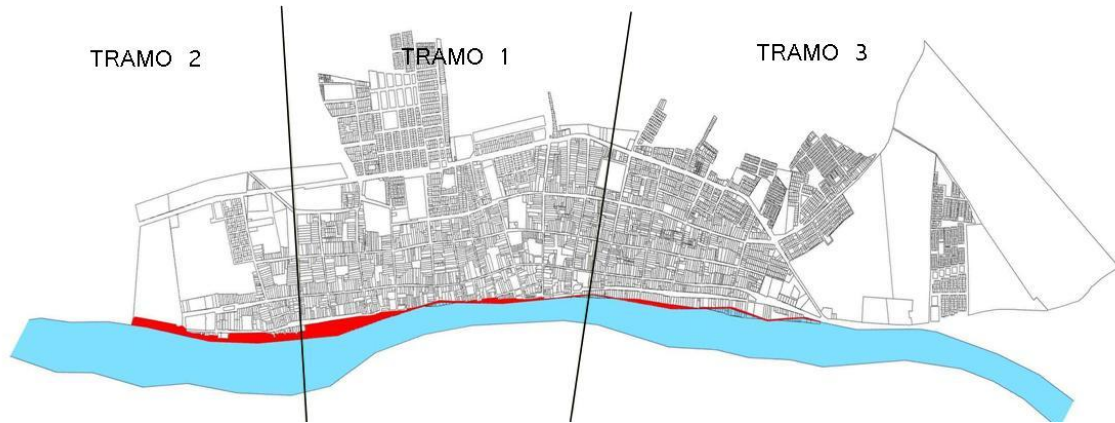


Figure 8: Map of Mompox with the sections for the urban renewal
Source: Sociedad Colombiana de Arquitectos, 2009.

Opus, is the enterprise that won the competition and started working in the renewal of this part of the historical centre (Figure 8. The design of the project started in 2009) (Opus, 2009).



Figure 9: Photos of Mompox before the revitalization
Source: Sociedad Colombiana de Arquitectos, 2009.

In 2016 during the Colombian Architecture Biennial, this project was awarded the Karl Brunner Prize in the category of landscape and urbanism (COAC, n.d.); and in 2018, during the III Latin American Biennial of Landscape Architecture in the category built work for its Urban Design and Landscaping (Ministerio de Cultura, 2018).



Figure 10: Photos of Mompox after the revitalization.

Source: Rueda, N. 2018.

In this revitalization, the works in the Albarrada changed the face of the city (Figures 9 and 10), not only because of the works in one of the most important streets, but also the plazas of the Churches San Francisco, Santa Barbara and La Concepción (COAC, n.d.).

3.9. HERITAGE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

In the National Culture Plan 2001-2010 cultural tourism is called to defend “*cultural heritage, knowledge, rights and manifestations of peoples and ethnic groups*” (Ministerio de Cultura, 2001-2010).

In Colombia, the different typologies of tourism developed in the destinations throughout the national territory are: adventure, well-being, culture, nature, nautical, sun and beach and meetings (Procolombia, n.d.). Within cultural tourism it is possible to find heritage destinations: World Heritage Destinations (18 in the national territory) and the towns that belong to the Network of Heritage Towns (17 destinations); and there are archaeological tourism destinations (Ciudad Perdida – *Santa Marta*; *San Agustín – Huila*; *Tierra Adentro – Huila*). Moreover, the Ministry of Commerce, Industry, and Tourism explain that the country has improved the offer of touristic products focused on nature, sports, adventure, business, culture, cruises, gastronomy and health (Dinero, 2018).

In the Department of Bolívar there are three destinations with elements inscribed in the WHL: *Cartagena de Indias*, the most important touristic destination in the department and in the country, *San Basilio de Palenque*, and *Santa Cruz de Mompox*. To reinforce and promote tourism, the departmental government have tried to make different events (like the jazz festival in Mompox) and touristic route that encompass different destinations to “*strengthen employment, productivity, competitiveness, sustainability, formalization, security and education*” (Gobierno de Bolívar - ICULTUR, n.d.).

3.9.1. Heritage tourism in Mompox

The singularity of the historic centre representative of the Spanish colonial period, mixed with the natural environment makes Mompox a touristic destination in Colombia (Alcaldía Municipal Santa Cruz de Mompox, 2012). However, little interpretation is provided on the site and the tourist infrastructure is basic and non-developed. Nonetheless, in the past years, the Municipality has worked constantly to be a national destination.

The tourist attractions are mainly religious buildings, streets, houses and plazas; most of them are inside the WHS limits. The town is also well known because of the Mompox filigree and the Mompox rocking chair; people visit the factories and can see the process. Likewise, there are two main events: Holy Week and the Jazz Festival. The natural richness and the nature that surround the city are also another motivation for visiting Mompox. Table 2 shows some of the most important attractions inside the WHS limits:

Table 2: Principal Touristic attractions in Santa Cruz de Mompox.

Category	Resources
Religious	Church of San Francisco
	Church of San Juan de Dios
	Church of La Inmaculada Concepción
	Church of Santa Barbara
	Church and Convent of San Agustín
	Church of Santo Domingo
Government	Municipal Palace, today is the Mayor's Office
	Town Hall (<i>casa del Cabildo</i>)
Museums	House of Culture
	Cultural Museum of Religious Art
Others	Hospital San Juan de Dios
	Cemetery
	Pinillos School
	Ancient Municipal Market
	SENA offices – House where the independence of Mompox was signed.
Houses	<i>Casa de Te Deum</i>
	<i>Casas de los Portales de las Marquesas</i>
	<i>Fuerte de San Alselmo.</i>
Plazas	Plaza of the Duane
	Parc of the freedom (or the independence)
	Park of Bolivar
	Mayor Plaza of the Conception
	Plaza of Santo Domingo
	Small Plaza of Juan B. Del Corral
	Plaza of Santa Barbara
	Parque Sucre or San Francisco
	Santander Woods

Source: Touristic Brochures.

In 2016, Mompox received 11,358 tourists of which 14% were international and 86% national. In 2017, the number of tourists increased considerably reaching 25,821 tourists from which 85% were national and 15% international. From January to May 2018, 11,673 tourists arrived in Mompox 80% national and 20% international (Palomino, M., personal communication, September 25/2018). These numbers show how tourism has been growing in the past few years. The months with a greater number of tourists are December and January, March for the Holy Week, and September because of the Jazz Festival. During these two festivities, the municipality exceed the load capacity in terms of numbers of tourists.

In 2017 it was certified as a “sustainable touristic destination” (Ministerio de Comercio Industria y Turismo, 2017), and with this, they tried to fulfil the environmental, socio-cultural and economic conditions from the NTS 001-1 (sustainable touristic destinations), even though they lack some important elements for the sustainability like sewerage. To meet the aims of sustainability they also made brochures for the good practices of sustainability and the code of conduct for residents, tourists and visitors, public entities and tourism service providers.

3.10. CONCLUSION

Castañeda and Escovar (2012) argue that the historical centre and the cultural practices in Mompox have been conserved thanks to its population caring and their efforts at conservation. People have learned to live in a peripheral city, far from the economical centres of the department and with small opportunities for development. With few and poor access roads and surrounded by two areas in conflict with different guerrilla groups.

The inscription to the WHL is a title earned in 1995 for the beauty, authenticity, and conservation of the colonial architecture along with the structure given since the colonial times. The indigenous heritage, even lost under the Spanish constructions, left important cultural practices that still survive. Besides, its importance between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries gave the city the constructions that can be seen today.

The intangible heritage from Mompox is a mixture of the inheritance of the indigenous communities, the African communities, and the Spanish customs. The gastronomy, filigree, blacksmithing and woodwork make Mompox a unique destination.

The isolation determined its economic development, the growth of the city, but also the conservation of the constructions and the historical centre. In the past few years, the city had been given a new face due to the many restoration works, cultural events and tourism promotion.

Tourism is catalogued today as the very best opportunity for their development, nonetheless, Mompox is not ready for the impacts that tourism can bring, and it does not have the touristic quality and capacity for the already aimed massive tourism.

Mompox is a place *“where time seems to stand still”* and that *“makes us think that we have gone back to some moment in our history”* (Gobierno de Colombia, n.d.). It has been submerged in a bubble for many years. Now the construction of new bridges that will give easy and fast access to the city, the opening of the airport, its national and international promotion of the general knowledge of its existence is giving Mompox new opportunities and fresh challenges.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY



*Figure 11: Old Market in Mompox.
Source: Rueda, N. 2019.*

4.1. INTRODUCTION

The overall aim of this study is to examine the ways in which the World Heritage designation of Mompox has impacted upon its communities since its designation in 1995. This period allows for the study of how the communities of the City have engaged with the status accorded to it over a significant amount of time: roughly 25 years.

The objectives are

- To understand the context for World Heritage designation at national and local level and to assess levels of community engagement
- To analyse how WH designation has affected Mompox communities in terms of social and economic relations
- To contextualise change or stasis in the wider frame of the period between World Heritage designation and the present
- To understand the effects of World Heritage status on the spatial Development of Mompox, and on its community.

The research will uncover the different ways in which the communities of Mompox interact with their heritage and within this the notion of World Heritage. Aligned with other studies it is anticipated that this will range from passive notions of increased civic pride to active valorisation of World Heritage status through tourism in particular. However, consideration will be given to the wider heritage landscape and what aspects of the preserved past in Mompox are the most meaningful for its residents. It also investigates how space is considered by the community and the different uses and meanings they share.

To know different views of these changes in the past 23 years and understand what the community feels and thinks about their heritage, the methodology was designed to deal with shifting and multiple perspectives on heritage. It is important to note, as established in the previous chapter, that the community of Mompox is not homogenous and there are different

actors at different levels with diverse perspectives. This is why the approach chosen takes into account multiple worldviews in line with the idea of heritage as a social construction, analysed in the literature review chapter.

4.2. A CONSTRUCTIVIST APPROACH TO HERITAGE AS A SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION: EPISTEMOLOGICAL APPROACH & THEORETICAL PARADIGMS

This section will define the epistemological approach and theoretical perspectives used to understand the reality studied and the way it was analysed. The constructivism and the phenomenology approach will “*provide(s) ontological, epistemological, and methodological assumptions*” (Kim, 2014, p. 539) to interpret the world. Today, it is impossible to speak of one universal philosophical approach in social science research not only because there are diverse currents of thinking that determine the view of the world, but also because there are many classifications of paradigms (Cerdeira, 2013). Nonetheless, the philosophical approach “*is key to making sense of and reconciling differences in people’s perceptions of the same social phenomenon*” (Bhattacharjee, 2012, p. 17).

Within social sciences, there are various epistemological approaches, each one of them has different ways to view knowledge and perspectives to see a certain reality. For instance, objectivism is centred in the exterior world and in the observable reality, giving more importance to the object and its relations with the subject; on the other hand, subjectivism is centred on what the subject feels or thinks about the reality. Constructivism understands that knowledge is the result of the construction or reconstruction of reality, based on the interactions of the subject; holistic views of the world as an evolving and integrated whole (Bautista, 2011). There are various epistemological approaches used in research carried out in social sciences, nonetheless, constructivism will be the guide for this investigation, because heritage is understood as a social construction. Besides, the overall aim is to examine how the World Heritage designation of Mompox has impacted upon its community, particularly from the point of view of the people who live in the destination.

For the constructivist, knowledge is socially constructed, it is in the mind of the people and in their experiences, rather than in the mind of one person (Bautista, 2011; Kim, 2014). People – individually or collectively – produce ideas about their physical, social or cultural context and at the same time, their point of view is affected by a particular background (Bautista, 2011). It is argued that *“social constructs matter for action”* (Parsons, 2015, p. 504). It includes the interpretative social constructs like ideas, discussions and identities, privileging communication and social influences (Parsons, 2015), where the reality is built by social interactions and relationships (Spencer, Pryce & Walsh, 2014). Nonetheless, these constructs develop in a particular context: *“It means telling concretely contrasting stories about someone somewhere”* (Parsons, 2015, p. 506). Constructivism privileges the constitutive explanation, which could evoke the casual arguments or alternatives; this approach focus understanding on ‘why’ or ‘how’ questions (Parsons, 2015).

Furthermore, in social sciences, there are different theoretical paradigms, and various theories that allow an approach to different research problems in particular ways (Bautista, 2011); the paradigms determine the questions or problems to study and the interpretation of the results. There are three approaches: positivism, interpretivism and sociocriticism (González, 2003).

Positivism, also called empirical-analytics (Bautista, 2011), was created to study mainly the natural sciences, and is used in quantitative research. It is deductive, rational and assumes the existence of one reality ruled by laws that explain, control and predict phenomena; therefore, science should find general theories to contribute to a universal knowledge that can be tested (Bautista, 2011; Bhattacharjee, 2012; González, 2003). For the positivist, knowledge limits to what can be observed or measured (Bhattacharjee, 2012). For this approach, the researcher should be neutral and usually look for a correlation or cause-effect in the studied subject. The results should be quantifiable and objective. Nonetheless, in social sciences its application is limited, because the object of study is societies, relations, values, points of view, transformations that cannot be explained by universal laws (González, 2003).

This limitation gave birth to *interpretivism*, which can be applied to social sciences because it tries to comprehend the social phenomenon, understanding the context and the uniqueness of each case (González, 2003). It combines empirical observation and logical reasoning (Bhattacharjee, 2012); it centres attention on the social actor as the constructor, interpreter and modifier of its reality (Bautista, 2011). On the other hand, *sociocriticism* is a middle ground between positivism and interpretivism (González, 2003); it is opposed to the socio-historical reality and centred in a more rational and human future (Bautista, 2011). It is used in the social sciences and is viewed as qualitative because it believes that the subject is a co-creator in the transformation of its own reality. This paradigm encompasses action research, collaborative research and participative research; these three items include the participation of the people in the reflection process (González, 2003).

Constructivism has an interpretative approach and therefore it is the theoretical approach adopted in this thesis. Interpretivism is inductive and subjective (González, 2003) and searches for understanding through the description of the context, but also through the attributes given by the subject that is in constant interaction with it (Bautista, 2011). It is used when the understanding of the social order is reached through the interpretation of participants and the reconciliation of different perspectives (Bhattacharjee, 2012). Within interpretivism, there are different approaches: phenomenology, hermeneutics, ethnography, symbolic interactionism, among others (González, 2003).

Edmund Husserl created phenomenology in the twentieth century in opposition to positivist theory; for him, analysing only the facts from an objective point of view, excluding the values or the interpretation of the subjects, is a mistake (Bautista, 2011; Bolio, 2012). The analysis should focus on the perception of experiences and realities (Hawkesworth, 2006). Its objective is “*to illuminate the specific, and to understand the phenomena as they are perceived by social actors in context*” (Spencer, 2011, p. 44). In fact, it highlights the conscious experience for understanding social realities and symbolic meanings (Bhattacharjee, 2012).

Phenomenology studies the sense and significance of the facts, based on the point of view of the subject (Anadón, 2008; Bolio, 2012). Besides, it is not only focused on one individual,

but it could be centred in a community, in collective encounters, settings and meanings around a certain group of people (Hawkesworth, 2006). This research is situated within the phenomenological approach, which looks to understand, describe and comprehend the collective experiences of a phenomenon (Anadón, 2008; Spencer, 2011) that cannot be explained by positivist theories and have in mind the subject (Bautista, 2011).

This methodological focus permits the analysis of a certain reality from the perspective of the local people: the adoption of the constructivist approach allows the understanding of heritage as a social construction and enable to know the point of view of the people who live in the destination; combined with the interpretivism, where the centre of attention of the research is the local community who interprets their reality. This approach was applied with a phenomenology paradigm, that allows understanding the collective experience of a phenomenon taking into account values and beliefs from the community. This research will also have a qualitative method, with an inductive approach, and will allow the participation of the people of Mompox in the analysis of their reality.

4.3. RESEARCH METHOD

As in the philosophical approach, there is not a simple method of research, there are diverse approaches and in many cases, their limits are not clear (Cerdeña, 2013). There are two great methods: qualitative and quantitative. The first one analyses the why and how of a social fact and the second gathers and analyses numerical data (Bautista, 2011; Hernández et al., 1998). The differences between them go beyond the use of numeric data; it depends on the intention of the research and the type of reality and approach used (Sandoval, 1996). Qualitative research was taken in this research because is the best way to find out the changes of Mompox since the WH designation from different points of view.

The quantitative approach covers the quantifiable variables and allows the measurement of conditions and phenomena. It tries to reproduce the numeric relations between objects (Bautista, 2011; Cerdeña, 2013) and studies the association and relation of quantifiable data (Hernández et al., 1998). Its goal is finding exact answers through questions such as how

many, when, what, where, when. It is objective towards the reality studied and it is structured and lineal in the methodological design. Usually, it follows theories for the study and analysis of reality (Bautista, 2011).

Qualitative research analyses the quality of the object of study, interprets the reality around the subject/object (Cerdeira, 2013) and studies the associations and relations of situations, contexts and dynamics (Anadón, 2008; Hernández et al., 1998) adjusting to fit the diverse human and social phenomenon. It is subjective and inductive and explains social reality since it is based on the relation of the subject with its context (Bautista, 2011). It is centred in the description and understanding of human behaviour and the motivations around it (Hernández et al., 1998). It explores the reality viewed through the experience of people, to understand how they see, value, and give meaning to their experiences in a particular context (Anadón, 2008).

Ruane (2006) explains that there are four goals in qualitative research: exploration, description, explanation and evaluation. Exploratory research only wants to know or understand a phenomenon; descriptive research intends to give a detailed and accurate account of the research object; explanatory research goes beyond the description and tries to answer the why and how of the social phenomena; finally, evaluation research is centred on results, and judges certain facts or settings as efficient, useful, good, or bad. This research will have an explanatory goal mainly because it seeks to understand how a community has been changed by a specific fact.

This research will be inductive as opposed to deductive. Inductive research tries *“to infer theoretical concepts and patterns from observed data”* (Bhattacharjee, 2012, p. 3). On the other hand, deductive research tries *“to test concepts and patterns known from theory using new empirical data”* (Bhattacharjee, 2012, p. 3). This is why the inductive approach is called theory-building and the deductive is called theory-testing: the first one is usually applied when there are few explanations or analysis about a subject, and where the conclusions are based on facts or evidence; the second one is used when there are many theories and studies, and it is useful to test, refine, improve or extend the theories around the subject,

where the conclusions are based on theoretical or logical premises (Bhattacharjee, 2012). This research will begin with data recollection about the process of WH sites, the reality and the different opinions about the impacts of WH designation in Mompox, followed by a qualitative analysis to infer conclusions based on evidence.

This research will also apply a case-study approach, which is characterized by the understanding and description in depth of a phenomenon (Anadón, 2008). For Spencer *“the case is a unique instance, an integrated and usually well-defined and bounded system”* (Spencer, 2011, p. 50). The case study gives in-depth information about complex issues, providing phenomenological data (Spencer, 2011).

4.4. FIELD WORK AND DATA COLLECTION

This research will undertake a qualitative method with an inductive and participative approach, based on the WHS of Santa Cruz de Mompox and its community as a case study. The research will use interviews, focus groups, social cartography, workshops, observation, and document analysis methods for data collection. These will enable the analysis of different perspectives about the effects of the designation on local life, but also to analyse and understand the unique relationship between people and their heritage. To collect the data, the research will have three main instruments: interviews, focus groups and social cartography. The goal of the fieldwork is to understand the phenomenon from the population's perspective (Ruane, 2006).

Given the complexity of the relations between actors in the WHS of Mompox, and the time it took to appreciate and understand the shifting interactions and associations inside the city of Mompox, the field work was divided into five phases (Table 3). Besides, it was implemented this way, to ensure that actors in the three levels were taken into account: the national, departmental and local. The five phases were:

Table 3: Phases of the field work.

Phases	Activities
Phase 1: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trip to Cartagena • August 14 – August 18 / 2018 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Interview of Departmental actors
Phase 2: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First field trip to Mompox • August 21 – August 24 / 2018 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Observation in Mompox, visit the heritage site, visit the touristic places. ○ Interviews with local people ○ Interviews with local representatives
Phase 3: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Second trip to Mompox • September 30 – October 6 / 2018 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Observation in Mompox, visit the heritage site, visit the touristic places. ○ Interviews with local people ○ Interviews with local representatives ○ Focus Groups ○ Social cartography
Phase 4: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bogotá 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Interviews with National Government ○ Interviews with people who worked in the process in 1995 and in the construction of the PEMP
Phase 5: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Third trip to Mompox 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Analysis and observation of space. ○ Interviews

Source: Author's own creation

The fieldwork was divided into five phases. During the first field trip, phases one and two were carried out. During the first week, the trip centred in Cartagena, the capital city of the Department of Bolívar, where the departmental government actors were found and four interviews were achieved. The second week was spent in Mompox, where 20 interviews with local actors were achieved, and the doors were opened for the workshops and the focus groups that were made in the third phase.

During the third phase, the second field trip to Mompox was made and eight workshops were accomplished with different groups of the community, including students (over 18 years old), artisans, hotel workers, *mototaxi* drivers, goldsmiths, among others; and 10 interviews were achieved with local actors.

The fourth phase was centred on national government actors, these interviews were made in Bogotá, the capital city of Colombia, where the national government is held. Three interviews were carried out with people working in the government at present and people who worked in the designation process of Mompox as a WHS or in the production of the Special management and protection plan (PEMP - *Plan especial de manejo y protección*).

The fifth and last phase was the last fieldtrip made which centred on the analysis of space, visiting places outside the WHS and observing how people interact with the different spaces in the city, taking into account the special configuration analysed during the first and second fieldtrip.

4.4.1. Observation

The observation tries to study everyday life and people's normal behaviour, the "*normal or natural flow of social life in some specific social/cultural setting*" (Ruane, 2006, p. 164). It is a technique that allows us to observe a certain phenomenon, register the information and then analyse the data (Bautista, 2011). This activity demands a posture, a defined objective and selective elements to study; it helps to identify and know the parts or elements that form a reality (Cerdeña, 2013).

There are two different postures: participant or non-participant observation. Participant observation enables a level of involvement and active participation with people, experiencing the situations within a group, to understand a reality. In non-participant observation, the researcher is separate from the situation or phenomenon (Bautista, 2011). This allows observation of the elements from an objective perspective, which eliminates the intermediaries and possible subjectivities from others. It could also be structured or non-structured, depending on the need of a specific plan or control over the observed elements (Cerdeña, 2013).

The observation made during the field work was non-participant direct and non-structured observation; it was recorded in maps and field notes that include elements such as: dates, elements, behaviours, layouts, the physical conditions of the attractions, the interactions of

people with the context, the different activities in the places within the WHS. During the three fieldtrips the observation was carried out and elements of the spatial dimension were observed in each one of them.

During the first field trip (August 14 – August 24/2018), it was possible to see one of the access roads to Mompox (the road originating in Cartagena) and to make recognition of the WHS. Also, the general distribution of elements, important places, and tourist attractions were identified within the limits of the tourist area and the historic centre.

During the second field trip (September 30 – October 6/2018), another access road was taken, therefore was possible to see a different option than the one from Cartagena. Observation was limited to the workshops, focus groups and social cartography sessions shared with different groups of the community. In these sessions it was possible to appreciate how participants interact with their everyday space, some of them were accurate geographically, some of them were not, but it was possible to see how they recognize the historic centre. Furthermore, it was possible to visit some places outside the WHS, acknowledging the differences between the designated area and the area of influence, also the places used by the community inside the WHS.

The interviews and workshops permitted to have an idea of how people saw the HC, its boundaries and importance; their opinions were taken into account in the observation made during the third and last field trip, where their points of view were reviewed in situ and town was seen through their opinions. The boundaries identified with the community were visited and the characteristics of the space were observed. Besides these, places outside the WHS were visited to identify their importance and the way the community outside the historical centre live. In this last field trip, I walked the streets of Mompox from north to south and from west to east, to understand the differences between the HC and the rest of town, also to comprehend how people lived and the comments they made during the interviews and workshops.

Hence, the observation was made in a progress process, where the first stages of the field trips were used to understand town from the view of the people who live in Mompox and then this was corroborated visiting places, attractions and walking through the streets of Mompox. Some places were discovered thanks to what people said and acknowledge, then they were looked and visited.

4.4.2. Interviews

An interview is useful to explore a great variety of problems. As said by Briggs (1997) “90% of all social science investigations use interview data” (p. 1). This evidences the importance and validity of using interviews as a methodological strategy. Ruane (2006) defines it as a social encounter, a purposeful conversation: “a personal exchange of information between an interviewer and an interviewee” (2006, p. 147). The interview has to be based “on sensitivity to the relationship between the communicative norms that are presupposed by the interview and those that are more broadly characteristic of the population under study” (Briggs, 1997, p. 94).

These data collection strategies could be structured or non-structured. A structured collection strategy is appropriate when the information needed relates to attitudes, behaviours, values; while non-structured collection strategy is good for exploratory or descriptive goals (Ruane, 2006). The interviews used in this research were structured, based on schedules with open-ended questions because the objective was to know the “respondent’s unique view on an issue” (Ruane, 2006, p. 131). This type of question gives the advantage that respondents give answers unanticipated by the researcher, nonetheless, the answers have to be coded or categorized to be analysed (Ruane, 2006). The questions were made in neutral language, inviting the interviewee to say what they thought or felt.

The interviews centred on the map of actors presented in the previous chapter. The selection of the sample was different for each type of actor, not looking to have a size representation but the participation of different groups within the population of Mompox, as well as the decision makers at a national, departmental and local level. The participants of each group

of people were chosen in different ways: some of them because of their position or knowledge on the subjects, like the people working in the government, those who participate in the process of WH or the community leaders; others were chosen using strategic sampling. It is important to note that most of the key actors in the municipality of Mompox are *momposinos*, few of them are from different cities, therefore they have a view as decision makers, but also from the community perspective and their social context. Those from outside were also interviewed because they have an objective point of view of Mompox.

The interviews were held in places the interviewee chose, sometimes this was their offices, others were plazas, or a room of the museum. Most of the interviewees were comfortable with the recording. For those who were not, the recording was not used, and notes were taken. The different actors were happy to share their thoughts and feelings, a lot of them tried to highlight the good things or the elements they feel pride for in Mompox, something useful to understand their identity towards heritage, tangible and intangible. Most of them were critical, also, about their current situation. The schedules used in the interviews divide depending on the position the interviewee held: national government, departmental government, local government, local representatives, local community (Appendix 01). The schedules were not followed to the letter, adapting to the participant's knowledge, feelings and language, but also the time available for the interview.

Interviews at the national and departmental levels were arranged in advance by mail or phone. Nonetheless, the interviews in Mompox with local actors, were made by encountering them in their workplace, and a lot of them were made thanks to recommendations and personal presentations. Mompox is a small town and people know each other, so in the meeting with one interviewee, the participant could present the researcher with different key actors. During the first and second fieldtrip it was possible to see the network by association in the historic centre, which is why the map of actors is presented in a system diagram (Figure 12).

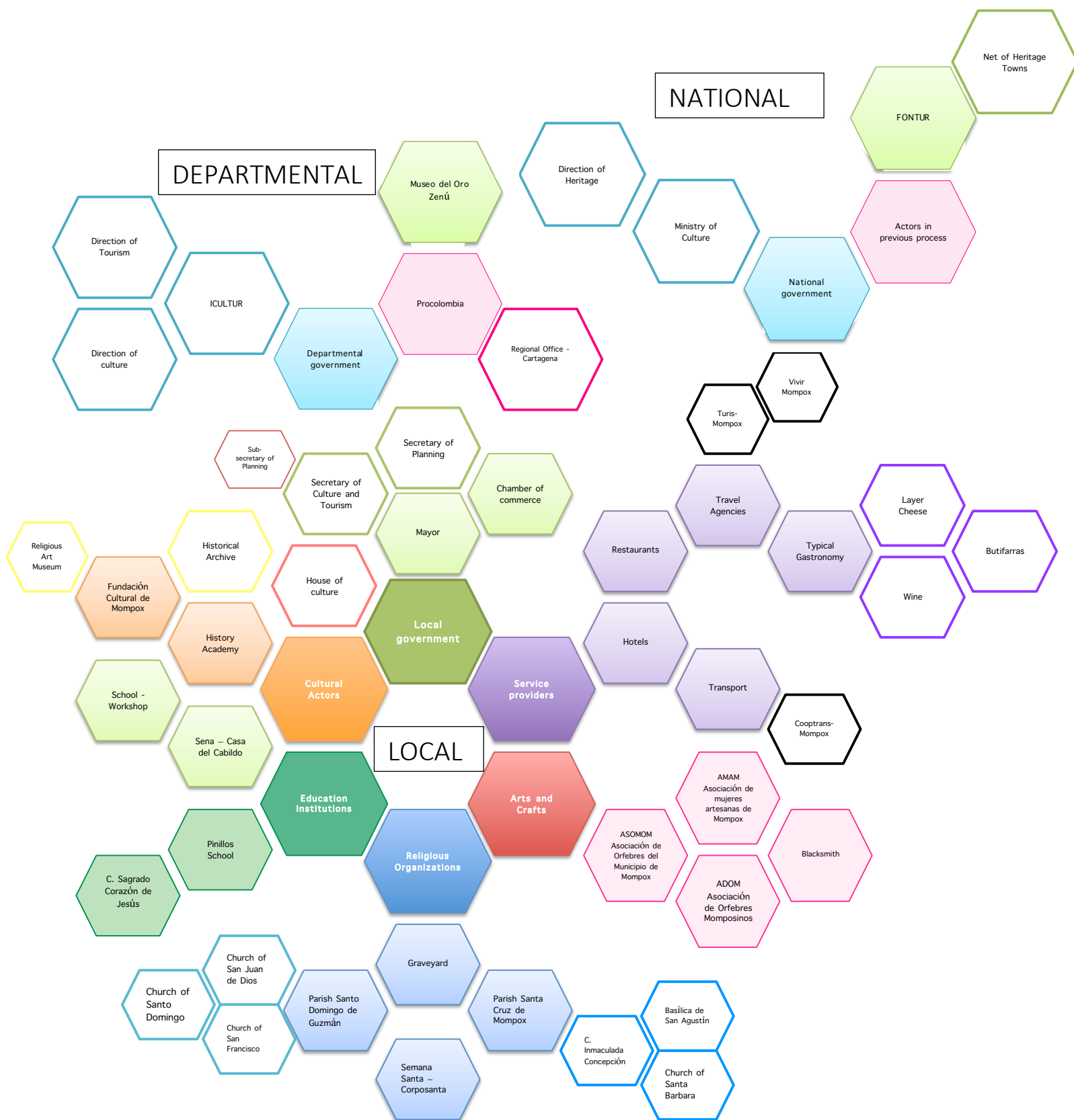


Figure 12: Map of Actors on Mompox, Local, Departmental and National level.
Source: Authors own creation.

The interviewees at the departmental level were chosen because of their position, power in decision-making and knowledge about the touristic and cultural context of the region and Mompox. Three interviews were carried out with actors of two institutions: a representative of the Culture and Tourism Institute of Bolívar (ICULTUR) which is in charge of the planning and management of culture and tourism in the department; and a member of Procolombia, the organization for international promotion of national touristic destinations. In addition, one interview was achieved with the curator of the Gold Museum from Cartagena, a museum that holds pieces of the pre-Columbian indigenous communities that used to live in the area of Mompox. The curator was able to supply further knowledge of the culture and heritage context of the region.

The interviews in the municipality of Mompox covered the key actors inside the WHS and those who directly or indirectly have a role in the protected area, passive or active; additionally, some people of the community were chosen because of their availability for interview. Within the governmental actors, there is the mayor, the secretary and sub secretary of Planning (who manages heritage) and the secretary of culture and tourism. Different directors of cultural institutions inside the WHS such as the History Academy, House of Culture, Religious Art Museum, Historical Archive were also interviewed as well as the directors and professors of several education institutes: Pinillos Schools, Sangrado Corazón de Jesús School, Sena and School-Workshop.

Interviews were undertaken with the directors of the two parishes who equally share the management and protection of the six churches and are the keepers of the graveyard. Also, directors/coordinators of important organizations like arts and crafts associations (ASOMOM, ADOM), tour operators, the office of the Chamber of Commerce in Mompox, and the tourist information point as well as owners of typical restaurants or Master Blacksmiths. Also, people in the process of the designation of Mompox as a WHS, like the secretary of the mayor.

At the national level, the interviews centred on the key actors who worked previously for Mompox heritage, for example, the person who led the process of the designation in the national government and the leader of the project who wrote the PEMP.

4.4.3. Participative Workshops: Focus Groups and Social Cartography

The participation of people from the community was at the centre of this activity, what they think, what they feel and how they can transmit this. This activity needed the active, critical, organized, creative, equitable and precise participation of people (Candelo et al., 2003).

The Focus Groups were group-guided discussions where the researcher had the opportunity to know the what and why of a phenomenon (Ruane, 2006), creating *“a dynamic and insightful exchange of information that would not be possible in any one-on-one interaction”* (p. 157). Usually, the group of people involved have something in common and the researcher should allow spontaneity in the answers and interactions; it allows knowing perceptions and beliefs about a situation and collects information through the discussion between a group of people (Bautista, 2011). The Focus Groups were applied to people working in different economical activities such as Filigree, cheese, and woodcraft factories.

As said by Spencer (2011) *“the use of visual data raises questions about the perception and interpretations of what we believe to be social reality”* (p. 37). The use of social cartography is participative, collective and collaborative; it will allow for a transparent approach to display a valid representation of a reality; it supports the understanding of space as a social production where there are geographical boundaries, but also relationships and meanings between people and space and between different spaces (Spencer, 2011).

The map is one of the elements that *“reflects different cultural visions of a territory”* (Spencer, 2011, p. 71). They help communicate ideas and help to see cultural boundaries, power relations, space identity, significance of places, realities, memories, experiences, cultural knowledge, social relations, beneath others. There are two types of maps that can be used: hand-drawn maps and official terrain maps. The first one will allow understanding of how people see the terrain by memory, knowledge and personal narratives using their own

experiences; the second has an accurate picture of the terrain and over this grid, people can show their thoughts and the meanings of places shown in the map (Spencer, 2011).

During the second field trip, eight participative workshops were made, four were social cartography activities and four were workshops mixing focus groups with display boards and white boards (Appendix 02). Social cartography was used for small groups (to have maximum three small groups for the maps) and the workshops were for big groups, it also depended on the time and space given for the activity. The groups were possible thanks to some of the interviewees from the previous fieldtrip who kindly help to organize them, trying to have representation of different groups in the community. A recruitment advertisement was made and distributed by WhatsApp and mail for them to call people to these activities (Figure 13).



Figure 13: Recruitment Advertisement for workshops.
Source: Authors own creation.

The social cartography sessions started with introductory questions to make the participants feel comfortable with the activity, also to give them a general context of the workshop. The answers were written on whiteboards, to visualize their opinions. These general questions were about elements that identify them as *momposinos*; the meaning for them that Mompox was designated as a WHS, when they knew about this, because some of the groups, especially the student groups had no idea; also, about the positive and negative changes they could see in the past 20 years – this time frame was fixed because not all the participants knew about the WH designation in 1995 – and about their expectations of the WH.

Afterwards, to draw the maps, they were divided into groups, depending on the number of people. An official terrain map was not given because the objective was to know how participants see the historic centre and the different elements they recognize. They were given a series of images, photos that were taken by the researcher in the previous fieldtrip, of key places in the historic centre and elements to see how they locate them, and which elements they pinpoint. Also, whiteboards were given for them to draw places or elements they thought were missing.

They were asked to locate the historical centre/the WHS (sometimes recognized as the touristic area), the important elements within, where they live, where they work, and also the places they use in their free time. It is important to note that the schedule was not followed to the letter, because it depended on the knowledge they had of the site. Sometimes, the researcher worked with the participants, when they were afraid of beginning to draw, but only in the elements they said. Afterwards, they continued on their own and the researcher was only an active observer, asking questions as to why or what were they locating. In the end, each group had to present their map and tell what and why they have located or drawn on their display board, because they not only locate places, but also wrote important elements from their culture such as typical gastronomy, dances, poetry or music.

The four participant workshops were planned for big groups of people depending on the time and space given for the activity. These workshops suffered a change after the first one

made in the field-trip due to difficulties that were not taken into account before the trip. The first workshop was held with mototaxi drivers. The idea was to give them colour cardboards for them to write the answers to the questions and then stick them on the display board that corresponded. The problem encountered was that some of the participants didn't know how to write, therefore some of them only participated by talking. Because of this, the other two workshops only asked for all of the participants to speak their minds and the researcher wrote everything they said on the display boards, which allowed everybody to participate without fear or intimidation.

Table 4 shows the Participant activities made:

Table 4: Participative workshops and social cartography activities made between October 1 and October 5 – 2018

#	Group	Particip.	Date	Hour	Place	Workshop	Small groups
1	Handcrafts & Tourism	6	Oct-01	9:00 a. m.	SENA	Social-cartography	1
2	Mototaxistas - CooptransMompox	27	Oct-01	4:00 p. m.	Salón Amarillo – Town Hall	Focus Group with billboards	1
3	Various	9	Oct-02	9:00 a. m.	SENA	Social-cartography	2
4	Mototaxistas	19	Oct-02	4:00 p. m.	Salón Amarillo – Town Hall	Focus Group with billboards	1
5	Students Filigree & Gastronomy	11	Oct-03	2:00 p. m.	School-Workshop	Social-cartography	2
6	Students of environmental management	18	Oct-05	9:00 a. m.	SENA	Social-cartography	3
7	Hotel managers-workers	17	Oct-05	11:30 a. m.	Cámara de Comercio-Chamber of Commerce	Focus Group with billboards	1
8	Goldsmith-Filigree	11	Oct-05	7:00 p. m.	House of Liliana	Focus Group with billboards	1

Source: Authors own creation

4.4.3.1. Group 1: Handcrafts and tourism

In this first group, there were in total six participants, they belonged to two associations: ASOMOM (*Asociación de Orfebres del Municipio de Mompox* - Association of Goldsmiths of the Municipality of Mompox) and AMAM (*Asociación de Mujeres Artesanas de Mompox* - Association of Women Artisans of Mompox). Also, tourist guides that belong to Turismompox (the travel agency that organizes trips to the rural and urban area of Mompox). The group knew the important elements of the city, tangible and intangible elements that identify their community, they knew about the WH designation and identified the important parts of the city, they also knew about history (Figures 14 & 15).

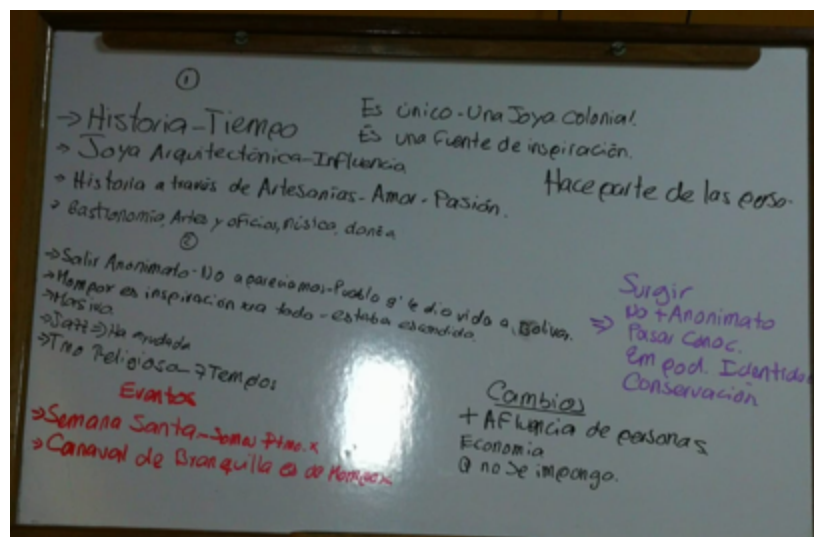


Figure 14: Introductory questions, Group 1.

Source: Rueda, N. 2019



Figure 15: Map drawn by Group 1.

Source: Rueda, N. 2019

4.4.3.2. Group 2: First Group of Mototaxi drivers

All the participants were drivers of motorbikes that serve as taxis, the most important transport system in Mompox, which is the public transport for community and tourists to move through the city (Figure 16). In general, they acknowledge the important places and elements of the culture of Mompox, but they do not know what heritage is and very few knew Mompox is a WHS (Figures 17 & 18). Tourism is very important for them and they acknowledge changes in Mompox in the last 20 years, although not necessarily due to the WH designation. The main difficulty in this workshop was that some of the participants did not know how to write or read, this is why the activity was changed for the next day.



Figure 16: Participants of the first workshop with mototaxi drivers.

Source: Rueda, N. 2019

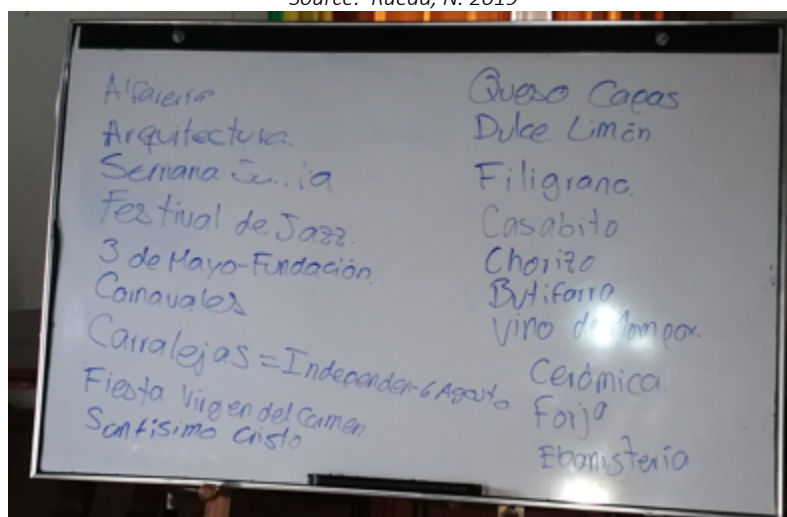


Figure 17: First question. Elements that make you momposino.

Source: Rueda, N. 2019

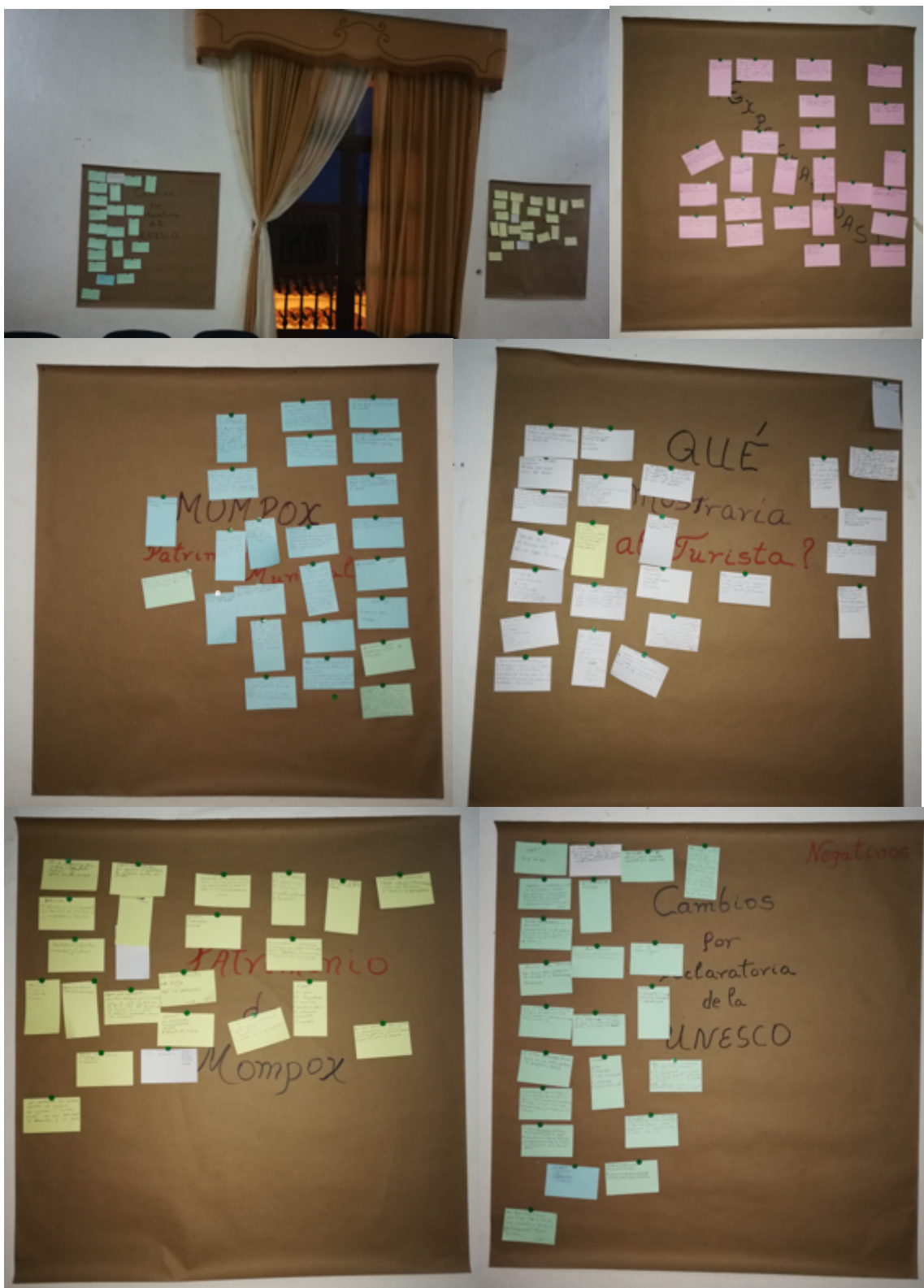


Figure 18: Answers to: expectations, World Heritage of Mompox, What would you show to tourism, heritage of Mompox and changes.

Source: Rueda, N. 2019

4.4.3.3. Group 3: Diverse people

Participants came from different disciplines and workplaces: hotels, a barber's shop, tourism guide, school teacher, university students, handcrafts. In total there were nine participants and two groups were made for the maps (Figure 19). The younger participants barely acknowledge the elements of the culture of Mompox, and most of them had no idea about the WH designation. Nonetheless, in the groups they were mixed young people with adults and equilibrium was achieved between activities and the knowledge of the historical centre (Figures 20 and 21).



Figure 19: Participants of the third workshop with social cartography.
Source: Rueda, N. 2019.

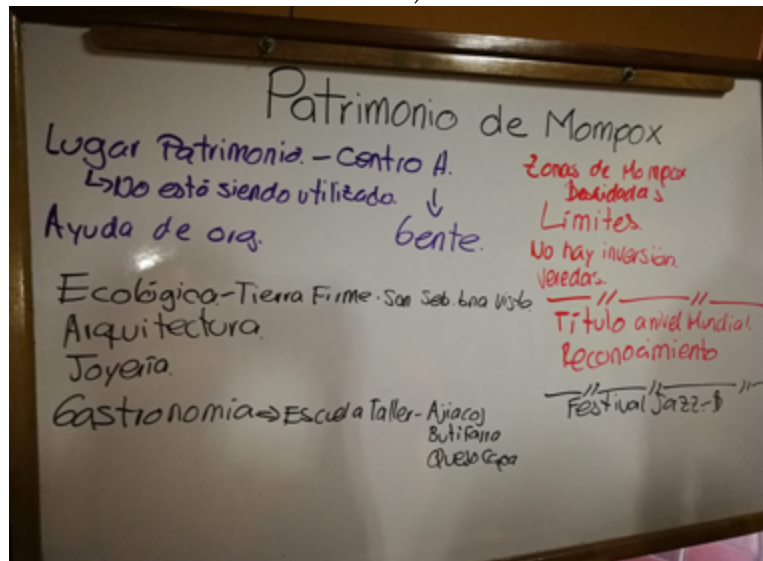


Figure 20: Introductory questions, Group 3.
Source: Rueda, N. 2019

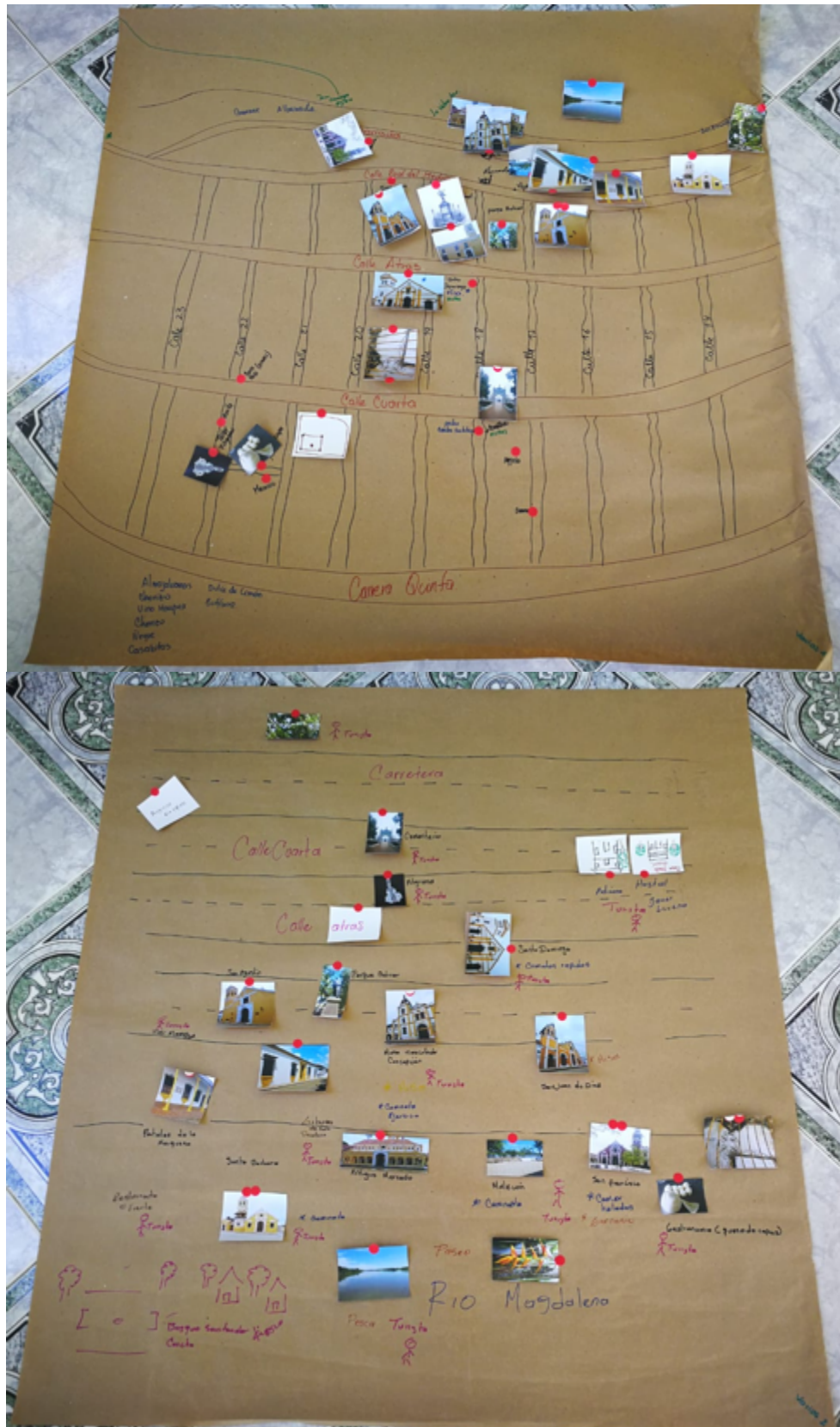


Figure 21: Maps drawn by Group 3.
Source: Rueda, N. 2019

4.4.3.4. Group 4: Second Group of Mototaxi drivers

All the participants were drivers of mototaxis and there were 19 in total (Figure 22). They acknowledge the important places of Mompox, the touristic attractions and the cultural elements. They see tourism as an important activity. As with the previous groups, they acknowledge changes in Mompox in the last 25 years, although not necessarily due to the WH designation (Figures 23 & 24).



Figure 22: Participants of the second workshop with mototaxi drivers.
Source: Rueda, N. 2019

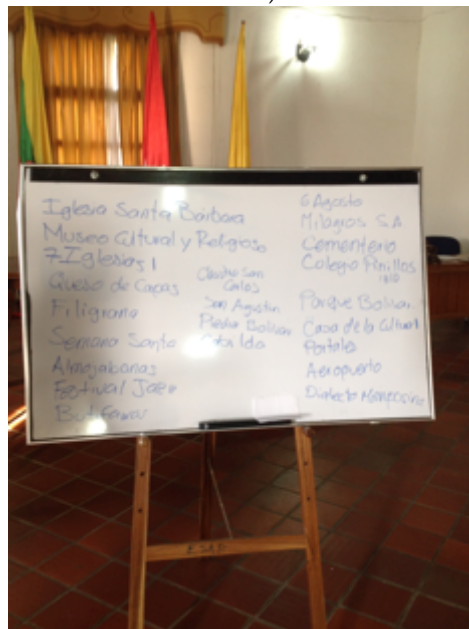


Figure 23: First question. Elements that make you momposino.
Source: Rueda, N. 2019

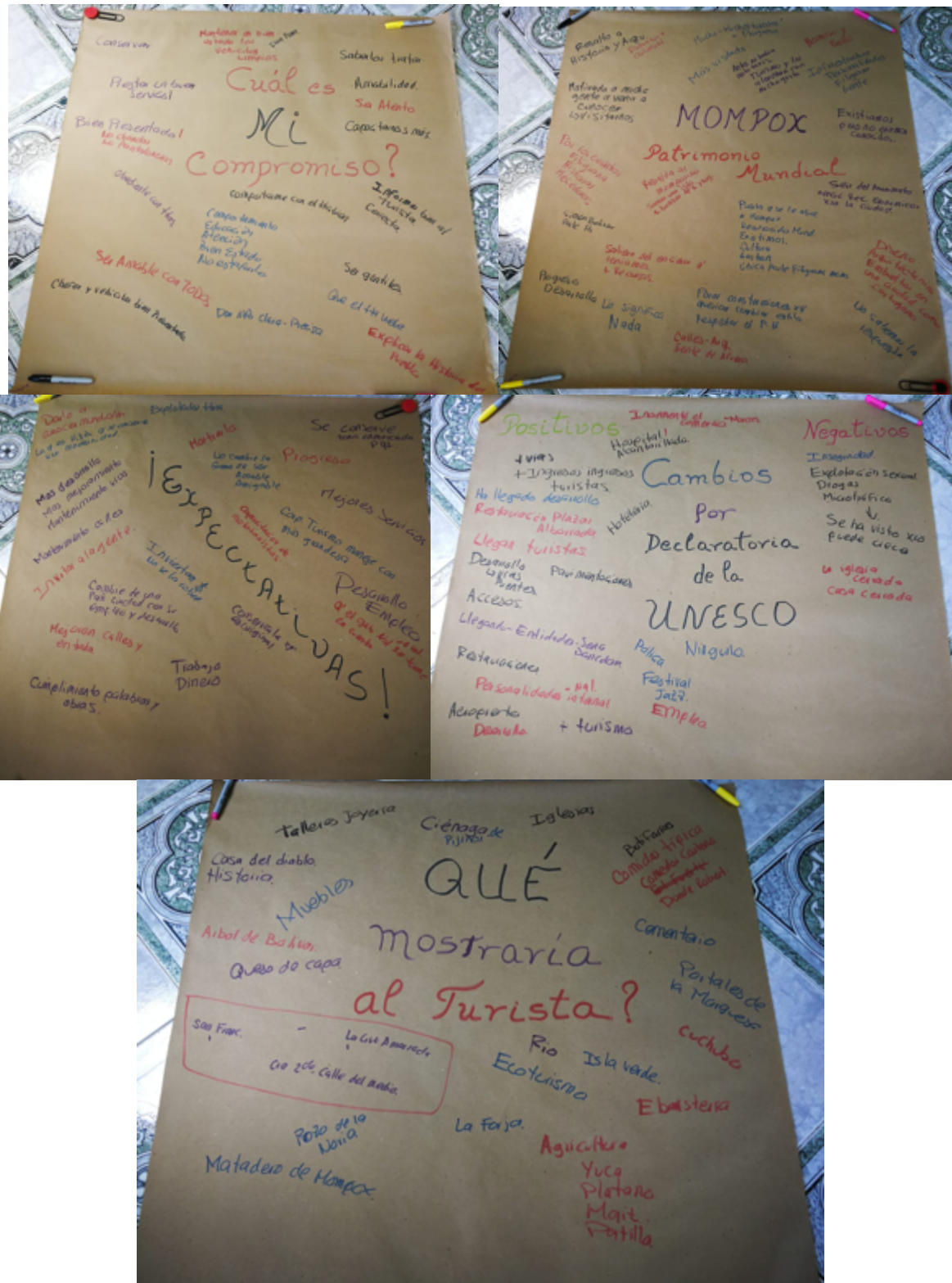


Figure 24: Answers to: expectations, World Heritage of Mompox, What would you show to tourists, heritage of Mompox and changes.

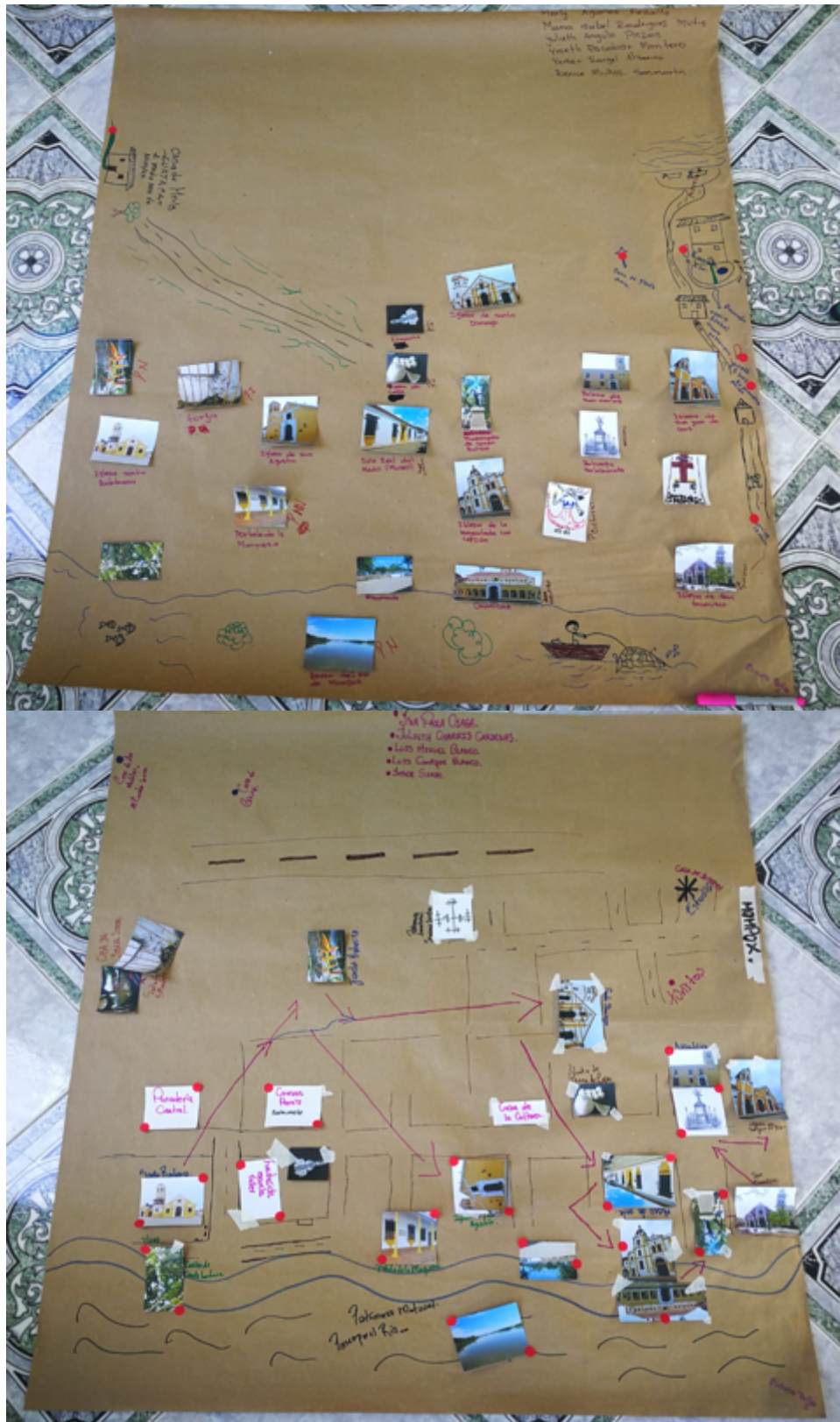
Source: Rueda, N. 2019.

4.4.3.5. Group 5: Students of the School Workshop: Filigree and gastronomy

The participants were 11 students (all over 18 years old) from the School Workshop, from the programs of filigree and gastronomy (Figure 25). Two groups were made for the drawing of maps. Most of the students lived outside Mompox or outside the WHS. It is important to note that as a condition to attend this school students have to have vulnerable social conditions but were not physically or mentally impaired so were able to understand what was asked of them and agree with full consent. They did not know that Mompox was a WHS and didn't know what heritage was. They acknowledge the most important elements of Mompox, but do not know the historical importance of the centre; they were not really interested in heritage (Figure 26).



*Figure 25: Participants of the social cartography workshop - students of the School Workshop.
Source: Rueda, N. 2019*



4.4.3.6. Group 6: Students of SENA (Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje – National Service of Learning)

The students were from the environmental management program, they were 18 in total (all over 18 years old) and the group was divided into three for the drawing of the maps (Figure 27). Even if the group was big, the social cartography was chosen because of their age and little knowledge of heritage. Besides they did not know about the designation of Mompox as a WHS. They were very participative and two of the groups knew how to locate the important places and important elements, the third group knew the names, but the places were misplaced on the map (Figures 28 & 29).



Figure 27: Participants of the social cartography workshop with students of the SENA.
Source: Rueda, N. 2019

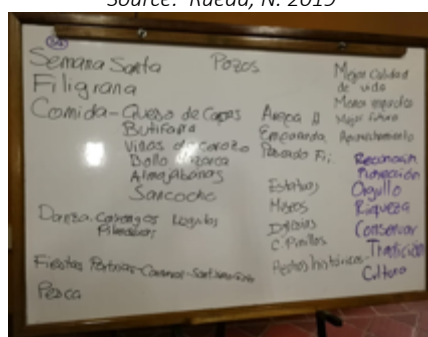


Figure 28: First question. Elements that make you momposino.
Source: Rueda, N. 2019



Figure 29: Maps drawn by Group 6.
Source: Rueda, N. 2019

4.4.3.7. Group 7: Hotel workers and managers

This workshop took place during one of the meetings the Chamber of Commerce was having with the hotel managers and workers (Figure 30). Permission was given by the Director of the Office of the Chamber of Commerce in Mompox and by the person who was giving the training session about the National Tourism Registry and the Tourism technical standards for sustainability. In addition, participants were asked to take part; none chose not to. Since a limited time was available within the context of the meeting a short activity was made, asking participants to write on the coloured cards the answers to the questions about their heritage, the meaning of the WH designation and about the changes since 1995. In general, they acknowledged the most important places in the historical centre and the importance of the WHS for tourism in Mompox and for the economic development.



*Figure 30: Participants in the workshop with hotel workers and managers.
Source: Rueda, N. 2019*

4.4.3.8. Group 8: Goldsmiths

The participants in this workshop were all goldsmiths and were part of ADOM (*Asociación de Orfebres Momposinos* - Association of Momposinos Goldsmiths). This workshop was possible because Liliana Herrera the Secretary of the Association invited us to one of their meetings and they enabled the workshop during their meeting in the living room of Liliana Herrera's home (Figure 31). There were eleven participants in total. They acknowledge the importance of Heritage in Mompox, and the lack of participation of young people. They know about history and heritage and think that the changes are not exclusively because of the WH designation (Figure 32).



Figure 31: Participants in the workshop with goldsmiths.

Source: Rueda, N. 2019



Figure 32: Answers to: expectations, World Heritage of Mompox, What would you show to tourists and changes.
Source: Rueda, N. 2019

4.5. DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis is a creative process that helps make sense of the collected data contributing to the stock knowledge in a certain discipline (Pole & Lampard, 2002). Pole & Lampard (2002) explain three stages of analysis data, understanding them as an integrated research process. First, preliminary analysis which comes with the identification of research questions, analysis of previous researches and choosing the data-collection methods; second, processual analysis that comes in the use of different methods of information gathering to shape the direction of the research, which in this case were observation, interviews, workshops, focus groups and social cartography; and finally, summative analysis that comes after the data collection process and helps to draw the conclusions of the research. This last stage is the one enabling a research *“to advance explanations and understandings of the social phenomena to which they relate”* (Pole & Lampard, 2002, p. 192).

Data Analysis starts with organizing collected information during field work. According to Miles, Huberman and Saldaña (2014), it should start with data condensation, which centres on selecting and abstracting useful information from the transcripts, notes, maps and videos. Then, data should be displayed in an organized form, allowing the researcher to draw conclusions, which comes to be the final step, along with verification. On the other hand, Pole and Lampard (2002) argue that the first stage of analysis is data sorting, where a selection process starts. Then, the researcher needs to know the data can be familiarized with the information collected, by transcribing interviews, looking at photographs, reading documents, and observing notes. Afterwards, the coding and conceptual development are important to organize the findings to make them more accessible and understandable. This phase includes the summary of words used by participants and at the same time organize them by important concepts in the research.

Analysis of unstructured data, or data that is not already organized and coded in specific categories (Boulton & Hammersley, 2006) is different. Organizing and categorizing must be done first to analyse, depending on the aims and objectives of the research. For Silverman

(2017), the analysis of interviews through audio-recordings and transcripts could be made by conversation analysis and the visual data by content analysis.

In this research, data organization was made first depending on the type of instrument applied: interviews for one side, observation, workshops, focus groups and social cartography on the other. Then, triangulation was used to arrive at strong conclusions viewed in different parts of the data collection using observation, interviews and workshops.

First, the interviews were transcribed, all the interviews were made in Spanish, as well as the transcriptions, which were not translated into English. Afterwards, these transcriptions were reviewed and the pieces of information were organized depending on the categories and issues they answered to; at this stage, the key elements were translated into English. This part was possible because there were common questions and topics to the different interviewees at different levels. The issues or categories of analysis were created using the questions but also acknowledging the key elements and problematics viewed during the field trips and through the observation, the interviews and the workshops.

Second, the workshops and the social cartography were organized on big charts, trying to create general categories by associating answers; this was possible because most of the workshops had similar questions made in different ways. The categories were created based on the type of answers. Some were just places or elements, and others were by subject or type of answer. Then these general categories were reviewed and, with the objective to synthesize, the number of categories was summarized.

Afterwards, the common questions between the workshops and the interviews were put together, questions such as “what do you consider to be your heritage”, “which are the elements that identify you as *mompoxino*”, “what changes were perceived in Mompox after the WH designation”, among others. Also, the elements observed in the maps were combined with the verbal explanations in the interviews.

As explained, the analysis was made in three parts considering the different instruments and similarities of issues and problematics to explore. The first two parts were made to organize

and categorize the data collected depending on the instruments applied. This process was different for each instrument due to the characteristics of the data and the length of the answers, as argued before this process included conversation analysis and content analysis. Afterwards, the related issues were reviewed together to see the links between the different points of view. By this categorization and coding it was possible to contrast information from different groups of the community and different levels of power; finding similarities and differences in the way they feel or perceive their surroundings.

4.6. ETHICAL ISSUES

Ethical issues in qualitative research arise because it involves contact with people and because there is a relationship between the researcher and human subjects in the field (Abbott & Sapsford, 2006; Silverman, 2017). The most prominent principles that researcher most agree with are: *“voluntary participation with right to withdraw, protection of research participants, assessment of potential benefits and risks to participants, respecting the privacy of participants (...), obtaining informed consent and avoiding harm”* (Silverman, 2017, p. 56). This approach prioritises the fact that the subject should be protected from harm and that they have knowledge about the research and give their agreement to be part as participants (Abbott & Sapsford, 2006). Besides as qualitative research treats perceptions, beliefs, feelings and studies sensitive issues, there could easily be ethical issues arising (Silverman, 2017).

Therefore, to follow these principles and to avoid any harm to participants the researcher followed the University of Birmingham Ethical Review Process and ethical approval was given in June 2018. Every interviewee gave their consent by signing the consent form (Appendix 03), the interviewees who did not want to be recorded were not and notes were taken, nonetheless, they gave their permission to use their name and information on this research. There were no interviewees who wanted to be kept anonymous, therefore every name and affiliation were used. In the workshops, the names of the participants were not necessary, only their affiliation to a certain group. Every participant in the focus groups and workshops signed the consent form. Besides every participant was given a participant's information

sheet (Appendix 04) and had the chance to make any questions about the project. They were not forced in any way to answer the questions, and the questions they were not comfortable were not pursued.

4.7. POSITIONING AND RAPPORT

The researcher's position in relation to the research is an increasing concern in qualitative approaches because of the direct role of the researcher with the data collection and analysis (Corbin & Buckle, 2009), besides it can influence the *"trustworthiness of the representation of data"* (Pitard, 2016, p. 34). This is why researchers should make known their position towards the community and towards the context in which the fieldwork was made and the analysis was conducted. This inside/outside relation can create challenges but also, can enhance the understanding of certain aspects and experiences (Corbin & Buckle, 2009). Nonetheless, being inside or outside a group or context does not define the closeness of difference to it, therefore it is *"paradoxical, then, that we would endorse binary alternatives that unduly narrow the range of understanding and experience"* (Corbin & Buckle, 2009, p. 60).

My position as a Colombian citizen and as a research professor from a Colombian University has helped to get the collaboration of multiple members of the community. Although I do not believe that being a foreigner would make a difference, it might have taken a little more time, but the people would help me in my research. I am from the centre of the country, Bogotá, not from Mompox or any Colombian coastal cities, therefore, I am not part of the local community object of study.

The handling of Spanish as a mother language and knowing the daily way of speaking of the people of the coast helped the understanding of their expressions and to speak more freely with them. Also, it helped me to access to the multiple documents and elements for the context chapter that were mostly in Spanish.

The observation made, was a non-participant direct and non-structured observation and was carried out during the three field trips, understanding the spatial dimensions, elements, behaviours, layouts, and physical conditions.

My position as a researcher was always revealed during the interviews and participative workshops. All of them knew my affiliation as a student of the University of Birmingham and most of them knew my affiliation as a research professor. In most of the cases, participants were willing to introduce me to other key actors, and as the network in Mompox is so small it was easy to make the connections of the system as showed in the Map of actors (Figure 12). It is important to note that most of the local interviews were achieved during the field trips because the participants that used or answered the mail request were very few, therefore most of the connections and first contacts were made in the fieldtrips and phone calls and WhatsApp were the two communication channels used with them.

For the participative workshops, I first made a connection with the leader or director of the team-association-education institutes, who helped me gather the people for the participation in the social cartography activity or focus groups. For this, the recruitment advertisement was very useful. During these workshops I only acted as facilitator, drawing or writing only what they said, and occasionally asking more questions regarding what they said or draw to deepen their explanations. I also had to explain in most of the cases about the meaning of heritage to be able to speak on the same basis or to avoid misunderstandings. Many of the participants had no idea about what heritage was or had wrong preconceptions.

Regarding the local cultural aspects and beliefs, the participants were more than helpful in explaining those with the ones I was not familiar. Even if they were not always important for the objective of the research it helped me to understand the cultural context of the *mompoxinos*.

4.8. RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

During the research, I faced diverse limitations. For the field trips three main constraints were found: the accessibility to Mompox, even if today it is accessible by car – not only by

boat as it used to be – the distance and time needed to arrive to the town meant two days simply for travel (round-trip). Besides, the bad conditions of the roads did not make the trip easier. The financial constraints were also present for the field trips: these included a high cost for every field trip counting the plane ticket to one of the main cities (Cartagena, Valledupar) plus the ground trip; in addition to the accommodation in Mompox. The last limitation was time, my work as research professor did not allow long trips during the academic semester, although dividing the fieldwork by phases made it easier to apply the different data-collection activities, therefore, this limitation was used in favour of the development of the project.

Another constraint was that there were groups of the population that could not be addressed the way I have planned, because I could not reach out to them. Besides, the local people did not know me, hence making groups without the help of the leaders was difficult if not impossible. Taking them out of their work or daily routine for an activity in a subject that is not considered of first necessity was not an option considered. It is important to note that during the fieldtrips there was no free time between interviews or workshops. Although, the close relationships in town helped me to make more interviews and to meet the right people who could help me with the workshops.

During the participative activities, the low educational level of some of the participants during some of the workshops prevented them from participating freely and without constraints in the activities. This difficulty was managed by changing the activity for the next groups. Nonetheless, the little knowledge about what heritage is or about the WH designation was common and limited the findings, even if I tried to change vocabulary and explain the ideas in different ways.

For the interviews and activities was also important to understand how time works in Mompox. Offices were opened at eight or nine in the morning; everything closes at twelve for lunch, reopens at two in the afternoon and after five pm there was nothing open besides general commerce. Therefore, the time for the interviews and workshops was reduced considerably.

4.9. CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, the epistemological approach and theoretical paradigms that were used to view the reality studied were analysed and justified, based on the aims and objectives of the research. The constructivism and the phenomenological approaches were the ones chosen to study heritage as a social construction in Mompox. The research method used was the qualitative approach due to the objectives, the characteristics of the data collected and the analysis made.

Based on these elements, and with the inductive and participative approach that was applied, the field work was described in detail and the data collection instruments used: interviews, focus groups, social cartography workshops and observation. The workshops were described by group and pictures of the participants and the final products are displayed. The list of interviewees was not presented due to the size and unimportance of its description, but is provided in Appendix 05 along with an example of a transcription (in Spanish) for illustrative purposes.

Then, the way the data analysis was made and the ethical issues and process around the research were outlined, this to avoid any harm to participants. Lastly, the positioning and rapport were explained, and the research limitations, as well as the doors that opened to other possible investigations in Mompox.

CHAPTER V.

MOMPOX: MARGINAL CITY – MARGINAL CHANGE?

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION PART 1



*Figure 33: Santa Barbara Church Tower in Mompox.
Source: Rueda, N. 2019.*

5.1. INTRODUCTION

Mompox is a peripheral and isolated town with low levels of economic development. This chapter aims to understand the changes that have taken place in the town since its historical centre was designated by UNESCO as World Heritage in 1995. Inscription on the World Heritage List is taken as a driver for economic development, mainly through tourism and the wider service sector (Comer, 2014; Deacon, 2014; Sinamai, 2014). An important point recognised by Jimura (2011) is that there remains a gap in our understanding about the exact nature of changes experienced by World Heritage communities and how local communities themselves see these changes.

World Heritage status aims to protect and conserve elements with worldwide significance keeping their integrity, authenticity and uniqueness (Park, 2014). Nonetheless, in some places the designation can be a threat, because of the effect tourism created has, and can distort cultural values affecting local lifestyles and traditions (Millar, 2006). Urban World Heritage is subject to multiple pressures driven by a rapid and intense economic and social development that can result in changes in the urban landscape and damage to the historical centres (De Noronha Vaz et al., 2012).

In this chapter, the essence of World Heritage designation – Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) will be examined, taking into account the changes in the form and function of the historical centre as part of the normative evolution of town. The peripherality of Mompox will be studied in the processes of conservation that have been active since 1995. Furthermore, the changing role and attitudes of the local community will be discussed in relation to the physical changes that have taken place in both the historical centre of the town and beyond those limits.

The chapter concludes with a discussion of the multiple studies that reflect the impacts a designation can have over a destination (Comer, 2014; De Noronha Vaz et al., 2012; Leask, 2006; Makuvaza & Chiwaura, 2014; Millar, 2006; Sinamai, 2014), and examines the many changes that have taken place since the designation, with an analysis of their extent, from a

community view and whether the World Heritage Site have been altered by them; these changes will be divided in form and function of the places, values, feelings and social interactions within and around the WHS.

5.2. THE MAINTENANCE OF OUTSTANDING UNIVERSAL VALUE

As noted in chapter three, the OUV of Santa Cruz de Mompox depends on the colonial architecture and the special circumstances of development due to its position parallel to the river, making it a unique riverine urban settlement. This way, it fulfills two of the ten criteria set by UNESCO for the WH definition: criteria iv and v (UNESCO, n.d.-c). Also, the outstanding preservation of the architecture and form of the town standing today (UNESCO, n.d.-c), gives Mompox the authenticity and integrity needed for the designation. As Labadi (2012) reminds us, authenticity is determined by how close the elements are to the original form or design. Nonetheless, the authenticity is demonstrated with the continuity of its architecture and the use given to the HC with values that continue to exist and have been transmitted in the community over time (Khalaf, 2020).

The colonial architecture survives with minimal changes and destructions, mainly because of the lack of pressure and development of town; all these elements are possible because of the condition of peripherality and isolation that determined the conservation of heritage.

5.2.1. Peripherality and isolation as a way of conserving the OUV

As discussed in chapter three, Mompox has always been isolated even during colonial times, when it used to be an important economical centre. But after the change of the river course, the town became peripheral; the accessibility was precarious due to the lack of passable roads. Additionally, during the armed conflict period (1948-2016), problematic and dangerous regions surrounded Mompox, making it almost impossible to get in and out. This determined a lack of changes in houses and ways of life, thereby conserving the integral architecture of the historic centre and the longitudinal form parallel to the river, which represents the OUV of the place.

As admitted by the Director of the Historical Archive of Mompox, this isolation could be a blessing for heritage, but a curse for the community's social and economic development:

It has been a blessing for me, that abandonment, and the change of the river course preserved everything, the architecture and traditions that we have now; although it was a misfortune for the Momposinos of that time (L. Domínguez, personal communication, August 21 – 2018).

Mompox has had a period of “decay, isolation, government abandonment, regional indifference” (Téllez, 1995a, p. 46) and it matches many of the characteristics of peripheral destinations: geographical isolation, high migration, lack of work and education, low economic development, lack of infrastructure, and high transportation costs, among other things (Owen et al., 1999).

When people were asked what has changed in town and in their lives, it was evident that they regret the isolation and the difficulties they have had over the years. Many of the families are divided because their sons and daughters have travelled to other cities for better living conditions. There were few opportunities to study (since there were no professional or technical institutions), work or start a family in Mompox; there were no options for young people.

The isolation helped the conservation, not only of the tangible heritage, but also of traditions and beliefs. The Director of Culture of the Departmental Institute of Culture and Tourism (ICULTUR) explains:

You realize that in order to be what it is (Mompox) today, it (Mompox) needed to be hidden, where no one messed with it, so that today we can enjoy Mompox (A. Guerra, personal communication, August 8-2018).

Besides, the characteristic of being isolated and peripheral gives it strength because it gives the impression of uniqueness and authenticity to tourists (Brown & Hall, 1999a), as well as

distinctiveness as commented by Irvine & Anderson (2007). It has been a blessing full of difficulties, as said by the Coordinator of the Gold Museum in Cartagena,

It is particular because you have the impression that it is a town detained in time, is a town stopped in certain aspects because of the isolation of the river, and they now regret the difficulties they have (L. Gómez, personal communication, August 18-2018).

This peripherality gives comparative advantages and attractiveness that otherwise would have been difficult to acquire. According to some interviewees, it has been good, because it helped the conservation of heritage, nonetheless, there are factors that still jeopardize the economic opportunities like the remoteness, infrastructure and lack of funding (Fonseca & Ramos, 2012).

5.2.2. Conservation of the historic centre

The historic centre of Mompox is a representation of the colonial era architecture; particularly because of the lack of changes this centre and historical houses have had over the years. As said in Chapter 3, the colonial architecture and the few representations of the republican architecture are still intact and offer an overview of the town since its creation in colonial times, these represent the OUV acknowledged by UNESCO. Regardless of the importance, the town achieved during colonial and republican periods, today, it is praised because of the state of conservation and authenticity that made it worthy of the WH designation in 1995.

The colonial ensemble was kept, even during the periods of architecture changes in the country: *“What in the history of Colombian architecture is called the ‘republican era’ (...) is limited in Mompox to certain reforms and decorative overlays in some houses and official buildings”* (Téllez, 1995, p. 68). The republican architecture was born as a reform to the colonial architecture and what it meant, although it did not reach every town in the country. Also, the owners of the houses kept them as they were waiting for better times and conditions, because there was no money to transform that heritage (Isaza Londoño & Wilson

White, 2012). This could also be seen as minimal conservation, which helps to keep the authenticity and continuity in uses and architecture, and until 1995 the majority of the houses kept the colonial/republican original architecture with almost no changes in the inside and the outside.

Mompox was named a National Monument in 1959, but the first protection agreement in town was established in 1994, the year before the UNESCO designation was made in 1995, and the Special Management and Protection Plan (*Plan Especial de Manejo y Protección* - PEMP-) was established in 2006. The PEMP is a document that has to be written for every historical centre (National BIC – Cultural interest good) in the country, regardless if it is WHS or not. In this document, the works of restoration, heritage conservation, and landscape amelioration of the historical centre, were proposed. The local conservation legislation of the historical centre began after the WH designation, not before.

The WHS is the historic centre, composed in its majority by privately owned houses, most of them still existing with their original architecture, inside and outside. This conservation state is due, mainly to the lack of resources to make changes. As Germán Téllez argues, *“the socioeconomic stagnation of Mompox during the nineteenth century and much of the twentieth century was also reflected in a notable shortage of “new” constructions or additions to the existing ones during the same period”* (Téllez, 1995, p. 68). Therefore, the main threats for urban heritage i.e. economic development, population growth and changes in the urban landscape have been non-existent in the town (De Noronha Vaz et al., 2012).

There has been no development pressure over heritage because people had to live in the same conditions they have lived for centuries. Besides, the town grew very little over the years. The destruction or change in all colonial houses was lesser than in other colonial cities in the country by 1995 (Téllez, 1995). The only pressure over heritage was the danger of deterioration and the destruction of houses because of the lack of restoration and conservation works (Figure 34). These pressures did result in a number of houses that fell down because of abandonment and the lack of works to keep them standing. The Director of Procolombia in Cartagena and the advisor of Vacation Tourism states:

There are many houses that are at risk of losing their history, their architecture; they are literally falling down and nobody is doing a restoration for heritage conservation purposes (F. Vergara & J. Sánchez, personal communication, August 15-2018).



Figure 34: Houses in danger of falling down inside the WHS.
Source: Rueda, N. 2019.

The minimal conservation was useful to keep the colonial architecture, but in Mompox (and in Colombia in general), there is no economic support for private heritage properties, so the works and conservation activities to keep the houses standing and in good living conditions have to be investments made by the owners. Most of the houses inside the historic centre are privately owned, therefore conservation and sustainability are the responsibility of local people; the departmental or local government do not give economic assistance for the conservation of heritage. Many times, owners neglect this responsibility because of the lack of resources or lack of interest. National government made investments for the revitalization of part of the historical centre in 2009, as said in Chapter 3, but only for public spaces and some public buildings and churches.

The role of community in the conservation of the historical centre has not been present through the years; a conservation awareness of the urban and architectural heritage is evident in some small groups because of two reasons: the houses are their family heritage, or because the increase in opportunities that came due to the intact colonial architecture. At the time of the research, there is still a general homogeneity in the architecture of the

town, regardless of some modern houses in the buffer zone and outside of the protection limits.

In 2018, the development has brought money in for the renewal and conservation of houses, people are trying to restore their buildings, while including modern elements and materials, or simply changing them with actual architectural elements and forms. Local people and government are conscious of the benefits of having a well-maintained house and better living conditions; nonetheless, many owners need to rent their houses for tourism and make a profit to maintain them correctly.

5.2.3. Attachment to OUV: meanings and importance of the historical centre for community

The historic centre has its own meaning for the community which is very different from the World Heritage meaning as known for outsiders and is also different from that of national heritage. The meaning for the community includes: (1) it is where their town started, (2) it is still where their heart is, (3) it is where everything was born and where everything started. People in Mompox keep their historic centre with jealousy and are proud of what they have, but behind this pride, there is a lack of knowledge in a big part of the community. Not many of them understand, or know the Outstanding Universal Value of Mompox and why it is a WHS.

Some people know the history and research and read about the importance of town over the years so there is a part of the community who likes to study this importance by self-learning. Other groups of people acknowledge the architectural and historical background, but the great majority do not know the history or the important facts that make the town special; they just know it is important.

In the interviews and workshops, it was evident that the center of Mompox it is the heart of the town, the history and the traditions altogether, it means there is no divorce between heritage and the present society, and that it performs functions for the society: is a living heritage (Wijesuriya et al., 2018). This view of heritage is stated by many interviewees who

see in this place a very important element of their culture. For example, a teacher of one of the Schools in the town says:

The historical centre is an architectural jewel that has to be preserved and taken care of. Is the legacy left by our ancestors, that life experience, that world, that sociology impregnated in the stone. Is that diamond that has to be preserved and that unfortunately is in danger (F. Buelvas, personal communication, August 22-2018).

According to that, it is a place that needs to be taken care of, needs to be conserved and maintained for the current and future generations. All of this without forgetting the people, that on many occasions are overlooked in the inscription process of WH, because this is usually a top-down decision, as noted by Leask (2006); and in many cases the interests of local community are excluded (Albert, 2012).

As said by Alatalu, the most important thing in heritage is that people are willing to keep, maintain and pass it to future generations (Alatalu, 2012). People are the ones who give life to heritage and for some inhabitants that must not be forgotten:

For me the historical centre is important, but people are more important, because heritage is already given and it is done and is nurtured by people. I won't die if they plant a tree in the middle of Conception Plaza that has never been there; it gives shadow for the people. First the people, I think that is the main heritage and is the one that has not been taken into account (P. Di Filippo, personal communication, August 24-2018).

Another perspective is to see the Historical Centre as the place where everything happens. Every important institution: administrative, religious, economic, all of them are located in this area. As stated by the Secretary of Planning of Mompox:

Everything is centered in the historical centre, commerce, drugstores, including the current hospital, town hall, everything is around the town hall. I spend more time in the historical centre than in my house that is outside. It is all that, the great amount

of things, the most representative foods are here now (J. Quintero, personal communication, October 4-2018).

Also, the historic centre is where most workplaces are located. It is the place that gives opportunities to everybody in town, and the community sees it this way, as stated by the director of the Historical Archive:

The Historical Centre is a working place, is the place that gives us food, and allows us to take food home, of having money to buy things, to sustain the family. It is a blessing and Mompox is unlike any other because of its historical centre (L. Domínguez, personal communication, August 21 – 2018).

This is also linked to the activities made in the Historical Centre by the community that was stated in the workshops. While some say that it is an important place for the town, others say that they only go there to work. The historic centre is where all the Catholic churches are located, therefore if someone wants to go to mass, they have to visit one of the Catholic churches in the area. The main religious and cultural activities such as the festivals, the Holy week or the Jazz Festivals are made within the historic centre. Many use the Albarrada, the street next to the river, to walk or do exercise or like to visit the restaurants located inside.

Leisure activities or family time are not spent in the historic centre, except for the people who live and work inside it. Many people honestly say there is nothing to do in this place, only when they have visits or tourists, just to show them the town, but there are not many things to do. This is supported by the director of the Religious Museum:

As momposino I tell you, there are no activities to do, we can walk, take pictures, look at the infrastructure, look at the wall from the eighteenth century, the house from the eighteenth century, the windows from the sixteenth century. Is looking at all the architectonic parts in Mompox, but if we don't look the surroundings, we won't find anything else (D. Daus, personal communication, August 24-2018).

During the workshops (see complete information in Appendix 06), some of the activities stated by participants were linked mainly with study or work inside the historical centre, nonetheless, some others were trivial activities, like going to the Liberty Plaza for the free wi-fi, going to the gym or going for ice cream near the Old Market. Many also highlighted the fast-food cars in the Santo Domingo Plaza or the kiosks from Santa Barbara Plaza where they like to go on Friday or Saturday night to spend some time with friends (Figure 35).



*Figure 35: 1. Fast Food Kiosks in Santo Domingo Plaza; 2. Kiosk in Santa Barbara Plaza.
Source: Rueda, N. (2019)*

The town is not a big place, therefore the historic centre is still a representative place because of the historical and administrative importance, and the services provided. The town has been built around it, and there you will find mostly living houses and small neighborhoods. There is a negative part, by five in the afternoon, stores and offices start closing, the streets begin to empty evidencing the gentrification that is happening in the historical centre.

Therefore, the historical centre is a place of use for people, but not many acknowledge the characteristics of the OUV. It is the centre of the life of town, but not because of the colonial architecture or historical characteristics, just because it has been, it is and it will be (in the medium term) the centre of the social, economic and political life of town. This represents the continuity in the usage of the tangible heritage as argued by Khalaf (2020).

5.3. FORM, FUNCTION: CONTINUITIES AND CHANGES

The Special Management and Protection Plan (*Plan Especial de Manejo y Protección* -PEMP) was established in 2006. The works in the Albarrada and the restoration of six churches started in 2009. In 2012 the first Jazz Festival was made and towards 2015, the first bridge that connects the Momposina Depression with part of the country was opened. These are important dates to keep in mind when analysing how the town and the heritage places have changed not only in the uses, but also in the eyes of the community.

5.3.1. Growth of the town

One of the changes since the designation, is the disordered growth of the town, mainly because of the increasing economic development and developing importance due to the improvement of accessibility, the promotion and events within the municipality and the exponential increase in tourism, which might have been triggered by the WH designation.

Figure 36 shows how the town has been growing since the seventeenth century. As can be seen the Historic Centre, the protected area and buffer zone incorporates everything that had been built in town until 1995 (up to the purple color in 1990, in the map), therefore the growth of the town has been based on it. The town was built on a small hill in the alluvial flood plain, its surroundings flood every rainy season, and the town was built considering these special land conditions: *“Mompox could only grow to a certain point, along the riverbank, but very little perpendicular to it, because it was the only place in the area where the height of the land allowed to build and trace streets that escaped, by little margin, the floods or the permanent muddy state of the surroundings”* (Téllez, 1995a, p. 27-28).



Figure 36: Town growth through time: Seventeenth Century – Green. Eighteenth Century – Pink. Nineteenth Century – Dark blue. 1948 – Purple. 1990 – Light blue. 2015 – White.

Note: The map was made over the updated map of the town (2015) to compare the historical centre and buffer zone with the constructions in previous centuries. The map was not coloured by density or number of houses, but design of blocks, due to the lack of maps in the same scale from different years. Source: IGAC, 2015. Scale 1:5.000

The river flows from south to north so the town started by the river bank and grew to the west and bit by bit to the north and south, growing parallel to the river. This determined its shape, as an organic representation of a traditional human settlement in interaction with its environment (Criteria V, UNESCO, n.d.). Nonetheless, the same reason that made the construction of town possible in this area is the same reason why today it should not grow anymore, because of the areas that flood every rainy season, creating sanitary emergencies and poor living conditions outside the WHS (Figure 37). Also, there has been flooding of the whole town but this has not been frequent.



*Figure 37: Pictures of flooded lands in the rainy season beyond the fifth street (Highway).
Source: Rueda, N. 2019.*

The three main streets in Mompox: Albarrada, Calle del medio (middle street) and Calle de atrás (the third or street in the back) were kept in the structure of town since the colonial times. Nonetheless, the growth of the town has been incoherent in the past 20 years; new neighbourhoods have been created in the flooding zone, which should not be occupied because of natural conditions and risks (C.M. Campo, personal communication, May 29 – 2019) (Figure 38).



*Figure 38: Map Mompox 2015 with UNESCO Heritage zone (inside red line) and buffer zone (blue line).
Note: The map was handmade because there are no updated maps with the heritage zone. The map is from 2015 with the heritage zone established in 1995. Source IGAC, 2015. Scale 1:5.000*

Comparing the two maps (Figure 36 and Figure 38), it can be seen that the protected area was built originally between the seventeenth and eighteenth century (green and pink) and the buffer zone corresponds to everything built in the town until 1995 (light blue 1990 in Figure 36). Therefore, the heritage protection laws protect almost every house of town built until 1995.

5.3.2. Modernity welcomed

The territorial isolation of Mompox created a distance from modernity and development. Before 2018, supermarkets did not exist in the town, commerce was small and Internet access was very limited. Today, they are living an awakening without limits. People and government are working towards development and tourism, bringing multiple changes and modernization in infrastructure and ways of life. In 1995 Téllez acknowledges that even the *“‘modern’ architecture is still scarce, that means, “development and progress” present within the ancient city is not much”* (Téllez, 1995a, p. 44).

According to Álvaro Castro, some people in town who think that this lack of modernization is good because it keeps the homogeneity of town, more aesthetic. Others feel that is time for Mompox to develop as a modern city with modern architecture. There were no major constructions in modern architecture because people did what their masters taught them so the same techniques and forms were used over and over again in all constructions. The isolation kept new knowledge or materials out of town. Therefore, the same architecture and construction techniques were replicated until very recently. The vice-director of the Academy of History of Mompox said:

People did what they knew, they build the way they were taught, conserving the same style of construction in every house, nothing new entered the town; the ones that damaged this homogeneity were architects, who brought new ideas and modern elements to town (A. Castro, personal communication, May 29 – 2019).

He also argues that some people think that this new architecture damages the homogeneity of the historical centre, being too close to the WHS, because it jeopardises the colonial

landscape. Outside the protected area and the buffer zone the architecture is more practical, the houses did not follow the same architecture, and were made in different time periods. In most cases they did not exceed the height of two stages, conserving a homogeneous landscape in town. Also, some of the houses kept some of the traditional characteristics like the decorative grille fixed over the street-facing windows. The new constructions that break the homogeneity can be seen outside the protected area, even within the limits of the buffer zone of the WHS (Figure 39).



*Figure 39 Modern architecture next to the historical centre, inside the Buffer zone.
Source: Rueda, N. 2019.*

On the other hand, the protection law has not been followed to the letter, remodelling was done in many houses, changing the structure and inner architecture, to make it proper for

hotels or touristic lodging (Figure 40). The only colonial structure still standing is the street frontage.



Figure 40: Remodeling of a house in the Albarrada.
Source: Rueda, 2018.

Since 2017 stores and supermarkets have begun to open, with signs and modern architecture outside the historical centre, evidencing the economic development of town (Figure 41). This is a change in the way of life of people, for them, this is a sign of moving forward and they see how the economy is improving.



Figure 41: Stores with big signs outside the historical centre.
Source: Rueda, N. 2019.

5.3.3. Changes in the town since 1995

The town, as a municipality has changed since the designation in 1995, but these changes did not start until more than a decade after this label was given. This late change has two main reasons: (1) because of the lack of government investments and amelioration works in infrastructure and access routes. And (2) the geographic and conflict context that surrounded Mompox for many years, as explained by the Director of Culture of the Department,

It is a context in which it can be argued that even with the designation of heritage of UNESCO, there were no major changes (A. Guerra, personal communication, August 8-2018).

The changes have been gradual and have centered on the improvement of infrastructure in the region, access routes, heritage conservation of buildings, and the revitalization of the Albarrada and the three plazas. The departmental government has been investing in Mompox and its development. The views of these changes and the changes themselves are different from person to person, each has a different time frame and different perspectives. They vary from functional, to physical, to cultural.

Nonetheless, the lack of interest, will and investment from the local government are obvious; the community recognizes the impossibility and absence of resources. According to Yiris Bayter, Mompox ex-mayor, there is a lack of local political-administrative actions:

Investments have come from abroad, resources from the nation, resources from the department, but local investment is very low (Y. Bayter, personal communication, October 4-2018).

The time frame for the change is different for everyone, but it is clear that the changes were not immediate after the designation; and for many it is evident that without the will and attention from the national and departmental government changes would not be possible in town. For Alexandra Guerra, Director of Culture of ICULTURE of Bolívar department explains,

If the will of the previous departmental government had not existed, and this government had not continued with it, nothing would have happened in Mompox (A. Guerra, personal communication, August 8-2018).

According to the Coordinator of the Gold Museum in Cartagena, the previous Governor Juan Carlos Gosaín is the one who started acknowledging the importance and potential of the town:

Mompox is a jewel and it has been neglected, very abandoned and is important to invest in it, then he managed many resources (L. Gómez, personal communication, August 18-2018).

For the Director of the regional office of Procolombia in Cartagena, Francisco Vergara, Mompox has changed in the past years, and it is because of the support from the departmental government which is investing and making actions and changes. He stated that the day the department stops working in and for the town, Mompox will die, because there is not a sense of local responsibility (F. Vergara & J. Sánchez, personal communication, August 15-2015), for them the local government does not have the appropriate responsibility to keep the projects running and does not have the resources to make actions and changes.

Today the town looks different, and the social mentality of the place changed also. This latest impulse is also acknowledged by the locals, who see the changes in their town and the ameliorations around them. For the community, there have been positive and negative changes since the designation. Although, during the workshops and in some interviews the designation could not be used as a starting point, many people showed a lack of knowledge of the WH label and designation so the changes were acknowledged between a period of 23 years or since 1995.

5.3.3.1. Physical Changes

The director of the Historical Archive of Mompox, Luis Dominguez said that the changes have appeared with the last two presidents, who have invested in the amelioration of the access

routes, highways, bridges, sewage system, works in the Albarrada, in the three main plazas, and the dome of the Conception Church (personal communication, August 21 – 2018). The changes were described by one of the goldsmiths as:

A process that has been slow, I always expect more, but the changes have been seen
(J. Acuña, personal communication, August 22-2018).

The government has made investments in routes and highways, with works that ameliorated the ease of transit within the region. The accessibility started to improve towards 2009-2010 with the Cicuco bridge, then in 2015 the bridge Talaigua Nuevo was finished; and the routes will get even better in 2019-2020 with the bridge “La Reconciliación” which will decrease the traveling time to town and will open new and better accessibility opportunities from Magangué.

During the past few years, a sewerage system started to be installed, although the conditions of town during the third field visit were regrettable. Fifty years ago, the principal routes and the historical centre of Mompox were paved: today these paved streets are in a poor condition and need maintenance (Figure 42). The main streets in town – those that are parallel to the river (green on the map) – first street (Albarrada, on the river bank), second street (*calle del medio*), third street (*calle de atrás*), fourth street (*la nueva*) and the fifth street (*carretera*), are mostly (not completely) paved but also with countless holes. The alleyways (*callejuelas*) – the ones that go perpendicular to the river (Orange on the map) –, have earth surfaces and very few of them are paved. Not even the streets in the historical centre (inside the red line on the map) are in good condition. During the rainy season, the town gets muddy and impassable, and these conditions get worse as one moves away from the historic centre.

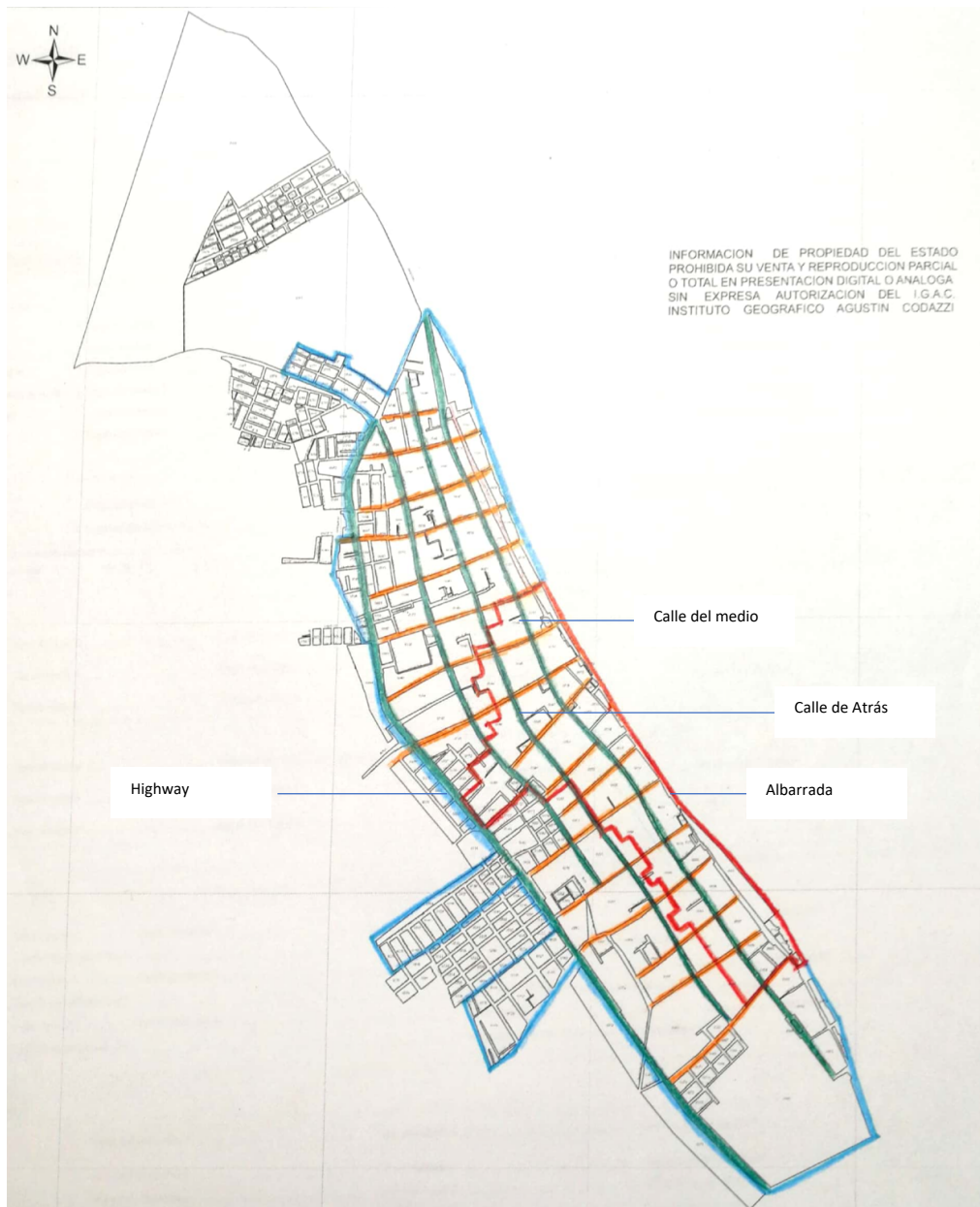


Figure 42: Map Mompox 2015 with Unesco Heritage zone (inside red line) and buffer zone (blue line).
Note: The map was handmade because there are no updated maps with the heritage zone included. The map is from 2015, and the heritage zone was established in 1995. Source IGAC, 2015. Scale 1:5.000

In the workshops, the positive changes noticed by participants were mainly investment and amelioration in infrastructure: streets, roads, airport, bridges, access roads, sewerage, hospital (future) and the conservation and restoration of the historic centre along with parks, churches and the Albarrada (complete table with changes from workshops Appendix 07).

An important element of discussion about the government improvement plan in town is that in some cases the works are only inside the heritage area, not over the whole town infrastructure nor intending to ameliorate people's quality of life. Lucy Gómez, Coordinator of the "Museo del Oro Zenú" in Cartagena explains the way she appreciated this,

At one time there were interventions on buildings, but the problem with this, is that the works fell on physical spaces, but they were not projected towards the town. Moreover, people may end up thinking that bricks are more important than their living condition (for the national government), so they did not make roads, they did not improve the town connectivity, they did not improve the hospital, they did not make parks, but the buildings were fixed, the old buildings (L. Gómez, personal communication, August 18-2018).

And it was like this for a long time. Today there is a project for the construction of a hospital in town, accessibility routes are ameliorating with time, and the town is being paved gradually. All of this have changed greatly the conditions and characteristics of Mompos. They give better socio-economical options and the number of people who will arrive to Mompos will increase exponentially, not only tourists, but people from the near towns either to work, live, study, or make errands.

5.3.3.2. Changes in the way of life of the *Momposinos*

For some, the changes in the way of life have been obvious:

At the level of training, people are preparing more, the economy has improved, obviously, if the economy improves, the life of each person improves (D. Ullunagua, personal communication, August 21-2018).

Before, there were no opportunities to study, work, start a family; there were no options for young people. This is starting to change, people are coming back because schools, workshops, technical schools, and universities are arriving in town, work related to tourism is increasing and the town is growing bit by bit.

Even if the designation did not have great instant impacts, it did motivate the arrival of international tourists and organizations such as the “Spanish Cooperation Agency” (*Agencia de Cooperación Española*) who established the School Workshop and worked with the town’s people for 17 years. In 2016 the Ministry of Culture took over these projects across the country and in 2017 they were reopened in Mompox. This School Workshop programme works for the intangible heritage of town and teaches young people the traditional arts and crafts (E. Rojas, personal communication, August 23-2018). This not only helps the conservation of intangible heritage, but also helps the amelioration of the quality of life of local people, who see in these arts and crafts an economical opportunity.

Currently, the two national educational institutions that have arrived in the town are SENA and the University of Cartagena (F. Buelvas, personal communication, August 22-2018). These two education institutions are more than what they had ten years ago. Also, the arrival of banks and police were highlighted in the workshops. This may seem normal in a city, but for the people of town, these were events worth telling, because they evidenced, for them, the development and evolvement of town.

All these changes have brought multiple outcomes and titles in 2018 such as: the Touristic Cultural and Historical District, the certification as a sustainable touristic destination, being part of the Heritage Towns Network; new events like the Jazz Festival; and all this together have increased the number of tourists as well as the diffusion of the image of Mompox worldwide. Nevertheless, it became apparent that Mompox did not meet many of the conditions for these titles and certifications.

In 2012 the Jazz Festival arrived in Mompox and it is changing the social and economic dynamics in town with good and bad effects. Other important changes stated by the community were the arrival of tourism, the improvement of the local economy, the increase in works and in tourism development, which entails a growth in the number of business, hotels, restaurants and filigree shops. All of this creates a better economical movement in town and influences a better quality of life for the inhabitants of town.

Parallel to this positive development and growth, there have been some negative impacts: insecurity has increased, inflation, and the increase of the costs of the goods for locals and the high costs of the houses, along with the change of owners gradually and the loss of tradition and local culture because of tourism.

For the director of the historical archive, the designation split the history of town in two (L. Domínguez, personal communication, August 21 – 2018), because it changed the way town was living and was evolving. Nonetheless, for others like the Director of Vivir Mompox, a local tour operator, the designation did not produce any change at all, it was normal for them to coexist with what they had. According Patricia di Filippo:

It was normal to live with everything we had, it is normal to live with everything we have in our lifestyle. What we eat, what we hear, anecdotes, houses, how they are decorated, this is ours (P. di Filippo, personal communication, August 24-2018).

For them, designations only put a title to their heritage, but for them, it was something normal to walk through the streets, live in the colonial houses, live their traditions and see the historic centre every day. The designation did not change their town. Furthermore, the designation for Patricia di Filippo, was just that - a title change - and then it passed. What changed the town, for her, was the revitalization of part of the historic centre. This revitalization changed the image of Mompox, but also the ways people live. As explained by the Secretary of Planning, they used to play football in the Albarrada before (J. Quintero, personal communication, October 4-2018); today it is a pathway for sightseeing, which is good, but changes the view of the local people of their streets.

With the designation, inhabitants started to acknowledge how beautiful their town is, as accepted by the coordinator of the National Service of Learning SENA,

People began to be aware of how beautiful their houses are, how beautiful the environment is, how valuable a construction of this (colonial style) is, and we also become more aware of how to conserve things (J. Jalilies, personal communication, October 3-2018).

The dynamics of the town changed after the designation, but not immediately, partially because of the title and recognition received, but mostly because of the actions of government to change the reality in which the town was living. These actions made the town grow; more people are arriving, and new neighbourhoods are being built. However, this growth has been characterised by its lack of planning and management, and these are having serious effects on the settling of town.

5.3.4. Change in activities and uses: Tourism arrival and economic opportunities

As explained in the context chapter, Mompox was a municipality with few economic options due to the isolation and lack of economic activities. Having an architecture worthy of an international title gave them a great opportunity. These benefits are evident now for the community and the government, and were evident in 1995 when it was designated. Nonetheless, the accessibility and infrastructure conditions were not at the appropriate level, due to its isolation. As said by Viñals & Morant (2012), the designation makes it automatically visible for tourism, but as Sinamai (2014) argues, tourism alone cannot transform a destination, besides, multiple factors threaten and limits its development (Fonseca & Ramos, 2012).

Today, they are living an awakening without limits. People and government are so eager for development and tourism, they are doing almost everything to accomplish it, no matter the impacts it can bring to future of the community or their heritage. As argued by Müller & Ulrich (2007) the economic restructuring of peripheral areas usually leaves tourism as one of the few options for local development.

Today, they have better accessibility and the government wishes to make the town a touristic destination. According to the PEMP, the development option given was only tourism because of the hard social conditions and the lack of other economic opportunities, however, according to the director of the PEMP project, it should be applied carefully (S. Zabala, personal communication, April 5 – 2019). As said by Larkham (1995), the planning process needs to keep the preservation, conservation and exploitation of heritage. The last stage was

always thought in Mompox to be through tourism being the only option available for the development of town. The PEMP also included strategies for the conservation of the historical centre as explained in Chapter 3.

The WHS is not only the historical centre it is also the workplace for many people in the community, and it is where tourism takes place. For them, this is the best opportunity to enhance and improve their quality of life, because of the multiplier effect tourism has, as in Africa, where “*heritage tourism is the fastest creator of jobs*” (Sinamai, 2014, p. 59). In Mompox, there are four groups of people who see the WHS as a work opportunity: Mototaxistas, traditional gastronomic producers, touristic businesses and filigree artisans; as explained by Asante, heritage has the potential to increase employment in a great diversity of sectors (2015).

As explained by the director of the historical archive, who is also a touristic guide,

If you see, for example, the mototaxistas (people who drive the mototaxis). They are all neighbourhood boys. And they earn money here in the historic centre, transporting tourists. The hotel and restaurant workers are people from the neighbourhoods who have realized that this is where the work is. There is no industry, there is nothing else, then the historic centre gives an opportunity (L. Domínguez, personal communication, August 21 – 2018).

Also, many of the people who make the traditional gastronomic products, have a low socio-economical level, and they try to sell their products in the historical centre. Bolivar Park is a collecting point for people selling cheese, casabe, chorizo and other traditional dishes:

Those poor people who are on the outside of Mompox, those who sell Butifarra, layer cheese, casabe, and chorizo criollo from Mompox; and these products are wanted by tourists. But they have to come from their houses to the centre to sell because most of the local people are embarrassed to take tourists to the outer part of Mompox; their houses are too humble (D. Daus, personal communication, August 24-2018).

Besides, it is because of tourism that the filigree is again one of the most important activities in town. The second street (*calle del medio*) is full of jewellery shops selling filigree and most of them have their own workshop inside. Many of the handcrafts are gaining impetus because of tourists who give value to their art and their work. According to Arenas (1995) *“filigree today tends to be produced and styled for the tourist market and thereby secures Mompox’s economic future”* (p. 75)

For a while, and as said by the director for the School Workshop, Mompox had started a process of losing its intangible heritage slowly, because it had no economic viability. Filigree, blacksmithing and pottery were at risk of disappearing, because people in town did not value them as economically worthy. Again, people see the importance of these arts if there is an economical reward, nothing more:

The same jeweller does not give the value he should give to the jewel, then it risks disappearance. The traditional forge, the one that does not use welding is also at risk of disappearing. The pottery, we have the last potter of Mompox, that if he dies the knowledge is over, then we must recover it, but we must first start to recover masters (E. Rojas, personal communication, August 23-2018).

The romantic view of keeping intangible heritage even if it does not give an opportunity to craftswomen and men, is not real. Art has to give economic support to people. Heritage should help people have better living conditions, in combination with keeping its cultural value without commodifying heritage. Tourism gives opportunities that were not there before for handcrafts, because tourists look for these authentic handcrafts to take back home as souvenirs, therefore, these almost-lost traditional activities are regaining importance again. However, it is important to remember that development and job creation are not the only important things. Most of times the wellbeing of the community is forgotten, as said by Sinamai *“Social viability is not only about local communities having jobs, but it is also about being sensitive to people’s economic, social, health and cultural needs”* (Sinamai, 2014, p. 59)

The historic centre is also the place where the hotels and restaurants for tourists are concentrated. Some hotels are starting to open outside the historical centre, some with modern architecture, others in houses built by stages, taking advantage of the fact that in the buffer zone and outside, according to the Colombian law, they can make more structural modifications, than in the protected area; also, they can offer accommodation with lower prices, covering a new touristic market.

Therefore, the World Heritage Designation (WHD) did give an international recognition that ended in economic development due to tourism. However, this development is creating an island of the historical centre, because the development of town depends on tourism and just like in Africa *“this has exposed the local communities to the ups and downs of tourism, which can be worsened by such things as political or economic collapse and conflicts as well as destination trends”* (Sinamai, 2014, p. 59).

Following this idea, an analysis on how heritage in Mompox has already been processed through romantic ideas to commodify it as a touristic product, has to be made, as explained by Schouten (1995). Visitors look for an experience based on the remains of the past, and in Mompox many of the tourists come to see heritage. Nonetheless, as argued by Park (2014) the WHS has to be a lucrative resource to tourism, but at the same time, it has to maintain its cultural integrity for local people, and this is an issue highlighted in Mompox.

The arrival of tourism is one of the greatest changes in the town and a motivator to transform the way the community lives. In 2011, there were nine hotels in Mompox (Viloria, 2011) and for 2020 there are 108 establishments that are legally registered to offer hospitality services (hotels, hostels and tourist houses) (Datos Abiertos, n.d.). People have realized that tourism is an economic income and that Mompox has the potential to become an important tourist destination in the region. The community have realized that Mompox

Is a potential gold mine in tourism, so people are already opening a little more, they are preparing a little more to provide a better service (L. Domínguez, personal communication, August 21 – 2018)

Many acknowledge the designation has been good for the town, because it brought tourism, and tourism creates economic development, therefore, the impact has been positive. As argued by Saarine (2007) tourism helps to increase quality of life, to open the doors to modernization and investors. More people, more tourists, more jobs, and more money for the community. As said by one of the jewellers:

It is in our best interest that more people come, that Mompox is better known, that people are interested in coming; we will have more sales, we will have more customers. In that part, I think it impacts a lot. The hotels, the people who sell food, the restaurants, it impacts all that (J. Acuña, personal communication, August 22-2018).

Yimi Alvarado, the academic coordinator of the School Workshop says that since 1995 the number of tourism service providers has multiplied in Mompox (Y. Alvarado, personal communication, August 23 – 2018). In the last few years, it is possible to see more private companies and commerce, and these have created more direct and indirect employments.

This arrival of tourism has added more issues around the relation of heritage and community. The feelings and values towards heritage have changed because of the exploitation and because of the new meanings given to the place.

5.4. DIFFERENCES IN TRADITIONAL USE OF HERITAGE PLACES AND THE CREATION OF SOCIAL LIMITS

These ameliorations, revitalizations and new economic activities have changed the traditional use of places, making them more helpful to the new movement of town: tourism, commerce, and development. Also, these changes have created social limits hard to miss in the landscape of town and in the minds of the *Momposinos*.

5.4.1. Changes in traditional use of heritage places

When heritage is restored and works are made to embellish buildings, plazas, and streets, many of the actions and legislation used to keep it protected, beautiful and tidy tend to keep people away. They change the uses and the meanings of places, because of impositions that come from outside. The director of the School Workshop makes a metaphor to explain this:

Unconsciously, what do you do, you close it: don't touch it, don't damage it, be careful. Is like that place in the house that belongs to your mother, where she has all her little things that are very beautiful, but you cannot touch it. That feeling generates a sudden change that is not intentional of the government, but it is something that is innate because we have to protect (E. Rojas, personal communication, August 23-2018).

With these restoration works, the community was happy, the town looked beautiful, and more tourists started to come to Mompox. Nonetheless, this change of scenery had a price. Their places stopped being their own. The plazas, where they used to go in their normal social life, are now dedicated to tourists; the market where they used to buy groceries, is no longer the market, this restored market is for tourists and only has handcrafts stores; the Albarrada, is no longer their street, it is also for tourists to walk through it, it is full of restaurants, bars, and places for tourist distraction (Figure 43). What they thought of the streets changed because of revitalization of the historic centre. The Vice Director of the History Academy, a *momposino*, says:

We felt the Albarrada was ugly. The most important street in Mompox is the Calle Real del Medio because it was a socially important street, and the Albarrada was the commercial zone. After they moved the market, we never looked back at the Plaza de la Concepcion, because it was paved: after 9 am is very hot, and after 4 pm that is when it cools, there is no reason to go there. They evicted the market and it was abandoned. This for an imposition coming from outside. (A. Castro, personal communication, 29 of May, 2019).

Also, the traditional uses of plazas, and streets changed. For example, in the Albarrada everybody used to go through walking in bike or motorcycle, after the revitalization, motorcycles cannot go through, which is normal and logical for the conservation of the place, but that changed:

Must have been a social process to explain why the motorcycle cannot go through and not to make them feel like: 'as it is for tourists now, we cannot go through there. That's how they feel like (E. Rojas, personal communication, August 23-2018).



Figure 43: Albarrada restored.
Source: Rueda, N. 2018.

When the restoration works came and the zone was “beautified”, the Public Market was moved, which was one of the suggestions made by the ICOMOS in the Evaluation. The market is an important element for the community, it is not only a place to go buy groceries, but it is also a place for social interactions. However, the market was moved beyond the fifth street, the highway, a place where no one likes to go because is not nice, it is dirty and is too far. The building called today “Old Market” is a nice building with souvenir stores for tourists (Figure 44). As acknowledged by the director of the School Workshop, the institution which administrates the Old Market Building, a person from Bogotá, who is been working in Mompox for a while:

The old market is restored, but it was not restored in people's minds. In the mind of the Momposinos, the market is the place where they could go at noon to freshen up

and sleep. The place where I can buy a pineapple, where I go to look for fish, where the boats came. (...) Those forced displacements generated by the Heritage restoration are something horrible. (...) This displacement is violent, very violent, when you have a place that is yours, is your own. The public market is the essence of a town (E. Rojas, personal communication, August 23-2018).

As seen in Figure 44 the Old Market is a nice place, near to the river and the new market is not a welcoming building, besides many decided not to sell their products here. They decided to make a small market in the street next to the San Francisco Church and many *Momposinos* buy products from the stalls in here, like Doña Mery who goes every week to buy what she needs for her restaurant.

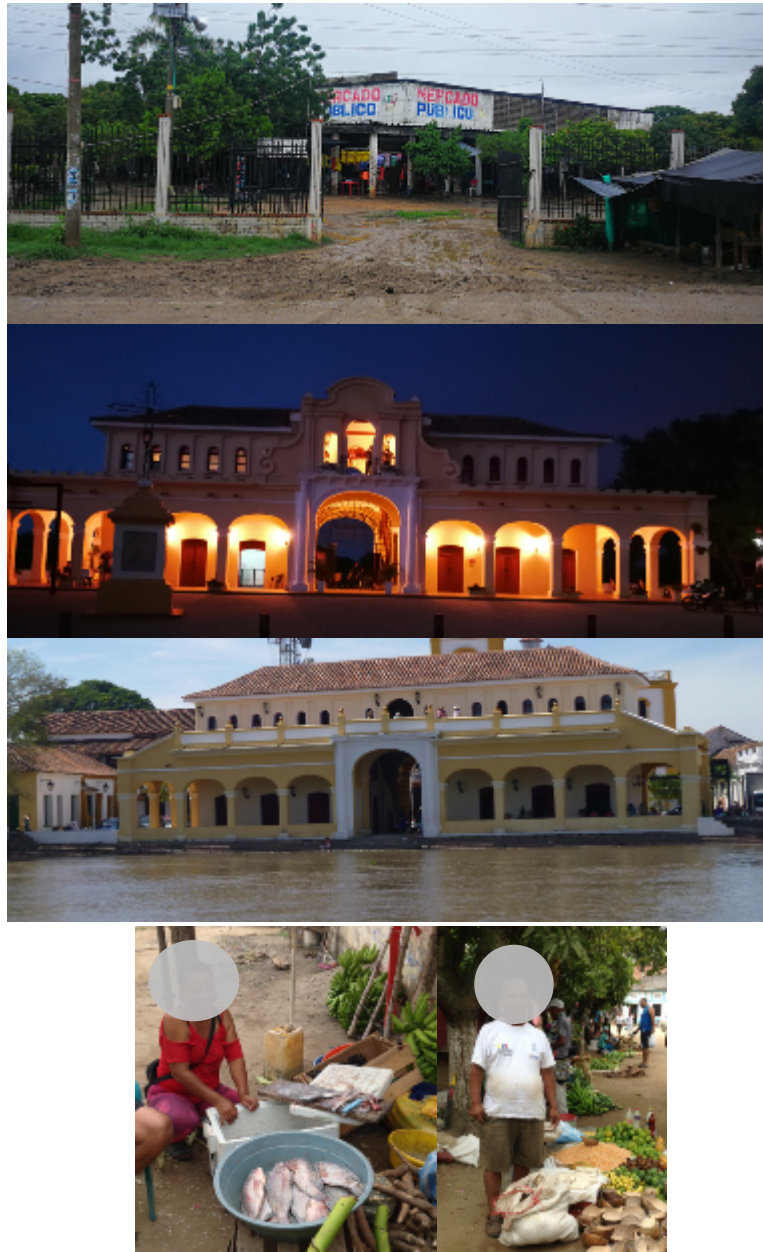


Figure 44: 1. New Public Market beyond the Highway. 2. Old Market seen from the Plaza of La Concepción. 3. Old Market seen from the Magdalena River. 4,5. Market next to San Francisco Plaza.
Source: Rueda, N. 2016-2019.

Nonetheless, good things were brought to people's minds, they rediscover the river one more time, and realize the river is beautiful, even if this was not the point of view of many:

We discovered, the Momposinos, that the houses at the edge of the river are beautiful, but we didn't know, the ones outside did know (A. Castro, personal communication, 29 of May, 2019).

These actions are necessary and logical for the preservation of heritage, but as said by Edwin Rojas, these changes in the ways of life of a small town have to be a participative process to have the people's understanding and support. As well as to integrate them with this 'new heritage'.

5.4.2. Social differences enhanced by WHS: acknowledging social limits

The social limits are quite physical and people are conscious of them. The architecture of streets, houses, and sidewalks change. By crossing a street, the urban landscape changes and the differences are obvious. For some people, this is a normal characteristic of a town, but all of them feel the changes between the revitalized Historic Centre and the rest of town. The revitalization made in 2009 changed part of the landscape to conserve the OUV's characteristics and to make it more attractive, nonetheless, it has also highlighted social differences.

The historic centre is where the departmental and national governments are investing the most for restoration and embellishment. This has been a great opportunity for increased tourism, the churches look pretty, freshly painted; the standing colonial and republican houses look beautiful under the sun (Figure 45).



*Figure 45: Houses in the WHS – Historical Centre.
Source: Rueda, N. 2016-2018*

Outside the limits of the historic centre and buffer zone, the utopian landscape changes, the streets are not paved, modern houses start to appear, and also poverty and trash become visible; the further you go, degradation is more evident (Figure 46). Crossing the fifth street, the highway, the town changes even more, and shows more poverty, dirt, trash and hard social conditions, evidencing a difference between the historical centre and the rest of town.



Figure 46: Some streets outside the WHS and the buffer zone in very bad conditions.
Source: Rueda, N. 2018-2019.

This part of town is not shown to tourists or outsiders. This is also an issue in tourism development: it usually conceals the reality of the part of the town that is not touristic (Nilsson, 1999), and in Mompox, such a small place, these hard contrasts can be seen with the change of a street. Nonetheless, only people who know the town, live in it, or walks through the whole municipality understand these differences, differences that were enhanced by the revitalization of part of the WHS. The director of the School Workshop argues that it is

Horrible and aggressive, but people have those invisible borders clear (E. Rojas, personal communication, August 23-2018).

The infrastructure works done are only for the historical centre: Albarrada, main plazas and historical monuments; until 2019 when the sewerage construction started for the whole

town, as for the pavement in the streets (in the observation was acknowledged that some of the streets in town were under construction). Interviewees recognise that many people ask, what about the rest of us? What about our houses, our public services, our streets? Liliana Herrera, one of the goldsmiths and secretary of one of the filigree associations argues that:

What happens is that here in Mompox there are neighbourhoods up and neighbourhoods down, it turns out that the historic centre is part of the neighbourhoods up, (...) the historic sector; in the neighbourhoods down, the streets are not paved, and the municipality has nothing to do with them. Instead, in the historic centre ameliorations are always made, all the events are here (...), everything is here, for example for the jazz (...). No event is outside the historic centre” (L. Herrera, personal communication, October 3-2018).

The contrasts that can be seen and experienced in Mompox, are incredible. A person who arrives, stays two or three days, only sees the nice part of town, ignoring the real conditions of inhabitants.

What we are going to find around Mompox, in the outskirts, are poor people and people who really have the need to work (D. Daus, personal communication, August 24-2018).

These other neighbourhoods actually do not exist to outsiders, because they do not want to be shown by local or departmental government. They are not on the tourist maps and there is no reason for tourists to go beyond the San Francisco Church to the north, the Santa Barbara Church to the south and the fourth street to the west where the graveyard is. Also, many of the hotels are inside the WHS and lately, there are more being opened in the Buffer Zone, but beyond the highway there are none. As the director of the House of Culture discusses:

Nobody is going to talk about the neighbourhoods back there (J. Davila, personal communication, August 22-2018).

In the interviews, some of the respondents like José Dávila, Luis Alfredo Dominguez, Dimas Daus, among others, evidence the opinions in town who voiced their discontent regarding the attention given to the historic centre. The local people are kept away from heritage, or that's the way they feel. For people that do not live inside the WHS or the buffer zone, the beautiful part of town is just for tourism, or to work and make money, this reality goes in line with Jimura (2018) who argues that *"local people living outside the WHS seem to have mixed feelings towards the WHS and people living there"* (p. 101). Nonetheless, according to Newman and McLean (1998), heritage has been used to reduce poverty and solve social problems, in Mompox, the WHS has enhanced the socio-economic limits and the social differences (Figure 47).

Heritage is for tourists, of course they come to watch and enjoy. But they do not appropriate the heritage. Those houses are beautiful, but those houses cannot be touched, it's not theirs, they are aware that they exist to the other side of the highway; or from the invisible border that exists in San Francisco and beyond; or from the invisible frontier, which are not even so invisible from the Casa Amarilla to the other side (E. Rojas, personal communication, August 23-2018).



Figure 47: Below: Church and Plaza of Santa Barbara. Above: Streets next to Santa Barbara – Hotel Casa Amarilla, in the limit of the restoration works.
Source: Rueda N. 2016-2019

The social limits seen nowadays have not changed since colonial times, where the centre was built by wealthy people dedicated to commerce. As a colonial town, Mompox was built according to people's social status and activities; the size of the houses and location was determined by how influential and economically strong the person in the social hierarchy was. Mompox was a place where wealthy families decided to stay and make their lives, living close to the Conception Plaza, inside the limits of Santa Barbara and San Francisco churches, in the main street – calle del medio – (Third street) (Figure 48). This social organization survived through the colonial, republican times, the nineteenth century, and until today, as argued by a professor in Sagrado Corazón de Jesús School:

There are many things left from the nineteenth century that are preserved: the ones that lived in the centre are the ones that have (money). The ones in the

neighbourhoods² are the ones who do not have (...), although this difference has decreased, it is still latent (F. Buelvas, personal communication, August 22-2018).



Figure 48: Below: San Francisco Church and Plaza. Above: Street next to San Francisco.
Source: Rueda, N. 2016-2019.

Heritage and the actions made to protect it, highlight the social differences that existed in town since colonial times and question the reasons for the embellishment and amelioration of the zones. The opinions of these changes are different for people depending on where they live, according to Jimura (2018, p. 100) *“local residents who have closer personal links with a WHS in terms of their demographics are inclined to experience more positive changes in their minds than other residents since WH inscription”*

These big differences between the conditions in the neighbourhoods and the neglect of the needs of the inhabitants outside the WHS are creating social resentment. The historic centre

² Understanding that when people say the neighborhoods, these are outside the Historic Centre and do not entail the WHS.

is the zone with better social, economic and infrastructure conditions. The Rector of Santa Cruz de Mompox Parish, a person who is not from town, acknowledges,

There is another Mompox that is not colonial, that is not inside the protected area, that is very marginal (...). Therefore, there are internal social class struggles. The touristic, colonial, historical part is different, that is the only one that is protected, to some extent, is protected. But there is also a part that is peripheral, that is neglected, that has high social problems. Then those social inequalities create a resistance (L. Rodríguez, personal communication, August 21-2018).

Today the centre is filled with hotels and restaurants for tourists, and the high prices in it show there is also a rejection effect towards local people, who are mostly humble. As recognized by a person of the community who used to work in the Chamber of Commerce:

There are restaurants for high and medium socio-economical levels, as there are restaurants for people in low-level conditions (G. Nieblas, personal communication, August 21-2018).

This is also acknowledged by people from outside Mompox who know the social conditions of Mompox, even if they do not live there.

There are expensive restaurants, a momposino does not sit in those restaurants (F. Vergara & J. Sánchez, personal communication, August 15-2015).

It is hard to say if tourists realize the reality they are confronted with: if they do not see it or if they decide to ignore it, although is not very noticeable if a person does not see the town outside the WHS. In the historic centre and inside the limits of the restoration of the Albarrada the town looks good, except in the rainy season when the bad conditions of the streets are obvious, but the hard social conditions of locals are imperceptible. These differences impact the value people have for their heritage and the way they feel towards it.

5.5. GENTRIFICATION AND DISPLACEMENT OF LOCAL PEOPLE

Before the World Heritage designation, people knew their neighbours, their names, professions, families, histories; they used to be a tight community, with open doors. Nowadays, the historic centre is the hope and economic centre of town; thanks to it they are finally reaching progress due to tourism, and this entails a change in uses and owners in houses.

The historic centre is losing the traditional families and local ways, giving way to tourism and development. The neighbours are no longer their friends and they are not used entirely as living houses. Besides, as argued by Checa-Artasau (2011) it is a process that breaks the link between the context and the values of heritage, allowing at the same time a change in the landscape and the uses of heritage because of the touristic activity, forgetting in many occasions the needs of the local population.

Besides, the high costs in maintaining the houses in good condition is a very important motivator to sell them to outside investors. The coordinator of the Gold Museum in Cartagena said:

They are very big houses with big costs, which have their flaws, the need for investment is very high and they do not have the resources to keep them, and do not count with help or a mechanism that allows them to access to some resources for these intentions, which obliges them to sell the houses in many occasions (L. Gómez, personal communication, August 18-2018).

They do not see an opportunity in the traditional ways of making/fixing roofs or building walls, they see a disadvantage because of the high costs and long repair times. Nonetheless, they could make a recognition of the knowledge of local community for the conservation and maintenance of heritage houses, like in Hahoe and Yang Dong (Republic of Korea) where the empowerment of communities is important for the valuing and ownership of the WHS (Galla, 2012b).

The social organization of the town is changing. Years ago, the third street (*Calle del Medio*) was the most important street in town - socially speaking - therefore important people used to live here, but today they cannot afford it, as recognized by the Director of the School Workshop a person from Bogotá sent by the Ministry of Culture to organize the School:

The potter, for example, lived in the middle street; the carpenters were in the middle street, they were worthy representatives of the town. Later, it was difficult to live here, they went to the back street, then to the fourth, then further and now everyone is behind the highway (E. Rojas, personal communication, August 23-2018).

The changes of property are not only an effect of the patrimonialization – it is an effect of the social evolution, as said by Álvaro Castro. The family houses that were passed from generation to generation are being sold because the heirs no longer live in Mompox, and the parents are dying, therefore, they are being sold. Still, inheritance is one of the few ways a *mompoxino* can have a colonial house nowadays, because they are too expensive and very few of them can buy one for living in. Besides, the expensive maintenance, hard economic conditions and low house prices have facilitated the gentrification. Therefore, the HC is for tourists and the locals have to go outside to find better prices in food and services. As explained by Navarrete (2017), the touristification and gentrification happens on many occasions together, generating a change in the original housing use of the space, changing it for commercial use and changing also the living, traditional movement of the place.

For the departmental government, local government and people from the community, gentrification is one of the negative impacts they want to avoid. They want Mompox to be a place with a soul, not a beautiful shell with nothing inside. Nonetheless, this movement of people has begun and is taking impetus, changing the social structure of town. People see how the historical centre is emptying:

Through my block there are like three colonial houses for sale, (...) by the Albarrada there are plenty of houses that are empty (L. Herrera, personal communication, October 3-2018).

This offer of houses and the increasing demand of outsiders have also made the price of houses rise, to such an extent that local people cannot buy them. As explained by Greffe (2004) short-term earning is more important than the long-term development of the town. Besides outsiders are willing to pay for the colonial houses.

Some of the interviewees also admit that this dynamic in the houses will have a negative impact on the appropriation of heritage, because the people who arrive are not *Momposinos*, therefore, they do not feel the same way towards their heritage, creating a contradictory action between the identity and appropriation of heritage and the conservation of houses (Navarrete, 2017):

Then the people who come to buy our emblematic houses, our historical centre houses no longer have the sense of belonging that a Momposino raizal has, 100% on Mompox (J. Davila, personal communication, August 22-2018).

This way a displacement of local people is created in the historic centre and with it comes a displacement of heritage values. According to Atkinson & Bridge (2005), this displacement is part of the negative effects of gentrification and can create community resentment and conflict because of the increase of prices and costs of local services and products; also it can go against the conservation, identity and originality of heritage (Navarrete, 2017).

Nonetheless, for some, this gentrification is not bad. Sometimes it is necessary and good for heritage because it can avoid the degradation of areas (Checa-Artasu, 2011), it can increase property value and motivate development (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005). The Director of Tourism of ICULTUR, in charge of the development of tourism in the department of Bolivar, said:

Shamelessly, a little necessary sometimes, because some Momposinos do not have the money to pay what a heritage house costs. And yes, we have to maintain cultural values, but if you do not have the economic resources, how are you going to do it? The state cannot pay for it all (P. Giraldo, personal communication, August 8-2018).

In Colombia, there is not a general legislation that gives private heritage owners resources for the maintenance of houses. Therefore, if the state cannot provide for the conservation of heritage and at the same time keep the local people from leaving their own houses and town, what is the patrimonialization doing in isolated towns, where the architecture and tangible heritage is more important than value, intangible heritage and the quality of life of local people.

The economic eagerness sometimes is bigger than the sense of caution to put limits on development. It is understandable when the community have not had opportunities for years, covering multiple generations who had to look for opportunities elsewhere leaving their town and, on many occasions forgetting also their culture. Nonetheless, tourism brings an unknown and needed development to town and people. The arrival of tourism requires a commodification of town to make a touristic product in it. Part of this stage of exploitation of heritage is the revitalization and conservation of some heritage landmarks to maintain them and beatify the landscape. Sometimes, this will involve a change in the traditional use of places, imposing new meanings on heritage.

5.6. CONCLUSIONS

The designation as a WHS has induced little change in Mompox and in the social pattern of town. The changes presented have been a direct effect of the accessibility amelioration, the creation of renowned events and the revitalization of the historical centre. The modernization and development brought by these three elements have been new in the past decades. In this chapter, the evolution of town was shown based on three elements: maintenance of OUV, changes in form and function, and changes in social organization of town.

The maintenance of OUV was analysed based on the characteristics of peripherality, the way how the conservation of heritage has been carried out over the years, and the meaning of the historic centre for the local people, which can overlap with the OUV, without even being named by people.

Until now, the OUV of the WHS is maintained in Mompox, not exactly because of the conservation regulations, the designation, or the understanding people have of the criteria it fulfils, but because there is a part of the community who knows and acknowledges the importance of the historical centre (historically and architecturally) and battles every day for its conservation and transmission. As Vileikis et al (2012) argue, to avoid the threat to the integrity of the OUV it is important to understand the heritage values and assess the risk it can have. In Mompox, this has been done partially and is acknowledged by some people. Nonetheless, the actions to avoid the threat are minimal and will not stop its loss in the future.

Also, the changes in the form and function of the historic centre through the understanding of the growth of the town were analysed, the changes from the point of view of locals, the modernization and economic opportunities seen today by the people, of which the most important is tourism. These changes were analysed within a period of 23 years, because immediately after the designation not many changes were felt, acknowledged or evidenced. Infrastructure construction, events and revitalization of heritage are creating changes in the social pattern of social life. In people's minds, being a closed community for so long has helped the conservation of many of the traditions and ways of life and conceptions of the world that are likely to change with the opening of town.

These elements have been the cause and have helped in the understanding of many other intangible changes that were grouped into three categories: social changes, shifting values, and gentrification and displacement. All three issues are evidenced in the town by the local people and acknowledged as negative by many. These elements explain how the social patterns of town have changed because of the revitalization of part of the historical centre or because of the highlight of the limits of the WHS, making tangible the differences in the values and feelings of locals.

All issues explained in this chapter are interrelated with one another. They are not separated entities of the transformations of town, they impact and are affected by different elements, and happen because of the previous characteristics of town or the contemporary

governmental actions. The social and cultural changes happen because of the evolution of conservation and because of the growth and changes the town has had in the past 25 years. Vice versa, these shifting values and socio-cultural changes will impact in the future conservation of town and the maintenance of the OUV.

WHD can create a positive or negative social impact on the protected area. It may seem contradictory but in some cases, many of the protection and development actions sometimes go against the values that the same WHD is trying to preserve for future generations. This is done to make the tangible and material elements prevail, disregarding the intangible elements that are interwoven with them (Dearborn & Stallmeyer, 2009). This will be discussed in the next chapter, where the different points of view of the community will be analysed regarding the indivisibility of tangible and intangible elements and how the value over this heritage can change depending on social and living conditions, as well as age or education.

CHAPTER VI

LIVING WITH WORLD HERITAGE

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION PART 2



*Figure 49: Left: Cannon in Santa Barbara Plaza. Right: Jazz Festival Monument.
Source: Rueda, N. 2019*

6.1. INTRODUCTION

As discussed in the previous chapter the designation as a WHS did give Mompox national and international recognition and gave people pride for their own heritage; as its inhabitants say, “*Mompox is unique, special*” (P. Di Filippo, personal communication, August 24-2018). Nonetheless, as seen in Chapter Five, the designation did not have immediate direct effects and without the governmental investment and amelioration of access and image, changes would not have been obvious.

Regardless, the designation did help the conservation of heritage to some extent, for it was because of the previous process and the designation itself, that the protection and conservation rules were set. However, this designation only protects the physical elements of the town, disregarding the intangible and natural heritage of the territory. As said by Dearborn & Stallmeyer (2009), this happens sometimes in WHS where the tangible elements are acknowledged, the intangible heritage of the cultures are disregarded, creating a frozen town in space and time.

In Mompox, people recognize the heritage elements not because of the title the place holds, but because of the importance for them as *momposinos*. As Smith (2006) argues heritage is emotions, meanings and communicative acts, to pass it from generation to generation, it is not only objects or sites from the past. This way, heritage is a set of elements and meanings that a society feels as valuable; with the protection of these values from generation to generation, is possible to have continuity over time (Khalaf, 2020).

This chapter will elaborate on the different ways in which the communities of Mompox have interacted with their heritage and the extent to which their lives have been shaped by the designation of their city as World Heritage. Also, following Pretty, Chipuer, & Bramston (2003), who argue that the identity and sense of place are created with the interaction between people and place and person to person, is emotions, experiences and intentions (Relph, 2012) which charge them emotionally (Tuan, 1979); it is more than just a location,

the elements that identify them as *momposinos*. This involvement between people and place is linked to heritage as explained by Hawke (2011).

This chapter then goes on to consider what issues the community has had to overcome because of the patrimonialization of their houses and their town; and how the label has been seen from the local people's perspective. To finish, the expectations people have and what they look forward from the label are studied; what developments they await and what they think the designation is going to bring to them and the town.

6.2. RECOGNITION OF TANGIBLE HERITAGE

Téllez argues that Mompox is not extraordinary because of the value of the elements separately, but as a complete set of elements (Téllez, 1995a); historic buildings, churches, houses, and so on. There are historic elements and monuments that have been pinpointed by history books and touristic booklets because of their beauty and historical importance. Nonetheless, it is interesting to see how the community recognize and avow their importance as part of their identity as "*momposinos*" not only because of the historical value but because of the social value and daily life significance, therefore the places are still meaningful for the community, and as explained by Norberg-Schulz (2012) even with new historical contexts the spirit of the place has still its essence and haven't got lost.

This goes in line with Lindström (2019) who argues that there is a gap in the knowledge of how communities identify themselves with their heritage site. All of these places are inside the WHS in Mompox. As argued in the previous chapter, the historical centre was the complete town and until recently begun to grow after 1990, therefore the "important" cultural and historical places are inside this area (Figure 50).

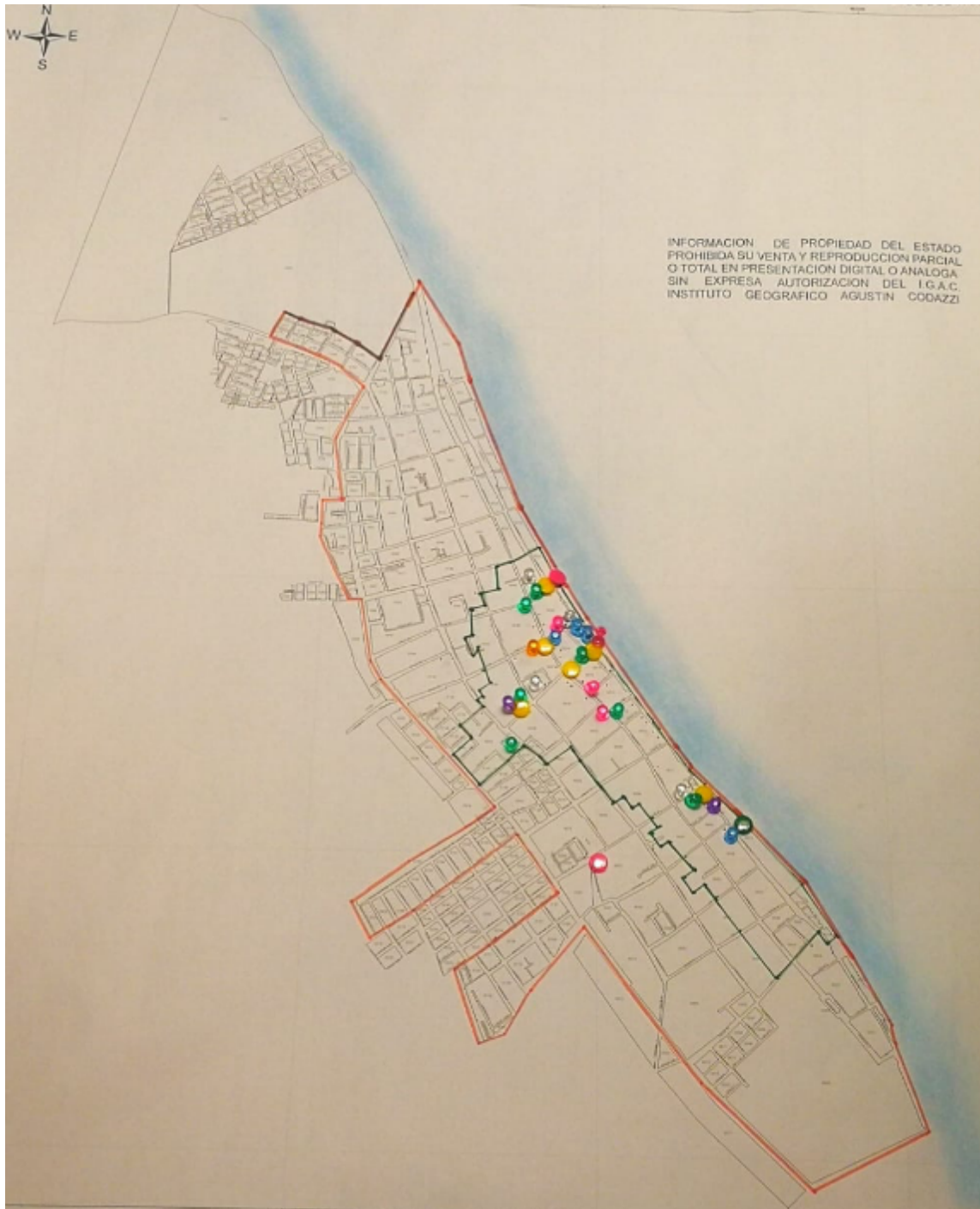


Figure 50: Map of Mompox with touristic attractions: Green – Churches; Purple – monuments; Blue – Municipal places; Pink – different attractions.

Note: The map was made over the updated map of the town (2015) to compare the historical centre and buffer zone with the different places. Source: IGAC, 2015. Scale 1:5.000

There are key elements acknowledged by the community and pinpointed for visitors by the local, departmental and national government. In Mompox, these elements are mainly

religious, followed by some governmental and civil buildings; all of them are surrounded by colonial houses. The six churches: Santa Barbara, San Agustín, Santo Domingo, San Juan de Dios, San Francisco, La Concepción; the chapel of the graveyard; the town hall; and the Pinillos School are some of the most important because of their history and architecture (Téllez, 1995a); all of them are inside the limits of the WHS. The churches are still being used as places of worship, the *Palacio de San Carlos* is the Town Hall today and the house that used to be the Town Hall is today the office of the SENA. Most of the public places are still being used by some entities but regarding the houses inside the WHS, these are changing from a residential use for local people to a commercial or touristic use. This is something that is changing the spirit of places, because for some outsiders, this place still has:

That essence of a small town, where suddenly you leave your hotel and find the local who still lives in their house that has been inherited from many years. (F. Vergara & J. Sánchez, personal communication, August 15-2015).

These places are also present in the official webpages of the Heritage Towns Network and the Town Hall of Mompox, as well as the brochures given to tourists in the Tourism Office in Mompox (Figures 51, 52 and 53). As seen in the figures, the historical centre is shown on all of the maps, acknowledging almost the same cultural elements, as can be seen in Figure 50.

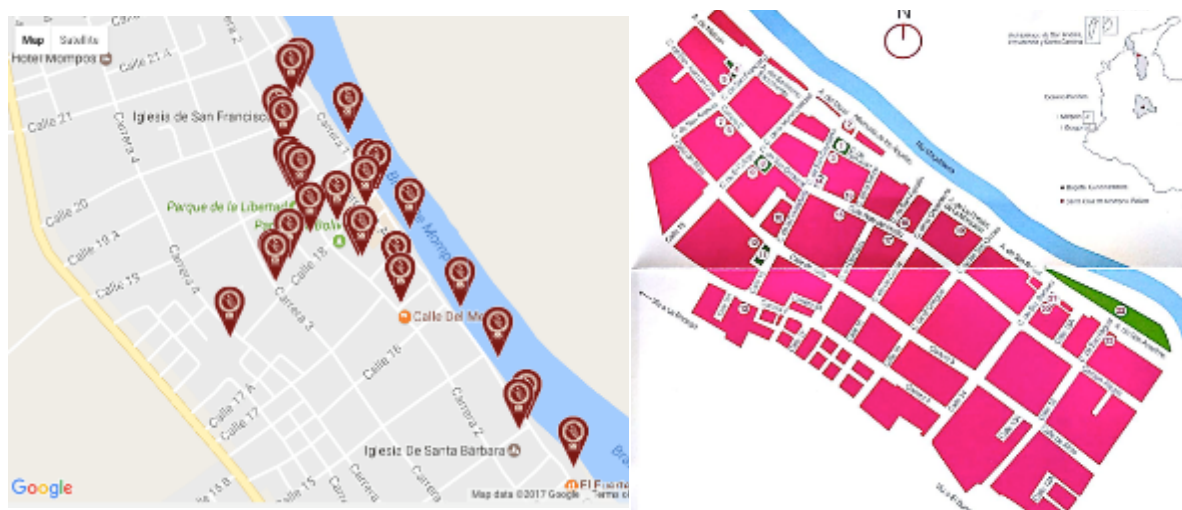


Figure 51: Right: Map Heritage Town Network (Red de pueblos Patrimonio, Colombia) (2017). Source: <https://www.pueblospatrimoniodecolombia.co/pueblos-int/que-visitar/143/147> Left: Map Brochure Heritage Town Network (Red de Pueblos Patrimonio), 2017.



Figure 52: Map Brochure Mompox Town Hall
Source: Alcaldía de Mompox, 2017.

These places are known and recognized as important by the community who acknowledge their importance and use them as points of reference for their life. As acknowledged in the workshops, not all people use them, nor know how to locate them properly, but they vouch for their existence. Even if they do not really know why they are important or why they are heritage, they use them for daily life activities. For example, arguments such as *“that church is next to my gym”* (person in Workshop Group 3: Diverse people); or *“we go to the Plaza of Freedom (Plaza de la Libertad) because of the free wi-fi”* (answers in Group 6: Students of SENA); also as *“We go to the old market to eat ice cream”* (answers in Group 6: Students of SENA). All these answers were given by young people (students or workers over 18 years old). Or what they used to do in certain places, like the Albarrada:

We even went to play soccer there because it was like a field and I can tell you that it was in 2008-2009. (J. Quintero, personal communication, October 4-2018).

In some of the workshops, they also switched the churches not knowing exactly which one was where. Most of the elements recognized by people in interviews and workshops belong to the WHS: the churches, important houses, public buildings, among other elements. Although people do not know what WH means, its limits or even that Mompox is a WHS, they recognize the historic centre. As to the value and sense of belonging to these places as their heritage, there is not an answer of yes or no that is homogeneous to everyone. This feeling was more evident in the workshops of grown-ups like Groups one, seven and eight,

but in the groups of younger people like Groups five and six, the lack of knowledge and feeling towards heritage was visible.

For example, the “*mototaxistas*” (Group 2 and 4) knew where the places were and acknowledge the important places and elements of the culture of Mompox, but they do not know what heritage is and very few knew Mompox is a WHS. This is because they have to transport people and tourists who ask them to take them to the touristic buildings. Many also do touristic tours through the town, but they did not know that this was heritage or WH, the ones who knew were no more than two in each group. The value they saw mostly in the HC is the economic value, because thanks to it they have work. Something that may be seen as a cause for this lack of knowledge was that some of the participants did not know how to write or read so their lack of education is something that has to be taken into account.

In the groups of the students of the School Workshop (Group 5: Students of the School Workshop: Filigree and gastronomy), it was strange that they were studying traditional arts and crafts that are considered as heritage in Mompox, but they did not know a lot of the important historical elements of town; they were too centred in the filigree and gastronomy so many did not care for the other things that could be important.

A different attitude was found in the students of the SENA (Group 6: Students of SENA) who, as with the previous groups did not know about heritage or WH but showed more interest and were more participative in the different questions. Two of the three groups could locate the important places correctly, and even if the third could not, at least they knew their names.

Something different happened with Group 1 (Group 1: Handcrafts and tourism) where the participants were mostly artisan women and one person was a touristic guide. They knew the important elements of the city, tangible and intangible elements that identify their community, they knew about the WH designation and identified the important parts of the city, they also knew about history and the events that made Mompox important in the past. Also, in Group 8 (Group 8: Goldsmiths) there was an acknowledgement of the importance of

Heritage in Mompox, and the lack of participation of young people in heritage. They knew about history and heritage and identified the important elements and previous events that made Mompox great, but also that made it decline.

As seen in most of the workshops, participants knew the existence of the places with historical value inside the WH, and some knew their importance (Appendix 08. Table of the Maps). In many of the workshops and interviews, the word “heritage” could not be used, because people did not understand its meaning. This was evident in the first interviews and workshops, and because of this, the questions were changed as what does identify you as *momposino*? What makes you feel *momposino*? What cultural elements represent you as *momposino*? Likewise, very few knew what WH is, therefore, in order to continue with the workshops, a small explanation of what it is, was made at some point in the workshop; besides it was important for them to know why the research was being made and for this, the understanding of WH was essential.

In the workshops, besides the churches (6), San Carlos Palace (actually the Town Hall) and Pinillos School, the community highlights elements important for them that have social importance or beauty, such as the Liberty Plaza with the angel of liberty, the Bolivar Plaza and the newly erected Jazz Monument that represents the importance of the Jazz Festival. Also, specific houses that stand out because of their beauty, like the Portals of the Marquise; or importance, such as the House of the Town Hall, where the Independence Act of Mompox was signed.

Other places are the 6th of August stadium or the Synthetic soccer field, where they play every now and then; the highway because of the social limit that represents, the Third street, or the second (*Calle del medio*) being the most important streets in Mompox. Also, outside the historical centre was named because of the cultural richness or the places where they lived; the layer-cheese factories and the jewellery workshops because of the traditional work. Restaurants, bakeries, gyms, shops, kiosks, and discos were named because they are important for the social patterns of life in town (Appendix 09. Tangible elements recognized by the community).

Many of the places are highlighted because of the importance they have in society, places where they study, work, or live, like the Craftsman's house, the School Workshop, the Pinillos School, the House of the Town Hall where today is the SENA, a technical education organization, and the house of ASOMOM an association of craft-women. Each one of them appeared in the workshops depending on where they worked or studied.

Nonetheless, in some cases, even the historical places or important places for the community, that were recognized in the workshops as important, that are outside the WHS limits, are forgotten and literally falling down. An example of this is the Bolívar Tree, an element that came up in some interviews and workshops not only with cultural importance but also in the question about the places to take the tourists to (Figure 53).



Figure 53: Bolivar Tree (árbol de Bolívar). Translation of Plate: Mompox pays tribute to this tree for its age and participation in the history of this illustrious city. Mompox 450 years.
Source: Rueda, N. 2019.

A comparison was made between the answers of people in the workshops about the cultural elements that identify them as *momposinos*, the elements they would show to tourists, and the places in the touristic brochures. The result of this was that many of the places recognized as historically important are also recognized by the community and are pinpointed for tourists to go and visit by the government (brochures and webpage) and by the local community (workshops). This means that there is a congruence between what people feel as important and want to show, what is historically important and what is shown to tourists by government (see complete table in Appendix 10). Nonetheless, these elements

are concentrated in the historical centre, leaving outside many of the culturally and socially important places that local people think are important.

Something similar happened in the interviews. There were people who knew what heritage was, others that did not know, and others who did not care. Many of the interviews were made with people in important positions in town like government, cultural or educational institutions, in general from people who knew about history and heritage, but they were also made with people in different activities like tourism, filigree, food, among others.

When local people are asked which cultural elements represent them as part of Mompox, or as *momposinos*, they mix tangible and intangible elements, as well as cultural and social elements. For them, the intangible elements are as important as the tangible, like the historic centre. The buildings by themselves have no importance whatsoever, they are just walls and constructions, but what gives the soul of the place are the people and the cultural traditions that represent their practices.

They are proud of being *momposinos* (Y. Alvarado, personal communication, August 23 – 2018), but not all inhabitants know why it is important or special. For them, the houses of the historic centre are their everyday view. They live with the churches, in or near the colonial and republican houses, they played soccer in the Albarrada. As argued by the Secretary of planning in 2018, Jairo Quintero, a person born in Mompox, who left to study and came back to work in the town.

When you are born into something and you see it every day, suddenly you do not see how beautiful a city is, and I used to see it as normal (J. Quintero, personal communication, October 4-2018).

In response to the lack of knowledge and recognition, the Secretary of Tourism started a program in 2016 called “Mompox is your heritage, live it” (*Mompox es tu patrimonio, vívelo*) to enhance not only knowledge but also sense of place, but also to empower local people and make them feel Mompox is for all. This programme started with the people working in the town hall but will reach every person in the town and looks for the appropriation and

protection of heritage (Filigrana Televisión, 2016). Besides, the History Academy also started a program with school children to teach them the history of Mompox and its heritage. All these elements strengthen the links between the local community and the city, they create more experiences and emotions that give meanings to places (Relph, 2012) and reinforces their identity even if it changes.

For some, the most representative element is the architecture of the historical centre, *“Because architecture transports you to history”* (J. Quintero, personal communication, October 4-2018); for others, it is the traditional arts and crafts because they come from previous generations, like the Filigree: *“metalwork is an integral part of an inherited traditional cultural landscape but also of a newly created ‘touristified’ one”* (Arenas, 1995, p. 70). And for many is considered their inheritance:

My cultural heritage is precisely that tradition, that legacy, that root. For me, talking about handmade jewellery in the technique of momposina filigree is my heritage (S. Alcocer, personal communication, August 21-2018).

In the workshops and interviews it was notable that the elements highlighted were not only tangible, but were mixed with arts and crafts, gastronomical and natural elements, daily life activities and places. Because of this, is important to understand and analyse the role of intangible heritage in the community of Mompox and how it has been affected over time by the opening and recognition of the town.

6.3. INDIVISIBILITY BETWEEN TANGIBLE AND INTANGIBLE HERITAGE.

The WHD in Mompox only acknowledges and protects the tangible heritage represented in the colonial architecture of town that is concentrated in the historic centre. Within the answers from interviews and workshops, it is evident that the local people do not differentiate between tangible and intangible heritage, everything makes part of their culture.

For me it's like a recognition of all that history, all that tradition, all that information that identifies us as momposinos; that also makes many people from faraway places find a reason to visit Mompox and Colombia (S. Alcocer, personal communication, August 21-2018).

Heritage entails everything that has been passed from generation to generation that has historical importance for people and that contributes to the culture and identity of a community. In Mompox, the difference between tangible and intangible heritage is not evident for people, they do not differentiate because they feel and identify things not by how tangible they are, but by how important for *them* they are. For Yimi Alvarado, Academic Coordinator of the Historical Workshop, the heritage of Mompox

goes beyond our tangible heritage, which is normally the notion of heritage and in Mompox is the most marked: its colonial architecture; but there is also an intangible heritage to which traditional trades are part, the knowledge, the information that the ancestors can still leave us (Y. Alvarado, personal communication, August 23 – 2018).

Differentiating between the two forms of heritage, intangible and tangible, might sound illogical sometimes because they all make part of a big system or ensemble that creates what they are. It was also evident in the workshops and the interviews that the WHD does not give more cultural importance to tangible over intangible only because of the title, not for local people. This is present in many other historical environments where the intangible elements are present as the tangible ones in the history of locals (Kim, 2016).

As said by one of the teachers of one school, their heritage is what their families left them, what their parents taught them:

It is all the inheritance that my ancestors left me, all this inheritance that is lived in Mompox, all the culture and idiosyncrasies of the momposino (F. Buelvas, personal communication, August 22-2018).

Following this same argument, people from outside, recognize that Mompox is more than just colonial architecture; the Rector of the Santa Cruz de Mompox Parish, who became Rector in 2017 and is not *momposino* from birth, explains:

Mompox is not only the vestige of an era of buildings but the daily occurrences, the customs, the way of relating of the people, the part of socializing, the way of expressing their faith, the way of speaking, the way of preparing, even the food, is very particular here. All this makes Mompox heritage a set of elements that have been preserved over time (L. Rodríguez, personal communication, August 21-2018).

In the workshops, people acknowledged plenty of elements from their daily life (See Appendix 11), as said by Breen (2014), Cultural Heritage is a tangible manifestation of everything people are but is at the same time limited because it does not represent everything the community entails. The filigree, woodwork, blacksmithing and pottery are handcrafts recognized to be passed from generation to generation and still important for today's daily life. These handcrafts were also the ones highlighted by the School Workshop to be taught because of their cultural importance and economic potential. As argued by the director of the School Workshop, Edwin Rojas:

The most interesting thing about recovering heritage is that heritage becomes an option to generate resources for people (E. Rojas, personal communication, August 23-2018).

In the workshops the people answered and mixed every element, the division was made for the analysis of the information. In the interviews also, the answers were a set of a lot of elements that people started to remember and recognize. An extract of the elements that made José Davila – director of the House of Culture – feel a sense of place for Mompox, were taken from his answer:

The architecture, the religiosity, catholic, almost 500 years of holy week. Our river. Our environment. Our local gastronomy. The momposina filigree, the Goldsmith. The

butifarras, the casabito, the tamaca. Mompox children's games. The fine arts at Mompox. (J. Davila, personal communication, August 22-2018).

Some of the elements named do not have historical importance, but a social one, like the children's games, the fast-food kiosks in the Plaza Santo Domingo where people go to eat hot dogs or hamburgers on the weekend; or the kiosk to go and drink beer in the Santa Barbara Plaza (Figure 35). Others are gaining importance over time and new heritage is being created like the Jazz Festival, the second most important event in Mompox. As argued by Lynch (2012), the quality of the places is determined by the relation between the place and the people who lives in it.

There are also expressions, such as that identified by José Luis Jalilies, the Coordinator of the SENA, who asserts the customs and the sayings make part of their heritage:

There is one (a saying) very momposino that is the 'hua hua', it is like saying I don't believe, is an expression of disbelief, normally you say 'hua' but it is accompanied by a gesture in the hand. That is very momposino that is part of our heritage. (J. Jalilies, personal communication, October 3-2018).

The Catholic Religion appeared to be a very important element and characteristic of their culture, along with Holy Week, as the most important event in Town, because of the meaning and participation of community, and because of the touristic movement it creates. For the director of the historical archive, "*Mompox Holy Week is of popular religiosity*" (L. Domínguez, personal communication, August 21 – 2018) meaning that everybody participates and feels this event. The priest from the parish Santa Cruz de Mompox, acknowledges some unique elements:

The most significant and representative, is the Holy Week, certain images and certain rituals that are exclusive from here. Because it is true that it was a way of evangelizing at one time, but here it stayed. And people have struggled to make it so and stay that way and they don't admit changes. The Holy week with its processions, with its images, with its music, with everything that involves the preparation of the people, of

the emblematic Nazarenes. The candleholders, the ladies elegantly dressed in black with mantillas, and the men in their entire dress, black, with their tie. The band, the steps. Mompox lives before and during around this week. Then there are the different associations, brotherhoods, cofradías that once existed in the Church brought by the Spanish. Today, they take care of devotions. They have their images; the images are from the parish, but they say this is our image and they take care of it. (L. Rodríguez, personal communication, August 21-2018).

There are also some locals that have tried to recover some religious traditions like the “Animero”. Luis Alfredo Dominguez, Director of the historical archive have been trying to recover this unusual tradition that was lost 30 or 40 years ago, they did this a couple of nights a year:

The “animero” was an anonymous character who went out on the nights of the month of November, there was no light in the city, and he went out through the streets of the city to ask for the holy spirits of purgatory. By custom, it has always been believed that the month of November is the month of the dead. Since the first of November at midnight, he used to begin in the cemetery and from there went out praying through all the streets, asking for an Our Father and a Hail Mary, simple prayers, for the holy souls in purgatory. He was guided by the clocks of the churches and when it was almost five in the morning, he went home. People say in their collective imaginary that when he was walking, behind him were the souls in procession and when he went through the streets, there could be no one in the streets. If someone was caught by the animero in the streets, he had to kneel with their back to the animero and pray what he was asking. In the same way, the people who were inside the houses, when he was passing, they had to answer for the souls in purgatory. (L. Domínguez, personal communication, August 21 – 2018).

Today, what people do is the graveyard lighting, they do this three nights in the year: holy Wednesday, August 5th and November 2nd:

The people fill the cemetery with candles and flowers and visit their dead, a serenade with Easter music and a mass are made for them. After all that is done, we do the “Animero” inside the cemetery. It is a way to rescue that tradition a little and that the new generations know them. (L. Domínguez, personal communication, August 21 – 2018).

The local festivals, like the Independence parties, the Carnival, and the party of the third of May, are also highlighted as meaningful events for people. Other elements like specific dances such as the *Cumbia* and the music were not forgotten. People worried about the preservation of the traditional elements have tried to recover some elements in these festivals like the parade of allegorical cars:

It had lost a little of what it meant, because they were already putting bikini girls and models that had nothing to do with it. And they called them floats, they are not called floats, they are allegorical cars. So, in 2014 we made those first steps rescuing the characters of history, and from that moment something different is done every year that has to do with the historical issue. (L. Domínguez, personal communication, August 21 – 2018).

Not all the festivals involve all the neighbourhoods, most of them are inside the Historical centre, nonetheless, some of them like the Carnival is done in the whole town as Luis Dominguez explains:

The people in the neighbourhoods throw their parties, the children get dirty and do their things. They make popular reign. They choose the queen of each neighbourhood. There are about 10 - 15 queens from the different neighbourhoods and on the day of the coronation, they choose only one, the crowning of the popular queen. The next day she goes out to the floats. Yes, Carnivals and National Holidays involve the Neighbourhoods. (L. Domínguez, personal communication, August 21 – 2018).

The Jazz Festival, which, as seen in the workshops, is not only gaining visibility, but is also being valued by people, appears in the elements they feel identified with. It happens in the WHS area, and as said by José Luis Jalilíes, it is great but:

That's not a Jazz Festival, that's a festival of anything but Jazz, one. Two Yes, magnificent because more people come, it leaves a lot of economic currency, there is a lot of publicity for the region, a lot has been achieved through that. (J. Jalilíes, personal communication, October 3-2018).

Nonetheless, the community does not have the opportunity to really make part of the festival:

The governor brings in some invited people, those people have a VIP area that is the best area, but the local people is behind. To get a bracelet (entrance ticket), to get in, OMG. (J. Jalilíes, personal communication, October 3-2018).

In the workshops, activities like agriculture, fishing and cattle raising were emphasized to be traditional economical activities. Fishing is one of the most important because of the river, as said by the owner of *Comedor Costeño* a restaurant of local food, Mery Gándara:

We are very riparian. The fishermen go daily to collect the fish. (M. Gándara, personal communication, August 24-2018).

However, as today there are more and better job opportunities for local people thanks to tourism, the agriculture, which was a low-level employer is even lower now. Many are looking for jobs as touristic guides, in touristic enterprises or in commerce stores.

Also, elements like poetry, the technique of building houses, the natural landscape, the heroes of independence, and embroidery were named even by some of the groups. Gastronomy was also highlighted as something very relevant for them, in the workshops and interviews. Every group and person named at least one of the elements of the local gastronomy: the layer cheese, *butifarra*, *casabe*, *almojabanas* and the wine of Mompox are the most frequent elements, but there is also the *bocachico* (fish), the lemon sweet, the

preserves of sour orange, among many others (see the complete table in Appendix 12). It is evident how the typical dishes and food are an important element of their culture and how they cherish them as part of their identity:

There is a lot of culture, not only the culture of the stone, the culture is also all dances, songs, gastronomy (F. Buelvas, personal communication, August 22-2018).

All these elements evidence the strength of the intangible heritage for the local community and the meaning it has in everyday life; the cultural elements that give them identity and sense of place. The historical centre is important because they live and work there every day and because they encompass every element of their culture together, not because it is a WHS; the architecture is important in the ensemble of cultural elements that represent Mompox, not alone by itself. As argued by Khalaf (2020) there are artificial barriers and dichotomies between tangible and intangible cultural heritage that do not allow the interlinkage between their values.

Thus, the identity people feel about Mompox is not only determined by the location or the place itself, but because of the relation of the community with the place, making evident the “place identity” explained by Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996), where place is not only a social category in the identity of a community, but the identity of the place depends on the constructions and perceptions of people (Peng et al., 2020), turning out to be a flexible and evolutionary relation.

From the four principles identified in the Identity process theory explained by Breakwell (2015): distinctiveness, continuity, self-esteem and, self-efficacy; all of them are evident in Mompox. The place is unique because of the tangible heritage and the traditions that have not been lost; and for the visitors (distinctiveness), both notorious, not only with the title of WHS they have since 1995, but also in the interviews and workshops where they avow the uniqueness of their town. Besides, this heritage is creating self-esteem in the local community, they feel proud because they live in a place as important as Mompox, because

of what it means in Colombian history, and also, lately because of the World Heritage title it has. Although, this self-esteem cannot be generalized across the whole community.

Also, it helps people to achieve personal goals (self-efficacy) because the historical centre is the main reason why Mompox is growing economically. Their quality of life is improving, in every economic activity in town, even if people do not live in this area, as explained in the previous chapter, roads, investments and tourism are bringing new opportunities for everybody in town, also because of the multiplier effect of tourism. The emotional value (continuity, place congruent) exists, but is not equal for all the community, as will be explained in the next subheading, this value shifts because of the age of people, the education, or the place in town where they live. Nonetheless, the historical importance (continuity, place referent) is evident and people living in any place in Mompox acknowledge it, even if they do not know the reason for it or the actual importance. As Wijesuriya et al. (2018) argues, heritage should also focus on its contribution to the socio-economic and environmental wellbeing in the community.

New heritage is being formed, as explained before. In 2012 the Jazz Festival was brought to Mompox and this changed the social and economic dynamics in town with good and bad effects. The festival happens within the WHS, therefore the number of people and multiple events in the week create pressure on the tangible, built heritage, but it also gives it another use to the historical centre. For one week, town is full of tourists, and the main plazas are provided with stages for the event. There is great economic irrigation in every activity in town, but it also has effects on the community and the environment.

Thanks to the initiative of the Departmental government, who saw a potential in Mompox and decided to promote it with an event that could give promotion, name and recognition to the town (...) Although these are no events for the people of Mompox (L. Gómez, personal communication, August 18-2018).

All of the tangible and intangible elements, and many others, make the people of Mompox feel *momposino*. Nonetheless, to what extent they are linked with their past, their heritage

and with the World Heritage will be explored in the next subheadings, where the different dynamics that were found will be explained. These determine the value of people for heritage because even if the title has great importance for some, it does not determine how much identity people feel towards the historic centre or even towards their heritage.

6.4. SHIFTING VALUES OVER HERITAGE: DIFFERENCES IN AGE, NEIGHBOURHOOD, EDUCATION AND WORK.

As explained before, to be from Mompox is an integration of elements. Inhabitants not only belong to the town they belong to the entire region. It includes a mixture of traditions from the indigenous, Afro-Colombians, and Spaniards that left a unique way of life. All these traditions, heritage, sense of belonging and values should be transmitted to the younger generations according to José Luis Jalilies, Coordinator of SENA.

For Patricia Di Filippo, the base of the traditions of the people in Mompox is clear:

We are because of the river, not for the Spaniards, nor the slaves. We are because the river, and our base is indigenous, the next layer is slavery heritage, and the last one is Spanish, that stayed in the historic centre (P. Di Filippo, personal communication, August 24-2018).

Most, not all, of the interviewees were people who occupied important positions in different institutions and enterprises within the town, therefore their knowledge about heritage and WH was more profound, evident because of their approach and jobs. Others were people from different activities, like traditional food, blacksmithing, commerce, graveyard, for whom the economic importance was highlighted over other factors. As for the people from the workshops, they expressed more clearly an economic importance of heritage and showed some knowledge of the landmarks, but not about heritage or WH.

The scales of heritage begin to be evident between local/regional/national/global levels and these scales create different values and identities in the community. As argued by Graham,

Ashworth & Tunbridge (2016) these identities can overlap and can create dissonant relations as well as harmonious ones.

In Mompos, there are four dynamics found, evident in the interviews and workshops, that confirm the differences in values, feelings, and points of view towards heritage. Some of them were explained in chapter five in the changes of the form and function of the historical centre, and others will be explained in the next subheadings. The first one, where young generations do not care about heritage or know about heritage (6.3.1.). The second dynamic is the arrival of new people to town, with a different culture, who evidently do not share the same ancestral traditions; this gentrification was explained in the previous chapter (5.4.). Third, the lack of education in the community (6.3.2.), and the fourth dynamic, is the social and economic differences in town that are highlighted by tourism and heritage, and the special attention given to the historic centre, that in some cases awake resentful feelings towards the place, as explained in 5.3.2.

6.4.1. Generational and neighbourhood differences

When asked about the sense of belonging and appropriation of heritage by the community, it was acknowledged that there is a part of the community who feels the historic centre as part of their heritage, but this depended upon their age and the place where people live:

The people who live in the historical sector, yes, but (...), we see the momposino who are outside and especially in the youth, we see a lot of vandalism, a lot of youth resentment with society, suddenly because of the lack of opportunities, the lack of education, they have not appropriated what is theirs (F. Buelvas, personal communication, August 22-2018).

One of the biggest regrets of the director of the House of Culture, José Dávila, is not being able to transmit that sense of belonging to their kids, mainly because many have left

Mompox in search of better opportunities and living conditions that they could not find in town:

As momposino, that momposinidad, I couldn't transmit it to my kids, and it hurts a lot (J. Davila, personal communication, August 22-2018).

The younger people who were in some of the workshops did not acknowledge the importance of all heritage. For them, there was a stronger sense of belonging towards intangible elements than the tangible heritage of the city. For José Luisa Jalilies, the young “*have to learn to value what we have*” (personal communication, October 3-2018), because for him, they do not value heritage “*at all*” (personal communication, October 3-2018). This goes in line with what José Davila argues:

These new generations must be taught to love Mompox. I have a saying that says: if you do not know, how do you love?” (J. Davila, personal communication, August 22-2018).

Regardless of the title of WH, some people feel heritage as their own, feel the town is important because it is theirs and because of the role it played in Colombian history, not because it is recognized internationally. This is as it should be, but this is not the general view and if young generations do not develop an awareness of this heritage, this feeling will get lost in time.

6.4.2. Knowledge and responsibility to educate about heritage

There are people who know the historical importance of the town, who have educated themselves, in school or self-learning, but there is a great part of community who do not know or have never received proper training. This is one of the reasons why there are different points of view of heritage and also shifting values towards it.

Therefore, the problem is not only the behaviour towards heritage, but the lack of knowledge towards what is theirs and what it represents. The general opinion of the interviewees is that young people have to change, but there was also recognition that the job of “*changing this*

chip” is not only the responsibility of the younger generations, but of everybody. Some people work for heritage and value it and would like to see more involvement of and from community.

Youth have to give a turn to that empty chip they have in their heads, and learn to love what we have (...) if you don't teach a child to love what's his, how is he going to love it, how is he going to value it (...) And the whole community has to get involved, everyone has to put a little more love towards the town. I consider myself to be one of those who adore my town, because my father taught me to. And he said if you don't love your land, you don't love your mother” (J. Jalilies, personal communication, October 3-2018).

This puts the responsibility of teaching and transmitting heritage in everybody's hands, knowledge leads to love, love to value. The role of parents and grandparents in teaching children what is important and why it is important is a must according to some people involved in culture and education in Mompo; and it is getting lost with the new generations. It is not only a job for schools and government. For the sub-secretary of planning, the role of families is imperative in the value of heritage:

Before, my parents and old people told me, in school they sold you the idea that you were in Mompo and that Mompo had to be kept, you had to take care of it. Today, no, not even parents do that. So, I think it's a matter of culture, that parents themselves teach the children. And in schools. (R. Arguelles, personal communication, October 4 - 2018).

Nevertheless, these people, old people, grandparents who used to tell the stories and teach the importance of heritage, are dying, and with them dies much of the knowledge and social memory of town:

The momposino is dying, the old man, the one who has the notion and what is left for these children? Destroy, damage, they have nothing to do with it. They don't see things from the same perspective. Many things have been lost in the historical centre,

first because of the lack of operation of public administration and secondly by that loss in the sense of belonging in young people (F. Buelvas, personal communication, August 22-2018).

From the workshops it was evident that the knowledge and awareness of heritage was not generalized, the students (SENA and School Workshop) did not know about it, or about WHS, as well as the *mototaxistas* - as explained very few knew what WH was or meant. Young people from some touristic enterprises did not know why Mompox was important while some people who work with traditional food acknowledge the importance of town because of heritage, but were not aware of what this heritage is.

If local people do not care nor know why Mompox is important, they will not care for heritage, they will only see the economic value in town and the opportunity it could bring to their own living conditions. The value over heritage shifts and is in constant transformation. However, the cultural and historical value must be a priority, because heritage is one of the elements that help to keep historical identity in a community, as commented by González-Varas (2015). Therefore, heritage is a place of people, for people and community and should not be left outside of the planning and amelioration strategies.

6.5. AN UNDER-DEVELOPED UNDERSTANDING OF THE MEANINGS OF WORLD HERITAGE?

Knowledge about the WHD, or what WH means, is not generalized in the community. Many inhabitants do not know what heritage means. Therefore, the meaning of the UNESCO label for the *momposinos* is not very clear. According to the secretary of Tourism and Culture of Mompox

People still don't understand what it is, what it is for. As they see people dumbfounded seeing that, then they stop and see and feel what a tourist feels. You have to sell Mompox to the Momposino. (M. Palomino, personal communication, October 2-2018).

Many did not even know that Mompox was a WHS; or if they did, the implications were not evident for them. This is why the notion of what the WHD meant for them has economic and social associations. For the director of the School Workshop – from Bogotá – the *momposinos* have learned very slowly what it means, but not completely:

I think they have understood it the hard way, they chew it, they feel there is something special, but I think that what it means to be WH? is not so clear. Suddenly not even national. But they have understood that it is a special place. The only thing that is experienced and that changes are that more and more people are coming, everyone gets ready for that, they see the economic option and some open a little store, a restaurant (E. Rojas, personal communication, August 23-2018).

This brought a limitation to the field work, the lack of knowledge of what heritage means, and because of this, some dynamics were changed in some Focus Groups or workshops. The first questions were addressed towards the important elements for them as *momposinos* and what enhanced this feeling. Afterwards, in most of the workshops a brief explanation was made about what cultural heritage is and what the WHD designation is. In the interviews, as said before, most of them were people in charge of governmental or cultural institutions, therefore their knowledge was more profound. The few interviewees who did not know what it was, the questions about heritage were not made at all, and were changed towards the elements that make you feel identity or make you feel *momposino*. This could also be seen as a finding in that there are not many people who know about WHD or the WHS, they know about the important elements of town and know that people from outside are interested in some of the traditional and historical elements of Mompox, but do not know why.

In 1994, when the process was made, for Olga Pizano – the director of Colcultura when Mompox was nominated and named a WHS – there was an awareness of what a WHS is in the times when the workshops were done for the designation. Nonetheless, today this awareness is lacking in a big part of the population who do not know the real importance of the WHD, as stated by Alexandra Guerra, Director of Culture in ICULTUR:

They have the word heritage in mind and hear and talk about heritage and are heritage, but I don't think they (momposinos) understand very well what it means. Some percentage of the population understands, others do not (A. Guerra, personal communication, August 8-2018).

Today, they still feel proud (R. Esquivel & T. Martínez, personal communication, August 23 – 2018) and jealous, according to Father Celio Martínez, vicar of the Parish of Santa Cruz, for their heritage. They are conscious of the historical importance of town, and the importance of the traditional arts and crafts, but as Lucy Gómez, Coordinator of the “Museo del Oro Zenú” explains, they are not aware of how it takes them internationally:

How it goes to a world stage, the projection it gives them, the implications it has in the offer of tourist services and how it positions them on a map, (...) some do. They mention not having the resources to be able to do something with that, how to take advantage of that option (...), but many others do not (L. Gómez, personal communication, August 18-2018).

As acknowledged by Leask (2006) the prestige and recognition of the destination is one of the reasons the state parties look for the status of WHD. And in Mompos, the national and international recognition of town was one of the most common answers in the meaning of the WHD. How the title gives the town relevance and image in an international showcase. Also, the recognition of the importance of the history and tradition that identifies them as *momposinos*.

This history makes them feel proud, because their culture deserves this title and because the label means they are one of the most beautiful cities, with value to the world. It means an opportunity for the conservation of a culture and way of life, which has been maintained since the colonial times.

This importance entails the tourism and the arrival of international tourists to Mompos, which also brings development. Furthermore, they see it as an opportunity for work and investment in infrastructure, restoration, and general construction. Some see it as a tool to

generate a brand of Mompox and projection of the town to the future, which will help its promotion as a touristic destination worldwide. It will help heritage to be conserved.

A common idea was to finish the anonymity and confinement in which the town has lived for so long, because it will open new opportunities and doors to Mompox that did not exist before. Although the title is not something new, it has been in place for 25 years, the changes are just being seen and the expectations are big for the future. Now that they are seeing the development they can have and the economical movement international tourism brings.

For Patricia Di Filipo it was something that happened but does not have an implication in today's town development, or for Diana Ullunagua who thinks the designation already came and now the management plans are needed to boost heritage. It is just a warranty seal (Y. Alvarado, personal communication, August 23 – 2018) and an award and recognition to its people (R. Arguelles, personal communication, October 4-2018; L. Herrera, personal communication, October 3-2018; L. Rodríguez, personal communication, August 21-2018). Although, for some like for Fátima Quintero many did not give it the proper value (personal communication, August 22-2018).

Or just that Mompox is not so boring anymore (J. Quintero, personal communication, October 4-2018). The economic costs make part of the negative meanings for the *mompósitos* (V. Di Filipo, personal communication, August 21 – 2018), also, the rise of tourism could bring insecurity and inflation for the local population.

Therefore, even if the inhabitants of Mompox do not have a very clear understanding of the meaning of the WH designation and what it entails for the town, they know they live in a special and unique place that has to be taken care of and that will help to give them better living conditions due to the economic opportunities.

6.6. ISSUES AROUND THE LABEL

The WHD is seen many times as an authenticity and quality certification, as stated by King and Halpenny (2014). This is why it is an important attraction element for these sites

nationally and internationally. Nonetheless, the responsibility of keeping the heritage places is devolved to the local community not to outsiders and at the same time they should also benefit from it (von Droste, 2012). This is why the participation of locals in the process as well as in the heritage management plans is so important (Rössler, 2012). Besides, it is the local community that lives with heritage every day and has to sustain it and enjoy it (von Droste, 2012). Therefore, understanding how the local community sees the label and its uses, as well as the issues around it and the expectations they have in the future is important for the analysis and will be explored in this subheading.

6.6.1. Initial aspirations and the role of the community in heritage management: active observer.

The process in Mompox begun with a national aspiration, supported by the local government, and moved forward by national government. As said by Olga Pizano, the Sub-Director of Heritage in Colcultura at the time, at that moment there were only two WHS in Colombia: Cartagena and Katios; and there was the need, for her, to propose more sites for the World Heritage Designation (O. Pizano, personal communication, 3 April - 2019). It is evident, that the process and decision making of becoming a WHS was completely top-down, as argued by Leask (2006) who states that the designation process and inscription is politicized and follows the government's will. Even if, nowadays, community is one of the objectives of the UNESCO with the WHL (UNESCO, 2007), it was not an obligation to include them in the process before, nor in the management and conservation strategies after the designation. Opposite to what should be done, to include the community as the most important stakeholder in the process and in the management of the site (Ripp & Rodwell, 2018)

Olga Pizano, the person who led the process from the national government, wanted it to be Mompox because for her, there was

A special value, (...) it was a historic centre that was totally conserved, that had been very important in the colonial times, and that had very special, very beautiful and

interesting characteristics, (...) and it had very important architectonic and urban conditions (O. Pizano, personal communication, 3 April 2019).

During the previous years of the designation, the national government (with Olga Pizano as Subdirector of Heritage) worked on the process of the designation of Mompox. The process began with a group of advisors under the sub-direction of Heritage in Colcultura at the national level, and

We began to go to Mompox to work with the Mayor, Victor Serrano, and with the Academy of History, who played a fundamental role. We made various workshops with the community (...) and we started to make the people aware of the importance of WH (O. Pizano, personal communication, 3 April, 2019).

According to Olga Pizano, in 1994 community was involved in the designation process through workshops, but they were not involved in every step of the process, and the activities made did not have a great impact on the community; institutions like the Academy of History and the Town Hall were involved, but it was not a process with the whole community. Although for some, the *momposinos* appeared to be apathetic towards a process that came from outside. For Algelmira Quintero, a person who worked in the local government of the time:

It was hard to do the exercise, to make people aware of the process we were in and what we wanted (A. Quintero, personal communication, October 3 - 2018).

The empowerment and involvement of community in the designation and management process is a lesson learned by many other WHS (Deacon, 2014). It matches the view of heritage as fluid and dynamic, integrating different points of view of the locals, balancing the needs and benefits (Ripp & Rodwell, 2018). But this was not really present in the process in Mompox, although this depends on the point of view of the people interviewed.

Although, some people say, that even if it is a great honour to be a heritage site, and that they feel proud of it, the WHS designation came to Mompox without a survey, a socialization

of programmes, or an induction to explain to people why they were important and how they had to take care of it (J. Davila, personal communication, August 22-2018). This is linked to the gap explained by Lindström (2019) in determining the community that should be included in the process of WHD.

Another element that was not studied at all in the designation as WHS was if the local community and infrastructure could respond to the demands of this designation (Millar, 2006), in fact, the human factor resources and skills are not considered nor understood (Ripp & Rodwell, 2018). Evidently, Mompox is a clear example of this breach. The town was not ready in 1995, and is not ready today, to receive what a label of WH brings to people. Although today there are no physical barriers that will protect the town from the multiple effects of WH status and its demands. The gaps in the designation process and the lack of preparation of the community are evident for some. Even today:

They didn't prepare people for it, they didn't prepare them for what a Heritage city is. The community was not prepared for that, not even the rulers were prepared for that, and I assure you that today they do not know what that (WH) is, nor what the title of Heritage is for. Few people know the importance of being a World Heritage Site (Y. Bayter, personal communication, October 4-2018).

In 2006, when the PEMP (Special Plan of Management and Protection) was made, the community was involved actively in workshops, to analyse what the community felt and what their needs were. Sandra Zabala, the director of the project explained how the process was made:

We worked with different groups, from the beginning. We did about three workshops throughout the project. First diagnosis and solution alternatives. Then presentation of diagnostic results. Then valuation of the proposed hypothesis and socialization. And we work hand in hand with the institutions. Interviews with key people were also made (S. Zabala, personal communication, April 5 – 2019).

Therefore, the activities made to integrate the community existed. Nonetheless, the impact range was small, because not many acknowledged these actions. Besides, even the team who made the PEMP wanted to have a bigger range in the programs and more actions proposed because of the greater social and economic need, but, they found limitations in what a PEMP should include as a planning element only for heritage. Disregarding that heritage should empower the community socially and economically as well as emotionally (Lindström, 2019), and that local community should benefit from the WHS they have (von Droste, 2012). This also represents the existent gap of considering the management plan only for the conservation and protection of heritage, but not for the benefit of the locals and not taking into account the forthcoming development (Ripp & Rodwell, 2018)

Today the role of community in heritage management is partial, also because of the lack of interest or knowledge to be part of it. As argued by the Principal of Pinillos School, Virgilio di Filippo, the interest is

Out of mouth (...), we all fight to conserve it, but we do not make serious projects for the conservation of it (V. Di Filippo, personal communication, August 21 – 2018).

Some people tried to intervene and state their opinion about what is going on about heritage, about the projects of restoration and infrastructure in the historical centre, but, as they argued, they are not considered. Some *momposinos* complain, but their opinion is not considered because the government and contractors do not pay attention to their arguments nor change the projects according to the interests of community. According to the Director of the House of Culture, “*things are imposed*” (J. Davila, personal communication, August 22-2018). Usually, the *momposino* complains and fights when there is something wrong or something they do not like during the socialization process but they are not listened to, as argued by Patricia di Filippo,

They do all the socializations, people write, say, fight. But they end up doing what they think (P. Di Filippo, personal communication, August 24-2018).

The active observer role is always present. They speak when they think the actions and projects are wrong; the jealousy for their heritage is always present, therefore they try to be attentive to what happens. Nonetheless, as said by many interviewees there are not material community initiatives for heritage, which evidences that their actions do not have a clear impact on management and conservation strategies. Also, their worries are not always listened to and there are many issues related to the protection of heritage that needs to be addressed for the community's wellbeing. The community is not empowered and their participation is not evolving over time, as it should be according to Chirikure et al.(2010).

All of these issues impact the uses of the WH label by the community and the local government, because those that use this label the most are departmental and national government, and they use it to sell the town to tourism.

6.6.2. Issues with patrimonialization of heritage: Over-protection, economic burden, and ownership

The title of heritage brings negative implications and limitations for private houses and their owners, making it hard to improve a house due to the rules and legislations created because heritage has to be kept authentic and original, and sometimes these two characteristics go against the needs of modern life. Even if it is considered a privilege to own a house inside the WHS, it is a charge that many cannot sustain. There are several reasons why they feel these put constraints on their heritage houses: first, the economic burden it means to have and maintain heritage houses; second, the feeling of losing the ownership of their homes because of the wider needs of society to retain heritage; and third, the over-protection that is limiting the modernisation for better living conditions. For Sandra Zabala, an architect in charge of the realization of the PEMP document in 2006-2007, the protection of heritage brings a dichotomy:

Between the general interest: it is a sign of our identity is our memory, it is the living representation of what our society has been. All a romantic speech, valid, and important not to be missed versus the private property of 95% of the heritage

buildings. Then, you look at how to preserve it, it is your problem (S. Zabala, personal communication, April 5 – 2019).

The *Momposinos* have learned this through years of acknowledging what can be done, and what cannot be done in their houses. Many of them decided to sell because of these limitations, or because of the lack of resources to conserve the houses. Newcomers know how to exploit architecture, the WHS title, how to make a profit from it, and they also have money to do it. Others decide to make a profit from their own place and change it to become a hotel or mini-apartments to receive tourists. Few are keeping their houses as family living places.

First, the high costs of owning heritage houses is related to the maintenance and conservation of heritage in expensive repair works that are responsibility of private owners; on many occasions, they do not have the resources to invest in their homes. This problem is also present in other WH sites, and governments elsewhere have opted to give subsidies to heritage houses owners. For example in the situation that takes place in Hoi An in Viet Nam, the level of subsidy depends on a defined heritage value, location and personal economic situation (Galla, 2012c); this kind of aid is not available to private owners in Mompox.

This is not only seen in the private houses, but also by some cultural institutions that do not have support or economic entries to maintain one of these houses, for example, the Museum of Religious Art. This museum is in the Bolivarian House – called like this because Simón Bolívar stayed in this house during five of his nine visits to the town. The director of the museum argues:

The museum is falling, the wall and the beams are opening. For us, it is truly a problem, (...) because it is supremely expensive and it is also necessary to find engineers who have to do with heritage (D. Daus, personal communication, August 24-2018).

Also, the reparations and works cannot be done using the modern techniques or materials. They have to be done using traditional techniques which makes it very expensive. This

technique is authentic, but it takes a long time to make them and in some cases is not long lasting; this means continual works in houses, roofs and walls are needed to keep the houses in good condition.

The national, departmental, or local government are those who designate heritage for the general interest, those who create the protection and conservation laws, and for Sandra Zabala – the director of the PEMP project – the government should be the one helping for the maintenance of this heritage:

Why do we continue declaring heritage if there is no money to conserve, if the responsibility of the declaration is not assumed, and that this general interest is reflected in some way? It is the principle of equitable sharing of burdens and benefits that is in law 388. And worldwide it should be the same. Take responsibility. (S. Zabala, personal communication, April 5 – 2019).

Second, the feeling of loss of ownership people acknowledge from the moment the historical centre became a national monument, because from this moment on private owners had the responsibility of taking care of their houses; the responsibility that came with a national heritage for all Colombians was imposed. After 1995, when Mompox was named a WHS, the responsibility grew, and they had to take care of the town, not only because it was a national monument, but because it started to be important for all humanity.

WH allows for the deterritorialization of heritage as argued by González-Varas Ibáñez (2015), and for the inscribed site to become a world icon. Furthermore, the outsiders see and value WHS differently from local people (Graham et al., 2016), and this can create collisions between them both. As explained by the Director of Pinillos School – this school used to be the first University that existed in Nueva Granada, today is a School and is inside the WH limits-:

It means that we are no longer the only owners of our Mompox. We did not do this, but we have inherited it and we have a great commitment, not only with our ancestors, but with humanity, (...) that these are symbols that represent the advance

of civilizations in a certain historical epoch, (...) that serve as memories and elements that have value over time. (...) They are points of reference for civilizations (V. Di Filipo, personal communication, August 21 – 2018).

Owners have to protect, take care of, and conserve their heritage for humanity, and the government should help them do so. As explained by the director of the historical archive,

You have to keep this town for the world (...) so that the world comes and knows it (L. Domínguez, personal communication, August 21 – 2018).

Because of this, the feeling that the ownership of the town shifted from their own to others, just because of the WH designation, is acknowledged by the director of the House of Culture

Mompox is not from Mompox, I remind you, Mompox is from humanity because of the title of Heritage (J. Davila, personal communication, August 22-2018).

Last, the over-protection given to houses that should not be included in the protection rules. Although, protection is not necessarily bad, as the Vice-director of the Academy of History Álvaro Castro says, there are many houses built many years ago that were not built “completely” or finished properly waiting for better economic opportunities, but with the protection laws, many changes needed in houses became impossible (A. Castro, personal communication, May 29 - 2019). He also acknowledges that this over-protection is costing too much to owners, because many of them cannot improve their houses, even if protecting this part of heritage was a good decision:

They left us the duties and they took away our rights, because we have to protect these houses as you see them, with certain rules; they imposed us obligations and took away our rights. Besides, they do not give us the support to protect this heritage. (A. Castro, personal communication, 29 of May 2019).

This over-protection is linked with the high costs of maintaining the properties. Assuming that every person that lives inside the historical centre has the economical means to keep

the houses in a condition within the rules established by the government is a blind mistake, because no one is considering the social and economic reality from those places.

6.6.3. Uses of the label of World Heritage

How the title can be used, has many points of view and depends on how the government, organizations or institutions want to use it. Many see it as an element to sell the town, to make it more visible and differentiate it from other heritage towns, or simply as a label at the end of the touristic brochures. Nonetheless, many ignore the true importance and the use it can have as a social and cultural element to enhance appropriation of heritage or create identity and sense of place.

As said before, many in Mompox thought the main benefit of the WHD was the national and international recognition. For this same reason, many think that this label has not been used properly or completely, because of the potential it has and what can be done with it.

Mompox does not use it, I mean Mompox has it and the world recognizes it that way, but I say that Mompox needs to sell itself a little more. Mompox has not taken advantage of that heritage label. Everything comes to Mompox for being Heritage, even brought by people from outside(...) But (...) the authorities have not been able to sell it (L. Domínguez, personal communication, August 21 – 2018).

The Ministry of Culture, the departmental government, travel agencies and many other companies and organizations from outside have used the designation to sell the destination, but many interviewees think that the local government has not used it properly yet as acknowledged by the director of culture of the department:

They need to know how it works, for what and what it is for, I think they don't know it (A. Guerra, personal communication, August 8-2018).

Others see the usefulness of the title because of the amount of tourism it brought and the increase in tourism flow. As well as to promote the great events in the Municipality like the

Holy Week or the Jazz Festival. However, the interviewees are worried that there is a lack of organization and projects to use it properly.

There is another part of the community who give thanks that the title has not been used and who would not use it, because the title does not give more to what Mompox is or could be. Few people acknowledge the cultural-social uses that the designation can have. Only two people interviewed, acknowledge the impact the designation is having in the appropriation of heritage.

I think that more than a title it has its added values. People already say it, we are Heritage, we are not like any other people. There is a recognition of who we are and what we have (L. Rodríguez, personal communication, August 21-2018).

The main use everybody saw in the designation was the promotion and the recognition it gave to the town, the image and the name it could have. But not the cultural and social effects. This shows the lack of knowledge people have of the designation and the implications it can achieve if it is well-managed. The uses community and government see in the title are connected to what people expect from the WHD for the future, what they need from it and the potential they see for their development.

6.6.4. Expectations of the title linked to the needs of community.

Even if the title is something that Mompox has had for over 20 years, many believe that now that investments are in order, it will have a greater effect on their economy and in the future development of town, along with social and cultural changes to a lesser extent. These expectations were identified by the people and were linked with the actual context and the needs they have had over the years, most of them have been linked to the economic difficulties of town and how these have affected their quality of life.

According to the interviews and the workshops (see complete table in Appendix 13, Expectations in Participative workshops), the main expectations they have of the WHD can be divided into four main subjects: infrastructure, economic development, tourism, and

cultural appropriation. They expect improvements to streets, accessibility, health, hospitals, sewerage, aqueduct, airport, among others.

On the other side, the economic development is inevitably linked to tourism which is triggered by the recognition of the historic centre, the marketing and the events made in town. Tourism is the most important economic activity to give an opportunity to the local community as a whole; they expect more national and international tourists. As said by Ashworth & Larkham (1994) monuments and heritage sites are the main attraction for cultural heritage, with two major objectives according to Viñals & Morant (2012) conservation and profitability, and the second objective is clear in the mind of the *mompoxinos*:

Heritage is for tourists to come, and people are seeing it that way. Obviously, we are also trying to empower people of their heritage, and we have to preserve it and take care of it. People need to see heritage as their own and it is a potential that we have to exploit, and people are also realizing this (D. Ullunagua, personal communication, August 21-2018).

As said by Müller & Jansson (2007), one of the few options of economic development for peripheral regions is tourism, and there are usually high expectations of the benefits this activity can bring, even if these expectations are not always fulfilled (Hall, 2007).

They have understood that with tourism the chain of value around it can be greater and, can encompass a great number of people and activities that will help the increase in works, training, better incomes and new industries. As explained by Kim (2016) the value of a historic centre should also be reflected in the living conditions and in the sustainability of the community, not only in the conservation of historical buildings, but acknowledging the need of urban conservation which includes the social dimension (Nasser, 2003). Because of this eagerness in the tourism development, participants – in workshops and interviews – expect to multiply the attractions in Mompox, not only cultural heritage, but also the natural heritage around town, which is rich and not explored by tourists.

People are aware of the negative impacts that non-sustainable and non-limits tourism can bring to town, and they expect to stop other implications as well. In the interviews and workshops they named some negative effects they want to avoid, such as: inflation, insecurity, gentrification, increase in trash, damage over heritage, sex commerce linked to tourism, among others. These elements coincide with the negative impacts that Bataillou (2007), González-Varas (2015) and Maldonado (2006) highlight as adverse aspects of touristic activity, and add: displacement of traditions, loss of peacefulness, acculturation, loss of cultural identities, destruction and deterioration of heritage, commercialization of cultural elements and values, contamination, among others. Interviewees explained the example of Cartagena, also a WHS, for the many negative impacts tourism can have and they do not want to become like it (J. Davila, personal communication, August 22-2018; A. Guerra, personal communication, August 8-2018).

Inhabitants are afraid the peace and quiet of town will get lost with tourism development, but all of them also want more tourists to come to Mompos. They want to keep their personality as *momposinos* too, their friendliness and warm touch towards others. It is a paradox that they will have to reconcile with planning and organization of urban growth, heritage and tourism. Three elements that are usually managed separately, but that need to come together if they want a controlled tourism and a conserved and preserved heritage, that stays in the hands of *momposinos*; they need to take care of urban organization as Jimura (2018) states, key stakeholders, including local community should share their views and interests about the future of the place as a touristic destination and as a place to live. This is what they expect, although none of them knows how to fulfil this goal. They do not know where they are going, as argued by the director of the House of Culture:

We have to create a where we come from, where we are and where we are going with the Heritage (J. Davila, personal communication, August 22-2018).

Although for José Davila, *momposinos* still have appropriation over heritage, this is one of the main expectations of people: to enhance this appropriation and love for heritage to keep conserving and support their own tangible and intangible cultural elements. They expect to

have a better knowledge of their own town and their history, and more identity and empowerment over patrimony. Along with this, they hope to create respect and commitment among them and with Mompox. Therefore, the future planning in Mompox need strategies in the long term that includes, “ *the management of the cultural resource and the quality of new development, the uses and activities the built environment sustains, and the integration of both these factors with the sociocultural needs of the local community*” (Nasser, 2003, p. 478).

In the interviews and workshops, it was evident in the answers of people, that other inhabitants do not expect anything from the designation. They feel that they are not linked with tangible heritage in any way, therefore they do not care. There are also people who think that the designation passed and now the future development of town is in the hands of the *mompósitos*. For this, they need strict measurements and projects from the local government with a vision. Not only for the promotion of Mompox as a tourist destination but also as a place to live with a good quality of life.

Another important element, that was highlighted in the interviews, is that owners from colonial houses expect, somehow, help from the government or institutions to maintain their houses due to the high costs of traditional techniques.

They all expect many things from their town because of the designation, which is good. Many are interested in what can come economically and how it can help the amelioration of their quality of life. Many are worried about the negative effects tourism can have over community, and what development can do over the social and cultural elements. However, the economic worries are more important than the cultural ones. This is linked with what people know about the title and whether they are aware or not of what a World Heritage as designated by UNESCO means or entails.

6.7. CONCLUSIONS

The results of interviews and workshops evidence that people from Mompox do not differentiate the tangible from intangible heritage, and that they see everything as a set of

elements that gives them their identity and sense of place from Mompox. As argued by Peng et al. *“place identity is claimed as a social construction based on physical reality”* (2020, p. 14), but not limited to a spatial consciousness (Peng et al., 2020). They do not think that the architectural elements are important only because of the WH label. Accordingly, the division between tangible and intangible was made in my analysis to understand how they saw the elements within the WHS and the ones that are outside of the designation.

The WHD is a label that gives importance to a place to signal that this place should be kept and is irreplaceable (King & Halpenny, 2014). This determines how people from the outside see WHS, but the local community should see it as part of their culture, not only as something to be sold. As discussed by González-Varas (2015), one of the negative effects of the designation is the loss of cultural values and the exchange by marketing values that many times ends in the creation of thematic parks out of historic centres.

This is why the involvement of local people in the heritage process is important and helps to keep the soul of the place inside the WH area. In Mompox, the role of community during the process and currently in the management and conservation of heritage is limited. But there is an increasing interest and growing concern for the future of town. The views of the label and heritage vary from person to person, always keeping a value for heritage; these views can be cultural or economic, the last one being the most important.

This is also evident in the expectations, according to Angelmina Quintero - the director of the SENA (technical education institution) and who used to be the assistant of the mayor in 1994 when the WH process started - people acknowledge the cultural importance, but expect an economic outcome:

People always hope that a title, an honour, a recognition will lead to the fact that it will benefit you in the economic part directly. (A. Quintero, personal communication, October 3-2018).

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS



*Figure 54: Cloister of the San Carlos Palace – Town Hall.
Source: Rueda, N. 2019.*

7.1. INTRODUCTION

The research aim of this thesis was to analyse how the World Heritage (WH) designation changed an isolated community such as Mompox and affected it. This analysis was approached from two major themes: the changes in the form and function of the historical centre as part of the evolution of town and the ways in which the communities of Mompox have interacted with their heritage. This thesis has deepened an understanding of the effects of the WH designation from the point of view of the community and whether it affects the development of a marginal town in a specific timeframe.

In the introduction chapter the Research aims and objectives are stated and restated here: four specific objectives that helped the completion of the research aim are reviewed here:

- To understand the context for World Heritage designation at national and local level and to assess levels of community engagement
- To analyse how WH designation has affected Mompox communities in terms of social and economic relations
- To contextualise change or stasis in the wider frame of the period between World Heritage designation and the present
- To understand the effects of World Heritage status on the spatial development of Mompox, and on its community.

Chapter 2, the literature review, was focused on the various relationships between communities and their heritage with special reference to the issues regarding World Heritage designation; it has looked to clarify and provide a baseline to support the analysis and the findings of the fieldwork, as well as to discover gaps in the knowledge. In this chapter of the thesis, the status of World Heritage was studied and how this title has had positive and negative effects on the territory and the communities within. Researchers into the effects of WH designation have acknowledged changes in different territories, cities or towns. Impacts that include protection and conservation of the integrity, authenticity and uniqueness of heritage places (Park, 2014), economic development through tourism, recognition, prestige,

better management and planning projects as well as social improvement (Leask, 2006). Regarding the negative effects, it can bring distortion of values, mass tourism, effects upon social relations and lifestyle (Millar, 2006), commodification of heritage (von Droste, 2012), among many others.

As identified in chapter two, it was established that little attention has been given to the long-term changes within the community following WH designation, and they mainly focus on tourism and conservation issues, as argued by Jimura (2011). Besides the community's point of view of the designation is not taken into account in the analysis made, as well as their opinions regarding the changes in their territory, because they focus on the changes only. Therefore, this literature shows a limited reflection on the effects of the WHS on a local community, analysing their opinions. Furthermore, there is little literature on the effects of WH designation in marginal and isolated places, where the social and economic evolution has been determined by this peripherality, and the relation of local communities with their heritage might be different and might have been protected by this context. Researches centre on tourism in peripheral areas and the effects this activity has over the economic and social tissue of the place (Brown & Hall, 1999a; Irvine & Anderson, 2007; Müller & Jansson, 2007b; Saarinen, 2007), but they do not include places where the designation has not brought tourism and the relation between isolation and heritage is minimal. Another important focus found in the literature and in UNESCO policies is the division between tangible and intangible cultural heritage. In some territories and for their communities these two concepts are indivisible because they are complementary, not mutually exclusive as they are mainly portrayed in the literature. This leads to the recognition of community as social creations with symbolic and imagined connections that adapts and transforms that are not limited by spatial boundaries (Anderson, 1983; Waterton & Smith, 2010).

In the next chapter, chapter 3, the context of Mompox was studied, outlining its history and development from its creation and its economic and social growth over the years. This chapter also explains why Mompox has become the place it is today, a peripheral and isolated town, characteristics that have marked its evolution. This is in order to understand

how the designation might have changed its status, and also, why the city was designated in the first place, from the point of view of the history and the traces of its evolution it has in its architecture. This chapter has also framed Colombia's heritage protection laws, where the process and the main dilemmas of the Colombian historic centres are acknowledged, along with the gaps and main issues, that include: concentration of central functions, loss of quality of life, migration of traditional residents, loss of balance in the uses, heritage and urban deterioration, arrival of users and population with less income, concentration of urban, economic and social problems (Conpes 3658, 2010).

In a very specific time frame, since 1995, year in which Mompox was designated a WH, the town has changed little. It was not until 2009-2010 that the people started to see changes in their town when the investments of government on infrastructure to ameliorate the access routes and the communication that started in 2006, as well as the arrival and marketing of events and the revitalization of the Albarrada.

Even if Mompox has been protected by national laws since 1959 when it was named a National Monument, the local protection accord only came in 1994, one year before the WH designation, while the works in heritage and access routes came nearly ten years after this great event. This gives the feeling of a town frozen in time, as was said by many in the interviews, and it was literally detained in time socially, culturally, and economically because of the isolation it has lived in since the end of the nineteenth century.

With a participative methodology, the research brings together perspectives from different groups of the community; the map of actors developed in the methodology chapter helped to understand the main institutions and groups in Mompox. This map was enhanced and amended following the field trip allowing an improved understanding of the intricate relationships within the community. The methodology established that interviews were necessary with leaders and directors of public and private organizations, including the town hall, representatives of the Catholic church, the School Workshop, the organization of artisan women, the historical archive, the house of culture, the History Academy, the SENA, and the Religious Museums, among others.

Being a small town, the same people worked in various activities and lived in different places in town, which was enriching for the research as it highlighted the interactions of the various points of view of the changes, their social relations, as well as the feelings and understanding of the community about the WH and their heritage. Examples of these links include the director of the historical archive who is also a tourism guide; the director of the house of culture who is also a goldsmith; the director of the Religious museum who is also a teacher and a tourist guide; the Secretary of the goldsmith association who is a goldsmith; the director of the Pinillos school who lives in one of the colonial houses inside the WH site (as do many other leading citizens); a *mototaxista* who also works in making chorizo, a traditional gastronomy dish, while the owner and maker of layer cheese live in a different part of town and represents his family traditions with his own legal enterprise.

The workshops covered other groups and different generations, such as the *mototaxistas* who provide the only local public transport for the community and tourists; the students of the School Workshop and the SENA who live in Mompox and in the nearby small towns; the goldsmiths and embroidery organizations, and the touristic enterprises. These different perspectives were analysed to understand not only their awareness and appreciation of the title, but also the changes since 1995 from their point of view, trying to comprehend impacts within the larger context of social and economic change and not only from the perspective of the WH designation. I was also interested in the feelings of the community towards their heritage and what they feel is important, that which makes them feel *momposinos*. The major findings will be explored further in this chapter.

This chapter presents the contribution to knowledge of this thesis which centres on the debate of the meaningfulness of community involvement in the World Heritage process and the little attention that has been given to the long-term changes within the community following WH designation. The community's point of view of the designation itself is not taken into account, nor their opinions regarding the changes in their territory. The definition of community is not clear nor generally understood in the WHS. The thesis also discusses the lack of understanding of the division between tangible and intangible cultural heritage; in

the people's minds might not be appropriate or understandable, for they acknowledge their heritage as complementary elements, as a whole. Last, the analysis of the effects of WH designation in marginal and isolated places different, from the touristic activity and its implications.

7.2. WORLD HERITAGE AS A MECHANISM FOR PRESERVATION?

As is enshrined in the WH convention, the main purpose of designation remains that of protecting and preserving cultural heritage properties that are deemed to have OUV for future generations (UNESCO, 1972). Though as Comer (2014), Leask (2006) and Park (2014) have noted, the rationale for inscriptions for the states has shifted in many cases towards capturing the economic benefits of tourism and being a market of national pride, nonetheless, the core function of the WH process is still focus on preservation of heritage. This main goal is not through any legal mechanisms imposed by UNESCO but rather by the means that are already in place by the nation state or are created after the designations. For example, in Colombia's case, nationally, the Political Constitution of 1991 establishes that the cultural heritage of the Nation is under the protection of the state and in 1997 the general law of culture, Law 397 was made and modified in 2008 by Law 1185. The legislation specifically for tangible and intangible heritage was created in 2009-2010. Parallel to this evolution, Mompox was named a National Monument in 1959, but the first protection agreement in town was established in 1994, one year before the UNESCO designation arrived (1995). Nonetheless, it was not until 2006 when the Special Management and Protection Plan (*Plan Especial de Manejo y Protección* - PEMP) was established.

One of the issues examined in this study was the extent to which the designation of the historic centre of Mompox has been effective in terms of preservation, being this, one of the main purposes of the WHD (UNESCO, 1972). Despite the regulatory framework, in Mompox these regulations have not always been followed and heritage has not been managed correctly, as the power to decide over their heritage was taken by the national government. As argued by the Secretary of Culture and Tourism, María Bernarda Palomino:

At this moment Mompox does not have the power to decide over heritage. In 2015 this power was removed for mismanagement of the cultural heritage. National government makes all the decisions. (M. Palomino, personal communication, October 2-2018).

Besides, in Mompox heritage has been maintained mainly because of the peripherality and isolation that have marked the lack of development pressure, arrival of external people, and economic opportunities, characteristics of peripheral destinations which conditions are enhanced by: the lack of power and infrastructure, limited accessibility and resources, absence of education and training and high migration rates of young people (Botterill et al., 2000; Frances Brown & Hall, 1999a; Müller & Jansson, 2007a, 2007b), characteristics evident in Mompox.

These aspects have been necessary to have the “city frozen in colonial times” after the nineteenth century. This isolation can be seen also as an attraction for the place, as argued by Irvine & Anderson (2007) since it contributes to the distinctiveness and uniqueness of the destination. Nonetheless, these characteristics have determined its distance from modernity, and aided the conservation of tangible and intangible heritage. This in turn has helped the maintenance of authenticity in the historic centre and the preservation of the OUV, essential for the WH Designation. In Mompox this is an outcome of ‘Heritage by neglect’, not especially from a consciousness of conservation and preservation by its people, since only a small part of the community was aware of these issues, as was evidenced in the interviews and workshops.

If people have been more consistent with the conservation of the Heritage with the WH designation? I would tell you that 100% of us no, a very small group, put 30% more or less of those who are really interested in that topic, but as I told you, the problem is not with people who already have a certain age, but rather the problem comes from that small group backwards (R. Arguelles, personal communication, October 4 - 2018).

Mompox is a city of extremes. In the World Heritage Site, colonial houses are falling down because owners forgot about them or do not have the means to remodel them. There are people in the protected area who want to remodel and change their houses to achieve better living conditions but are not allowed to because of the heritage restrictions, and there are people who have completely changed the inside of the houses bypassing the conservation law. The WH Designation has brought in investors who have the means to change the houses, regardless of the legislation. People's feelings also play an important role in these modifications. Many do not want to change the places more than necessary because the houses have a traditional and a family value inexistent to outsiders. The designation does not change this value, as it does not give value to outsiders who try to "copy" what they think is authentic for the town.

Designation does not change the social mobility either. Many have left town to look for better opportunities and life conditions while their parents and grandparents stayed in Mompox, but when the latter dies, the house is left alone, even in the WH site, with two options. The owners can either sell the house, or let the house fall down over the years. As shown in the previous chapters in the protected area of Mompox is possible to find both cases. This unfortunate phenomenon can be found in Peripheral destinations, because there are not many opportunities for young people (Botterill et al., 2000; Frances Brown & Hall, 1999a; Müller & Jansson, 2007a, 2007b), and they rarely come back to town.

Besides, the historic centre for some represents social limits and demonstrates a certain social status, first, because of the social evolution of town, since the historic centre is the place where the town started and the wealthiest people used to live (in the Middle Street - *Calle del Medio*); and second because of the recent beautification and revitalization works of the Albarrada (street by the river) and important plazas (inside the Historic Centre). These works started in 2009 and have created visible social limits that impact not only on the image of town but also in the minds of the *momposinos* who feel resentment, indignation and discontent, because for a while the only infrastructure works done were made for the Historic Centre. But the rest of the town has not been improved, the people from outside of

the Historic Centre have only seen changes in their streets recently when the pavement and sewerage system was provided for almost everyone. Even the historic places outside the Historic Centre, like the Bolívar Tree, are not cared for. The HC has developed like an island, as stated by Sinamai (2014) the investment and infrastructure improvements are made in the touristic area, not everywhere in town, where local people live.

Another criticism made of the amelioration works in the Alabarrada was the change of use of some places like the public market or the Plaza of the *Iglesia de la Concepción*, that is no longer a place to rest, or to do a social gathering, but is now a place for tourists. The relocation of the public market has been so difficult that market people decided to sell their goods in the street next to the San Francisco Plaza, a couple of blocks from the old Market. They say the new market is too far away, is too dirty and nobody goes there. The changes in the Albarrada itself have been hard for people, not because of the restorations but because of the new regulations that, as argued in the analysis chapter, are logical but were imposed upon the local people to the point that many now say the Albarrada is only for tourists. Therefore, the works for the conservation of WH and WH designation itself can create displacement of local people, effect change in the value people have for their heritage, as well as changes in social behaviour, and creates or enhances social limits. All of these are negative effects on the social tissue of the town and effects that go against the preservation of the integrity of the OUV.

In the arguments presented, it can be seen that many of the things have been imposed, not decided participatively with the local people, starting from the nomination and designation, where local community usually has little involvement (Rössler, 2012; Waterton & Smith, 2010). This is a reflection of how involved people are in the management of heritage in Mompox, the human resources and their skills are not understood or taken into account in the management of the site, which is one of the issues around WH sites, acknowledged by Ripp and Rodwell (2018).

As argued, people acknowledge that many times people fight, argue and explain why they do not agree with certain works, but government ends up doing what they want, nonetheless. José Davila uses a simile with a rocking chair to express what he feels:

“I have a rocking chair and without the permission of the owner I am going to take away its arms. I have come with the carpenter, the handsaw, the hammer and the nails to tell you, owner of the rocking chair, I have come here to make an investment because I'm going to take the arms off the rocking chair. But why are you going to take them off? Determined, we take them off. That is my criteria at the moment.” (J. Davila, personal communication, August 22-2018)

This is an example of the extent of community involvement in the designation and on-going involvement in the management of the site. Specifically, the view of the role of the local community in the designation process is divided: they were included in participative workshops, but many say that it was an imposed decision. As for now, they argue that top-down decisions over heritage are the everyday scenario. As Leask (2006) argues, this is one of the issues in the WH process, which reflects another problematic around the heritage sector: the power of expertise over the community (Waterton & Smith, 2010).

This is linked with many of the burdens local people have to endure when living in the heritage site. The economic burden and the implications that heritage conservation brings to living and working in a protected house, are things that have to be under the responsibilities of private individuals. There are regulations on maintenance and the way works should be done in these houses, but most of the time this increases the cost of any kind of work inside or outside; besides, all the process that needs to be done take a long time and are not always permitted even if the work seeks better living conditions for those concerned.

This is why some interviewees at the national and local level agreed on the fact that the heritage designations are made most of the time without thinking of their impact on the community and how are they going to live with their heritage. Protecting, conserving, and

maintaining heritage houses and buildings is expensive, because of the materials needed, techniques, time, knowledge from the people who do it and the permissions needed to achieve the approval. Therefore, designations are not made while considering the wellbeing of the local community but rather the designations are made in the national interest, economic rationale, and international acknowledgement.

Moreover, there is not a balance between the general interest and the romantic view of keeping the heritage for all and for the future generations on one hand; and the private property and the social and economic conditions of people living in these places at the moment of the designation, on the other hand. These are two different needs and expectations, and those from local people are usually neglected, because most of the time the territories are not ready for what being a WHS entails. Designations usually are made by the government but is the local people who have to find a way to maintain this heritage and keep it for the future and for others. For many local people, this generates fear, because even if living in a WH brings honour and pride for people, this recognition alone does not pay the bills and does not keep the houses standing and in good condition.

This is why many have decided to sell their houses at very low prices, and gentrification is gaining ground on the historical centre and comes so easily in Mompox, because for the locals their houses become a burden more than an asset for their lives. Additionally, losing the local people is also part of a cultural loss, where the preservation is focused on the heritage shells and not on the people who nurture that cultural background with life, traditions, beliefs, and ways of life.

Gentrification is considered one of the negative effects of WH designation and the tourism that comes with it or, as argued by Mathews and Picton (2014) it comes after them. While in the view of some, like Shaw (2005), it could help the preservation and conservation of heritage, because the people who arrive have more resources to keep the houses, the negative effects of gentrification go against the preservation of the values of heritage, and according to Atkins and Bridges (2005) brings also displacement and resentment. Besides, it breaks the local values and social tissue, as well as the feelings people have for their houses

and their town. It passes from the community to belong to others. Although in Mompox gentrification and tourism did not come immediately after the designation, they are considered changes that arrived in a moment between 1995 and 2018, mostly in the latter years of this period.

Not only the gentrification started, but also changes in the economic and social conditions of the town, changes in heritage, structure, connectivity, promotion, image, among others, and this is where the analysis of WH as an agent of change starts.

7.3. WORLD HERITAGE AS AN AGENT OF CHANGE

While designation has played a role in the spatial compartmentalization of the city, as stated in the previous chapters, it was one of the objectives of this study to try and identify wider changes with society and the economy. Additionally, the aim was to assess the degree to which these have been shaped by the WH status or by the many other actions made by national and departmental government for the municipality of Mompox, leaving WH designation as a secondary element in the development of the town.

As stated in Chapter two, Context Chapter, the immediate effects of the WH designation were the publication of books; numerous articles were written about Mompox, TV documentaries; along with tourism and investment in infrastructure that were also related in this news. In 1996 an article (Redacción El Tiempo, 1996a) talks about the construction and renewal of infrastructure, the restoration of monuments and the modernization of the sewerage system. Nonetheless, the works in the Albarrada only started in 2009 and the works of the sewerage system started in January 2018 and were only at 52% of completion in November 2019. This still leaves 13 neighbourhoods along the highway without this service (Leyva, 2019). In October 2018 the pavement works started along with the project of providing a drinking water system (Flórez, 2018). These changes are the ones people have noted the most, because they meant a change in their life conditions, an amelioration of the economy and beautification of their town as a whole.

These physical changes were triggered because of the need to improve connections and accessibility in the territory, as well as better basic living conditions, three elements that have been missing for a very long time and have meant not only an economic limitation, but also a distancing with the world and the social evolution of the country. They have been accompanied by economic, social, and cultural changes, as well as leading to better living conditions and a better opinion for their town. By itself, the designation did not affect positively nor negatively the life of people in Mompox. Without the governmental investment and amelioration of access, changes would not have been obvious, and they would not have impacted the living conditions of local population.

My research has reinforced the idea that the WH Designation cannot by itself boost positive or negative changes. This is in line with conclusions reached by Sinamai (2014) who states that the designation alone cannot enhance tourism; and with Comer (2014) who argues that the economic positive effects come with complementary actions such as the amelioration of access routes, infrastructure, marketing and media.

Therefore, Mompox is an example where the designation as a WHS does not have immediate effects and does not impact the development of territories alone. It needs national and local stakeholders, local actions, and commitments to make changes happen. Besides, changes should not be evaluated on a short-term basis since this could lead only to a limited view of what WH could bring to a designation, depending not only on the preparedness of the place, but also on the conditions it has at the moment of the designation. The analysis should be done in the short-, medium-, and long-term to understand the full extent of the effects of the WH designation not only on heritage, but also on the community and the feelings, views and values for heritage by local people. Besides, what the designation means to do in a long-term in the territories besides keeping heritage for future generations, is not represented nor clear in the convention, nor in the literature or in the case studies.

Nonetheless, in the effort to understand the changes in Mompox not only with the WH Designation but in a larger social and economic context, the next sub-sections will analyse the most important transformations in the time elapsed between 1995 and 2018.

7.3.1. World Heritage as an Agent of Economic Change?

As is widely assumed (Leask, 2006; Park, 2014) designation results in increased tourism and the development of related activities, as explained in Chapter 5, because tourism has a multiplier effect that draws development over different sectors of economy. But, as seen in Mompox, this did not happen immediately after the designation, because there was not a major increase in tourists in the years following it. Rather, tourism is something that gained impetus with the Jazz Festival and the promotion of the Holy Week; it can also be attributed to the image given and the recognition worldwide that the title gave to its heritage, now with better accessibility and improved services and conditions.

These limitations can be related to the peripherality of the site. For the first ten years after the designation, not much seems to have changed in Mompox. Some tourists started to be seen but getting to the place was hard, with no direct flights and only terrestrial routes, not always in good condition. It could take more than eight hours of travel. Even on arrival, there were few hotels and places to offer touristic services. The only attraction this place had was the Historical Centre and its colonial and republican architecture, but these were not enough of a motivator to endure these travel conditions and fill the place with tourists and tourism development. The designation gave Mompox a first recognition but did not bring better economic opportunities for its people immediately. For a strong economic development, there needs to be agency and people involved in marketing and planning, along with certain conditions to assure the rise of the destination.

The region of Mompox depends heavily on agriculture and cattle raising. The urban sector relies on the handcrafts such as filigree, woodwork (Cabinet makers), pottery, food makers and embroidery. All of these activities provide employment along with commercial activities. However, these latter activities have gained more importance because of tourism: handcrafts are one of the elements tourists like the most.

From 2011 to 2020, 99 legally registered offers of hospitality services (hotels, hostels and tourist houses) were opened. This gives a good demonstration that tourism was not triggered

immediately after the designation but only after almost 20 years. The growth was, therefore, not only because of the WH label. As explained before, there are many other variables in the tourism development since 2016. From this, is possible to conclude that it is not enough to have an important heritage along with its houses and history; and it is not enough to have a seal of WH to rise economically and socially. Facts like the beautification of part of the historical centre, the Jazz Festival, national recognition and acknowledgement of the Holy Week, and obviously the amelioration of the access routes, have all contributed to tourism growth. This in its turn has helped social evolution and therefore, tourism has become one of the most important economic activities in the town.

Interviewees and workshop participants acknowledge the changes since 1995, because they have meant an amelioration of their life conditions. However, few people acknowledge that designation is related to these changes; some do not even know of its existence, and for those who know, some say that the WH designation was one of the most important events in town while others, argue that it was something that happened, that is now in the past, and does not have any effect on their lives, whatsoever.

Regardless of their opinion about the WH Designation, all of them say that the development seen today is an advantage and they are experiencing a revival of their town, not necessarily linked to WH Designation. Between 2018 and 2019 chain stores arrived in Mompox: Olímpica (supermarket) and Tierra Santa (clothing store). As written in a local newspaper: *“Mompox enters the decade of the twenties of the 21st century as the second city in the department of Bolívar, displacing others such as Magangué and Carmen de Bolívar with a larger population and perhaps with a greater commercial movement”* (Ramirez del Valle, 2019). Congruent with these developments is the provision of aerial accessibility with the San Bernardo airport and terrestrial accessibility with three bridges across the river (Botón de Leiva, Talaigua-Santana y Yatí-Bodega) which now connect the town with the main highways in the country. These developments will likely bring in train all kinds of development for people, in communication, economy, tourism, modernization and social changes. Here it is important to understand that is not always easy to separate the effects of WH and the normal process

of modernity and economic development of a territory, the first one is just part of the second. In cases such as Mompox, an isolated destination with little development the designation will not trigger or unchain the changes in infrastructure, accessibility or communication that are needed for the evolution of the town.

7.3.2. World Heritage as an Agent of Social and Cultural Change?

It is acknowledged in the literature that the WH Designation brings multiple negative changes in the social tissue of local communities as well in their culture that jeopardize the integrity that the WH tries to protect with the designation. It can create distortion and replacement of traditional values and local symbols, changes in the lifestyle, fractures in social relations and in the relations between people and place as well as movement of local people (González-Varas Ibáñez, 2015; Millar, 2006). Besides, the protection of tangible heritage, usually leaves aside the social and cultural elements that complete the whole ensemble of elements that creates identity and sense of place of a community, evidencing also that place is more than a spatial element, but is also emotions, experiences and intentions (Relph, 2012).

It was curious to find that some of the interviewees expressed that one of the most cherished elements from Mompox was its peacefulness. The silence, the sound of the river, the birds, the quiet afternoons in front of the houses in their rocking chairs. But this is being exchanged for noisy clubs in the Albarrada after 7 pm and the buzzing of the uncountable motorcycles that fill the streets from 7 am. The town is changing.

As found in the literature, WHD also has effects on the social life of territories. These are mostly negative because of the globalization of heritage, tourism, gentrification, and replacement of cultural symbols (Dearborn & Stallmeyer, 2009; González-Varas, 2015; Kim, 2016), all elements that trigger a chain of unfortunate events that can create negative social and cultural impacts.

Not long ago, Mompox was frozen in time, because of its peripherality. It was kept in a bubble and all the social and cultural elements were kept as well as the tangible elements in the

town. Now the town is opening its doors to the world, therefore the social and cultural changes are just beginning to happen. But the heritage beautification and conservation works are already creating changes and tears in the social tissue of the town; gaps that existed are being enlarged and are exacerbating the social differences. The changes in the urban landscape were evident in the observations made throughout the town. It was exemplified in the differences between the beautified parts of the Historical Centre – those that were restored in the first part of the project, as explained in Chapter 3 –, the buffer zone, and between these two areas and the rest of the town. These differences have created resentment and indignation, as stated by the Director of the House of Culture, the Director of the Historical Archive and the Director of the School Workshop, among others. Feelings that are growing and are affecting the value people have for their heritage, creating breaches in the values for heritage depending on neighbourhood, education, or age.

The conservation actions, economical strategies and “keeping heritage as a jewel” is pushing it away from its people. These actions, along with the protection and development strategies established in WHS by the government, investments in conservation and maintenance that try to keep it from damage, creates loss of the cultural importance it once had if they are not well-managed and applied. They even go against the same values that the WH Designation is trying to preserve for future generations, because these actions do not create appropriation but create a rupture in the relation of local people with their heritage.

Furthermore, the economic crisis that has persisted in the town for so long is also jeopardizing the traditional handworks that have existed since colonial times in Mompox. Locals do not want to learn these arts because they do not ensure a certain quality of life for the craftspeople, and tourism, even if it allows arts and crafts to flourish, it is not enough. Filigree, iron work, and pottery production are at risk of disappearing, because people in the town do not value them as economically worthy and there is not enough tourism to support them. Again, they see the importance if there is an economical reward:

“The same jeweller does not give the value he should give to the jewel (...). The traditional blacksmith, the one that does not use welding is also at risk of

disappearing. The pottery, we have the last potter of Mompox, if he dies the knowledge is over" (E. Rojas, personal communication, August 23-2018).

This is an example of why it is not enough to have a romantic view of heritage, where things should be preserved because they are pretty or historically important as is stated in the heritage laws. Love for art and crafts does not give opportunities to live or have better life conditions: *"The most interesting thing to recover heritage is that it becomes an option to generate resources for the people."* (E. Rojas, personal communication, August 23-2018). Therefore, heritage has to have a triple function in local communities, being a representation of their history and culture, but also, helping them to have a sustainable life thereby ensuring a quality of life, and a protection for future generations of the heritage elements of their communities.

The tourism activity brings this economic use to heritage but is also changing the view people have of heritage in Mompox. As argued by Viñals & Morant (2012) with the WH label, the place becomes attractive for tourism, and this gives it an economic opportunity, missing before in the preservation of intangible and tangible heritage. Therefore, as acknowledged in the workshops and interviews, there is a mixture between the cultural value and the economical or touristic value of heritage. Some people see it as important because the tourists like it, or because tourists come to see the town: *"Heritage is for tourists to come and people are seeing it that way"* (D. Ullunagua, personal communication, August 21-2018).

Local people are starting to mix "touristic attractions" with "heritage elements". An example is the Jazz Festival, which is becoming important because it brings tourists, but is not a heritage element. And filigree that is more important now because it has international visibility: *"Because before we didn't see it as essential or that important, it was just like we make jewellery and that's it. But today there are products from Mompox that are in the international level"* (G. Nieblas, personal communication, August 21-2018). This makes them feel proud of their town. This is just one example of how tourism has created a major impact in people's lives and minds, and again not all of the interviewees and participants in the

workshops link this economic activity development to the WH designation, because not all know of its existence and do not identify or acknowledge the label.

7.4. THE PRIMACY OF INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

The designation in Mompox targeted the Historic Centre, the tangible heritage in town which represents the colonial and republican architecture of a specific time-period. This designation tends to leave aside the intangible heritage (Dearborn & Stallmeyer, 2009), and the understanding of the ensemble of heritage as a whole. As argued by Smith (2006) this limited view excludes the natural, social and cultural contexts and relations coexisting with heritage. In Mompox, the conservation laws protect the tangible heritage, but the people also cherish the intangible heritage, and the relation between both of them can be seen in the elements that make people feel a sense of belonging and make them feel *mompосinos*. It is still one of those WHS where the important heritage is not only the walls and facades of the houses, but the people living inside, their traditions and culture. It is the whole ensemble: history, traditions, people, and architecture. Here is evident the relation between people and place: the *peoples place identity* where the personality of people is influenced by the place and the *place identity* where the people construct the personality of the place (Peng et al., 2020). Besides, it can be argued that the heritage in Mompox is the representation of heritage as a process and not as an object; as said by Smith (2006, 53-7) heritage is emotions, meanings and communicative acts.

In part, being so isolated and closed to the outside means that many of the traditions and cultural costumes have been guarded as much as the architecture, because there is not so much pressure from the outside. As Kim (2016) discusses, this heritage is more sensitive to change and difficult to pass from generation to generation, in comparison to tangible heritage where physical elements are the evidence of their existence.

Besides, in the workshops and interviews, participants gave the slight feeling that the intangible heritage like their gastronomy, their beliefs, their religion, and their ways of life are a shared heritage for the community. Even more than the tangible heritage of the Historic

centre, because this area might belong only to the few families that live in this part of town, therefore this could only ever be a living heritage for a few households, unlike the intangible heritage that is lived daily by all the community, as Crooke (2010) argued, heritage is weaved by the experiences and expressions of the community.

In fact, differentiating tangible from intangible might not be appropriate or understandable. When participants were asked what makes them *momposinos* they mixed elements: architecture, gastronomy, handcrafts, historical places, religion, Holy week, the independence, even the Jazz Festival - a new heritage that is an outside invention – poets, music and folklore also were named in the workshops and interviews; all seem important for people. All these elements are highlighted in the historic centre; the WHS is always present, as the heart and the foundation of the social and cultural life of town, without naming it or recognising it as a WHS, but as the historic centre. It is where everything is and happens: events, festivals, Catholic churches, institutional offices, banks, most of the restaurants, bars, most of the hotels and touristic services, and places of employment for many. Besides, they are starting to realize that many of the elements of their culture are attractive for tourists, the layer-cheese for example, the lemon sweet, the fish, the filigree, or the woodwork: they are starting to see them as drivers for development. As Arenas (1995) argues, the filigree craft men and women try to keep their tradition alive while seeking a financial reward.

Moreover, the efforts for the recovery and protection of the traditions, events, or elements from the *momposina* culture, that were lost at some point in time, is something worth highlighting. The role of some people in the community who research about how things used to be and try to create an appreciation and appropriation for these traditions, is voluntary as discussed in Chapter 6. The efforts they make to bring back the *animero* or the traditional floats in the festivals or parades, the activities with children to make them multipliers of their culture, even the cultural tourism tours made to communicate their heritage, are all activities that have the same objective: conserve the local culture and preserve heritage for future generations, and it might seem easier to create this acknowledgement in the local community, being a small town. Although this commitment towards heritage is not

generalized, it was evident in some of the interviewees, and acknowledged by others in the interviews.

With this scenario, the participants in the interviews and workshops expect a lot from their town and the WH title, even if the designation arrived more than 20 years ago. They still expect economic and social development, recognition of the town, tourists, business growth, infrastructural improvement, better life conditions, and cultural conservation, not exclusively in the historic centre, but also the intangible cultural heritage that make them *mompoxinos*, the traditional gastronomy, the events, the Holy Week, the traditions, and the beliefs.

The awareness of Mompox as an important place by the community and the sense of belonging of local people towards their town and heritage is evident. Nonetheless, the knowledge about their history, heritage and the importance of town is not generalized in all sections of the community. The role of the WH Designation in these feelings towards heritage has been minimal, partly because there is a lack of knowledge and understanding of the label and the designation itself, which is why the concept of WH is not meaningful for the community as a whole.

7.5. WORLD HERITAGE AS A MEANINGFUL CONCEPT?

It has been argued that the World Heritage title gives recognition of the place and its heritage worldwide (Leask, 2006), and on many occasions, it represents authenticity and a seal of quality (King & Halpenny, 2014) that is recognized by people around the globe. But sometimes, this worldwide impact does not include the recognition of the label locally, and Mompox is one of these cases.

The concept of heritage was blurry or inexistent in many of the participants of the workshops and some of the interviewees. The lack of understanding of this word was a limitation in the beginning. Nonetheless, this lack of knowledge is not representative of what people thought or felt towards their (intangible) heritage, their important cultural elements. For them these “heritage elements” are not just things and traditions from the past, but are something with

what they live every day, they share it with their family, friends, and close ones: it makes part of what they are as community.

This lack of knowledge of “heritage” as a word, is linked to what people knew about the WHD or the World Heritage as a concept. Many did not even know of its existence while others knew Mompox as a WHS but they did not understand what it means. Few acknowledge its importance, meanings and what it entails for the town; and in the period of time since 1995 the WH Designation has not taken up a meaningful part of people’s lives locally, not generally. This lack of awareness and knowledge of the local people is also a finding in the research. There are not many people who know about WH Designation or the WHS, they know about the historic centre and the important elements of town and know that people from outside are interested in some of the traditional, architectural, and historical elements of Mompox, but do not know why.

To those operating at the national and departmental governmental level, the importance and understanding of the WH title are clearly evident. In the people interviewed from the government and different institutions the awareness of its importance and the recognition of the WH designation, as well as the understanding of what this title can give the destination was obvious. However, the process and the responsibilities brought by UNESCO with this title were not clearly understood or articulated. Nationally, departmentally, and locally the label means recognition, the end of anonymity, the arrival of tourism, new opportunities, changes, investments, conservation, and restoration of heritage. All of these expectations still exist almost 20 years after the designation and might be a delayed response to the WH status.

It is hard to know if in this context the core of heritage from Mompox would still have been preserved without the WH designation. It still has the national designation and is protected by the national laws, as well as by the local accords and now, the local people who are aware of its importance, and this last, not only because of the WH designation. The location may not make a difference in terms of preservation and protection of heritage, which is the reason of the Convention, but it does in terms of the development of town, and with it, in better opportunities for the community.

Tangible heritage is acknowledged by people but is not more important than intangible elements just because of the label; people do not need an international label to know they have something important in the town. Local people value the elements with which they live every day and the historical elements and characters that have marked the history of the town and country, like Simón Bolívar, precursor of independence who is known to have stayed in Mompox several times and said *“If I owe my life to Caracas, I owe my glory to Mompox”* (Arango & Ayala, 2013). As evidenced in the interviews and workshops the WH is not a main interest for people, they think about their heritage, without even knowing what heritage means. They care about some cultural elements, about the past, the history, what was inherited from their ancestors, but WH is not in their minds and tangible heritage is at the same level and creates the same sense of belonging as all the other cultural elements like the Holy Week. It was also evident that interest in the conservation of the tangible heritage – architecture, colonial houses – is only a concern of a small part of the community, people who still live in the colonial houses of the historical centre, jewellers, people from official institutions. Local people see the economic importance more than the cultural importance because they see that heritage brings tourism and with tourism comes more income for them, their families, and the town.

7.6. THE LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

The analysis of the changes created by the WH Designation in Mompox over a period of time since 1995 brought methodological problems as well as issues in getting to the town and limitations in understanding how to establish contact and discussion with some of the local groups. In the Methodology Chapter the different limitations of the research were outlined and explained. The qualitative method, with a constructivist approach and a participative technique, allowed me to deal with shifting and multiple perspectives on heritage and appreciations of their own reality. Nonetheless, the understanding of the social relations and social scales and influences existent in town was limited to the participants, acknowledging the great number of stakeholders integrated into the entangled interactions of the WHS. Doing a longitudinal research, another limitation was to find the memory of what happened

in 1995, the designation and the workshops made by the local and national government of that time were barely remembered and the changes that stayed in the minds of local people are the ones that had an effect over their life and the amelioration of their life conditions.

Also, an understanding of the social movement of town, along with the entrance to some places and activities was not evident, and it would not have been possible without the people met during the field trips. Some places were closed, most of the people do not respond to emails and as a small town, conversations and personal contact are more effective than emails.

When the destination was chosen, the accessibility issue was taken into account for the field trips. Nonetheless, the time needed and resources for the number of field trips, made it hard to coordinate, to some degree, the appropriate time for these trips. It could not be a touristic period for Mompox, therefore holidays, and it had to be minimum stay of a week to achieve good work in the destination.

Another limitation for the research is that most of the emphasis was placed on the analysis of the point of view of the local community, therefore, the departmental and national views were not fully studied. Besides, even if an attempt had been made to cover a greater number of groups and organizations from Mompox, there would always be a part of the community that could not be reached, because of the lack of relations, lack of time and the lack of accessibility to some groups and some neighbourhoods.

Even so the receptivity and kindness found in the people for the interviews and workshops and the eagerness to help were amazing. Many of the interviews were only made possible thanks to the net of relations and presentations made between the various groups, and in this same sense, the workshops were made thanks to the help of the people from the interviews. As Mompox is a small town, the people know each other and they find each other in the streets, the hallways and many of the relations in the historic centre are very close. Although the social differences are evident even in these presentations the social circles can be seen.

Another limitation encountered during the research process was the lack of knowledge found in the local people that was not expected in a beginning and was not obvious in the first fieldtrip. Not only the lack of knowledge about the concept of heritage or WH, but also how to read and write, were elements that enforced changes in the planned workshops.

7.7. FUTURE RESEARCH OPPORTUNITIES

Given that the pressures over heritage have been minimal and have appeared recently with the arrival of new access routes, new events, better marketing and the preservation works over heritage, this research did not cover the possible negative or positive effects of this new reawakening of the town. Therefore, it would be interesting to analyse in the future how the late development of town might affect the tangible or intangible cultural heritage, from the point of view of the community.

Furthermore, the social and cultural changes happen because of the evolution of conservation and because of the growth and changes of town that have occurred in the past 25 years. In the same sense, in the future, these shifting values and socio-cultural changes will impact in the future conservation of town and the maintenance of the OUV, and this could entail a different research trajectory to understand the effects in the feelings and values of different groups in the community.

It has not been part of this study to analyse specifically the impact of tourism development in the town but is recommended to continue with further research into this heritage site, because the arrival of outsiders is one of the greatest causes of impacts in heritage destinations. This development should be studied with regard to this impact, because in some cases, the issues highlighted in WHS are related to tourism: change of traditional activities, deterioration of quality of life and tensions between conservations and tourism development (Kim, 2016), as well as physical and valuational degradation of cultural heritage, acoustic, visual and architectural contamination, commercialization of cultural events, loss of culture, staging of culture and heritage (González-Varas, 2015; Maldonado, 2006). Some of these are already manifested in Mompox: the change of traditional activities, tensions

between conservation and tourism development, degradation of cultural heritage, acoustic, visual, and architectural contamination, commercialization of local cultural events like the Holy Week and the staging of heritage.

Besides, while this research centred on the point of view of the local people, it would be important to understand how the touristic experience in this site has developed, to understand what imaginaries and interpretations tourists have. In other words, to understand Mompox from the point of view of tourists. Although the opinion of tourists was not important to answer the research aims and objectives set out in this study, it leaves a door open for further investigations and studies around a peripheral WHS. Besides, Mompox was not visited during the 'high touristic season' because then the local population would be too busy to talk to me, therefore the destination was never observed reaching its carrying capacity. It would be interesting to analyse how the town behaves and whether this changes compared to other periods of time throughout the year. Yet again, this was not considered because the objective of this research was to analyse the changes since the WH designation in 1995 and how the community feels about their historical centre, not specifically about tourism.

Moreover, the role of the colonial heritage and its supremacy over the indigenous history, is also an interesting subject to research in the future. Some traces of the indigenous communities who used to live in this territory before the colonization remains and are displayed in the House of Culture. The appropriation of this part of history as well as how the wider community perceives the indigenous – colonial – freedom history and heritage is a future research to be done in Mompox.

7.8. FINAL REMARKS

In this study, the entangled meanings and relations around heritage were evident, as well as the lack of balance and continuity in the everyday interactions between the local community and 'their' heritage in Mompox. The participative methodology allowed the study of different

perspectives in the local community understanding how the differences in social status, age or work activity could affect the feelings, values, and thoughts towards heritage.

In this chapter, the main objectives and questions of the thesis were answered, exploring the study of the changes of Mompox since the WH designation from the point of view of the local community. The indivisibility of tangible and intangible heritage in the identity of people as *momposinos* was evident, and the research puts forward the differences between how the WH designation is supposed to affect a destination, and what really happens in a closed and isolated WH site. Besides, one of the reasons to seek the UNESCO designation is recognition and prestige (Leask, 2006) but is not enough to be on the world's map thanks to the WH status, if local people do not recognise this title and outsiders cannot get to the place to visit its heritage, know it, or experience it.

It is important to highlight, also, the difference between the lack of understanding of the label of WH and the real attachment of the local community towards their heritage. Even if there exist multiple differences in the views and feelings, there are elements that create a sense of place and belonging in the community, and this may be different from those conserved by the WH designation but are no less valid or valuable.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 01: INTERVIEWS SCHEDULES

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE MAIR / SECRETARY OF CULTURE AND TOURISM SANTA CRUZ DE MOMPOX

Project title: IMPACTS OF WORLD HERITAGE DESIGNATION ON A LOCAL COMMUNITY: THE CASE OF SANTA CRUZ DE MOMPOX, COLOMBIA

About the interviewee

Highest qualification & position held	
Date	
Time	
Interview length	

Preamble

Thank you for being willing to take part in an interview in this project. I would like to ask you for permission to audio record this interview. The main reason behind this recording is to have the set of accurate data – your responses and opinions. Also it will facilitate the analysis of the data to conduct during the course of the project. If you don't have any further questions I would like briefly to introduce you to the subject of this interview.

As you know this research studies the relation between Heritage and Community in a World Heritage Site inscribed in 1995: Santa Cruz de Mompox, it examines the level of involvement and appropriation of local community with the site and the impact that this event could have in their life. It also assess the importance of tourist activity and the role of local people in its development.

Section 1 – Strategies and challenges

- What are the strategies or goals that are set in terms of Heritage?
- How do these strategies affect the municipalities formerly inscribed as WHS?
- Which are the greatest challenges in planning, conservation and development of heritage and WHS?
- How is the community involved in the process of nomination, conservation and planning of heritage?
- What are the motivations and expectations of WHS?

Section 2 – Development of Mompox as a WHS

- Could you please describe the destination before and after the inscription in few words?
- To what extent did the inscription of WHS affect Mompox and the life of the community?

Section 3 – Evaluation and support

- How is it ensured that the strategies in the Special Plan of Protection and Management are being fulfilled?
- What kind of support do you give to the different heritage sites?
- Does the fact of being a WHS puts these sites in better a position for help?
- Do you give to the WHS a financial support for projects? Can you cite examples?

Section 4 – Relationship between tourism and heritage

- What do you think about the development of tourism in heritage sites?
- To what extent does tourism impact on the heritage sites and the community?
- What difficulties have you encountered in developing tourism in heritage sites?

Summary

Well, it has been a pleasure finding out more about you. Let me briefly summarize the information that I have recorded during our interview. We seem to have covered a great deal of ground and you have been very patient.

But do you think there is anything we've missed out? Is there anything you would like to add? Is there anything/anyone else you think would be helpful for me to know?

Closure

I should have all the information I need. I appreciate the time you took for this interview. Would it be alright to call you if I have any more questions? Thanks again.

**INTERVIEW SCHEDULE
LOCAL PEOPLE**

Project title: Effects of the World Heritage designation in the interrelation of community and heritage in Santa Cruz de Mompox

This research studies the relation between Heritage and Community in a World Heritage Site inscribed in 1995: Santa Cruz de Mompox, it examines the level of involvement and appropriation of local community with the site and the impact that this event could have in their life. It also assess the importance of tourist activity and the role of local people in its development.

Thank you for being willing to take part in the survey in this project.

Name – Role in community	
Date	
Time	
Time lived in Mompox	

Section 1 – LOCAL HERITAGE

- Please mention three elements of Mompox heritage that you identify with.
- If the historical centre is not on your list, do you still feel it is part of your identity?

Section 2 – WORLD HERITAGE SITE

- What does it mean for you that Mompox is a WHS?
- Does the WHS represent what you consider as your heritage?
- Were you involved in the process of the nomination - inscription?
- Did you had any expectations about the inscription? Were these expectations fulfilled?

Section 2 – IMPACTS IN LIFE - FAMILY

- How has Mompox changed since it became a World Heritage Site?
- Has your life been affected by the changes since Mompox became a World Heritage Site?

Section 4 – TOURISM

- What do you think about tourism development in Mompox?
- How does tourism affect you or your family's life?
- What do you think are the most attractive parts of Mompox?
- Which other places or elements in Mompox would you like to promote to tourists?

APPENDIX 02: FOCUS GROUPS & SOCIAL CARTOGRAPHY SCHEDULES

FOCUS GROUP SCHEDULE

Project title: IMPACTS OF WORLD HERITAGE DESIGNATION ON A LOCAL COMMUNITY: THE CASE OF SANTA CRUZ DE MOMPOX, COLOMBIA

This research studies the relation between Heritage and Community in a World Heritage Site inscribed in 1995: Santa Cruz de Mompox, it examines the level of involvement and appropriation of local community with the site and the impact that this event could have in their life. It also assess the importance of tourist activity and the role of local people in its development.

Thank you for being willing to take part in the focus group for this project.

GENERAL INFORMATION	
Date	
Time	
Place	
Number of participants	

The aim of this focus group is to debate issues relating to the inscription of Mompox as a World Heritage Site more than 20 years ago. In thinking about this, please reflect on your experience of the town since 1996 when considering the following topics. Each topic has some general questions we would like you to reflect upon. The idea is to share your experiences, and to talk to others within your group about how the town has changed over time. While we are asking you questions, we do not believe there are 'right' or 'wrong' answers to them. They are just prompts to get you thinking.

Topic A: Thinking about heritage. What does the heritage mean to you, to those around you in your family and community? What does Mompox as a World Heritage site mean to you? Is the heritage you identify the same as the heritage identified by official bodies, such as the government or the World Heritage Committee?

Topic B: Becoming and being World Heritage. Do you remember when the town became a World Heritage Site? What did you expect to happen, and did it bring about the changes you expected? Which parts of the town are parts of the World Heritage Site, and which are not?

Topic C: Tourism and development. Do you think it would be good to encourage more tourism to the town? Have you noticed more tourists visiting the town, and if so why do you think that this is the case? Is it, in your view, to do with the World Heritage status or is it something else entirely? What would you like to show to tourists? Does tourism bring economic benefits to the town, or is it something you regret or find problematic?

GRUPOS GRANDES

TALLERES PARTICIPATIVOS SANTA CRUZ DE MOMPOX

Título del Proyecto: "EFECTOS DE LA DESIGNACIÓN DE PATRIMONIO MUNDIAL EN LA INTERRELACIÓN ENTRE COMUNIDAD Y PATRIMONIO EN UN DESTINO"

Esta investigación estudia la relación entre Patrimonio y Comunidad en un Sitio del Patrimonio Mundial inscrito en 1995: Santa Cruz de Mompox, examina el nivel de participación y apropiación de la comunidad local con el lugar y el impacto que este evento podría tener en su vida. También evalúa la importancia de la actividad turística y el papel de la población local en su desarrollo.

Partes del taller serpan grabados. La razón principal de esta grabación es tener la información precisa: sus respuestas y opiniones. También facilitará el análisis durante el curso del proyecto.

Información general	
Fecha	
Hora	
Lugar	
Número de participantes	

EL taller se desarrollará en dos partes:

- Pregunta general (10 minutos)
- Preguntas generales en donde los participantes pueden escribir sus opiniones y luego hacer una retroalimentación (1:30)

Pregunta generales

- ¿Qué elementos culturales los identifica como parte de la comunidad de Mompox?
- ¿Qué eventos han cambiado a Mompox?

Preguntas

Pregunta	Color de cartulina
¿Qué significa para usted que Mompox haya sido declarado como Patrimonio Mundial?	Azul
¿Cuáles son los cambios que dejó la declaratoria del Patrimonio Mundial en Mompox? Positivos o negativos	Verde
¿Qué espera de la declaratoria de Patrimonio Mundial?	Rojo
¿Qué lugares de Mompox reconoce como patrimonio?	Blanco
¿Qué lugares le gustaría llevar a los turistas?	Amarillo
¿Qué compromisos tiene con Mompox y con el turismo?	

GRUPOS PEQUEÑOS

TALLERES PARTICIPATIVOS SANTA CRUZ DE MOMPOX

Título del Proyecto: “EFECTOS DE LA DESIGNACIÓN DE PATRIMONIO MUNDIAL EN LA INTERRELACIÓN ENTRE COMUNIDAD Y PATRIMONIO EN UN DESTINO”

Información general	
Fecha	
Hora	
Lugar	
Número de participantes	

EL taller se desarrollará en dos partes:

- Preguntas generales en donde los participantes pueden escribir sus opiniones y luego hacer una retroalimentación (30 minutos)
- Taller de cartografía social (1 hora y 30 minutos)

1. PREGUNTAS

- ¿Qué elementos culturales los identifica como parte de la comunidad de Mompox?
- ¿Qué significa para usted que Mompox haya sido declarado como Patrimonio Mundial?
- ¿Cuáles son los cambios positivos que dejó la declaratoria del Patrimonio Mundial en Mompox?
- ¿Cuáles son los cambios negativos que dejó la declaratoria del Patrimonio Mundial en Mompox?
- ¿Qué espera de la declaratoria de Patrimonio Mundial?
- ¿Qué eventos han cambiado a Mompox?

2. CARTOGRAFÍA SOCIAL

Instrucciones

Dibuje un mapa de Mompox (negro) y para cada elemento que ubique póngale un marco de color según corresponda.

- Localice los sitios que reconoce como patrimonio y ¿cuál es el que más valora? (verde)
- Ubicar donde viven (fuccia), trabajo (amarillo), lugares de entretenimiento (morado)
- ¿Qué lugares dentro del centro histórico usa, para qué? (azul)
- Ubique a dónde le gustaría llevar a los turistas. (rojo)

TALLERES PARTICIPATIVOS

SANTA CRUZ DE MOMPOX

Título del Proyecto: “EFECTOS DE LA DESIGNACIÓN DE PATRIMONIO MUNDIAL EN LA INTERRELACIÓN ENTRE COMUNIDAD Y PATRIMONIO EN UN DESTINO”

Esta investigación estudia la relación entre Patrimonio y Comunidad en un Sitio del Patrimonio Mundial inscrito en 1995: Santa Cruz de Mompox, examina el nivel de participación y apropiación de la comunidad local con el lugar y el impacto que este evento podría tener en su vida. También evalúa la importancia de la actividad turística y el papel de la población local en su desarrollo.

Partes del taller serán grabados. La razón principal de esta grabación es tener la información precisa: sus respuestas y opiniones. También facilitará el análisis durante el curso del proyecto.

Instrucciones

Dibuje un mapa de Mompox (negro) con el Centro Histórico y para cada elemento que ubique póngale un color según corresponda.

- Localice los sitios que reconoce como patrimonio y ¿cuál es el que más valora? (verde)
- Ubicar donde viven (fuccia), trabajo (amarillo), lugares de entretenimiento (morado)
- ¿Qué lugares dentro del centro histórico usa, para qué? (azul)
- Ubique a dónde le gustaría llevar a los turistas. (rojo)

APPENDIX 03: CONSENT FORMS

Project Title: IMPACTS OF WORLD HERITAGE DESIGNATION ON A LOCAL COMMUNITY: THE CASE OF SANTA CRUZ DE MOMPOX, COLOMBIA

I understand that this project will be carried out in accordance with the University of Birmingham's CODE OF PRACTICE FOR RESEARCH which can be viewed at:

http://www.as.bham.ac.uk/legislation/docs/COP_Research.pdf

Data gathered as part of this study will be treated as confidential and securely stored in accordance with the University of Birmingham's Data Protection Policy which can be viewed at:

<http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/Documents/university/legal/data-prot-policy.pdf> The data will be stored for ten years, after this it will be destroyed.

Please fill in and return the form to the researcher at the time of the interview

I have read and I understand the information sheet Yes ☐ No ☐

I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project and they were answered to my satisfaction Yes ☐ No ☐

I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time and that I can request to have my data removed from the project up for to 1 month after the interview Yes ☐ No ☐

I agree to the interview being recorded and any information given by me may be used in future reports, articles, dissertation or presentations by the researcher. Yes ☐ No ☐

I give permission for my real name and institutional affiliation to be used in connection with my words or information I have passed on Yes ☐ No ☐

I request that my comments are presented anonymously but give permission to connect my institutional affiliation with my comments (but not the title of my position) Yes ☐ No ☐

Name (PRINT) _____

Signature _____

Date _____

Please contact me if you have any more questions or concerns,

Nancy Rocío Rueda Esteban

PhD Student

Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage, IIICH

University of Birmingham

Cel:

Email:

Project Title: IMPACTS OF WORLD HERITAGE DESIGNATION ON A LOCAL COMMUNITY: THE CASE OF SANTA CRUZ DE MOMPOX, COLOMBIA

I understand that this project will be carried out in accordance with the University of Birmingham's CODE OF PRACTICE FOR RESEARCH which can be viewed at:

http://www.as.bham.ac.uk/legislation/docs/COP_Research.pdf

Data gathered as part of this study will be treated as confidential and securely stored in accordance with the University of Birmingham's Data Protection Policy which can be viewed at:

<http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/Documents/university/legal/data-prot-policy.pdf>. The data will be stored for ten years, after this it will be destroyed.

Please fill in and return to the researcher during the event

- | | | | | |
|--|-----|--------------------------|----|--------------------------|
| I have read and I understand the information sheet | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project and they were answered to my satisfaction | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time and that I can request to have my data removed from the project up for to 1 month after the interview | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I agree to the focus group/social cartography being recorded and any information given by me may be used in future reports, articles, dissertation or presentations by the researcher. | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I give permission for my real name and institutional affiliation to be used in connection with my words or information I have passed on | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I request that my comments are presented anonymously but give permission to connect my institutional affiliation with my comments (but not the title of my position) | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | No | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Name (PRINT) _____

Signature _____

Date _____

Please contact me if you have any more questions or concerns,

Nancy Rocío Rueda Esteban

PhD Student

Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage, IIICH

University of Birmingham

Cel:

Email:

APPENDIX 04: PARTICIPANTS INFORMATION SHEET

Nancy Rocío Rueda Esteban

PhD Student

Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage, IIICH

University of Birmingham

Cel [REDACTED]

Email: [REDACTED]

Participant Information Sheet

Project Title: IMPACTS OF WORLD HERITAGE DESIGNATION ON A LOCAL COMMUNITY: THE CASE OF SANTA CRUZ DE MOMPOX, COLOMBIA

Date: 2018/MM/DD

Dear XXX

I am very grateful that you are willing to take the time to participate in my PhD research project **“Effects/consequences of the World Heritage designation in the interrelationship of community and heritage on a destination”** based at the Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage, University of Birmingham. I would like to take this opportunity to tell you more about the nature of the project. I would also like to inform you about how will be used the data you supply to me; and the protections of your privacy and confidentiality that are in place.

What is the purpose for the project?

The Historical Centre of Santa Cruz de Mompox was inscribed in the list of World Heritage by UNESCO in 1995, because of the importance of the city during the XVII and XVIII century and the preservation and unique characteristics of the colonial riverine city. The objective of this research is to find out and understand the consequences of this designation in the community, in their lives and in the economical and social relations on a peripheral destination such as Mompox.

How you were selected

You have been approached because your work and knowledge relates to tourism management and cultural heritage management, conservation and decision-making involved in the project. I am collecting information through interviews in order to gain a better understanding of your thoughts and perceptions.

Your role in completing the project

The aim of this interview is to understand the importance of Mompox in regional / national tourism, and how the community is involved in the process, as well as the general process to become a World Heritage Site. The interview would be at a time and place of your choosing. You do not have to answer any questions that you do not want to. If you want the interview stopped this is not a problem. The interview will be audio recorded, fully transcribed, translated to English and kept as computer files. You are welcome to have copies of these files. I am responsible for the security and confidentiality of all interview data. You will receive a copy of this information sheet and the signed consent form to keep.

Your rights

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary and you are free to withdraw from the project at any point. If you are uncertain or uncomfortable about any aspect of your participation please contact the researcher listed at the top of this letter to discuss your concerns or request clarification on any aspect of the

study. To maximise the opportunity for each participant to take part in the research, transcripts of practitioner interviews will be made available to participants for further clarification / consultation.

Data Protection

All data coming from interview will only be used for research and further academic research. No information about the identity of the interviewee or informant, the content of the interview or even that the interview has taken place at will be used or revealed during interviews of other participants in order to safeguard the rights of each interviewee and informant. The data storage and retention requirements in the University's new Code of Practice for Research is available at http://www.as.bham.ac.uk/legislation/docs/COP_Research.pdf.

Following completion of the research, data will be preserved and accessible for ten years. Participants can request to have their data removed from the project for up to one month after the interview takes place.

All data gathered for this study and the files containing it will be subject to computer password and encrypted protection. All electric documents would be only stored on an encrypted USB drive/memory stick approved by University of Birmingham. All paper documents will be kept under lock and key, and any such documents subsequently deemed unnecessary for this study will be shredded.

If you have any questions about the ethical conduct of the research please contact the project's supervisor, Professor Mike Robinson, on [REDACTED]; or co-supervisor, Dr Roger White, on [REDACTED].

Thank you very much for participating,

With best wishes,

Nancy Rocío Rueda Esteban
PhD Student
Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage
The University of Birmingham

APPENDIX 05: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

Name	Institution	Name in english	Position in English	Date
CARTAGENA				
Paola Lopez Giraldo	ICULTUR	Institute of culture and tourism	Director of tourism	14/08/18
Alexandra Guerra Torres	ICULTUR	Institute of culture and tourism	Director of culture	14/08/18
Francisco Javier Vergara	Procolombia	Org. For the internation promotion of destinations	Director of the regional office	15/08/18
Juan Sebastián Sánchez Chica	Procolombia	Org. For the internation promotion of destinations	Adviser	
Lucy Gómez	Museo del Oro Zenú	Museum of gold	Coordinator	18/08/18
MOMPOX				
FIRST TRIP				
Sandy Lucia Alcocer	Asociación de Orfebres	Goldsmith asociation	Director	21/08/18
Diana Cecilia Ullanugla	Punto de información Turística	Touristic information office	Manager	21/08/18
Padre Leonardo Rodríguez	Parroquia Santa Cruz de Mompox	Parish (three churches)	Priest	21/08/18
Luis Alfredo Domínguez Hazbúnd	Archivo histórico de Mompox	Historical Archive	Director	21/08/18
Virgilio di Filippo Rodríguez	Colegio Pinillos	School Pinillos	Principal	21/08/18
María Eugenia Aguilar Madrid	Colegio Pinillos	School Pinillos	Secretary	21/08/18
Fátima Quintero Mejía	Colegio Sagrado Corazón de Jesús	School Sagrado Corazón de Jesús	Secretary	22/08/18
Fabio Jesús Buelvas	Colegio Sagrado Corazón de Jesús	School Sagrado Corazón de Jesús	Teacher	22/08/18

Jossimar Acuña	Escuela taller	School-Workshop	Area Director	22/08/18
Maestro Pupo ***	Herrero	Blacksmith	Teacher	22/08/18
José Dávila	Casa de la Cultura	House of culture	Director	22/08/18
Yimi Alvarado	Escuela Taller	School-Workshop	Academic Coordinator	23/08/18
Edwin Geovanny Rojas	Escuela Taller	School-Workshop	General Director	23/08/18
Roberto Esquivel	Cementerio	Graveyard	Manager	23/08/18
Tarsagio Martinez	Cementerio	Graveyard	Guide	23/08/18
Celio Alfonso Martinez	Parroquia Santo Domingo de Guzmán	Parish (three churches)	Priest	23/08/18
Patricia Di Filipo	Vivir Mompox Operadora Turística	Touristic operator	Director	24/08/18
Dimas David Dau Zuñiga	Museo de Arte Religioso	Religious art museum	Director	24/08/18
Mery Gándara	Comedor Costeño	Restaurant	Owner	24/08/18
Gisela Nieblas	Cámara de Comercio Mompox	Chamber of Commerce	Director	24/08/18
SECOND TRIP				
María Bernanda Palomino	Alcaldía	Town Hall	Secretary of Culture & Tourism	2/10/18
Angelmina Quintero	SENA	Service of National Education	Director	3/10/18
José Luis Jalilies	SENA - Semana Santa	SENA & Holly Week	Coordinator-Director	3/10/18
Liliana Herrera	ADOM	Association of filigree	Secretary	3/10/18
Nubia Quevedo	Alcaldía	Town Hall	Mair	4/10/18
Jairo Quintero	Alcaldía	Town Hall	Secretary od Planning	4/10/18
Raúl Arguelles	Alcaldía	Town Hall	Subsecretary od Planning	4/10/18
Yiris	Alcalde	Mair	Mair 90-2000	5/10/18

Dagoberto	Mototaxis- Butifarras		Makeslocal dish	5/10/18
THIRD TRIP				
Cruz Maria del Campo	History Academy	Academy of History	Director	29/05/19
Álvaro Castro	History Academy	Academy of History	Vice-director	29/05/19
Oscar Pupo	Queso	Cheese	Producer	30/05/19
Miguel Orlando Román			Specialist in natural heritage	29/05/19
BOGOTÁ				
Rosa Margarita Figueredo	Corporación Nacional de Turismo	Corporación Nacional de Turismo		28/03/19
Olga Pizano	Colcultura	Colcultura	Ex director	3/04/19
Sandra Zabala	Elaboración del PEMP	Arquitecta		4/04/19

Note: Information from the interviewees.

EXAMPLE OF TRANSCRIPTION OF ONE INTERVIEW

PERSONA: ALEXANDRA GUERRA

POSICIÓN: DIRECTORA TÉCNICA DE CULTURA DEL INSTITUTO DE CULTURA Y
TURISMO DE BOLÍVAR

FECHA: AGOSTO 8 / 2018

Grabación 001 (A. Guerra, personal communication, August 8-2018)

¿Puede describir brevemente su papel y su labor con relación a Mompox?

- Soy la Directora Técnica de Cultura del Icultur que es el ente rector de la cultura y el turismo en la entidad territorial.
- Bolívar tiene 44 municipios y dos distritos y esta dividido en 6 zoes que son zonas de desarrollo económico y social que es el Zoe BIC, el Zoe Montes de María, Zoes Mojana Bolivarense, Zoes depresión Momposina donde se encuentra Santa Cruz de Mompóz, Zoes Lobas y Zoes Magdalena Medio.
- Hay muchos desafíos sobretodo por la historia del departamento que fue marcada por la violencia. Casi un 25% de la población del departamento de Bolívar ha sido registrada como victima. Fue un departamento especialmente, desde los Montes de María hacia el sur del departamento y eso incluye el Zoes de la Depresión Momposina.
- El tema de gobernanza, gobernabilidad, instituciones se ha visto muy afectado por el conflicto armado. Superando en muchas de estas regiones el conflicto armado o en un gran porcentaje y se empieza a reconstruir de muchas maneras la intervención institucional y desde la cultura hallamos la herramienta propicia para amalgamar, para conectar para fortalecer o acompañar los procesos de resiliencia de las comunidades.

En relación al Patrimonio Mundial, qué significa para usted que Mompox este en la lisra de Patrimonio Mundial?

- Es un reconocimiento muy grande a Mompox en el sentido de que por mucho tiempo los momposinos pudieron guardar y pudieron conservar su patrimonio arquitectónico y todo ese aservo y esas características que lo llevaron a ser reconocido por una institución tan importante como la UNESCO. Reconociendo el celo de los mismos momposinos, pero también entendiendo que las dinámicas sociales, económicas también fueron proclives. Cuando se empieza todo el proceso de andinización del país que todo el país comienza a mirar hacia la montaña y se olvide del río y el tema del ferrocarril fracasa, eso permitió que Mompox se conservara en el tiempo y que hoy tuvieramos esa Joya. Nosotros le decimos la Joya de la corona, porque permaneció allí como impermeable a cualquier accionar de los seres humanos.

- Si hubiera seguido ese comercio a través del río, si se hubiera mantenido, quizá no tendríamos el Mompox que tenemos.
- Para nosotros es un motivo de orgullo y satisfacción pero también resulta un reto y un desafío en este momento.

Desde que Mompox fue incluido en la Lista del Patrimonio Mundial en 1995, ¿qué ha cambiado en la ciudad o la forma de vida de las personas?

- Pues ha cambiado pero no creo que sea por inclusión en la lista de la declaratoria de 1995 porque, obviamente yo no tengo muchas claridades en una línea de tiempo que se remonte a 1995, pero sí se que si no hubiera existido la voluntad del gobierno departamental anterior a este y no se hubiera continuado con este en Mompox no hubiera sucedido nada.
- Obviamente, la palabra patrimonio esta en mente, en el corazón y en la boca de los Momposinos, pero más allá de eso, ellos definitivamente necesitaban una intervención en el buen sentido de la palabra de la administración departamental y fue en el gobierno pasado con la excusa de un Festival de Jazz que empezó a moverse todo a fortalecerse de repente lo que ya se venía construyendo pero a visibilizarse a entenderse, a empezar campañas como la de Vive tu Patrimonio, a empezar campañas para el tema de aseo, bueno para muchas cosas.
- Fortalecimiento de una institución importante como la de la Escuela Taller que pertenece al Ministerio de Cultura, porque Mompox es más que arquitectura. Mompox es Cultura, Tradición y Patrimonio. Entonces, también allí hemos hecho unas alianzas importantes que han permitido que al día de hoy hayan habido cambios importantes.
- Pero no creo que hayan sido consecuencia de la Declaratoria.

Fue a partir del gobierno pasado que se comenzó a mobilizar Mompox, pero porqué en ese periodo tan oculto.

- Primero conectividad vial, que entre otras cosas sirvió a que se preservara al menos el Patrimonio Arquitectónico de Mompox y algunas tradiciones porque para llegar a Mompox era una odisea.
- Aparte el conflicto armado. Si bien no podemos hablar de que haya conflicto armado en la misma area de Mompox, si podemos decir que para llegar a ella si tocaba atravesar unas zonas que eran imposibles de atravesar.
- La única vía para llegar a Mompox era cruzando el río, entonces también era pasar por Magangué pasar por otros lugares que no se podía pasar.
- Hoy en día tenemos alternativas de rutas: Tenemos el puente Santa Ana que fue también en la Administración pasada que se ejecutó y se terminó esa obra que une a la parte del Magdalena con Talaigua que es Bolívar.
- Ahora el gran puente Roncador, digamos que también va a permitir.

- Es un contexto en el que se puede argumentar que con todo y declaratoria de patrimonial de Unesco no hubo como grandes cambios.
- Fue también lo inevitable que extranjeros entraran a Mompox que se quedaran allá a vivir, que de pronto ellos corrieran la voz, algún tipo de turistas, no el típico turista que viene a Cartagena, sino de otro corte. Un tipo de turismo no tan extractivo.

¿Ha mejorado la condición del patrimonio ha mejorado? Si - no ¿porque?

- No podemos dejar de lado ni invisibilizar la intervención que a partir de la declaración hace el ministerio de cultura, por supuesto a través de su dirección de patrimonio. Por supuesto ellos empiezan a tomar una medidas en alianza o en concordancia con la Alcaldía Municipal.
- La voluntad del gobernante es la clave o el clavo.

La responsabilidad de la gestión de Mompox en la parte de gestión cultural depende directamente del departamento o sería compartido.

- Son unos aliados, ellos no cuentan con los recursos para desarrollar algún tipo de evento. En el marco de eventos festivos lo hace la gobernación de Bolívar. Ellos nos apoyan porque están allá, que si necesitamos algo. Pero no cuentan con la capacidad Financiera para hacerlo.

La gestión del Patrimonio mueble del centro histórico, quién se encarga de eso:

- La Alcaldía de Mompox.
- Si ellos requieren de algún tipo de apoyo por parte nuestra, que acompañemos una solicitud, que hagamos una mesa de trabajo, nosotros lo hacemos.
- Tienen comunicación directa con la Dirección de Patrimonio del Ministerio.

¿En qué medida cree que la ciudad aprovecha o utiliza la etiqueta de Patrimonio Mundial de la UNESCO?

- No no lo hace. Le hace falta tener conocimiento como funciona y para qué y de qué les sirve, yo creo q no lo saben.

¿ Quién realiza los reportes de los estados de conservación que se deben enviar a la UNESCO? Y el reporte periódico?

- La alcaldía de Mompox

¿Diría que las comunidades locales entienden el concepto de Patrimonio Mundial? - Si - no, porque?

- Tienen la palabra en la mente y en el corazón y hablan de patrimonio y son patrimonio, pero yo no creo que ellos entiendan muy bien a que se refiere.
- Algún porcentaje de la población lo entiende, otros no.

- Si algo no funciona bien y creen que eso está interfiriendo, lesionando de alguna manera, ellos ponen el grito en el cielo.

¿Cómo ve el papel de la comunidad local en la gestión de su propio patrimonio? ¿Puede por favor explicar / proporcionar algún ejemplo?

- No podría darte ese ejemplo.

Qué expectativas se tienen de Mompox en este momento

- Nosotros la llamamos la Joya de la Corona.
- El desafío el reto de explotar en el buen sentido de la palabra lo que significa lo que representa, lo que es.
- Mompox es riqueza, es belleza es patrimonio es cultura. Osea tu caminas por las calles de Mompox y todo lo que ves es WAW.
- Te das cuenta que para ser lo que hoy son ellos necesitaron estar ocultos o estar allí donde nadie se metiera con ellos para que hoy en día pudiéramos nosotros disfrutar de lo que uno disfruta en Mompox.
- La gastronomía es única. La artesanía, empesando por la orfebrería, la talla de madera, la ebanistería. La forja, no existe en ninguna otra parte, sin máquinas. Bueno todo el tema de oficios y el tema arquitectónico.
- El tema de esa tradición católica que también los hacen únicos.
- El tema de hasta donde esa explotación puede afectar ese patrimonio.
- Son dos discursos distintos que es necesario que coincidan. La capacidad de carga, Hasta donde podemos recibir personas. Hasta donde le permitimos al turista disfrutar de, sin que afecte el tema de la tradición.
- Las expectativas son desafiantes, son más complejas de lo que uno pudiera imaginar.
- No queremos que a Mompox le pase lo que le pasó al centro histórico de Cartagena. Que son edificios vacíos y que no hay cultural. Osea el proceso de gentrificación sería lo peor que pudiera suceder en Mompox. Osea cuando tu hablas con las personas, las familias tradicionales no están dispuestos a salir de Mompox, pero sus hijos ya no viven allá.

Los hijos por qué se van?

- Se van a estudiar a hacer su vida. El tema profesional. No hay oportunidades para trabajar ni estudiar, hay educación técnica que brinda el SENA, pero no hay más.

Se tienen estrategias? Cómo ven la sostenibilidad del destino para que la comunidad tenga un desarrollo local pero que esa cultura no se pierda.

- Con la administración nacional, hemos tenido algunas mesas de discusión de algunos puntos, pero no de manera formal u oficial.
- Esperamos con el nuevo gobierno para poder tener claridad de los temores que tiene la comunidad, de los temores que nosotros como institución del Estado tenemos.

Han realizado algún tipo de programas o actividades con la comunidad para saber ellos qué quieren?

- No, que la hayamos impulsado nosotros y que tengamos esa información no.

Desde el Departamento, tienen estrategias de preservación del patrimonio.

- Desde el consejo Departamental de Patrimonio hemos estado financiando proyectos que van en pro de la salvaguardia y de la protección y preservación del patrimonio en Mompox y en San Basilio de Palenque y unos proyectos en Cartagena. Relacionados con un tema de infraestructura.

Hay alguna diferencia entre el apoyo que se les da a los municipios el Patrimonio mundial y el patrimonio departamental o mundial?

- No, a nosotros nos importa lo nuestro.

El aumento en el número de turistas y el desarrollo turístico está asociado a menudo con los sitios del Patrimonio Mundial: ¿en qué medida ha visto desarrollar el turismo en Mompox? ¿Está relacionado con el hecho de que esté designado como Patrimonio de la Humanidad?

- La llegada de extranjeros tal vez haya obedecido a eso. Pero en Colombia tenemos la Red de Pueblos Patrimonio, entonces esa red tiene mucho movimiento y mucha acogida en Colombia.
- También se han hecho muchas campañas desde el departamento y Fontur quien es nuestro aliado.

Qué le falta a Mompox para que sea un destino para que sea equilibrado como un destino cultural, pero que la gente vaya a conocerlo.

- En Mompox todo el tiempo hay gente.

No te preocupa?

- Los vuelos no son baratos y estar en Mompox tampoco, entonces, espero que eso pare, aunque a veces se pasan con los precios.
- La activación de esa ruta no será como un monstruo y la misma capacidad de carga de los municipios.

- EL Festival de Jazz la gente se queda donde sea. Pero en el tiempo no hay festival de Jazz Funciona de una nueva manera.

El reto más grande?

- Evitar cualquier tipo y proceso de gentrificación, para mi eso es nefasto. Donde se va la cultura qué queda.

APPENDIX 06: ACTIVITIES IN THE HISTORICAL CENTRE IDENTIFIED IN THE SOCIAL CARTHPGRAPHY

WHICH ACTIVITIES DO YOU DO IN THE WHS	Maps
Mass	1
Cycle ride and walk around the albarrada - exercise	4
Mass in Santa Barbara	1
Free Wifi in Plaza of Freedom	2
Walk through streets	3
Icecreamnear the Old Market	1
Visit - takea ride through the magdalena river	3
Classes in House of Town Hall - Sena	1
Rest in Plaza of Freedom	1
Visit the graveyard	1
Mass in San Juan de Dios Church	2
Synthetic Field	1
Gym	1
Eat Ice cream	1
Fast Food in Santo Domingo Plaza	3
Mass in Inmaculada Concepción Plaza	2
Mass in San Agustín Church	1
Mass in all the Churches	1
Go to Asomom	1
Walk Through Inmaculada Concepción Plaza	1
Total Maps	7

Note: Information from the workshops.

APPENDIX 07: CHANGES IDENTIFIED IN THE PARTICIPATIVE WORKSHOPS

CHANGES	MAPS	WORKSHOPS	TOTAL
Improvement of access roads - construction of bridges - airport - paving Infrastructure - Illumination - airport - road to airport - Sewerage - Hospital	1	3	4
Restoration and improvement of historical sites - Benefit of some zones - Improvement of parks	2	4	6
Knowledge and recognition nationally and internationally		1	1
Works and foreign investments		1	1
Good changes in the tourism sector - Tourism development - More tourism flow - and tourists	2	4	6
Immediately none		1	1
Investment in park maintenance - they are prettier		1	1
Business growth		1	1
Conservation of heritage		1	1
hotel and restaurant growth		3	3
At one point the community did not understand that honor		1	1
Changes by force of the last two governors, by policy		1	1
Improvement of the economy - Income - more trade		3	3
Advances for the city and its population		1	1
Recognition at national and international level - Projection - has been made known		2	2
Progress and development - economy	1	2	3
Cultural enhancement like jewelry - has opened the doors to filigree		2	2
Improvement of albarrada		2	2
Jazz Festival	1	2	3
More Work - employment		2	2
Extreme life change		1	1
Changes in the streets		1	1
Lack more investment to continue conserving		1	1
Insecurity		2	2
To control external economy		1	1

Young people are learning the ancestral knowledge		1	1
Investment		1	1
More projects have been made.		1	1
The population grew considerably		1	1
Before 2 Filigree stores - Today 46 filigree stores		1	1
Classes of goldsmithing in the School Tomasa Nájera - Workshop School		1	1
Slowdown because of the little passable river		1	1
The momposino has lost his heritage by selling houses		1	1
The foreigner can displace the culture		1	1
Does not become Cartagena		1	1
The cost of living has gone up		1	1
The housing price has gone up a lot		1	1
Can not hold the houses		1	1
Arrival of entities such as SENA or Bancolombia Police		1	1
National and international personalities come		1	1
Any		1	1
It can grow the sexual exploitation		1	1
The drugs can grow - micro trafficking		1	1
Some churches or houses are closed		1	1
Better life quality	1		1
Less negative impacts	1		1
Better future	1		1
Exploitation	1		1
Saxophone	1		1
Cleen streets	1		1
Skating rink	1		1
Investment is not for everyone	1		1
Deterioration of internal roads	1		1
TOTAL GROUPS	4	4	8

Note: Information from the workshops.

APPENDIX 08: TABLE OF THE MAPS.

	Handcrafts & Tourism		Students of environmental management				Students Filigree & Gastronomy - School Workshop			Various			
PLACES LOCATED IN MAP	Grupo 1		Grupo 1	Grupo 2	Grupo 3		Grupo 1	Grupo 2		Grupo 1	Grupo 2		TOTAL
Magdalena River	1		1	1	1		1	1		1	1		8
San Francisco Church	1		1	1	1		1	1		1	1		8
Old Market (Crónicas - Escuela Taller)	1		1	1	1		1	1		1	1		8
Albarrada	1		1	1	1		1	1		1	1		8
Town Hall - San Carlos Palace	1		1	1	1		1	1		1			7
San Juan de Dios Church	1		1	1	1			1		1	1		7
Graveyard	1		1	1	1					1	1		6
The Angel of freedom - Plaza of Freedom	1		1	1	1		1	1		1			7
Inmaculada Concepción church	1		1	1	1		1	1		1	1		8
Monument to Bolívar - Plaza of Bolívar	1		1	1	1		1	1		1	1		8
Basílica of San Agustín	1		1	1	1		1	1		1	1		8
Houses of Mompox	1		1								1		3
Portals of the Marquise	1		1	1				1		1	1		6
Santa Barbara Church	1		1	1	1		1	1		1	1		8
Noria Well	1												1
Jewelry workshop	1		1	1						1	1		5
House of the Town Hall - Sena	1		1	1	1								4

Pinillos School	1		1	1	1								4
Religious Art Museum	1			1			1	1		1			5
House of Culture	1		1					1					3
Asomom	1												1
Hostal Doña Manuela	1		1										2
Calle Real del Medio - Street	1				1		1						3
San Anselmo Fort	1												1
Craft's man ouse	1												1
Santo Domingo Church	1		1	1	1		1	1		1	1		8
Cuchubo	1												1
Botanical Garden				1				1					2
Sales of layer cheese in the parks				1	1			1					3
The Highway (limit) Carrera Quinta			1					1		1	1		4
Layer Cheese factory			1							1			2
Jazz in Santa Bárbara					1								1
School Workshop					1			1					2
Jazz Monument					1								1
Rocking chair arangements - Outside WH			1		1								2
La valerosa - Ship in Magdalena					1					1			2
Swamp of Pozuelo							1						1
Caiman Parao Restaurant								1					1
Central Bakary								1					1
Santa Barbara Plaza								1					1

Santa Barbara Canyon							1					1
Kyoscos in Santa Barbara								1		1		2
6 de agosto Stadium			1					1				2
Synthetic field								1		1		2
Forge								1				1
Inmaculada Concepción Plaza								1				1
Santander Forest			1					1		1		3
El Fuerte Restaurant										1		1
Gym										1		1
La Barra de Sala - Disco - Next to Santa Barbara										1		1
Hostal Casa Mebi										1		1
Fast foods In Plaza Santo Domingo										1		1
HOUSES												
Outside the WH	1			1	1		1	1		1	1	7
Outside of Urban Area of Mompox			1		1		1	1				4
Talaigua				1								1
Rinconada			1	1	1		1					4
Talaigua Nueva			1									1
Tierra Firme			1									1
Guataca			1				1					2
Crossing the river - Magdalena department					1							1

Cuatro bocas							1					1
San Sebastián de Buena Vista - Ecotourism			1									1
Cabreras			1									1
San Valentín				1								1
GASTRONOMY												
Layer Cheese	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8
Preserves of Sour Orange	1											1
Granjerías	1											1
Cocadas	1											1
Lemon Sweet	1								1			2
Sausage	1								1			2
Casabito	1								1			2
Suero	1											1
Yucca	1											1
Almojábanas	1								1			2
Arepa de Calabaza	1											1
Peto	1											1
Butifarra	1								1			2
Bollo de Mazorca	1											1
Bollo Limpio	1											1
Orchata (Jugo de Ajonjolí)	1											1
Pebre de Galápago	1											1
Pebre de Gallina	1											1
Uvita de lata (corozo)	1											1

Tamaca (chicle momposino)	1												1
Chicha de Maíz							1						1
Bocachico							1						1
Wine of Mompos									1	1			2
Ñeque (homemade ron)									1				1
OTHER ELEMENTS CONSIDERED IMPORTANT													
Fauna - around the urban area	1		1					1		1	1		5
Flora - Outside the urban area	1		1					1			1		4
Rocking chair	1		1	1	1								4
Filigree - Goldsmith	1		1	1	1		1	1		1	1		8
Forge	1			1	1					1	1		5
Music	1												1
Marches of Holy Week	1												1
Pottery	1												1
Embroidery	1												1
Wood Carving	1												1
Imitation Jewelry	1												1
Fretwork	1												1
Shirts	1												1
Guayaberas	1												1
Traditional pottery column	1												1

Black Poet Candelario Obeso (Precursor of black poetry)	1											1
Independence	1											1
Poetry				1								1
Cumbia						1						1
Fishing						1				1		2
Holy Week						1	1					2
Agriculture						1						1
WHAT TO SHOW TO TOURISTS												de7
Santa Barbara Church			1		1		1		1	1		5
Portals of the Marquise			1	1								2
Basilica of San Agustín			1		1		1		1			4
Graveyard			1	1	1				1	1		5
Houses of Mompox			1						1			2
Inmaculada Concepción Church			1		1		1		1	1		5
Santo Domingo Church			1		1		1		1	1		5
House of the TownHall - Sena			1									1
San Francsico Church			1		1		1		1			5
San Juan de Dios Church			1		1			1		1		4
Calle Real del Medio - Street					1		1					2
Albarrada					1				1	1		3
Old Market					1			1		1	1	4
Plaza of Bolívar			1		1			1		1		4

Pinillos School			1		1							2
Plaza of Freedom			1		1	1	1					4
Town Hall					1				1			2
La valerosa					1				1			2
Botanical Garden				1			1					2
Religious Art Museum			1	1		1	1		1			5
Inmaculada Concepción Plaza									1			1
Swamp pf Pijiños									1			1
Filigree Workshop										1		1
Wine of Mompox			1							1		2
Layer Cheese - Factories			1							1		2
Magdalena River									1	1		2
EL Fuerte Restaurant										1		1
Churches			1	1	1	1	1		1			6
House of Culture						1						1
Historical Centre - Architecture				1					1			2
Saxophone					1					1		2
Ranco Babilla - Ecotourism									1			1
Santander Forest									1			1
La Barra de Salo - Disco										1		1
Kioscos										1		1
WHICH ACTIVITIES DO YOU DO IN THE WHS												de7
Mass			1									1

Cycle ride and walk around the albarrada - exercise			1		1				1	1		4
Mass in Santa Barbara				1								1
Free Wifi in Plaza of Freedom			1	1								2
Walk through streets			1	1	1							3
Icecreamnear the Old Market				1								1
Visit - take a ride through the magdalena river					1		1			1		3
Classes in House of Town Hall - Sena					1							1
Rest in Plaza of Freedom					1							1
Visit the graveyard					1							1
Mass in San Juan de Dios Church									1	1		2
Synthetic Field									1			1
Gym										1		1
Ice cream										1		1
Fast Food in Santo Domingo Plaza	1			1						1		3
Mass in Inmaculada Concepción Plaza	1									1		2
Mass in San Agustín Church	1											1
Mass in all the Churches	1											1
Go to Asomom	1											1
Walk Through Inmaculada Concepción Plaza				1								1

Note: Information from the workshops.

TABLE OF THE PARTICIPATIVE WORKSHOPS

	HOTELEROS	MOTOTAXISTAS GRUPO 1	ORFEBRES ASO FILIGRANA	MOTOTAXISTAS GRUPO 2	
ELEMENTS OF MOMPOX RECOGNIZED AS HERITAGE					DE 4
Churches	1	1	1	1	4
Old Market	1				1
Inmaculada Concepción Church	1	1			2
Religious monuments	1				1
Colonial - Old Houses	1	1			2
Plazas - Parks	1	1			2
Santa Barbara Church	1	1		1	3
Religious art Museum	1	1		1	3
History	1				1
Heroes of freedom	1				1
Graveyard	1	1		1	3
Cloisters	1				1
Jewelry - filigree - Goldsmith	1	1	1	1	4
Historical Centre - colonial sector	1	1			2
Pinillos School	1			1	2
Hostal Doña Manuela	1				1
House of Culture	1			1	2
Holy Week	1	1	1	1	4
Holy Week music	1				1
Monuments	1				1

Culture of Mompox - Folklore - customs		1	1		2
Fish - Bocachico		1			1
Sancocho - hen & fish		1			1
Nature - Natural landscape		1			1
human aspect		1			1
Gastronomy		1	1		2
Layer Cheese		1	1	1	3
Almojabanas		1		1	2
Jazz Festival		1		1	2
Butifarras		1		1	2
Casabito		1	1		2
Colonial Architecture		1	1		2
Forge		1	1		2
Believes		1			1
Albarrada		1			1
Agriculture - Cattle Raising		1			1
handicrafts - Arts and Crafts		1			1
Sausage		1			1
Dances		1	1		2
Holy Christ		1			1
Carnival			1		1
Folk Groups - Dance - Comparsas			1		1
Religion			1		1
Pottery - Ceramics			1		1
Rocking chairs			1		1

Wine			1		1
WoodWork			1		1
River - protection - conservation of river			1		1
Tranquility			1		1
Constructions- way to build			1		1
San Carlos Cloister - Alcaldía				1	1
San Agustín Church				1	1
Bolívar Stone				1	1
House of Toen Hall				1	1
Day of Independence 6 august				1	1
Miraculous Christ of San Agustín				1	1
Bolívar Plaza				1	1
Portals				1	1
Airport				1	1
Momposino Dialect				1	1
MEANING OF DECLARATION OF WH					DE 3
Recognition - highlighted history and architecture - we exist - That is one of the most beautiful cities - colonial structure - Architecture	1	1		1	3
Pride	1				1
Patriotic love	1				1
Opportunities for comerce - development - resources - Progress - growth - Advance - Development - economical income	1	1		1	3
The place is valuable	1				1
I must fight for it	1				1

Is a privilege	1				1
Many tourists come - visit of more tourists	1	1		1	3
Conservation of culture - part of our history - preservation of architecture	1	1			2
A way of life in a colony with its history	1				1
Benefited by Tourism - Tourism development - Increase of tourism	1	1			2
Awarded with high distinction	1				1
Award to its people	1				1
It makes us known worldwide - Position in the WHL - It exposed us as a historic municipality of humanity - World Highlight	1	1		1	3
Tool to generate a brand	1				1
Great Joy	1				1
It has an other value in social elements		1			1
Changes - transformations		1			1
It opened many doors to Mompox		1		1	2
Tourists gave more life to Mototaxis and to people		1			1
Possibilities of interact with people from another culture		1			1
Was important - important fact - is important	1	1			2
Hotel growth		1			1
More work		1			1
Investment in works and repair - restoration - construction - better infrastructure		1		1	2
Highlighted the momposino				1	1

Brought events				1	1
Exit in anonymity and confinement				1	1
It did not mean anything - we do not know the answer				1	1
Respect the WH				1	1
Before there was no mototaxis, now yes. Attend tourism				1	1
CHANGES					DE 4
Improvement of access roads - construction of bridges - airport - paving	1	1		1	3
Restoration and improvement of historical sites	1	1	1	1	4
Knowledge and recognition nationally and internationally	1				1
Works and foreign investments	1				1
Good changes in the tourism sector - Tourism development - More tourism flow	1	1	1	1	4
Immediately none	1				1
Investment in park maintenance - they are prettier	1				1
Business growth	1				1
Conservation of heritage	1				1
hotel and restaurant growth	1	1		1	3
At one point the community did not understand that honor	1				1
Changes by force of the last two governors, by policy	1				1
Improvement of the economy - Income - more trade		1	1	1	3

Advances for the city and its population		1			1
Recognition at national and international level - Projection - has been made known		1	1		2
Progress and development		1		1	2
Cultural enhancement like jewelry - has opened the doors to filigree		1	1		2
Improvement of albarrada		1		1	2
Jazz Festival		1		1	2
More Work - employment		1		1	2
Extreme life change		1			1
Changes in the streets		1			1
Lack more investment to continue conserving		1			1
Insecurity		1		1	2
To control external economy		1			1
Young people are learning the ancestral knowledge			1		1
Investment			1		1
More projects have been made.			1		1
The population grew considerably			1		1
Before 2 Filigree stores - Today 46 filigree stores			1		1
Classes of goldsmithing in the School Tomasa Nájera - Workshop School			1		1
Slowdown because of the little passable river			1		1
The momposino has lost his heritage by selling houses			1		1

The foreigner can displace the culture			1		1
Does not become Cartagena			1		1
The cost of living has gone up			1		1
The housing price has gone up a lot			1		1
Can not hold the houses			1		1
Arrival of entities such as SENA or Bancolombia Police				1	1
National and international personalities come				1	1
Any				1	1
It can grow the sexual exploitation				1	1
The drugs can grow - micro trafficking				1	1
Some churches or houses are closed				1	1
EXPECTATIONS OF WH					DE 4
The economy improves for inhabitants and traders - More sources of work - more work	1	1		1	3
Coming of many tourists - National and international tourism flow	1	1			2
Recognition of the city and want to know it - make it known	1			1	2
Social, cultural and economic changes	1				1
Conservation of architecture - support for conservation	1			1	2
Economic development - progress - growth in every level - more commerce	1	1	1	1	4
Business growth - have more enterprises	1	1			2
Development and growth of tourism - as a touristic destination- more tourists	1	1	1	1	4

Cultural development - promote the culture of religion	1	1			2
That the streets are fixed - maintenance of streets and entrance	1			1	2
Support the maintenance of colonial heritage with subsidies.	1				1
Let the beauty be understood	1				1
That the projects that are intended to be carried out are carried out successfully. Fulfillment of words and works	1			1	2
Better and more incomes		1			1
Greater exploitation in agriculture and manufacturing		1			1
Good things come for Mompox and the mototaxis		1			1
Offer more beds - more offer hotels - are needed for Holy Week and jazz festival		1	1		2
More investment - do not steal it		1		1	2
Have more projects		1			1
That the industry arrives soon		1			1
Improve the infrastructure and services - of the streets - health - more roads - hospitals - aqueduct - sewerage - bridge - airport		1	1	1	3
I hope commitment for my city		1			1
Have more training		1		1	2
Respect among workers - mototaxis		1			1
Open market			1		1
At the Jazz festival, tourists come and most of them buy some gifts - more sales			1		1
Modernity				1	1

More improvement				1	1
Invite people				1	1
Do not change the way people are friendly and kind				1	1
That tourism is handled with more greatness				1	1
WHAT WOULD YOU SHOU TO TOURISTS					De 4
Albarrada	1	1			2
Jewelry workshops - filigree - Jewelry - Goldsmith	1	1	1	1	4
Historical centre - colonial Sector	1			1	2
Santa barbara Church	1	1	1		3
Santo Domingo Church	1				1
Graveyard	1	1	1	1	4
Swamps	1				1
Churches	1	1	1	1	4
Pinillos School	1	1			2
Religious tourism	1				1
Touristic Map - Touristic sites	1	1			2
Parks - Plazas	1	1			2
Pijiños Swamp	1	1	1	1	4
Walk through the Calle del medio - Streets	1	1			2
House of Culture	1	1			2
Religious Museum	1	1			2
School Workshop	1				1
minuments	1				1
Toutistic routes	1				1
Green Island		1		1	2

Sailing through Magdalena river		1			1
Santander Forest		1			1
Faune of Mompox		1			1
Entrance to Mompox		1			1
Devils house		1		1	2
History of Mompox		1			1
Mompox sweets		1			1
Where Simón Bolívar used to sleep		1			1
Bolívar Stone		1	1		2
Inmaculada Concepción Church		1			1
Basilica of San Agustín - Basilic of Holy Christ		1			1
Santo Domingo Plaza		1			1
San Francisco Church		1			1
Airport		1			1
Normal Superior School		1			1
Portals of the Marquise		1		1	2
San Sebastián - Ecotourism		1			1
Santa Barbara Plaza		1			1
Colonial Houses		1			1
Gastronomy		1	1	1	3
Layes Cheese - FabriCs		1		1	2
Casabito		1	1		2
Sausages		1			1
Depends on what he wnats to see - other that the colonial		1			1

Germán de Robón House		1			1
Other cultural Places		1			1
Human Quality - People are very kind - reliable		1	1		2
Hotels		1			1
Pozuelo Swamp		1			1
Two Chapels		1			1
Ecological sites (Pozuelo, San Sebastián, Green Island)		1		1	2
Town Hall		1			1
Woodwork - furniture			1	1	2
Forge			1	1	2
River			1	1	2
Casabe			1		1
Lemon Sweet			1		1
Almojabanas			1		1
Butifarras			1	1	2
Bocachico			1		1
Magic: The one who arrives stays			1		1
Bolívar tree				1	1
Noria well				1	1
Slaughterhouse of Mompo				1	1
Agriculture				1	1
Cuchubo				1	1
Restaurants: Comedor Costeño - donde Robert				1	1
CHALLENGES AND COMMITMENTS WITH MOMPOX					de 3

Taking care and protecting Mompox and things from Mompox, its streets		1			1
Take care of tourist		1			1
Treat well the tourist		1			1
Keep the city clean		1			1
Provide a good service to tourists and the community		1		1	2
Conserve it		1		1	2
Take care tourism		1			1
Respect people and heritage - be kind - gentle - good behavior		1	1	1	3
Take care of environment		1			1
Always show the best of my city - the colonial sector and its culture		1			1
Teach the tourist how to behave and that it should be conserved		1			1
Give example of how to behave		1			1
The cleaning		1		1	2
Guide the tourist to know the city - Give clear, accurate and correct information		1		1	2
Have a good behavior with tourism - tourists - good attention for a better recommendation		1			1
Have a good image with the people and the one who comes		1			1
Give the best		1			1
Seek welfare for others		1			1
Do not abandon it - do not destroy it		1			1
Help the tourist feel at home		1			1

Caring for the transport vehicle		1			1
Know and fully appropriate the heritage		1			1
Know history		1			1
Respect the streets - roads		1			1
Lack of knowledge of young people			1		1
Transmit oral tradition to young people			1		1
Follow the oral tradition. Don't let it die			1		1
Events: there is more jewelry production - more workforce - more apprentices			1		1
Insecurity comes - Have to be prepared			1		1
Public services - Health			1		1
You have to commit to be well economically			1		1
The title of WH have to be used more. Not taking advantage is a strength			1		1
Be well presented: driver and vehicles				1	1
That tourist comes back				1	1
Train us more				1	1

Note: Information from the workshops.

APPENDIX 09: ELEMENTS THAT IDENTIFY THEM AS MOMPOSINOS - TANGIBLE ELEMENTS

CULTURAL ELEMENTS IDENTIFIED AS PART OF THE CULTURE OF MOMPOX	Located in Map	Participative workshop	TOTAL
TOTAL WORKSHOPS	8	4	12
Old Market	8	2	10
Magdalena River	8	1	9
Inmaculada Concepción Church	8	1	9
Monument of Bolívar - Plaza of Bolívar	8	1	9
San Francisco Church	8		8
Albarrada	7	1	8
Town Hall - San Carlos Palace	7	1	8
Graveyard	7	1	8
The Angel of freedom - Plaza of Freedom	8		8
Portals of the Marquise	8		8
Craft's man house	8		8
Pinillos School	5	1	6
San Juan de Dios Church	6		6
Noria Well	5		5
House of the Town Hall - Sena	4	1	5
House of Culture	1	4	5
Hostal Doña Manuela	3	2	5
Basílica of San Agustín	3	1	4
Santa Barbara Church	1	3	4
Religious Art Museum	3	1	4
Botanical Garden - Cuchubo	3		3
Inmaculada Concepción Plaza	3		3
The Highway (limit) Carrera Quinta	2		2
Jazz Monument	2		2
Santa Barbara Canyon	2		2
Kyoscops in Santa Barbara	2		2
6 de agosto Stadium	2		2

Note: Information from the workshops. The general elements such as plazas and churches were erased and only the single elements were left. The botanical garden - Cuchubo is closed.

APPENDIX 10: TABLE COMPARISON ELEMENTS THAT IDENTIFY THEM – SHOW TO TOURISTS – BROCHURES

	Red de Pueblos Patrimonio ¹	Alcaldía de Mompox ²	Brochure Red de pueblos patrimonio ³	Brochure Alcaldía de Mompox ⁴	Cultural elements identified as part of the culture of Mompox by the people (general questions, maps and workshops - 17).	Elements to show to tourists
Inmaculada Concepción church					9	6
San Francisco Church and Convent					8	6
San Juan de Dios Church					6	4
Santo Domingo Church					1	6
Basílica of San Agustín					4	5
Santa Barbara Church					4	8
Inmaculada Concepción Plaza					3	1
San Francisco Plaza						
The Angel of freedom - Plaza of Freedom					8	4
Santo Domingo Plaza						1
Monument to Bolívar - Plaza of Bolívar - Parc of Tamarindo					9	4
Santa Barbara Plaza					1	1
Religious Art Museum or House "Bolivariana"					4	7
House of Culture House of the Family Germán de Ribón					5	3
Old Market (Crónicas - Escuela Taller)					10	4
San Juan de Dios Hospital						
Town Hall - San Carlos Palace - Convent					8	3
Pinillos School					7	4
Graveyard					8	9
House of "Te Deum" - Hostal Doña Manuela					5	
Portals of the Marquise					8	4
San Anselmo Fort					1	
House of the Town Hall - Sena					5	1

Bolivars Stone						2
Santander Forest					1	2
Juan de Corral Monument						
Old Houses					9	3
Magdalena River					9	2
Albarrada					8	5
Craft's man house					8	
Historical Centre - Colonial					5	4
Noria Well					5	1
Jewelry workshops					4	5
Cuchubo					2	1
The Highway (limit) Carrera Quinta					2	
Jazz Monument					2	2
Kyoscos in Santa Barbara					2	1
Calle Real del Medio - Street					1	4
School Workshop					1	1
La valerosa - Ship in Magdalena					1	2
El Fuerte Restaurant					1	1
La Barra de Sala - Disco - Next to Santa Barbara					1	1
Entrance to Mompox						1
Devils house						2
Where Simón Bolívar used to sleep						1
Airport						1
Normal Superior School						1
Other cultural Places						1
Two Chapels						1
Bolívar tree						1
Slaughterhouse of Mompox						1
Restaurants: Comedor Costeño - donde Robert						1
Botanical Garden						2
Santa Barbara Canyon					2	
Asomom					2	
6 de agosto Stadium					2	
Outside of CH - Culture					1	

Layer Cheese factory					1	
Central Bakery					1	
Synthetic field					1	
Gym					1	
Hostal Casa Mebi					1	
House of Calendario Obeso						
Tall House - Down house						
House 1734						

Note: Information from the workshops.

Source: 1. <https://www.pueblospatrimoniodecolombia.co/pueblos-int/que-visitar/143/147>; 2. <http://www.santacruzdemompos-bolivar.gov.co/turismo/rutas-turisticas-de-mompox-bolivar-350652> ; 3. Town Network (Red de Pueblos Patrimonio, 2017); 4. Alcaldía de Mompox (2017).

APPENDIX 11: ELEMENTS THAT IDENTIFY THEM AS MOMPOSINOS - INTANGIBLE ELEMENTS

CULTURAL ELEMENTS IDENTIFIED AS PART OF THE CULTURE OF MOMPOX	Maps general questions	Located in Map	Participative workshop	TOTAL
TOTAL WORKSHOPS	5	8	4	17
Jewelry Filigree	4	8	4	16
Holly Week	4	2	4	10
Forge	1	5	2	8
Typical gastronomy	4		2	6
Dance - cumbia	3	1	2	6
Colonial Architecture	3		2	5
Independence parties - August 6 - National Holidays	3	1	1	5
Rocking chairs		4	1	5
Fauna - around the urban area		5		5
History - Time	3		1	4
Carnival	3		1	4
Fishing	2	2		4
Flora - Outside the urban area		4		4
Music	2	1		3
Pottery	1	1	1	3
Woodwork	1	1	1	3
People - human aspect	1		1	2
Religion	1		1	2
Jazz Festival	2			2
Holy Christ - From San Agustin church	1		1	2
Folklore - customs			2	2
Jazz Festival			2	2
Agriculture - Cattle Raising		1	1	2

Note: Information from the workshops.

APPENDIX 12. ELEMENTS THAT IDENTIFY THEM AS MOMPOSINOS -
GASTRONOMICAL ELEMENTS

CULTURAL ELEMENTS IDENTIFIED AS PART OF THE CULTURE OF MOMPOX	Maps general questions	Located in Map	Participative workshop	TOTAL
TOTAL WORKSHOPS	5	8	4	17
Layer cheese	3	8	3	14
Butifarra	3	2	2	7
Casabes - casabito	1	2	2	5
Almojábanas	1	2	2	5
Wine of Mompox	2		1	3
Wrapped of corn	1	1		2
Sancocho hen and fish	1		1	2
Sausage	1		1	2
Lemon Sweet		2		2
Sausage		2		2
Ajiaco	1			1
Egg Pie	1			1
Fish pies	1			1
Lemon sweet	1			1
Casabito	1			1
Fish - Bocachico			1	1
Preserves of Sour Orange		1		1
Granjerías		1		1
Cocadas		1		1
Suero		1		1
Yucca		1		1
Arepa de Calabaza		1		1
Peto		1		1
Bollo Limpio		1		1
Orchata (Jugo de Ajonjolí)		1		1
Pebre de Galápagos		1		1
Pebre de Gallina		1		1
Uvita de lata (corozo)		1		1
Tamaca (chicle momposino)		1		1
Chicha de Maíz		1		1
Ñeque (homemade ron)		1		1

Note: Information from the workshops.

APPENDIX 13: EXPECTATIONS OF THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE WH DESIGNATION

EXPECTATIONS	MAPS	WORKSHOPS	TOTAL
TOTAL	2	4	6
The economy improves for inhabitants and traders - More sources of work - more work	2	3	5
Coming of many tourists - National and international tourism flow		2	2
Recognition of the city and want to know it - make it known		2	2
Social, cultural and economic changes		1	1
Conservation of architecture - support for conservation	1	2	3
Economic development - progress - growth in every level - more commerce		4	4
Business growth - have more enterprises		2	2
Development and growth of tourism - as a tourist destination - more tourists	2	4	6
Cultural development - promote the culture of religion		2	2
That the streets are fixed - maintenance of streets and entrance		2	2
Support the maintenance of colonial heritage with subsidies.		1	1
Let the beauty be understood		1	1
That the projects that are intended to be carried out are carried out successfully. Fulfillment of words and works		2	2
Better and more incomes		1	1
Greater exploitation in agriculture and manufacturing		1	1
Good things come for Mompox and the mototaxis		1	1
Offer more beds - more offer hotels - are needed for Holy Week and jazz festival		2	2
More investment - do not steal it - In Mompox and in the small towns around	1	2	3
Have more projects		1	1
That the industry arrives soon		1	1
Improve the infrastructure and services - of the streets - health - more roads - hospitals - aqueduct - sewerage - bridge - airport - Pave all Mompox	1	3	4
I hope commitment for my city		1	1
Have more training		2	2
Respect among workers - mototaxis		1	1
Open market		1	1

At the Jazz festival, tourists come and most of them buy some gifts - more sales		1	1
Modernity		1	1
More improvement		1	1
Invite people		1	1
Do not change the way people are friendly and kind		1	1
That tourism is handled with more greatness		1	1
Emerge	1		1
No more anonymity	1		1
Pass knowledge	1		1
Empowerment	1		1
That things do not impose	1		1
It maintains	1		1
Not run out of identity - Identity	1		1
Pride	1		1
Do not abandon heritage - make it emerge	1		1
More sustainable life (Cultural, environmental and economic aspects)	1		1
Keep ancestral traditions in mind	1		1
More inclusive activities	1		1
Do not sell only the CH	1		1

Note: Information from the workshops.