

HERITAGE CONSERVATION AND TOURISM IN THE HISTORIC CENTER OF
AREQUIPA, PERU

by

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A THESIS

Presented to the Interdisciplinary Studies Program:
Historic Preservation
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Science

June 2011

THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

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Title: Heritage Conservation and Tourism in the Historic Center of Arequipa, Peru

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THESIS ABSTRACT

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Master of Science

Interdisciplinary Studies Program: Historic Preservation

June 2011

Title: Heritage Conservation and Tourism in the Historic Center of Arequipa, Peru

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This thesis explores the complex relationship between heritage conservation and tourism in the Historic Center of Arequipa, a World Cultural Heritage Site in Peru. Although it has been recognized that tourism impacts the people and places where it occurs and, through this, it impacts the tourists' own experience, the challenge that tourism poses to efforts to conserve heritage resources is not always recognized. Even though heritage conservation efforts in Arequipa have been strengthened in the last ten years, tourism has been increasing steadily without appropriate planning, therefore challenging the desired balance between conservation and tourism in the historic center. The relationship between heritage conservation and tourism has been assessed, and tourism opportunities and threats for heritage conservation have been identified. Based on the existing Master Plan for the Historic Center of Arequipa guiding conservation efforts in the city, recommendations for conservation and tourism planning have been established.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Robert Z. Melnick, whose guidance and support throughout this process made the completion of this thesis possible. Each meeting and conversation we had as well as all his valuable and precise comments, encouraged me to think deeper and search for the heart of this work. In addition, special thanks are due to Henry Kunowski, whose insights and comments helped with the completion of this thesis. I would also like to thank my family for their constant support and encouragement and for believing in me. I also want to express my appreciation to the Historic Preservation Program faculty members and my classmates for all the lessons taught and the friendship offered. Finally I would like to thank the Fulbright Commission and the University of Oregon for giving me the opportunity to learn more about heritage conservation in the United States. I have learned valuable lessons that I know will guide my future work.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This thesis explores the complex relationship between heritage conservation and tourism in the Historic Center of Arequipa, a World Cultural Heritage Site in Peru (see figure1).



Figure 1. Location of Arequipa in Peru and South America. *Source:* Microsoft Encarta 2006.

Living in a city like Arequipa, which has a historic center with a rich cultural heritage, is a privilege. For someone who finds and appreciates many irreplaceable values in this heritage, having the opportunity to carry on daily activities in places that are so

beautiful and full of history and meaning, is valuable. Arequipa has been growing and expanding around its historic center since its founding in 1540. This historic urban area has constantly been changing in response to the city's needs. For the past years, it has been an area where a variety of residential, religious, political, administrative, cultural, recreational, commercial, educational and touristic activities are concentrated.

Heritage conservation efforts have been strengthened in the last ten years in the city. The community and the authorities have recognized some of the most important values that heritage represents, especially historic, artistic, social and economic ones. Tourism, as an activity that impacts people and places where it occurs, has always been present in Arequipa, but it is in the last ten years that this activity has been gaining significant importance. Consequently, tourism's positive and negative impacts have begun to be felt in the city's historic center and have influenced heritage conservation efforts.

As a citizen of Peru, a country where tourism is mainly valued for its economic benefits and is highly encouraged, to question the benefits of tourism is not common. But there is a point when questions need to be asked and opportunities and threats recognized in order to plan for the sustainable development of heritage conservation and tourism.

I first recognized tourism as representing an opportunity for heritage conservation, when I realized that this activity introduces new uses for otherwise redundant buildings. Taking a closer look I realized this was indeed an opportunity, but that this opportunity also involved making some compromises and could potentially represent threats for heritage conservation, as is the case when ownership patterns change drastically. I also realized that these were just some examples among many other

opportunities and threats that tourism represents for heritage conservation and that these were just part of a bigger issue, the relationship between heritage conservation and tourism. Considering the importance of heritage conservation for the Historic Center of Arequipa and the increasing importance of tourism in this city, the study of this relationship seemed necessary.

The work for this thesis began during the months of July and August 2010. The completion of an internship at the Municipal Authority of Arequipa afforded me with the opportunity of a deeper understanding of the nature, merits and limitations of the plan guiding conservation efforts in the city, the 2002 Master Plan for the Historic Center of Arequipa. It was during this internship that I was able to carry out the research on heritage conservation and tourism in Arequipa that made this thesis possible.

This thesis is divided into five chapters. The first chapter, the introduction, sets out the objectives, background and structure of the study. The second chapter reviews the existing literature related to conservation, tourism, and their relationship with heritage. The relationship between heritage conservation and tourism, as well as the different impacts of tourism for heritage conservation, are discussed. Based on the concepts previously reviewed, the third chapter assesses the relationship between heritage conservation and tourism in Peru. Using two important historic centers in different cities of Peru as examples, differences in the way this relationship is approached are studied. The fourth chapter describes the evolution of the urban landscape in the Historic Center of Arequipa. The cultural significance of heritage is then established through the articulation of a set of values. The fifth chapter analyses the relationship between heritage conservation and tourism in Arequipa's Historic Center. Special attention is given to the

identification of tourism opportunities and threats for heritage conservation. The sixth chapter puts forward recommendations for conservation and tourism planning in Arequipa's Historic Center. Acknowledging that conservation should guide this process, the recommendations are based on the 2002 Master Plan for the Historic Center of Arequipa.

I hope that this thesis will contribute to encouraging the Arequipenian community to identify itself more closely with its heritage, and to recognize both the opportunities and threats that tourism poses for the conservation of this heritage. Hopefully, this work will contribute to achieve the desired and necessary balance between heritage conservation and tourism in the Historic Center of Arequipa.

CHAPTER II

HERITAGE CONSERVATION AND TOURISM

Historic urban areas refer to cities, towns, and historic centers or quarters, including their natural and man-made environment.¹ These areas are usually protected and specially managed sites, acting as “dispensers of cultural identity”² for the contemporary urban areas around them. Historic urban areas have shaped our society and are a very valuable resource if we want to understand our lives today. At the same time they are constantly changing in order to accommodate society’s evolving needs. Historic centers are historic urban areas in which conservation and tourism are often important activities. In order to study the relationship between heritage conservation and tourism in historic centers, definitions of heritage, heritage conservation, and heritage tourism need to be established.

Based on people’s own values, heritage has different meanings for different people and different groups in society.³ Heritage is a concept that includes the natural and the cultural environment. Although within this general division of heritage historic centers are considered as cultural heritage, the importance of the natural environment in shaping and influencing the built environment needs to be taken into consideration. The Charter of Krakow defines *cultural heritage* as “that complex of man’s works in which a

¹ ICOMOS, *Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas* (Washington, 1987), 1. http://www.international.icomos.org/charters/towns_e.pdf (accessed January 5, 2011).

² Stefano Bianca, “Historic cities in the 21st century: core values for a globalizing world,” in *Managing Historic Cities*, ed. Ron van Oers and Sachiko Haraguchi (Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2010), 28.

³ Aylin Orbaşlı and Simon Woodward, “Tourism and Heritage Conservation,” in *The SAGE Handbook of Tourism Studies*, ed. Tazim Jamal and Mike Robinson (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2009), 315.

community recognizes its particular and specific values and with which it identifies.”⁴

This definition implicitly recognizes that the identification and specification of heritage is a *process* involving the *choice* of values. According to Dallen J. Timothy and Stephen W. Boyd it is also important to bear in mind that “heritage is not simply the past, but the modern-day use of elements of the past.”⁵ UNESCO’s 1972 *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* considers monuments, groups of buildings and sites as cultural heritage. An area is identified as a historic center if the works of man or the combined works of nature and man (including archaeological sites) within its footprint, are recognized as having outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view.⁶

Cultural heritage encompasses tangible, but also intangible heritage. UNESCO’s 2003 *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* considers that intangible cultural heritage relates to the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, and skills (including the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated with them) that communities, groups and individuals recognize as constituting cultural heritage. Intangible heritage is transmitted from generation to generation, is

⁴ International Conference on Conservation “Krakow 2000.” *The Charter of Krakow 2000: Principles for Conservation and Restoration of Built Heritage* (Krakow, 2000), 5. <http://ecce-workshop.unile.it/Downloads/The%20Charter%20of%20Krakow%202000.pdf> (accessed December 28, 2010).

⁵ Dallen J. Timothy and Stephen W. Boyd, *Heritage Tourism* (New York: Prentice Hall, 2003), 4.

⁶ UNESCO, *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (Paris, 1972), 2. <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf> (accessed December 26, 2010).

constantly responding to the environment and the interaction with nature and history, and provides communities and groups with a sense of identity and continuity.⁷

Physical limits and boundaries are easier to establish for the tangible than for the intangible cultural heritage; especially in the case of a protected site like a historic center, where usually new urban areas have developed around it and where tangible heritage may still be transmitted to new generations. Although representations of intangible cultural heritage may be expressed within a protected site boundary, this thesis will focus on the tangible cultural heritage, but will bear in mind the importance of intangible heritage as part of a site's cultural heritage.

The meaning of conservation varies in different languages and cultures, sometimes the words preservation and restoration are used interchangeably with conservation. ICOMO's 1999 *Burra Charter* defines *conservation* as "all the processes of looking after a place so as to retain its cultural significance."⁸ This definition recognizes that places are constantly changing and that, whilst we need to understand such changes, we ought to do whatever is necessary to safeguard these places and preserve them for future generations. This is the reason why conservation has also been called "the sustainable management of change"⁹ When referring to cultural heritage, *heritage conservation* could be defined as all the processes of looking after a place in order to

⁷ UNESCO, *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (Paris, 2003), 2. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001325/132540e.pdf> (accessed December 27, 2010).

⁸ ICOMOS, *The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance* (Burra, 1999), 2. http://australia.icomos.org/wp-content/uploads/BURRA_CHARTER.pdf (accessed December 29, 2010).

⁹ Orbaşlı and Woodward, "Tourism and Heritage Conservation," 316.

retain the values a community recognizes and with which it identifies in the works of man or the combined works of nature and man.

Tourism is an activity people have been undertaking for a long time. It is the motivations and forms of tourism that are varied and continue to change. Moreover, this always involves changes in our everyday activities while being in a different place. One could argue that the most important reason to engage in tourism is to learn about ourselves, while experiencing and learning about new places. Tourism is conventionally defined as “the activities of persons traveling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes.”¹⁰ Tourism comprises a broad range of activities; when it is related to experiencing places representing the past and the present, it is often called heritage tourism. A differentiation is also made between cultural and natural heritage tourism. The meaning of heritage tourism is broad and sometimes it is considered to be a subset of cultural tourism.¹¹ It is important to mention that even when cultural heritage is not the main purpose of a journey it adds value to the tourists’ experience.¹² According to the World Tourism Organization, *heritage tourism* is “an immersion in the natural history, human heritage, arts, philosophy and institutions of another region or country.”¹³

Although all kinds of tourism are important when studying the relationship between

¹⁰ UNWTO, *Technical Manual N° 2: Collection of Tourism Expenditure Statistics* (1995), 1. <http://pub.unwto.org/WebRoot/Store/Shops/Infoshop/Products/1034/1034-1.pdf> (accessed December 29, 2010).

¹¹ Timothy and Boyd, *Heritage Tourism*, 5-6.

¹² Orbaşlı and Woodward, “Tourism and Heritage Conservation,” 315.

¹³ UNWTO, quoted in Dallen J. Timothy and Stephen W. Boyd, *Heritage Tourism* (New York: Prentice Hall, 2003), 1.

conservation and tourism, heritage tourism is probably the most common and important in historic centers, where the main attraction is the same heritage we are trying to conserve.

Relationship Between Heritage Conservation and Tourism

Heritage conservation and tourism are important activities, especially in historic centers. We look after our heritage because we recognize its value in our society and we want to retain the cultural significance of a place. On the other hand, tourism, especially heritage tourism, enhances the value of a place's heritage because the latter becomes a driver of tourism development in that place. The meaning of heritage for conservation and tourism is not the same, but they both have its safeguard as their common interest, regardless of the fact that the motivation might be different.

There are many reasons why conservation is important. According to Robert E. Stipe we conserve because we want to maintain a link with our past, because our heritage has become part of us and because it helps us maintain our individuality and identity, as an expression of our respect for the past, recognizing the artistic value of our heritage. According to Stipe, this is so because places have the right to be beautiful and most importantly because we have discovered that conservation “can serve important human and social purposes in our society.”¹⁴ In support of this argument it has also been said that places of cultural significance provide a sense of connection to the environment and

¹⁴ Robert E. Stipe, *A Richer Heritage: Historic Preservation in the Twenty-First Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), xiii-xv.

to experiences in a way that they “enrich people’s lives.”¹⁵ Improving people’s lives can be considered the overarching goal of conservation. Assuring heritage conservation should be seen as one of the most important pursuits in our society. However, the importance of conservation is not always recognized and heritage is constantly threatened.

After years of growth and diversification tourism has become one of the fastest growing economic sectors in the world and it is considered important for socio-economic progress.¹⁶ Supporting this argument, UNWTO’s 1980 *Manila Declaration on World Tourism* states that tourism can contribute to world peace and international understanding, as well as influencing the establishment of a new international economic order.¹⁷ Nevertheless, tourism is probably important as a cultural activity that, in a time of increasing globalization, allows people to experience not only their regional or national heritage, but also the world heritage recognized as belonging to all humankind. Well managed tourism can be valuable for tourists as well as for the local population. For tourists, tourism means the discovery of places and sharing the culture of people living in the places visited. For the local population, welcoming tourists is not only a source of wealth but also contact with other cultures and traditions, an experience that, if adequately managed, can help strengthen their identity.

¹⁵ ICOMOS, *The Burra Charter*, 1.

¹⁶ UNWTO, “Why Tourism?,” World Tourism Organization – UNWTO, <http://unwto.org/en/about/tourism> (accessed December 30, 2010).

¹⁷ UNWTO, *Manila Declaration on World Tourism* (Manila, 1980), 1. <http://www.world-tourism.org/sustainable/doc/1980%20Manila-eng.pdf> (accessed December 31, 2010).

The relationship between heritage conservation and tourism is considered to be a complex one. Moreover, there is still a need for conservationists to better recognize the impacts tourism has on the cultural environment.¹⁸ Literature related to heritage conservation and tourism recognizes that tourism impacts the people and places where it occurs and, through this, it impacts on the tourists' own experience. This impact poses a challenge to efforts to conserve cultural heritage. The impact of tourism can either support or threaten heritage conservation. There is, however, a wide spectrum of possible scenarios between these two poles.

International documents such as ICOMOS's 1999 *International Cultural Tourism Charter: Managing Tourism at Places of Heritage Significance* consider tourism to be an activity that promotes cultural exchange that has been increasingly appreciated as a positive force for heritage conservation. This document states that "tourism can capture the economic characteristics of the heritage and harness these for conservation by generating funding, educating the community and influencing policy"¹⁹

Focusing on a scenario on the other side of the spectrum Hal K. Rothman considers tourism as the "devil's bargain."²⁰ He argues that tourism "triggers a contest for the soul of a place,"²¹ it changes a place in unanticipated and uncontrollable ways,

¹⁸ P.T. Newby, "Tourism: Support or threat to heritage?," in *Building a new heritage; tourism, culture, and identity in the new Europe*, ed. G. J. Ashworth and P. J. Larkham (London: Routledge, 1994), 225.

¹⁹ ICOMOS, *International Cultural Tourism Charter: Managing Tourism at Places of Heritage Significance* (Mexico, 1999), 1. http://www.international.icomos.org/charters/tourism_e.pdf (accessed November 6, 2010).

²⁰ Hal K. Rothman, *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West* (Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1998), 10.

²¹ Rothman, *Devil's Bargains*, 11.

destroying the authenticity of its culture and transforming it into the tourist's preconceived idea of what that place's authentic culture should be. In this way, locals are confronted with a culture that is only apparently local but is in fact something new and foreign. Thus, a place's success as a tourist destination brings outsiders to this place in unprecedented numbers but their presence tends to destroy the heritage that made the place special.²²

Other literature gives similar importance to both; the positive and the negative impacts of tourism for conservation. In 2005 Francesco Bandarin, Director of UNESCO's World Heritage Centre, referred to what he considers a complex and sometimes fraught relationship between World Heritage Sites and tourism. He stated that "tourism is, . . . , a double-edged sword, which on one hand confers economic benefits . . . , but on the other, places stress on the fabric of destinations and communities who live in them."²³

Aylin Orbaşlı and Simon Woodward consider heritage tourism and heritage conservation to be inherently linked. They state that tourism can be seen as an opportunity for the conservation of the heritage and at the same time as a threat that causes damages to the heritage assets and their significance.²⁴ They argue that the economic benefits of tourism are undeniable. Since the cultural environment adds value

²² Rothman, *Devil's Bargains*, 10-28.

²³ Francesco Bandarin, "Foreword," in *The Politics of World Heritage: Negotiating Tourism and Conservation*, ed. David Harrison and Michael Hitchcock (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005), v.

²⁴ Orbaşlı and Woodward, "Tourism and Heritage Conservation," 321-323.

to the visitor experience, it becomes the reason for many destinations to conserve, manage, and promote their heritage.²⁵

In 1993 ICOMOS stated in *Tourism at World Heritage Cultural Sites: The Site Manager's Hand Book*, that when dealing with the relationship between conservation and tourism, the fundamental assumption that conservation precedes tourism was made. They consider conservation as a “separate and prior activity that prepares the way for tourism development.”²⁶ They argue that successful conservation planning will be followed by a kind of tourism which is considered acceptable, dignified and profitable. Although responsible conservation efforts in partnership with tourism can contribute to the financial and social progress of a country, ICOMOS recognizes that finding a balance between the two activities is not easy.²⁷

P. T. Newby considers tourism to be an accepted path to development and cultural heritage as an accepted tourist resource. Tourism implications for conservation can be wide ranging, depending on the way cultural heritage is used by tourism. He understands the relationship between tourism and cultural heritage as a “continuum” that goes from coexistence through exploitation to imaginative reconstruction. Tourism and heritage coexist when tourism does not dominate the local economy and a place functions on its own terms, even in places with a high number of tourists; when tourism becomes important in the local economy, the relationship becomes exploitative; finally, when

²⁵ Orbaşlı and Woodward, “Tourism and Heritage Conservation,” 329-330.

²⁶ ICOMOS, *Tourism at World Heritage Cultural Sites: The Site Manager's Hand Book* (Sri Lanka, 1993), 2. <http://www.international.icomos.org/publications/93touris.htm> (accessed November 7, 2010).

²⁷ ICOMOS, *Tourism at World Heritage Cultural Sites*, 1-2.

tourism seeks to convert heritage into a tangible marketable asset, the relationship turns into one of imaginative reconstruction. This last stage in the tourism-heritage continuum becomes apparent when the townscape goes from being the physical expression of a society's culture to being a place where the tourism industry seeks to make concrete more abstract elements of culture.²⁸ This is embraced "as a means of increasing the attractiveness, and thus the market potential, of heritage sites."²⁹ When tourism and heritage coexist and culture is shared between residents and visitors, the place's cultural significance is retained and its heritage is thereby conserved. On the other hand, if we create culture that it is shaped for presentation to tourists, we are recreating a place and accomplishing the opposite of conservation.

Regardless of the kind of relationship between tourism and cultural heritage, whether it is one of coexistence, exploitation or imaginative reconstruction, tourism will always have an impact on the heritage. According to D.J. Timothy and G.P. Nyaupane, the positive and negative impacts associated with heritage tourism have traditionally been divided into physical or environmental, socio-cultural, and economic.³⁰ This framework is often used in tourism studies because within these three areas all tangible and intangible elements can be studied.

The physical environment refers to elements of the physical world. Although tourism is considered as a tool for funding conservation, it is also recognized as having

²⁸ Newby, "Tourism: Support or threat to heritage?," 206-215.

²⁹ Newby, "Tourism: Support or threat to heritage?," 213.

³⁰ Dallen J. Timothy and Gyan P. Nyaupane, *Cultural Heritage and Tourism in the Developing World: A Regional Perspective* (London: Routledge, 2009), 56.

negative impacts on this environment including wear damage to rocks and built heritage, vandalism, air and water pollution, fires, and soil compaction. The socio-cultural environment encompasses the intangible heritage. Tourism is considered to be a medium by which cultures can be protected and even lost social celebrations resurrected. However, it is also seen as force that can damage culture and propitiate negative activities. Considering the economic environment, Timothy and Nyaupane, argue that positive economic impacts (such as increased regional income, employment generation, tax revenues, and stimulation of entrepreneurialism) correspond to the same tourism negative economic impacts (such as inflation, overdependence, monetary leakage, a tendency to widen the gap between the haves and the have-nots, and low-wage earnings) seen in a positive light.³¹

When referring to historic urban areas Aylin Orbaşlı recognizes that tourism can bring opportunities and threats for heritage conservation. She mentions that a greater heritage awareness of a more diverse heritage, an increase in cross-cultural understanding, the availability of financial resources previously unavailable for conservation, and the introduction of new uses for otherwise redundant buildings are among the most important opportunities. Among the most important threats she mentions are overcrowding, confrontation in urban spaces, traffic and parking pressures, changes in ownership patterns, and changes in commercial activities.³² We need to recognize the

³¹ Timothy and Nyaupane, *Cultural Heritage and Tourism in the Developing World*, 56-65.

³² Aylin Orbaşlı, *Tourists in Historic Towns: Urban Conservation and Heritage Management* (London: E&FN Spon, 2000), 38-67.

importance of positive and negative tourism impacts due to the fact that they are very influential and are shaping the present expression of the heritage.

Conclusion

If we understand conservation to be the concerted effort to undertake everything possible to retain the cultural significance of the heritage, we need to realize that tourism is an activity that can become both a support and a threat to our efforts. Since it is our duty to ensure the conservation of the heritage, it is also our responsibility to determine the role tourism will play in our conservation efforts. Although tourism will invariably have both positive and negative impacts on the heritage, if we learn to identify, understand and manage these impacts, we will have the capacity to turn tourism into more of an opportunity than a threat to heritage conservation.

CHAPTER III

HERITAGE CONSERVATION AND TOURISM IN PERU

Peru has a rich natural and cultural heritage. This heritage, the expression of the past and present, is constantly shaping society, and has become the country's main touristic attraction. Peru, the third-largest country in South America, is considered within the 10 most biologically diverse countries in the world.³³ Its territory has 84 of the world's 117 life zones, 11 ecological regions, and a wide variety of plants and animals. Over 1,700 glaciers and more than 50 mountains that tower over 6,000 meters above sea level (19,700 feet), a Pacific coastline close to 3,000 kilometer long (1,860 miles) as well as an immense wealth of rivers, lakes, lagoons, beaches, deserts, canyons, and trails.³⁴ This extraordinary natural diversity is the backdrop for a no less extraordinary cultural heritage.

The essence of Peru's cultural heritage is probably best expressed by Peruvian writer Mario Vargas Llosa in his 2010 Nobel Lecture entitled "In praise of reading and fiction," when he mentions the places, people and situations that have shaped his life and career.

A compatriot of mine, José María Arguedas, called Peru the country of "every blood." I do not believe any formula defines it better: that is what we are and that is what all Peruvians carry inside us, whether we like it or not: an aggregate of traditions, races, beliefs, and cultures proceeding from the four cardinal points. I am proud to feel myself the heir to the pre-Hispanic cultures that created the textiles and feather mantles of Nazca and Paracas and the Mochican or Incan ceramics exhibited in the best museums in the world, the builders of Machu

³³ PromPerú. *Discover Peru* (Lima: PromPerú, 2008). http://media.peru.info/catalogo/Attach/mapa_ingles.pdf (accessed January 12, 2011).

³⁴ PromPerú. *Discover Peru* (Lima: PromPerú, 2008). http://media.peru.info/catalogo/Attach/mapa_ingles.pdf (accessed January 12, 2011).

Picchu, Gran Chimú, Chan Chan, Kuelap, Sipán, the burial grounds of La Bruja and El Sol and La Luna, and to the Spaniards who, with their saddle bags, swords, and horses, brought to Peru Greece, Rome, the Judeo-Christian tradition, the Renaissance, Cervantes, Quevedo, and Góngora, and the harsh language of Castile sweetened by the Andes. And with Spain came Africa, with its strength, its music, and its effervescent imagination, to enrich Peruvian heterogeneity. If we investigate only a little we discover that Peru, like the Aleph of Borges, is a small format of the entire world. What an extraordinary privilege for a country not to have an identity because it has all of them!³⁵

In Peru the main tourist attraction are the ruins of Machu Picchu, an exemplary case of synthesis of natural and cultural heritage. Historic centers and their built environment are just one important resource among the country's varied heritage. The built heritage in historic centers is usually classified in general terms as pre-Hispanic and Hispanic and in most cases these sites are composed of elements of both periods.

Latin America

According to D.J. Timothy and G.P. Nyaupane heritage tourism seems to be growing faster than other forms of tourism, especially in the developing world.³⁶ They state that from a tourism perspective, less-developed countries play an important role as destinations and as part of the global industry. Although there are many factors that contribute to travel to and within the developing world, including improved standards of living among the traveling public, increased freedom to travel within countries, improved international relations, the opening of new markets, among others, one of the most

³⁵ Mario Vargas Llosa, "In praise of reading and fiction," translated by Edith Grossman (Nobel Lecture, Stockholm, December 7, 2010). http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/2010/vargas_llosa-lecture_en.pdf (accessed January 10, 2011).

³⁶ Timothy and Nyaupane, *Cultural Heritage and Tourism in the Developing World*, 3.

important reasons for the increase in travel demand is directly related to the rich cultural heritage these nations have to offer as a resource for tourism.³⁷ According to Regina Schüler, Latin America became of interest to travelers in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, but it was not until the 1960's that countries in Central and South America tried to achieve development through tourism.³⁸

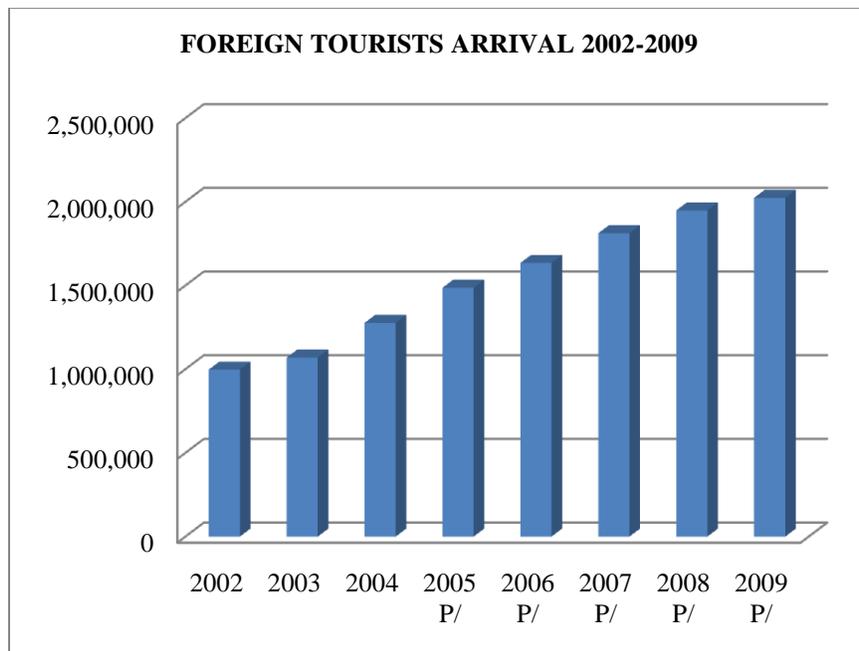
Peru

In Peru heritage conservation is slowly gaining acceptance as an important activity that helps us understand the heritage and recognize its importance in shaping the past, present and future of our society. One of the most important examples of this recognition was the creation, in July 2010, of a ministry of culture, an institution intended to facilitate better management of the country's heritage. On the other hand, tourism in Peru is continually growing (see figure 2) and it is considered an important activity for the country's development, hence the country is constantly promoted internationally as a tourist destination. In Peru, as in other countries in Latin America, heritage is considered to be the main touristic attraction. Peruvian tourism policies highlight, as an important tourism principle, the sustainable development of the activity, namely, seeking heritage conservation, using resources in a responsible way, and improving the quality of life of

³⁷ Timothy and Nyaupane, *Cultural Heritage and Tourism in the Developing World*, 6.

³⁸ Regina Schüler, "Heritage tourism in Latin America: Can turbulent times be overcome?" in *Cultural Heritage and Tourism in the Developing World: A Regional Perspective*, ed. Dallen J. Timothy and Gyan P. Nyaupane (London: Routledge, 2009), 209.

local populations in tourist destinations within the country.³⁹ Although these ideas are stated in the country’s legislation and guidelines, the economic benefits of tourism are usually the ones generating most attention. Juan De Orellana Rojas states that if we do not protect the heritage for historic or aesthetic reasons, which would be the reasonable thing to do, we should at least do it for economic reasons and protect the heritage as the main tourist attraction.⁴⁰ Orellana Rojas’s statement is a reflection of how conservation and tourism are generally understood and dealt with in Peru.



Note: P/ cifras preliminares (preliminary data)

Figure 2. Peru Foreign Tourists Arrival 2002-2009, showing the steady increase of tourists visiting the country. *Source:* Data from MINCETUR, “Estadísticas e indicadores: Perú: llegada mensual de turistas extranjeros, enero 2002 - junio 2010,” MINCETUR Web site, http://www.mincetur.gob.pe/newweb/portals/0/turismo/PERU_Lleg_Mens_Tur_Extr_2002_2010.pdf (accessed January 15, 2011).

³⁹ Congreso de la República del Perú, *Ley General del Turismo*, Ley No 29408. Lima: Diario Oficial El Peruano, 2009. <http://www.congreso.gob.pe/ntley/Imagenes/Leyes/29408.pdf> (accessed January 15, 2011).

⁴⁰ Juan De Orellana Rojas, “Turismo sostenible... patrimonio sostenible,” *exágono* 8, no.2 (July 2010): 10.

Despite the fact that heritage conservation is slowly being recognized as important for a variety of valid reasons, its importance is more often than not related to the economic benefits conservation efforts can bring to the country. But in a situation where funding for many of the country's main needs is often in short supply, the financing of conservation is usually not a priority. Tourism in Peru is considered to be an activity that generates economic benefits for the development of the country, an important reason to conserve the heritage, as well as a contributor to the funding of conservation efforts.

Although the needs of tourism are often given more importance than conservation needs in Peru - and this order of priorities is reflected in the way the heritage is managed - we are able to find some examples where the conservation of the heritage is given priority over tourism. The historic centers of Cusco and Ayacucho (see figure 3) are examples of these two ways of approaching the relationship between conservation and tourism.

The city of Cusco has the richest heritage of all urban areas in Peru and it is one of the most recognized tourist attractions. Cusco is an example of the Inca capital and the colonial city it became in 1536 until the country's independence in 1821. According to Inca mythology the city was founded by Inca Manco Cápac, rising to importance in the 15th century with the affirmation of Inca power. The city, uniting administrative and religious functions, had an orthogonal layout. Although the Spaniards respected the city's layout, they demolished those main buildings having political and religious significance

and constructed new “aggressively Catholic and Spanish”⁴¹ monuments over the foundations of the demolished walls. From the Inca period, Cusco conserves its plan, what remains of Incan walls and the ruins of some Inca buildings; of the colonial city it conserves the houses, palaces and churches.⁴²



Figure 3. Location of Arequipa and other cities with important cultural heritage in Peru. *Source:* RedPeruana, “Mapas del Perú: Ciudades Virtuales Latinas,” Red Peruana Web site, <http://www.redperuana.com/mapas/imagenes/perufisico.gif> (accessed January 15, 2011).

⁴¹ UNESCO World Heritage Convention, “The List: City of Cuzco,” UNESCO, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/273> (accessed January 13, 2011).

⁴² UNESCO World Heritage Convention, “The List: City of Cuzco,” UNESCO, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/273> (accessed January 13, 2011).

Cusco is, after Lima, the most visited region in Peru. In Cusco we can find examples of tourism contributing to the funding of conservation, situations when resources need to be spent in order to encourage and maintain tourism, as well as examples of the impact of tourism on conservation.

The creation of a touristic ticket, called “Boleto Turístico del Cusco,” that allows tourists to visit different attractions within the region, is an example of how cultural heritage attracts tourism, while generating funding for conservation. There are three tourist circuits that can be visited. The first one groups archaeological sites, the second groups museums in the historic center of the city, and the third groups places in the Sacred Valley of Cusco. Sales of these tickets in 2009 generated just under \$16.6 million.⁴³ These resources are distributed among the districts and provinces of the Cusco administrative region where the heritage, part of the circuits, is located. These areas are administered by the National Institute of Culture, which in 2010 became part of the Ministry of Culture. The law passed in Peru establishing the creation of these tickets in different regions of the country, had as an objective generating resources to promote the conservation and the touristic improvement of the heritage.

Although tourism can generate funds for conservation, it also requires resources for its own promotion, especially when exceptional situations, such as natural disasters, arise. In February 2010, for example, heavy rainfall, floods and mudslides blocked the railway access to Machu Picchu. As this is the only practical way to get to the citadel other than trekking, many tourists cancelled their visit to Cusco. The Ministry of Foreign

⁴³ MINCETUR, “Cusco: Venta y Recaudación Mensual del Boleto Turístico, Enero 2004-Setiembre 2010,” http://www.mincetur.gob.pe/newweb/portals/0/turismo/sitios%20turisticos/Cus_VENTA_BOLETO_TUR_LLLeg_Nac_Extr.pdf (accessed January 23, 2011).

Trade and Tourism launched a campaign called “Cusco Pone” aiming to increase tourism to the other touristic attractions of the region. This campaign involved discounts of up to 50 percent on flights, hotels and tourism packages provided to Peruvians, then to visitors from Latin America and finally to tourists from outside the region. The ministry had expected to spend 60 million soles (\$ 20.05 million)⁴⁴ to promote this campaign, but according to Peruvian tourism associations the cost of the natural disaster for Cusco’s tourism industry could be as high as \$400 million and could jeopardize the employment of 15,000 people.⁴⁵ Although the campaign was successful and Cusco attracted 1.5 million tourists⁴⁶ during 2010, this is also an example on how dependent a region can become on tourism with considerable implications for the economy of touristic regions.

In the last four decades, starting in the 1970’s, Cusco has undergone many changes, including the increase of tourism.⁴⁷ The historic center of Cusco is the main area of the city. Although it is an area where political, administrative, educational, recreational, commercial and other activities take place, tourism is constantly gaining more importance. As tourism occupies a very important position in the local economy, the relationship between this activity and the city’s heritage can be considered one of

⁴⁴ “Mincetur allocates US\$ 21.1 million to promote foreign tourists arrival to Cusco,” *andina agencia peruana de noticias* (February 11, 2010), <http://www.andina.com.pe/ingles/Noticia.aspx?id=o0ekpQPIZms=> (accessed January 23, 2011).

⁴⁵ “Tourism Ministry announces campaign with private sector to promote tourism in Cusco,” *Andean Air Mail & PERUVIAN TIMES* (February 11, 2010), <http://www.peruviantimes.com/tourism-ministry-announces-campaign-with-private-sector-to-promote-tourism-in-cusco/114907> (accessed January 23, 2011).

⁴⁶ “Cusco alcanzó récord: recibió 1,5 millones de turistas este año,” *El Comercio.pe* (December 29, 2010), <http://elcomercio.pe/economia/691233/noticia-cusco-alcanzo-record-recibio5-millones-turistas-este-ano> (accessed January 23, 2011).

⁴⁷ Wilar Hinojosa Valencia and Mario Castillo Centeno, “Turismo y centros históricos,” *exágono* 8, no.2 (July 2010): 16.

“exploitation,” which means conservation efforts are not balanced in relation to tourism. The negative impacts of tourism are starting to be felt by the inhabitants of Cusco because the city administration is perceived to be favoring the needs of tourism and to neglect those of the local population. As an example, Wilar Hinojosa Valencia and Mario Castillo Centeno observe that the excessive proliferation of tourism services has changed the ownership patterns from local to foreign, and the uses of space from communal to commercial activities, indicating that the city is being considered more as a touristic product than as a place to live in (see figure 4).⁴⁸

The city of Ayacucho was founded by the Spaniards in 1539 as San Juan de la Frontera de Huamanga, a name it kept until 1825. Although the region has a strong pre-Inca and Inca influence, the city was not founded in an important earlier settlement, as it was the case in Cusco. The city had an important strategic value during the colonial period and was an area where silver and gold mines were found, attracting rich miners and stewards who financed the construction of exquisite churches and houses.⁴⁹

Although the city of Ayacucho has a rich heritage, it is not recognized yet as one of Peru’s most important tourist attractions. This is mainly a consequence of the fact that Ayacucho was a focal centre of the social-political violence in Peru between the 1980’s and beginning of the 1990’s. Although these problems have been overcome, the recovery of Ayacucho has been slower than in other areas of the country keeping it from becoming more attractive for tourism.

⁴⁸ Hinojosa Valencia and Castillo Centeno, “Turismo y centros históricos,” 16-17.

⁴⁹ PromPerú. *Guía de Ayacucho* (Lima: PromPerú, 2005). <http://www.peru.info/es/donde-ir/ayacucho-649-3.5-1-1287-ci4> (accessed January 13, 2011).

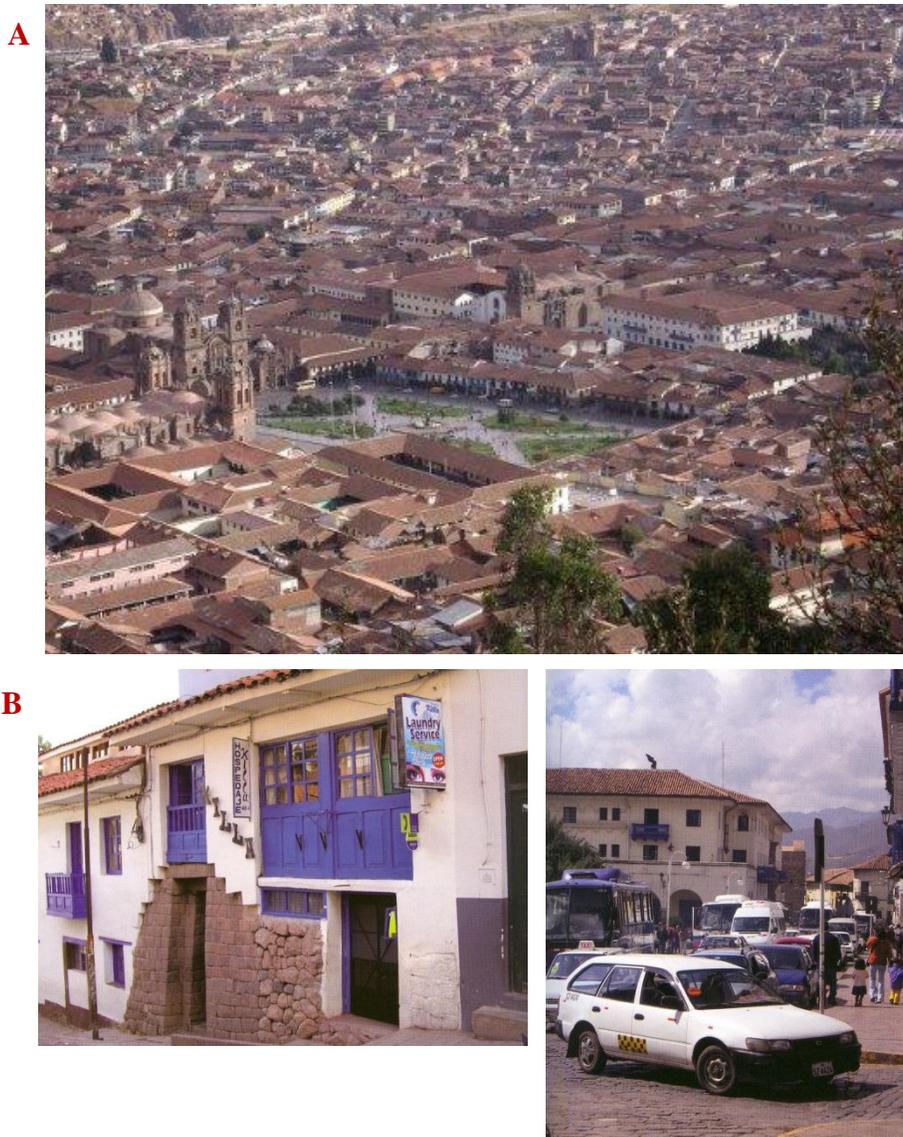


Figure 4. A. Historic Center of Cusco. **B.** Proliferation of tourism services. **C.** Traffic pressures generated by tourism. Photograph A. *Source:* Gorgeous Andes E.I.R.L, “DIA 2 TOUR EN CUSCO,” Gorgeous Andes E.I.R.L Web site, <http://www.gorgeousandes.com/index.php?accion=peru> (accessed April 8, 2011). Photographs B., C. *Source:* Wilar Hinojosa Valencia and Mario Castillo Centeno, “Turismo y centros históricos,” *exágono* 8, no.2 (July 2010): 16-17.

In 2005 1,024,340⁵⁰ tourists visited the Cusco Region, while only 141,248⁵¹ tourists visited the Ayacucho Region; 42% of foreign tourists to Peru visited the city of

⁵⁰ MINCETUR, “Región Cusco”, 15, <http://www.mincetur.gob.pe/newweb/Portals/0/Cusco.pdf> (accessed January 23, 2011).

Cusco compared to the 1% who visited the city of Ayacucho.⁵² Even though Ayacucho and its historic center does not get as many visitors as other areas of the country, tourism is growing, and so far Ayacucho has been able to find a better balance between conservation and tourism than other touristic areas such as Cusco. The important difference in the number and kind of tourists visiting each region partially justifies the different relationship both regions and cities have between conservation and tourism, but it is certainly not the only reason.

While in Cusco, as mentioned above, the relationship between tourism and heritage is considered to be one of “exploitation,” in Ayacucho tourism and conservation coexist. Tourism does not dominate the economy of Ayacucho, but most importantly the city is better prepared for tourism impacts because it has a Management Plan for the Historic Center that prioritizes heritage conservation (see figure 5). Cusco and Ayacucho are managing the development of touristic infrastructure from different perspectives. Although the Historic Center of Cusco has several plans guiding its development, the unorganized expansion of touristic infrastructure is changing the landscape of the city, while in Ayacucho, as Ruby Bustamante explains, the Management Plan for the Historic Center is slowing the development of some uses such as hotels or restaurants because the

⁵¹ MINCETUR, “Región Ayacucho”, 9, <http://www.mincetur.gob.pe/newweb/Portals/0/AYACUCHO.pdf> (accessed January 23, 2011).

⁵² PromPerú, “Perú: Perfil del Turista Extranjero 2009,” 26, <http://media.peru.info/IMPP/2010/TurismoReceptivo/Demanda%20Actual/Perfil%20del%20Turista%20Extranjero%202009/Publicación%20PTE%202009.pdf> (accessed January 23, 2011).

city has too many of these and at some point they will saturate the historic center preventing it from being a dynamic livable city.⁵³



Figure 5. A. Historic Center of Ayacucho. **B.** Urban renewal projects considered in the Management Plan for the Historic Center of Ayacucho. **C.** The Management Plan encourages residential use in the historic center. Photographs A., B., C. *Source:* Ruby Bustamante, “Es imprescindible mantener un centro histórico vivo,” *exágono* 8, no.2 (July 2010): 24-27.

⁵³ Ruby Bustamante, “Es imprescindible mantener un centro histórico vivo,” *exágono* 8, no.2 (July 2010): 24.

Cusco and Ayacucho are opposite examples regarding the relationship between conservation and tourism. The first city seems to have been unaware of tourism impacts and therefore unprepared to take advantage of this activity's opportunities while minimizing its threats. On the other hand Ayacucho, a city that is only now becoming a more popular tourist attraction, is better prepared to deal with tourism impacts thanks to better conservation planning.

Conservation planning in protected areas should consider tourism as one of the most influential activities for heritage conservation. Management plans should include as an important component, an analysis of tourism opportunities and threats in order to harness tourism to achieve conservation. Although there are touristic areas in Peru where the negative impacts of tourism can only be mitigated and kept under control and where part of the heritage has already been lost, Peru can still include tourism in heritage conservation planning in areas of the country that have not yet been heavily impacted by tourism. In November 2010 the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Tourism announced the investment of important resources to promote tourism in the northern region of Peru. Part of these resources should be allocated to the analysis of tourism impacts in order to benefit from the investment while protecting Peru's heritage.

Conclusion

As a country with a rich heritage, Peru is considered an important tourist destination. The perceived economic benefits of tourism have positioned it as a highly promoted activity by the government. Since the opportunities and benefits of tourism are always advertised, tourism is generally perceived as a solution to many problems,

including heritage conservation. Tourism generates high expectations; it is only when the activity's negative impacts begin to be perceived that people realize that embracing tourism as an important activity represents both opportunities and challenges. Once tourism has developed as an important activity, planning to mitigate its impacts on the heritage is more difficult than having successful heritage conservation planning followed by appropriate tourism. The richness of Peru's heritage could allow the country to have even more tourism than it has now, but unless conservation is given priority over tourism, Peru risks losing the heritage that is so important for the nation and so attractive for tourism.

CHAPTER IV

THE HISTORIC CENTER OF AREQUIPA

The city of Arequipa is located in the southwest region of Peru, 16°24'10" south latitude and 71°32'09" east longitude. Arequipa is considered within the area of influence of the Pacific Ring of Fire, an area where large numbers of earthquakes and volcanic eruptions occur in the basin of the Pacific Ocean. It is located in the Andean mountain range at 2335 meters (7333 feet) above sea level and it is part of the Andean Volcanic Belt, a major volcanic belt along this mountain range in Colombia, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Chile and Argentina that formed as a result of subduction of the Nazca Plate and Antarctic Plate underneath the South American Plate.⁵⁴ The city is nestled in the valley of the Chili River and is overlooked by three volcanoes, Chachani to the northwest, Misti to the northeast, and Pichu Pichu to the east (see figure 6).

The climate corresponds to the semi desert "Continental Climate" model, with rare precipitations creating conditions of atmospheric dryness with a wide range of temperatures during the day but not during the year. The temperature reaches a highest average of 22.8 °C (73°F) and a lowest average of 6.7 °C (44°F). The city has an average of 8.81 hours of sun per day and a high solar intensity of 720Kcal/m²/hour. Summer is the city's rainy season. The relative humidity varies from winter to summer from 31.1% to 79.8% and precipitations average 30.30 mm. The winds head northwest to southeast at an average speed of 3.5 m/sec.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Provincial Municipality of Arequipa, *PEAM: Strategic Plan of Metropolitan Arequipa 2002-2015*, Arequipa, 2002, 26.

⁵⁵ Provincial Municipality of Arequipa, *PEAM: Strategic Plan of Metropolitan Arequipa 2002-2015*, Arequipa, 2002, 27.

The natural features of the city are part of the urban landscape, which have also influenced the urban heritage in the Historic Center of Arequipa.



Figure 6. Location of Arequipa in its geographic environment. *Source:* Provincial Municipality of Arequipa, *PEAM: Strategic Plan of Metropolitan Arequipa 2002-2015*, Arequipa, 2002, 26.

Arequipa's Urban Heritage

The City in the Sixteenth Century

Arequipa was founded by the Spaniards in 1540 in an area that had been intensively farmed by successive pre-Hispanic cultures. These cultures contributed to the shaping of the valley's landscape,⁵⁶ where some small villages were established.

Although small pre-Hispanic settlements within the Spanish city were expelled from within its footprint,⁵⁷ the district of San Lázaro, a pre-Hispanic settlement with an irregular layout to the east of the Spanish city, was soon incorporated into Arequipa and is nowadays considered part of its Historic Center.

Arequipa was laid out according to the Spanish grid system. Although, at the time, this system had not yet been formally adopted as the regulatory urban template, it had already been used in other cities of the country such as Lima and Trujillo.⁵⁸ This layout had forty-nine blocks divided into four and eight plots set in straight lines. Each block was 111.5 meters long (365.813 feet).⁵⁹

The Spanish grid was regular and only the topography and the power of religious institutions could alter this regularity (see figure 7).

⁵⁶ Municipal Authority for the Administration and Control of the Historical Centre and Monumental Zone of Arequipa, "Historical Centre of Arequipa: Proposal to UNESCO to Declare the Historical Centre of Arequipa a Cultural Heritage Site," under "UNESCO World heritage List," <http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/nominations/1016.pdf> (accessed February 6, 2011), 6.

⁵⁷ Ramón Gutiérrez, *Evolución Histórica Urbana de Arequipa, 1540-1990*, ed. Pedro Belaúnde M., and Elías Mujica B. (Lima: Facultad de Arquitectura, Urbanismo, y Artes, Universidad Nacional de Ingeniería, 1992), 24.

⁵⁸ Gonzalo Ríos Vizcarra, *Manual para la Valoración y Conservación del Patrimonio Arquitectónico de Arequipa: Orientaciones Básicas para el Mantenimiento de la Arquitectura Doméstica* (Arequipa: ASDEPROA, 2010), 22.

⁵⁹ Ríos Vizcarra, *Manual para la Valoración y Conservación del Patrimonio Arquitectónico de Arequipa*, 24.



Figure 7. Map of Arequipa in 1835 showing the Spanish grid system and the pre-Hispanic irregular layout in the district of San Lázaro. Alterations to the regularity of the Spanish grid system, caused by the characteristics of the topography (location of the plaza closer to the river and to the south instead of in the middle of the grid) and the power of religious institutions (alterations to accommodate to churches, monasteries, etc.), are apparent. *Source:* Municipal Authority for the Historic Center of Arequipa Archives.

Usually the main “plaza” was located in the middle of the grid, but in Arequipa it is located closer to the river and to the south. Since the “plaza” was usually established first, it is possible, according to Ramón Gutiérrez, that when the other blocks were being traced, the Spaniards realized it was easier to expand the grid to the east where topography was less irregular. Moreover, the seven blocks closer to the river are not square due to the irregularity of the topography. Religious structures, such as convents and monasteries, required different areas to organize their buildings and in time the

layout was modified to satisfy these needs.⁶⁰ The current layout of the Santa Catalina Monastery exemplifies these changes. The monastery was expanded to the north and to the south by buying the houses across the streets, gaining space and rebuilding the streets where their new property ended.⁶¹

Archaeological evidence shows that during the sixteenth century houses were built using local techniques. They used earth in the form of adobe, sometimes with the addition of stones, and roofs were mainly covered with thatch or tiles (see figure 8).⁶² However, constant and destructive earthquakes encouraged people to experiment with new techniques and materials, especially in religious architecture. A volcanic tuff abundant in the region called “sillar,” was used for porticoes, in corners, and its use to cover spaces began to be experimented.⁶³

There are no buildings left from the sixteenth century, because the 1582 and 1604 earthquakes, as well as the eruption of the Huaynaputina volcano in 1600, destroyed them all. What we have left from this period is the layout of the city, the Spanish grid and the earlier layout of the district of San Lázaro.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Gutiérrez, *Evolución Histórica Urbana de Arequipa, 1540-1990*, 23.

⁶¹ Gutiérrez, *Evolución Histórica Urbana de Arequipa, 1540-1990*, 46.

⁶² Pablo De La Vera Cruz, “Arequipa: A City of White Volcanic Stone,” *World Heritage Review* 24 (2002): 39.

⁶³ Ríos Vizcarra, *Manual para la Valoración y Conservación del Patrimonio Arquitectónico de Arequipa*, 24.

⁶⁴ Ríos Vizcarra, *Manual para la Valoración y Conservación del Patrimonio Arquitectónico de Arequipa*, 25.



Figure 8. Urban landscape of Arequipa in the early years of the sixteenth century. *Source:* Ramón Gutiérrez, *Evolución Histórica Urbana de Arequipa, 1540-1990*, ed. Pedro Belaúnde M., and Elías Mujica B. (Lima: Facultad de Arquitectura, Urbanismo, y Artes, Universidad Nacional de Ingeniería, 1992), 38.

The City in the Seventeenth Century

During the seventeenth century Arequipa gained economic and social importance in Peru, mainly due to agricultural and mining activities in the region.⁶⁵ These conditions allowed the city to grow as an important urban center. According to Gonzalo Ríos Vizcarra, this can be considered the century of religious architecture.⁶⁶ Arequipa already had six convents, and a monastery, including their churches.⁶⁷ Many of them were founded in the sixteenth century, but they did not assume its present character until the following century. Although not all features of these structures can be considered from the seventeenth century, mainly due to subsequent earthquakes, important elements can

⁶⁵ Gutiérrez, *Evolución Histórica Urbana de Arequipa, 1540-1990*, 44-45.

⁶⁶ Ríos Vizcarra, *Manual para la Valoración y Conservación del Patrimonio Arquitectónico de Arequipa*, 25-26.

⁶⁷ Gutiérrez, *Evolución Histórica Urbana de Arequipa, 1540-1990*, 49.

be traced to this period.⁶⁸ The dated inscriptions found in many religious buildings allow us to establish dates of construction (see figure 9).

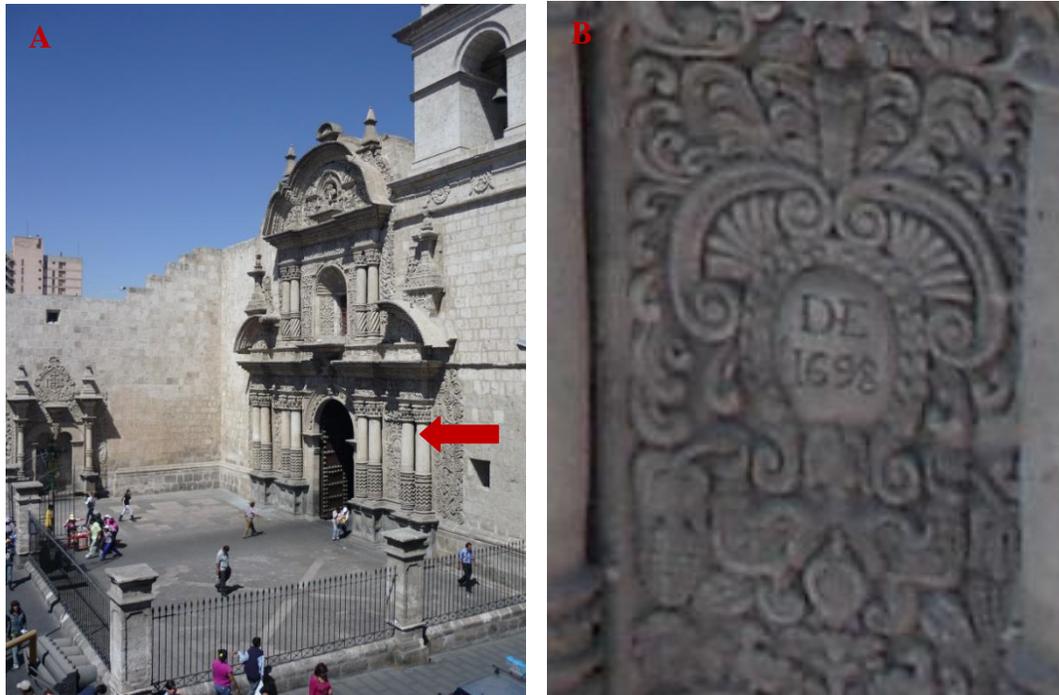


Figure 9. A. La Compañía Church, important religious building in the historic center. **B.** 1698 inscription on the building's façade. Photographs by author.

In the construction of religious buildings, different and improved building techniques were experimented and applied. Although Spanish stonemasons and architects introduced European architectural canons and techniques for building walls, sustaining arches and closing vaults and cupolas, the indigenous and mixed-race stonemasons and laborers provided their own iconographic and symbolic figures.⁶⁹ The decoration of these buildings features Spanish Baroque style elements as well as Andean ornamental features

⁶⁸ Ríos Vizcarra, *Manual para la Valoración y Conservación del Patrimonio Arquitectónico de Arequipa*, 27.

⁶⁹ De La Vera Cruz, "Arequipa: A City of White Volcanic Stone," 41.

such as local flowers and animals. In these designs “lions have turned into pumas and eagles into condors.”⁷⁰ This gave Arequipa’s architecture a hybrid character that distinguishes it from other Hispanic architectural forms in Latin America. It can be said that in Arequipa the “exceptional form of expression arose out of the creative fusion of European features and local interpretations.”⁷¹

Civil architecture (interpreted as non-religious architecture, especially domestic) in Arequipa adopted building techniques and elements used in religious architecture, including the use of “sillar;” although some elements such as roofs were still built using older techniques and were covered with thatch or tiles. The organization of rooms around courtyards, a character-defining feature of Arequipa’s civil architecture, began to be used during this century. Although the architecture’s organization as well as some remaining elements may be present today, earthquakes destroyed a great number of structures built during the seventeenth century.⁷²

Important elements of some of the best examples of seventeenth century religious architecture have survived, as well as organizational features of civil architecture.⁷³

⁷⁰ De La Vera Cruz, “Arequipa: A City of White Volcanic Stone,” 42.

⁷¹ De La Vera Cruz, “Arequipa: A City of White Volcanic Stone,” 41.

⁷² Ríos Vizcarra, *Manual para la Valoración y Conservación del Patrimonio Arquitectónico de Arequipa*, 26-28.

⁷³ Ríos Vizcarra, *Manual para la Valoración y Conservación del Patrimonio Arquitectónico de Arequipa*, 28.

The City in the Eighteenth Century

The eighteenth century can be considered the century of “casonas,” the name given to large traditional houses in Arequipa.⁷⁴ In the eighteenth century these houses were usually one-story structures, built from “sillar”. In the “casonas” the façades were lined with windows crowned with cornices and embellished with hand-wrought iron railings. The entrance had elaborate porticoes carved with symbols and icons similar in style to those of religious architecture; the high willow-wooden doors opened on to a hall that led to a central courtyard. The typical ground plan was quadrangular and the rooms, covered with barrel vaults, were arranged surrounding the central courtyard on to which they opened their doors.⁷⁵ Larger houses had a second and sometimes a third courtyard.⁷⁶

During this century the city occupied the original Spanish layout and grew to the surrounding areas, respecting at the beginning the original orthogonal layout.⁷⁷ A new important typology of civil architecture arose; the “tambo.” A “tambo” is a big house with a large courtyard, which served as residence for merchants, storage for their products and a place where they could trade them.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Ríos Vizcarra, *Manual para la Valoración y Conservación del Patrimonio Arquitectónico de Arequipa*, 29.

⁷⁵ De La Vera Cruz, “Arequipa: A City of White Volcanic Stone,” 41.

⁷⁶ Rosa Bustamante Montoro, “Bóvedas de cañon construidas con tufo de las viviendas arequipeñas,” in *Actas del Tercer Congreso Nacional de Historia de la Construcción, Sevilla, 2000*, ed. Amparo Graciani García (Madrid: Instituto Juan de Herrera, 2000), 118.

⁷⁷ Ríos Vizcarra, *Manual para la Valoración y Conservación del Patrimonio Arquitectónico de Arequipa*, 28-29.

⁷⁸ Gutiérrez, *Evolución Histórica Urbana de Arequipa, 1540-1990*, 64.

Once again earthquakes such as the one in 1784 had a great impact on the city's landscape and destroyed a great number of buildings. Religious architecture suffered damages and a few losses, but examples of civil architecture almost disappeared. Some elements from this period such as walls, porticoes, decorative features and the original layout of "casonas," coexist with later structures. Only a few houses from this period remain today; Casa de la Moneda, Casa del Moral, and Casa Tristan del Pozo (see figure 10) are some of the most important examples.⁷⁹

The legacy of the eighteenth-century architecture in Arequipa can be best appreciated in examples of civil architecture, especially in the "casonas" and "tambos."



Figure 10. Casa Tristán del Pozo, one of the most important examples of civil architecture in the eighteenth century. Photograph by author.

⁷⁹ Ríos Vizcarra, *Manual para la Valoración y Conservación del Patrimonio Arquitectónico de Arequipa*, 29.

The City in the Nineteenth Century

In the nineteenth century Arequipa's economy stabilized. This, together with migration from other cities in the southern region of Peru, led to a more intense use of available space as well as the expansion of the city's footprint.⁸⁰

In the first half of this century the city's dominant architectural style changed from baroque to neoclassic (see figure 11). During previous centuries the city's architecture - and therefore its urban landscape - was heavily influenced by indigenous and mixed-race stonemasons' own interpretations and symbolic figures. In the nineteenth century stonemasons had to work following strict rules regarding architectural orders and styles.⁸¹ This new form of architectural expression was considered superior to what had been done until then and restored and reconstructed buildings also followed these patterns. When in 1821 Peru obtained its independence from Spain, a variant of this neoclassic style was adopted to represent the ideals of the republic, differentiating it from the baroque style associated with the colonial period.⁸²

In general, religious architecture such as churches and convents maintained their baroque decoration. However, there are some buildings such as the city's Cathedral that after the 1868 earthquake had to be restored following neoclassic patterns.⁸³ The houses in Arequipa continued to be organized around courtyards, but many of them featured

⁸⁰ Ríos Vizcarra, *Manual para la Valoración y Conservación del Patrimonio Arquitectónico de Arequipa*, 31.

⁸¹ Gutiérrez, *Evolución Histórica Urbana de Arequipa, 1540-1990*, 85.

⁸² Ríos Vizcarra, *Manual para la Valoración y Conservación del Patrimonio Arquitectónico de Arequipa*, 31.

⁸³ Ríos Vizcarra, *Manual para la Valoración y Conservación del Patrimonio Arquitectónico de Arequipa*, 32.

second stories. Sometimes the second story was built using “sillar,” but most of the time they were lighter structures built with wood or “quincha,” a traditional construction system that uses wood and cane to form an earthquake-proof framework covered in mud.⁸⁴



Figure 11. Casona de Santa Catalina featuring neoclassic details. Photograph by author.

The built heritage of the Historic Center of Arequipa, as we can appreciate it today, mainly expresses the architecture of the nineteenth century.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Gutiérrez, *Evolución Histórica Urbana de Arequipa, 1540-1990*, 127-130.

⁸⁵ Ríos Vizcarra, *Manual para la Valoración y Conservación del Patrimonio Arquitectónico de Arequipa*, 31.

The City in the Twentieth Century

In the first half of the twentieth century, new buildings in Arequipa can be considered as examples of eclecticism and historicism.⁸⁶ This architecture followed different styles and used “sillar” as well as new materials brought from other places.⁸⁷ In 1940 the city celebrated Arequipa’s fourth centenary and important urban and architectonic works were developed. In this period the use of a neocolonial style inspired from Arequipa’s early architecture was widely used (see figure 12). Most of this new architecture was built around or outside the Spanish footprint and their first expansions.⁸⁸



Figure 12. Libertador Hotel, Selva Alegre. This hotel, built during the city’s fourth centenary, is an important example of the neocolonial style architecture in Arequipa. Photograph by author.

⁸⁶ Ríos Vizcarra, *Manual para la Valoración y Conservación del Patrimonio Arquitectónico de Arequipa*, 33.

⁸⁷ Gutiérrez, *Evolución Histórica Urbana de Arequipa, 1540-1990*, 195.

⁸⁸ Ríos Vizcarra, *Manual para la Valoración y Conservación del Patrimonio Arquitectónico de Arequipa*, 33.

In the urban landscape of the Historic Center of Arequipa, the history of the city is expressed in the form of buildings and spaces. The sixteenth century Spanish layout and the pre-Hispanic layout in San Lázaro, which determined the general configuration of streets and public areas such as the “plazas,” can still be appreciated today. Magnificent religious buildings with a rich hybrid decoration expressing European and seventeenth century pre-Hispanic influences still inspire a mainly Catholic population. Colonial “casonas” that have been adapted to a variety of new uses are the most important legacy of the eighteenth century. In the nineteenth century the built environment features neoclassic elements expressing changes taking place around the world as well as the ideals of the republic. In the twentieth century eclecticism, historicism and later Arequipa’s neocolonial architecture complete the urban landscape of its Historic Center.

Character-Defining Features

In Peru the Ministry of Culture is responsible for identifying, registering, declaring and protecting the cultural heritage. In the country the tangible cultural heritage is classified into archaeological and historic. Historic heritage comprises the heritage representing the colonial and the republican period of the country’s history.⁸⁹

Based on these considerations the Ministry of Culture has established a list of monumental buildings and monumental urban spaces in the city, most of which are located within the historic center boundaries (see figure 13).

⁸⁹ Ministerio de Cultura – Perú, “Patrimonio Cultural: Patrimonio Histórico,” http://www.mcultura.gob.pe/patrimonio_historico.shtml?x=40 (accessed May 29, 2011).

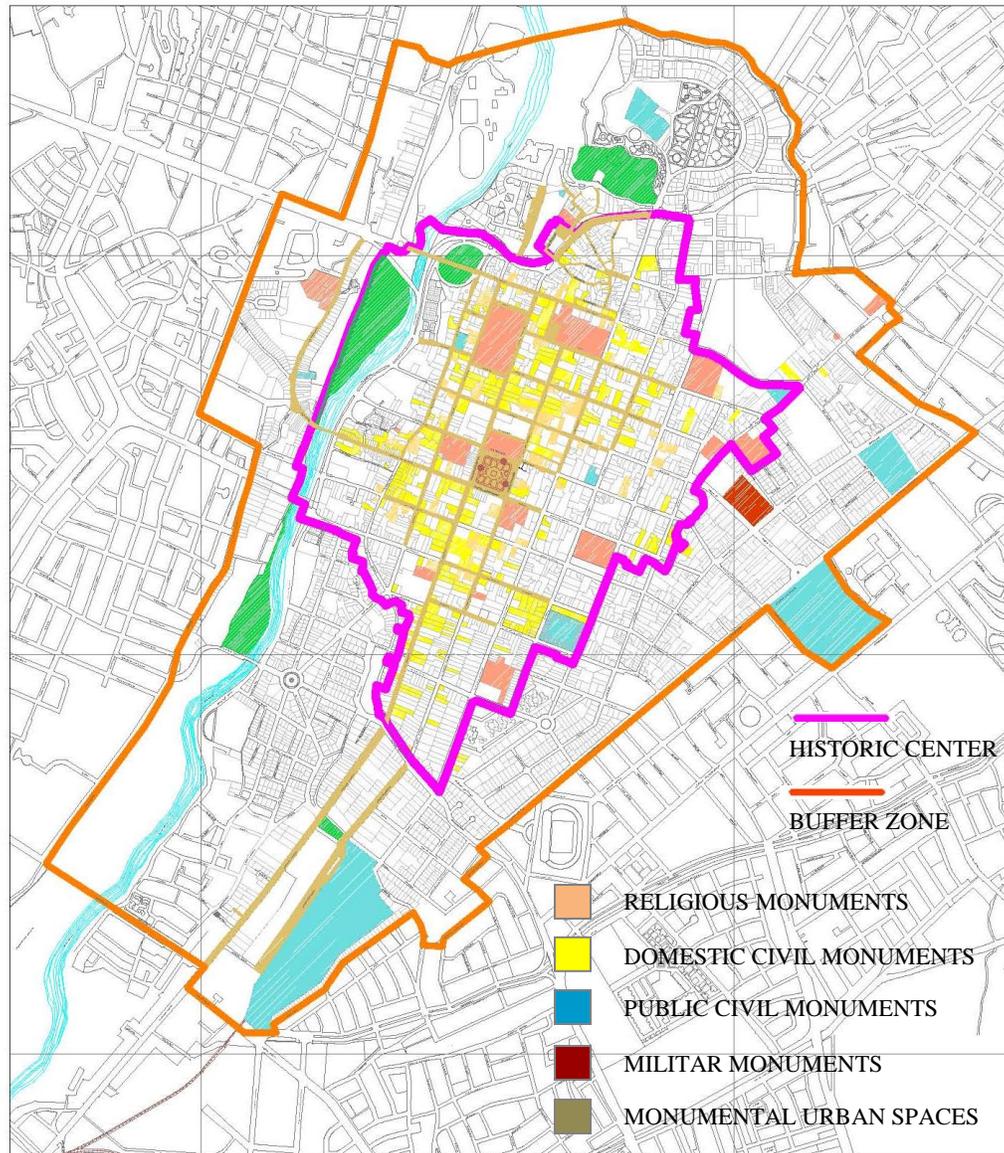


Figure 13. Monumental buildings and monumental urban spaces in the Historic Center of Arequipa. *Source:* Oficina Técnica del Centro Histórico Convenio AECI-MPA, *Plan Maestro del Centro Histórico de Arequipa: Volumen I Diagnóstico*, Arequipa, 2002, 63.

Although in an area that had been farmed by pre-Hispanic cultures, the city of Arequipa was founded by the Spaniards in 1540. The Spanish layout determined the general configuration of spaces in the Historic Center. The earlier buildings express European and pre-Hispanic influences. After obtaining independence from Spain in 1821,

the buildings express the ideals and changes of the republic. Although in the following years the city's heritage continued to change, most of its heritage expresses the colonial and republican period of the country's history.

The history expressed in the visual character of the urban landscape of Arequipa's Historic Center is synthesized in its character-defining features. These features - urban landscape, courtyards, sturdy walls, proportion of wall surface to fenestration, balconies, decoration, and color - are what make the historic center special and unique distinguishing it from other areas in the city.

Urban Landscape

The urban landscape is a character-defining feature of the historic center. This landscape has a human scale and it is an inviting environment. The system of streets, plazas and one-story or two-story structures, where only churches stand out, gives the city a scale where people feel comfortable and not overwhelmed by the height or density of buildings. Streets are wide enough to accommodate a lane for two small cars and sidewalks. Although they are narrow in comparison to streets in other areas of the city, they are well proportioned to the height of the buildings (see figure 14).

In the last few years many streets have been converted into pedestrian walks allowing for an easier displacement within the historic center. The use of "sillar," a building material with a rich texture that allows for elaborate artistic expressions, often highlighted by the sunlight, as well as the use of color, make the historic center a pleasant and inviting environment.



Figure 14. Santa Catalina Street. One-story buildings with the towers of Arequipa's Cathedral at the back. Photograph by author.

Courtyards

The spaces of houses in the city are organized around courtyards. Depending on the importance of the building, they were arranged around one, two or three courtyards. Courtyards allow for private outdoor space in the middle of the city as well as for proper illumination and ventilation of spaces, taking advantage of the favorable climate conditions in Arequipa (see figure 15).



Figure 15. Main courtyard in Casa del Moral. The main courtyard was usually the largest and most decorated of all courtyards in a “casona”. Photograph by author.

Sturdy Walls

Devastating earthquakes and the abundance of “sillar” in Arequipa influenced the characteristics of the building technique used in civil and religious architecture and therefore the appearance of the buildings. Since walls supported the barrel vaults used to cover spaces, they had to be tall and sturdy. They are usually between 0.90 and 1.20 meters (3 and 4 feet) thick. The blocks of “sillar” are 0.40 by 0.20 meters (1.31 by 0.65 feet) and are placed forming a casing filled with lime, sand and rubble (see figure 16).

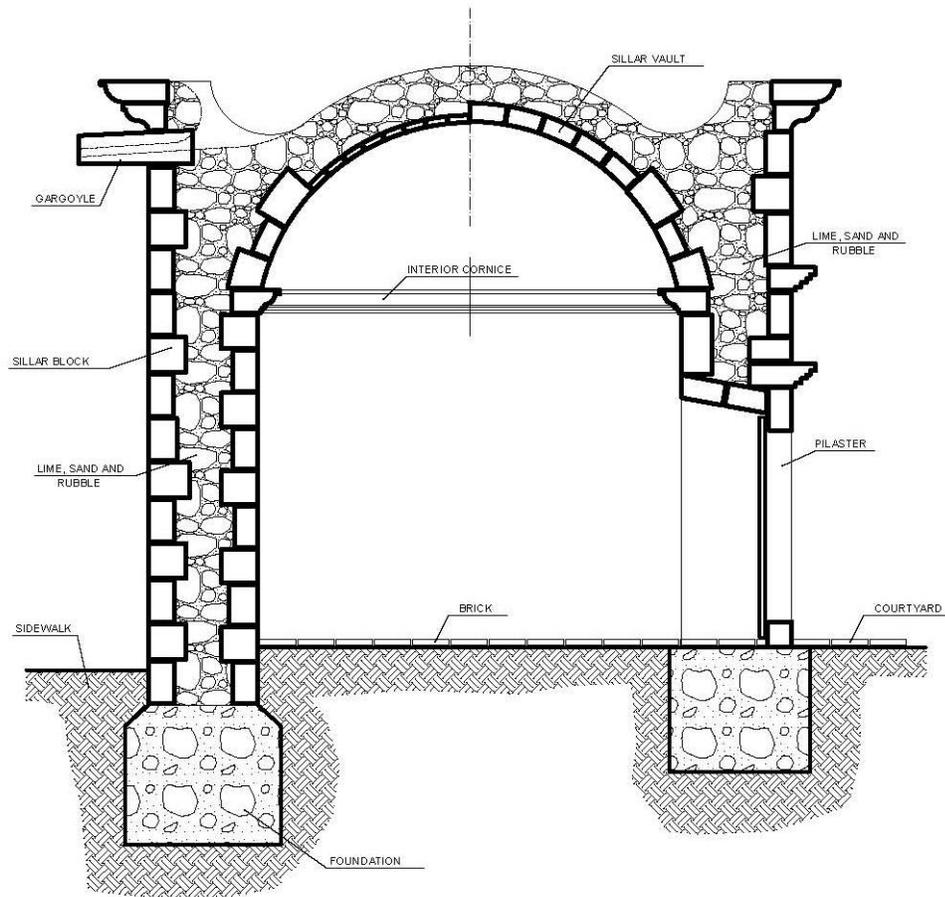


Figure 16. Typical section of Casa del Moral, showing the height and width of the walls built using “sillar.” *Source:* Andrea Rivera García, after Josué Llanque Chana, *Planificación y diseño bioclimático: estrategias para la recuperación del espacio público* (Arequipa: Universidad Nacional de San Agustín de Arequipa, Facultad de Arquitectura y Urbanismo, 2004), 132.

Proportion of Wall Surface to Fenestration

Building techniques as well as almost daily bright sunlight conditioned window openings to be small. In examples of civil architecture, window openings are located in a low position in relation to the height of the wall and decoration around them helps to visually compensate for their position (see figure 17).



Figure 17. Window opening in Casa del Moral façade. Photograph by author.

Balconies

When second floors began to be built on top of the existing buildings or new two-story buildings were built, balconies were always featured on the second story. If the second story was built using “sillar,” the balcony had no roof and if it was built with a lighter material like wood, it had one (see figure 18).

Decoration

The period in which a building was built as well as its importance determined its decoration. In civil and religious architecture façades are usually the most decorated, especially the porticoes followed by window openings. Other decorated elements include gargoyles and cornices. The style of decoration changed through time, but we can mostly find baroque and neoclassic decoration (see figure 19).



Figure 18. Balconies on second stories in San Francisco Street. Photograph by author.



Figure 19. Baroque decoration in Casa Tristán del Pozo. The gargoyle features the image of a puma. Photograph by author.

Color

During some periods of Arequipa's history, buildings were painted with yellow ochre, red ochre and blue colors, and during other periods, buildings were left unpainted. Although the use of color is subject of an ongoing debate, many buildings feature these colors, turning them into one of Arequipa's architecture character-defining features (see figure 20).



Figure 20. Red ochre and blue in Santa Catalina Monastery. Photograph by author.

Heritage Values

The preceding text describes the evolution of the urban landscape in Arequipa's Historic Center, but the cultural significance of this heritage is established through the articulation of a set of values.

In 2000 the Historic Center of Arequipa was inscribed in UNESCO's World Heritage List. UNESCO recognizes cultural and natural heritage of "outstanding universal value."⁹⁰ Arequipa's Historic Center meets two out of the ten selection criteria established by UNESCO:

Criterion (i): The ornamented architecture in the historic centre of Arequipa represents a masterpiece of the creative integration of European and native characteristics, crucial for the cultural expression of the entire region.

Criterion (iv): The historic centre of Arequipa is an outstanding example of a colonial settlement, challenged by the natural conditions, the indigenous influences, the process of conquest and evangelization, as well as the spectacular nature of its setting.⁹¹

Recognition as a World Heritage Site confirms the artistic and historical significance of Arequipa.

Criterion (i) is assigned to heritage representing "a masterpiece of human creative genius."⁹² In the case of Arequipa, the unique architecture expressing the integration of two worlds is recognized as the city's *artistic value*. European features were interpreted by the locals and adapted to the cultural environment. An example of this adaptation can be appreciated in the gargoyles of "casonas." Before the use of vaults to cover spaces and therefore the popular use of gargoyles, the buildings featured gabled roofs that allowed for proper water drainage during the rainy season. Gargoyles adopted several forms. Some of them feature local flowers or animals, such as the ones in Casa del Moral, featuring pumas (See figure 19).

⁹⁰ UNESCO, *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, 1.

⁹¹ UNESCO World Heritage Convention, "The List: Historical Centre of the City of Arequipa," UNESCO, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1016> (accessed February 20, 2011).

⁹² UNESCO World Heritage Convention, "The List: The Criteria for Selection," UNESCO, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/> (accessed February 20, 2011).

Artistic values are easily recognized and are probably the most freely interpreted. Both local population and visitors can appreciate the artistic expressions of the heritage, but locals are also able to recognize some deeper meaning in the aesthetic expressions.

Criterion (iv) recognizes urban landscapes, which illustrate “(a) significant stage(s) in human history.”⁹³ In Arequipa’s Historic Center, pre-Hispanic, Spanish, republican and contemporary influences, can be traced and appreciated. The *historical value* of the Historic Center relies on its ability to help us develop a link with the past allowing us to better understand the different periods of our history and learn from past successes and mistakes in order to build a better contemporary city.

Although we have mentioned the importance of the unique artistic expression accomplished in the city during the colonial period integrating Spanish and the pre-Hispanic world, it is important to remember that this architecture represents the conquest of what will become the Americas. A new culture was imposed over the culture of the people already living in the conquered world. Although local stonemasons and laborers were able to express themselves artistically, they were able to do so in the porticoes of churches that were built venerating gods that were not their own, at least not in the early years.

Local population and visitors find *historic value* in Arequipa’s heritage. While local population may understand the history of the region of Arequipa or Peru, visitors might read the history of Arequipa and compare it to their own history that might have gone through the same processes just in different locations.

⁹³ UNESCO World Heritage Convention, “The List: The Criteria for Selection,” UNESCO, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/> (accessed February 20, 2011).

Although these two outstanding values - *artistic* and *historical* - are widely recognized, there are other values that also need to be considered; *educational*, *social* and *economic*. The *historical value* is directly related to the *educational value* as the historical record embodied in the heritage has the potential to contribute to our knowledge of the past.

Heritage can, for example, have an *educational value* for architecture students, design professionals and builders who, through observation and analysis of the built heritage, can learn much about regional architecture in order to design the city's contemporary buildings. Although materials and techniques are different, the concepts developed through the years responding to Arequipa's natural environment still need to be applied today as an energy efficiency and sustainability issue.

The use of small window openings, responding to structural needs and climate conditions in Arequipa's earlier architecture, is an example of the *educational value* of heritage. Although contemporary building systems allow for lighter exterior walls no longer required for structural support, climate conditions in the city are the same. Even though curtain wall buildings could become more common, when designing buildings in Arequipa, it is still important to take into consideration the bright sun in the mornings and the abrupt temperature drops at night, in order to design comfortable and local environmental sensitive buildings.

The *social value* of the heritage in the Historic Center of Arequipa relies on its ability to give people something to identify with. Social values of heritage “enable and facilitate social connections, networks, and other relations in a broad sense”⁹⁴

An example of the *social value* of heritage in Arequipa is the city’s main “plaza,” called Plaza de Armas. Although the landscape of this space has changed over the years, it has always been a place where people could meet. During periods of its history the space was used as a market, when earthquakes destroyed the city people gathered here and it has constantly been used for civic ceremonies. Nowadays civic, religious and all kind of activities take place in the “plaza.” Local population and visitors gather here daily. Arequipa’s citizens stop here and take a break from daily activities or they might just be going from one area of the historic center to another through the “plaza”, while visitors stop here as part of their tourist route. They both get to sit and enjoy the plaza’s architecture, the sunshine and any activity going on.

Another important *social value* is that “heritage provokes in the individual a sense of being part of and belonging to place and community.”⁹⁵ In a world that is becoming more globalized and similar, this is an important value.

In 2001 Arequipa suffered another destructive earthquake. Although most of the buildings in the city are prepared for earthquakes, some of the historic buildings were seriously damaged. The left tower of the city’s Cathedral fell and the other one suffered severe damages. The City’s community, accustomed to frequent earthquakes, realized

⁹⁴ Randall Mason, “Assessing Values in Conservation Planning: Methodological Issues and Choices,” in *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage: Research Report*, ed. Marta de la Torre (Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 2002), 12. http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications/pdf_publications/assessing.pdf (accessed February 18, 2011).

⁹⁵ Orbaşlı, *Tourists in Historic Towns*, 15.

that yet again it had to set to work to restore Arequipa to its former splendor. The destructive results of the earthquake were overcome until August 2002 when the Cathedral's towers were completely restored. The people of Arequipa could thus feel that their city had finally recovered and that they could now move forward as a community.

The *economic value* of Arequipa's heritage relies on richness and uniqueness that make it attractive for the development of tourism. Tourism can generate funds for the city as well as create new jobs. Tourism is constantly gaining importance in the Peruvian economy and Arequipa is not an exception. Heritage tourism is becoming an important activity in Arequipa's Historic Center. Tourists engaging in this kind of tourism develop a deep interest in the places they visit. They are often more conscious of the importance of heritage and appreciate uniqueness. This gives the city the opportunity to develop a robust tourism industry conscious of the value of heritage.

Conclusion

Layout, streets, plazas, churches, houses, and every element of Arequipa's urban landscape has been influenced by the natural and cultural environment. From earthquakes to climate and from pre-Hispanic to contemporary elements, Arequipa's Historic Center tells the city's history. This area of the city allows its citizens and visitors to better understand its past and present, and the relationship they have with its heritage can be considered to be an indicator of Arequipa's future. Although heritage has different meanings for different individuals, there are some heritage values such as *artistic*, *historic*, *educational*, *social* and *economic*, that are widely recognized and define the

cultural significance of the Historic Center of Arequipa. Assessing these values should be the first step of heritage conservation and tourism planning.

CHAPTER V
HERITAGE CONSERVATION AND TOURISM IN THE HISTORIC CENTER
OF AREQUIPA

In the preceding chapter the tangible cultural heritage in the Historic Center of Arequipa has been described and its values assessed. This chapter will analyze how conservation and tourism have been managed in Arequipa.

The series of reconstructions, rehabilitations and restorations that took place in Arequipa after each major earthquake may be regarded as the earliest attempts at heritage conservation in this city. Even though, after the 1582 earthquake, the option of moving the city to a different location was considered⁹⁶, Arequipa was rebuilt on its original footprint and according to its original layout. The reconstruction after the eruption of the Huaynaputina volcano in 1600 and the 1604 earthquake allowed for the consolidation of the city on the basis of this layout. The first “intendente” (mayor) of Arequipa was appointed after the 1784 earthquake; the first known map of the city was completed and buildings and structures reconstructed.⁹⁷ Although after the 1868 earthquake the city underwent some changes, new building techniques such as the use of brick vaults, continued to be experimented with and applied in an attempt to better conserve the city’s structures.⁹⁸ Without calling it conservation and probably without officially considering “the cultural significance” of the place or the heritage “values,” conservation of

⁹⁶ Gutiérrez, *Evolución Histórica Urbana de Arequipa, 1540-1990*, 37.

⁹⁷ Gutiérrez, *Evolución Histórica Urbana de Arequipa, 1540-1990*, 71.

⁹⁸ Gutiérrez, *Evolución Histórica Urbana de Arequipa, 1540-1990*, 153.

Arequipa's heritage took place each time a plan was made or efforts combined in order to recover from each earthquake.

Many conservation related plans in the city were created after major earthquakes. The 1960s Board for the Rehabilitation and Development of Arequipa that restored most of the buildings damaged in the 1958 and 1960 earthquakes, the last major earthquakes in the city until 2001, is especially important.

In the following years the Municipal Authority of Arequipa and the National Institute of Culture, created in 1971 and since 2010 part of the Ministry of Culture, implemented plans and guidelines for the conservation of Arequipa's Historic Center. As important as these plans and guidelines may have been for heritage conservation, they were not integrated into a more comprehensive plan that could provide guidelines for conservation efforts in the city's historic center.

In 1999 AECI (the Spanish Agency for International Cooperation) began collaborating with the Municipal Administration on a program guiding the conservation of the historic center. One of the first achievements of this collaboration was the preparation of the proposal to UNESCO to declare the Historic Center of Arequipa a World Cultural Heritage Site. The Municipal Authority for the Historic Center of Arequipa was also created. This office has worked on the elaboration of the Master Plan for the Historic Center of Arequipa as well as the execution of specific and emblematic pilot projects that are examples of the promotion of the recovery of the historic center. It is important to mention that even though the master plan is elaborated by the Municipal Authority for the Historic Center of Arequipa, the Ministry of Culture is the institution in

charge of coordinating and monitoring the management plans in the country. Therefore, these two institutions have been working closely together.

Those sections of the Master Plan for the Historic Centre of Arequipa that refer to tourism are based on the twin premises that a) the city has a great touristic potential and b) heritage conservation is an important factor enabling the city to have a historic center that can be appreciated by tourists.⁹⁹ Although the plan proposes a series of projects that could help heritage conservation, while encouraging tourism, such as increasing cultural facilities in specific areas of the historic center, no section of the plan explains how the relationship between heritage conservation and tourism is to be managed.

Tourism, in varied forms, has always been present in Arequipa's Historic Center. In the 1970s tourism was, after mining, the second most important activity in the Region.¹⁰⁰ In the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s social-political violence in Peru led to a decrease in tourism. Although Arequipa was considered a relatively safe area in the country, a decrease in the number of visitors was also felt. At the end of the 1990s tourism regained importance in the country and Arequipa became, after Lima and Cusco, the third most visited destination.¹⁰¹ Today Arequipa, together with the two other principal regional destinations, Cusco and Puno, is part of Peru's southern tourist circuit.

⁹⁹ Oficina Técnica del Centro Histórico Convenio AECI-MPA, *Plan Maestro del Centro Histórico de Arequipa: Volumen II Propuesta*, Arequipa, 2002, 11.

¹⁰⁰ Oficina Técnica del Centro Histórico Convenio AECI-MPA, *Plan Maestro del Centro Histórico de Arequipa: Volumen I Diagnóstico*, Arequipa, 2002, 53.

¹⁰¹ Oficina Técnica del Centro Histórico Convenio AECI-MPA, *Plan Maestro del Centro Histórico de Arequipa: Volumen I Diagnóstico*, Arequipa, 2002, 54.

In 2008 around 10% of the tourists who visited Peru traveled to Arequipa.¹⁰²

The main touristic destinations in the Arequipa Region are the Historic Center of Arequipa and the Colca Canyon, one of the deepest canyons in the world. In 2008 almost 72% of the tourists visiting the Region visited the Santa Catalina Monastery, the main touristic attraction in Arequipa's Historic Center while 57% visited the Colca Canyon.¹⁰³

Since tourism in Peru regained importance in the second half of the 1990s, the number of visitors coming to Arequipa has increased steadily. In the Historic Center of Arequipa this can be best measured in the number of tourists visiting the Santa Catalina Monastery. In 1996, 66,919¹⁰⁴ tourists visited the monastery while 156,639¹⁰⁵ visited it in 2010.

Although the increase of tourist presence in Arequipa's Historic Center does reflect the overcoming of social and political violence in the 1980s and 1990s in the whole of Peru, as well as the constant promotion of the country as a tourist destination, these are not the only factors. Other factors include a) the general increase in the number of tourists engaging in heritage tourism as a form of culturally oriented tourism, b) better management of the city's cultural heritage over the past ten years, and c) the impetus

¹⁰² Edgar Atilio Flores Hinojosa, "El Turismo en el Desarrollo Regional de Arequipa," Gobierno Regional de Arequipa, <http://ciga.pucp.edu.pe/images/stories/ciga/presentacion/dircetur%20arequipa.pdf> (accessed March 10,2011), 5.

¹⁰³ Edgar Atilio Flores Hinojosa, "El Turismo en el Desarrollo Regional de Arequipa," Gobierno Regional de Arequipa, <http://ciga.pucp.edu.pe/images/stories/ciga/presentacion/dircetur%20arequipa.pdf> (accessed March 10,2011), 7.

¹⁰⁴ DRITINCI Dirección Regional de Industria y Turismo, *Estadísticas del Mercado Turístico Arequipa 2001*, Arequipa, 2001, 75.

¹⁰⁵ MINCETUR, "Arequipa: Llegada de Visitantes al Monasterio de Santa Catalina, enero 2004 - diciembre 2010," http://www.mincetur.gob.pe/newweb/portals/0/turismo/sitios%20turisticos/Are_MONAST_STA_CATALINA_LLLeg_Nac_Extr.pdf (accessed March 12, 2011).

provided by UNESCO's declaration of Arequipa's Historic Center as a World Heritage Site in 2000.

Although the regional government recognizes that tourism in Arequipa should be promoted, there is no tourism plan to guide the development of tourism in either the city as a whole or its historic center.

Following P.T. Newby's understanding of the relationship between tourism and cultural heritage as a "continuum" that goes from coexistence through exploitation to imaginative reconstruction, this relationship in the Historic Center of Arequipa has been for many years considered as one of "coexistence." This area of the city was first a place to live in and in later years it became a local service center. Tourism did not dominate the local economy and the city functioned on its own terms, allowing tourists to experience "the cultural heritage in a setting dictated by the evolution of the settlement and its present pattern of activity"¹⁰⁶

This relationship has been slowly changing and it is becoming one of "exploitation," where heritage is becoming the basis for the generation of resources. The city is growing and service centers have been emerging in other areas of the city, thus allowing tourism to occupy a more important position in the local economy of the historic center. As mentioned by Newby, this could lead to the emergence of a tourist district that becomes isolated from the local community.¹⁰⁷ Such districts tend to be capable of satisfying tourists' needs and expectations of the heritage visited, rather than being functional for local population. With time the community stops recognizing important

¹⁰⁶ Newby, "Tourism: Support or threat to heritage?," 210.

¹⁰⁷ Newby, "Tourism: Support or threat to heritage?," 212.

values in the heritage and the relationship between tourism and cultural heritage risks changing into one of “imaginative reconstruction,” when heritage is converted into a marketable tangible asset; this is considered by Newby the last stage in the tourism-heritage continuum.¹⁰⁸

The Historic Center occupies just a small area of the city, but it is still the center and the heart of the city, and it should not become a place that functions principally to serve the tourists who are drawn to the city because of its heritage values. As has been already observed, the use of space in the city has changed through the years, but always in response to Arequipa’s needs. It is important to allow for change, but it is also important that change is a response to the city’s needs. If tourism is important for the city, this activity should be allowed, but it needs to be well managed.

Tourism impacts the people and places where it occurs. These impacts influence heritage conservation and, depending on how both activities are managed, can either support or threaten it. Among other reasons, tourism is considered important for its economic and educational benefits, but at the same time as an activity that changes the “soul” of a place. Although compromises need to be made, when embracing tourism as an important activity in a historic center, there are also a series of benefits that can come out of this partnership. The partnership between conservation and tourism is considered important, but it has been recognized that, in practice, finding a balance between both activities is not easy.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ Newby, “Tourism: Support or threat to heritage?,” 213.

¹⁰⁹ Bob McKercher and Hilary du Cros, *Cultural Tourism: The Partnership Between Tourism and Cultural Heritage Management* (New York: Haworth Hospitality Press, 2002), 11.

According to Bob McKercher and Hilary du Cros in *Cultural Tourism: The Partnership Between Tourism and Cultural Heritage Management*, integration and partnerships “can be achieved only if each side develops a stronger understanding of how the other views the assets, values them, and seeks to use them.”¹¹⁰ An important way to help achieve a better understanding between these activities is the analysis of tourism opportunities and threats for conservation.

Tourism Opportunities for Heritage Conservation

Tourism can represent a series of opportunities for heritage conservation. In historic urban areas some of the most important include, according to Aylin Orbaşlı, the generation of funds for heritage conservation, introduction of new activities that allow new uses for buildings, tourism as a catalyst for development and therefore conservation as well as its contribution creating a greater awareness of a more diverse heritage.¹¹¹

Availability of Resources Previously Unavailable for Heritage Conservation

The economic benefits of tourism are often considered important. Tourism can represent an economic opportunity for heritage conservation, when financial resources previously unavailable for conservation are generated by tourism. The conservation of the Santa Catalina Monastery, the main touristic attraction in the Historic Center of Arequipa, is an example of how well managed tourism resources have contributed to heritage conservation in the city.

¹¹⁰ McKercher and du Cros, *Cultural Tourism*, 10.

¹¹¹ Orbaşlı, *Tourists in Historic Towns*, 41-44.

The monastery is a small citadel within Arequipa's Historic Center. Although it was founded in 1579, most of the structures were built in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. It is surrounded by a high "sillar" wall and the church was, for years, the only built part of the complex to which people, other than the nuns, had access. Inside, a series of cloisters with decorated walls, the cells of the novices, dormitories, a refectory and the kitchen, can be found. Along a series of narrow streets, cells, which accommodated the nuns and her servants, were built. A small plaza, a laundry area and an orchard are also part of the citadel.

Successive earthquakes in Arequipa, affected the monastery. However, the strict rules of cloistered life meant that the nuns themselves had to adapt to these conditions as best they could. It was not until the 1950s and 1960s earthquakes that they realized they needed help. These earthquakes caused serious structural damage to the buildings and most of them had to be evacuated in order to move the monastery community to the least damaged areas. The damages were so severe that new buildings had to be built in the garden of the monastery.¹¹²

Although the 1960s Board for the Rehabilitation and Development of Arequipa had as one of its priorities the rehabilitation, restoration and reconstruction of religious buildings in the city, the monastery was not included in its plans. According to Eduardo Bedoya Forga, a member of the board between 1963 and 1968, it was taken as a matter of course that as reconstructing it was going to be prohibitively expensive, the monastery

¹¹² Municipal Authority for the Administration and Control of the Historical Centre and Monumental Zone of Arequipa, "Historical Centre of Arequipa: Proposal to UNESCO to Declare the Historical Centre of Arequipa a Cultural Heritage Site," under "UNESCO World heritage List," <http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/nominations/1016.pdf> (accessed February 6, 2011), 33.

was not to be included in the list of buildings in need of attention.¹¹³ The limited access to the monastery made it difficult for the city to assess the damages and therefore; difficult to plan for its conservation. Bedoya Forga was granted special permission to visit some areas of the monastery and his first visit made him realize that the damages needed to be properly evaluated, but most importantly, he realized that the monastery was of great value for the city and should be opened to the public.¹¹⁴ After the nuns moved to the new building Bedoya Forga met with Arequipa's archbishop in order to discuss the idea of restoring the monastery, open it to the public, as well as options of how to accomplish this goal.

With an assessment of the damages and a feasibility study prepared, Bedoya Forga undertook the search for someone to invest in the project. Banco Hipotecario del Perú, a government owned institution, was one of the institutions contacted. Although the bank was interested in the project, it established some conditions that could not be accepted by the archbishop, the nuns in the monastery, or the Council on Historic Monuments in Arequipa. The bank knew the citadel would get a high number of visitors quickly and wanted to manage all the buildings except for the new one where the nuns lived and the church. They wanted to turn the monastery into a series of restaurants, coffee shops, small hotels, craft stores, travel agencies, and tourism information offices, etc.¹¹⁵ Although all these uses could have guaranteed economic benefits, this would have

¹¹³ Eduardo Bedoya Forga, *Puerta Abierta Entre Dos Mundos* (Arequipa, Peru: Promociones Turísticas del Sur, 2009), 38.

¹¹⁴ Bedoya Forga, *Puerta Abierta Entre Dos Mundos*, 39.

¹¹⁵ Bedoya Forga, *Puerta Abierta Entre Dos Mundos*, 54.

been accomplished at the expense of important values the monastery represented for the nuns and the city in general.

Bedoya Forga realized he needed to find private investors, who could understand the importance of conserving the monastery as well as the opportunities this investment could represent in the future. Within a short time, a consortium including INARA - a construction company he owned together with two other partners - together with former clients of the same company and a number of Arequipenian friends, was able to secure 60% of the resources necessary to finance the project. The rest of the money came from other investors in Lima.¹¹⁶ The investors formed a company called Promociones Turísticas del Sur and signed a contract with the nuns, who owned the property, under the supervision of the archiepiscopate, with the approval of the Municipality and the Council for Historic Monuments in Arequipa. The contract specified the hours when the monastery would be opened to the public, the areas that were accessible, as well as the conditions for special performances and events in some areas of the monastery (see figure 21). The contract was signed in 1969 and the monastery opened its doors to the public in 1970.

The conservation of Santa Catalina Monastery was possible thanks to a group of investors, who cared deeply about the city's heritage and found in tourism an activity that could help accomplish its conservation. More than just an example of tourism generating funding for conservation, this is an example of how people in charge of safeguarding the heritage, have the responsibility to decide how the heritage will be used and managed without compromising its values. Responsible choices allow the monastery to generate

¹¹⁶ Bedoya Forga, *Puerta Abierta Entre Dos Mundos*, 59.

funds for the conservation of the complex, funds for the nuns as well as funds for the investors.

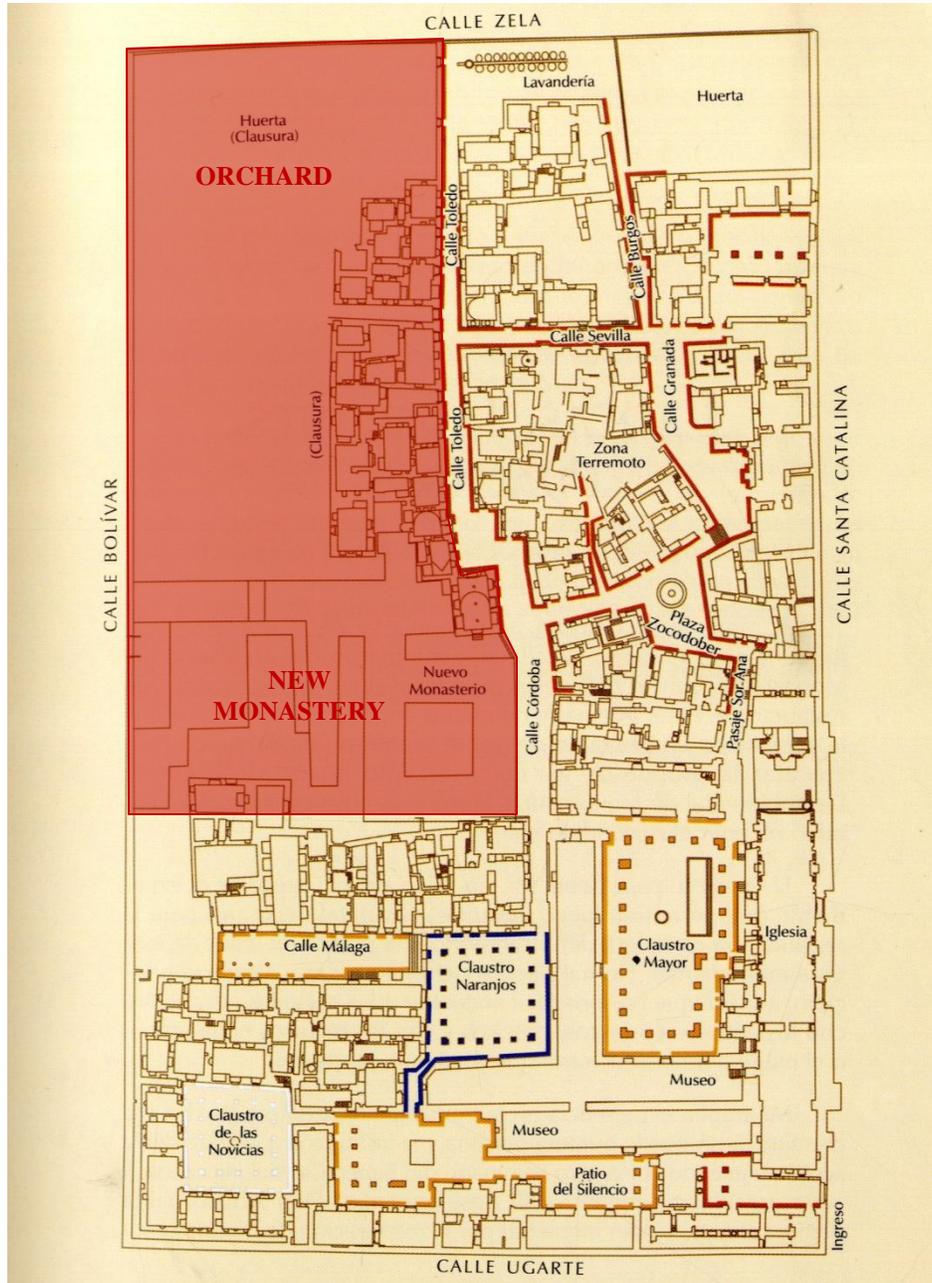


Figure 21. Santa Catalina Monastery floor plan showing the area where the new building was built as well as the area open to the public. *Source:* Eduardo Bedoya Forga, *Puerta Abierta Entre Dos Mundos* (Arequipa, Perú: Promociones Turísticas del Sur, 2009), 45.

Although tourism does not directly finance conservation, it can mobilize resources that would otherwise be unavailable for conservation. In Arequipa's Historic Center, opening Santa Catalina Monastery to tourism is the best example of how resources generated by tourism can contribute to heritage conservation. This opportunity could, however, have been easily turned into a threat had these resources not been managed with conservation as the main goal.

New Activities and New Uses for Buildings

The introduction of new uses for otherwise redundant buildings represents another important opportunity of tourism for conservation in Arequipa's Historic Center. Without tourism and people interested in visiting the Santa Catalina Monastery, the nuns would have had to either let the buildings deteriorate or try to find another use for them. Since its original use as monastery was no longer satisfying their contemporary needs, it is hard to imagine a more compatible use for the monastery than it being open for national and international tourists as well as Arequipa's citizens.

Although Santa Catalina Monastery is considered a religious building, most examples of religious architecture in the city, especially churches, continue to be used as they were originally conceived. On the other hand, a great number of "casonas" have been given new uses or they have become slums, or lie vacant. This occurred when new residential areas were developed following new standards and more emphatically after the 1958 and 1960 earthquakes. Among the many buildings that have been declared monuments of national importance in the historic center, 86.4% are examples of domestic

architecture.¹¹⁷ Through the years these buildings have been given a great variety of new uses. Most of them have been adapted to cultural, administrative and commercial activities. Despite the fact that these buildings are flexible and can successfully be given different new uses, in 2002 it was reported that in the last years 5 out of the 246 “casonas” considered as national monuments, had been demolished and turned into informal market areas and parking spaces.¹¹⁸ Although this is a problem that requires better conservation regulations or the enforcement of existing ones, tourism gives property owners a greater variety of options when considering giving their property a new use thus avoiding demolition.

In 2008 Casa de la Moneda opened its doors as one of six Casa Andina Private Collection hotels in Peru. These hotels are “spectacular properties in spectacular Peruvian locations, created with an eye to conveying what’s quintessential about the region.”¹¹⁹ These hotels offer “the services and facilities of larger hotels, but the personality and character of more intimate boutique hotels.”¹²⁰

Casa de la Moneda was built in 1794 as the residence of a well-known personality in eighteenth century Arequipenian society, Don Blas de Quirós.¹²¹ After Quirós’ death in

¹¹⁷ Oficina Técnica del Centro Histórico Convenio AECI-MPA, *Plan Maestro del Centro Histórico de Arequipa: Volumen I Diagnóstico*, Arequipa, 2002, 62.

¹¹⁸ Oficina Técnica del Centro Histórico Convenio AECI-MPA, *Plan Maestro del Centro Histórico de Arequipa: Volumen I Diagnóstico*, Arequipa, 2002, 65.

¹¹⁹ Casa Andina, “Casa Andina Private Collection,” <http://www.casa-andina.com/peru/hotels/private-collection/hotel.php> (accessed March 21, 2011).

¹²⁰ Casa Andina, “Casa Andina Private Collection,” <http://www.casa-andina.com/peru/hotels/private-collection/hotel.php> (accessed March 21, 2011).

¹²¹ Víctor Diban, and René Muñiz, “Casa de la Moneda: Estudio para su Restauración y Puesta en Valor” (thesis, Universidad Nacional de San Agustín de Arequipa, 1984), 55.

1807 the house was the object of disagreements between his wife and descendants. Finally in 1816 it became the property of one of his sons, who rented it to a series of tenants. In 1837 the house was rented by the Peruvian government for use as a coin mint. Although the house served this function only for six years, Casa de la Moneda (*moneda* = *coin*) became the name people identified the house with. The property changed owners and tenants many times in the following years. By 1984, the year a detailed study of the house was conducted, the property had become a slum.¹²² The 1984 study of the house proposed to turn it into the National Institute of Culture. Unfortunately this project never materialized and the house continued to be occupied by a high number of tenants, who used it as housing and for commercial activities. Since the property owners did not live in Arequipa, the house fell into disrepair and was offered for sale for many years. When the house was acquired by the current owner, twenty one families were living in the house.¹²³

Casa de la Moneda is one of the most significant “casonas” in Arequipa. Although its use as the former National Institute of Culture, as proposed in 1984, would have probably been a more appropriate one according to its importance and significance for the city, its current use since 2008 as a boutique hotel allows for its conservation, while enhancing some of its most special attributes. The 2007 restoration of the house allowed Arequipa to recover a significant building that had been neglected for years (see figure 22). Tourists can stay in the hotel, while both visitors and Arequipa citizens can eat at the

¹²² Víctor Diban, and René Muñiz, “Casa de la Moneda: Estudio para su Restauración y Puesta en Valor” (thesis, Universidad Nacional de San Agustín de Arequipa, 1984), 60-67.

¹²³ “Cadena Casa Andina inauguró hotel cinco estrellas en Arequipa con inversión de US\$ 6 millones,” *andina agencia peruana de noticias* (March 27, 2008), <http://www.andina.com.pe/Espanol/Noticia.aspx?id=R/QLZeZCCI=> (accessed March 21, 2011).

restaurant specializing in traditional Arequipa cuisine or hold events at the hotel. A small museum site is also considered in the hotel plans.



Figure 22. Main courtyard in Casa de la Moneda **A.** In 2006 the house was occupied by 21 families who used it as housing and for commercial activities. **B.** Casa de la Moneda as a boutique hotel. Photograph A. by Giancarlo Peralta Tam. Photograph B. *Source:* Casa Andina, “Images and Videos,” <http://www.casa-andina.com/peru/images-videos/index.php?tipo=1&seleccion=2&checkbox2=2&x=42&y=15> (accessed March 27, 2011).

The introduction of new uses such as boutique hotels are compatible with heritage conservation goals, and add to the rich variety of uses allowed in the historic center. These new uses give property owners more options and therefore encourage and support conservation efforts.

Tourism as a Catalyst for Development

Tourism can sometimes be considered a catalyst for development, renewal and therefore; conservation of the heritage. Casa de la Moneda is located in an area of Arequipa's Historic Center that had been neglected for years, but since the hotel opened its doors in 2008 the surrounding areas have become more attractive for visitors and also for people interested in investing in the historic center, allowing for the conservation of this area of the city.

Casa de la Moneda is located in the corner of Ugarte and Villalba streets. Ugarte is a short and quiet street, but Villalba is one of the most heavily used streets by means of public transport and therefore the degree of noise and pollution in it is higher than in other areas of the historic center. In the last few years conservation projects in Arequipa's Historic Center have focused on other sectors and before the hotel opened its doors this was an area avoided by tourists and citizens alike unless they had to use public transportation.

The restoration and rehabilitation of Casa Moneda has encouraged the development of other projects and improvements around it (see figure 23). Restaurant Paladar 1900, located across from Casa de la Moneda on Villalba Street, is an example.



Figure 23. A. The Casa de la Moneda project was a catalyst for the development of B. Paladar 1900 Restaurant, C. Small hotel, D. Casa de la Moneda new convention center. Photograph A. *Source:* Casa Andina, “Images and Videos,” <http://www.casa-andina.com/peru/imagesvideos/index.php?tipo=1&seleccion=2&checkbox 2=2&x=42 &y=15> (accessed March 27, 2011). Photographs B., C., and D. by author.

This restaurant opened its doors in July 2009 in a building that had also been empty for years. Although only some rooms had historic and artistic value and some areas of the property were demolished and a contemporary, but compatible structure built, the attractive location with incredible views of the city across the river was exploited. Other examples include a small hotel that is being built in a much simpler “casona” in Villalba and the expansion of Casa de la Moneda hotel in the property located across Casa de la Moneda in the same corner of Ugarte and Villalba streets. This property is being restored and rehabilitated into a small convention center in order to satisfy the needs of the hotel’s corporate sector.

Although the potential to give these buildings appropriate new uses was always present, the restoration and rehabilitation of Casa de la Moneda as a boutique hotel was a necessary catalyst for their development and conservation.

Awareness of a More Diverse Heritage

Tourism can generate a greater awareness of a more diverse heritage. Although it has been mentioned that the district of San Lázaro, a pre-Hispanic settlement with an irregular layout to the east of the Spanish city, is considered part of the Historic Center of Arequipa, conservation efforts had traditionally focused on the Spanish footprint leaving San Lázaro vulnerable. Even when San Lázaro was not the best conserved area of the city, tourists would often visit it. In the last years San Lázaro has been given more importance within the city’s conservation plans and this is in part the consequence of the values tourism recognized in the area.

San Lázaro is the area of the city that best expresses, in the urban landscape, the presence of pre-Hispanic and Hispanic elements. San Lázaro was occupied first by indigenous population and later by Mestizo craftsmen as well as those of Spanish descent.¹²⁴ The irregular pre-Hispanic layout is occupied by houses built using “sillar” and the building techniques developed through the years in Arequipa. However, these buildings are smaller and simpler than those built in the Hispanic settlement. The chapel is also smaller and less decorated than the churches within the Hispanic footprint. All these characteristics make San Lázaro a very unique and interesting area in Arequipa’s Historic Center.

The 2002 Master Plan for the Historic Center of Arequipa includes several projects concerned with the conservation of San Lázaro, including some projects related to tourism. Although the rehabilitation of San Lázaro in the perception of the citizens of Arequipa is due to their recognition that there is more to the city’s heritage than the purely Hispanic and that the diversity of this heritage is what makes the historic centre of the city so attractive for tourists, San Lázaro’s own intrinsic touristic value contributed to this changing perception and itself encouraged more energetic conservation efforts.

Tourism Threats for Heritage Conservation

According to Orbaşli, there are also a number of threats and challenges tourism represents for heritage conservation. Some of the most important include confrontation in

¹²⁴ Gutiérrez, *Evolución Histórica Urbana de Arequipa, 1540-1990*, 28.

urban spaces and buildings, overcrowding, traffic and parking pressures, changes of ownership patterns, and changing commerce.¹²⁵

Confrontation in Urban Spaces and Buildings

Tourists and local citizens give urban space and buildings different meaning and therefore use it differently. While a visitor's movement is "one of discovery and appreciation,"¹²⁶ local citizens will undertake their daily activities. This can cause some conflicts between hosts and guests.

At an urban level these conflicts can cause a loss of privacy for residents in highly visited areas. It has been mentioned that tourists' appreciation for the heritage in the district of San Lázaro has generated a greater awareness of this area of the city, but this also means the number of visitors is constantly increasing. San Lázaro is mostly a residential area with one-story or two-story buildings organized along narrow streets. The houses are smaller than the "casonas" and most of them are not organized around spacious courtyards. Therefore the relationship their inhabitants have with the streets is more important than in other areas of the city. Since the streets are narrow, it is also important to consider that window openings on the first floor do not allow for much privacy if a high number of visitors are often walking past them.

When property owners lose privacy in their homes, they consider moving to other locations where they do not need to worry about tourists. Since the touristic value

¹²⁵ Orbaşlı, *Tourists in Historic Towns*, 55-67.

¹²⁶ Orbaşlı, *Tourists in Historic Towns*, 55.

of their properties is higher, these areas become valuable and the loss of privacy can turn into other problems such as changes of ownership patterns.

These conflicts also occur in public buildings that become touristic attractions. High number of visitors can potentially generate discomfort in local population and this can be intensified if tourists' behavior is not compatible with the building's traditional use. The local population might feel it cannot undertake its daily activities freely when visitors are either watching it as part of their touristic experience or when the visitors are engaging in activities other than those for which the buildings are used for in daily life. In historic centers, churches and other religious buildings are usually the most vulnerable.

Arequipa's Cathedral, located in the "Plaza de Armas," is the most emblematic church in the city. It is the place where the most important religious ceremonies take place. In a city with a mainly Catholic population this includes the celebration of daily masses, as well as functioning as the starting and ending point of endless celebrations such as processions. Although churches are open only during certain hours during the day, they do get a high number of visitors. Local population in Arequipa is very religious and appropriate behavior is expected from visitors.

Although most tourists try to be respectful towards the activities taking place in the buildings visited, they do not want to give up their touristic activities. Most groups of tourists entering the Cathedral try to lower their voices, but it is likely that they will make comments about the architecture, decoration or even the people in the church and most of them will take at least a couple of pictures regardless of the liturgical or other religious functions taking place in the building. Tourists' interest in visiting the Cathedral encouraged the organization of a tour of one of its towers since July 2010. Despite the

fact that the tour does not directly interfere with the activities taking place in the church, this new attraction could potentially become uncomfortable for citizens, who do not consider it appropriate for the Cathedral.

There are other uses given to religious buildings such as the Cathedral, that are more appropriate for hosts and guests to enjoy without generating discomfort in the local population. In August 2010 the First International Festival of Symphony Orchestras took place in the city's Cathedral. This was one of the events the Municipal Authority planned to commemorate the 470th Anniversary of the city's foundation. For four days, orchestras from different areas of Peru, as well as Chile and Ecuador, performed in the Cathedral. The event was open to the public and even though there had to be some control regarding the number of people in the building, hosts and guests alike were able to enjoy the spectacle. The use of the Cathedral as a concert space is a creative way of allowing everybody to enjoy the building without generating discomfort or compromising the heritage values.

Since tourism has always been present in Arequipa, the local population is used to sharing urban spaces and buildings with tourists, who have always felt welcome in the city. Although some conflicts have arisen, the local population has so far been able to mitigate their impacts. Confrontation in urban spaces and buildings has not yet been heavily felt in Arequipa. The conflicts previously mentioned are accentuated and begin to be felt by local population when overcrowding takes place.

Overcrowding

“On extremely crowded summer days, Venice police are known to close the causeway to stop people entering the historic town.”¹²⁷ Although the Historic Center of Arequipa does not yet get as many visitors as other more touristic cities around the world, the number of tourists is constantly increasing. This increase needs to be considered as a potential threat for conservation. Tourism “is potentially destructive of attractions, both physically . . . and also because attractions lose their popularity once they are perceived as being ‘overcrowded’ or ‘spoilt’”¹²⁸

In Arequipa’s Historic Center the most important and direct physical threat of a high number of visitors is wear and tear. At the urban level, overcrowding causes wear and tear of the fabric of the urban landscape. In Arequipa’s Historic Center this is appreciated in the cobbled streets and sidewalks. Buildings are also vulnerable to this threat. Since “sillar,” the volcanic tuff used in most of the built heritage in the historic center, has an attractive texture highlighted by the sunlight, tourists are often tempted to touch the buildings’ surfaces and cause damage.

Although physical threats to the urban fabric need to be considered, constant overcrowding as a factor detracting from the appearance and streetscape value of streets is a bigger threat. “When the anticipated image of a narrow street for example can no longer be appreciated, then it also loses value.”¹²⁹ One of the main attractions of the urban landscape in Arequipa’s Historic Center is its human scale and its inviting

¹²⁷ Orbaşlı, *Tourists in Historic Towns*, 59.

¹²⁸ Orbaşlı, *Tourists in Historic Towns*, 59.

¹²⁹ Orbaşlı, *Tourists in Historic Towns*, 59.

environment. Overcrowding can certainly prevent visitors from enjoying these qualities. Although overcrowding impacts are heavily felt in narrow streets, it can also detract from the appearance of bigger urban spaces such as the Plaza de Armas, where the presence of a high number of tourists can sometimes feel overwhelming to the local population.

Tourism brings large number of visitors to urban areas that were planned and built for significantly fewer people. When overcrowding occurs, the urban fabric and its heritage values are threatened and at risk of becoming a place which is no longer attractive to the local population and visitors.

Traffic and Parking Pressures

Arequipa's Historic Center is an area of the city that faces important traffic problems. Traffic jams and pollution are the main threats to historic buildings, urban fabric and environmental quality.

Although tourism is not the main cause of traffic and parking pressures in the historic center, it contributes to the problem. Tourism encourages a greater number of taxis, minivans and buses, which are mostly used to transport visitors from the airport or bus station to their hotels in either the historic center or its immediate surroundings. Although most of the touristic attractions in the historic center are located within walking distance from each other and the weather allows for pleasant walks, traffic increases when visitors attempt to visit other areas of the city. Most of the time they use one of the three bus companies offering city tours in Arequipa. These buses leave from the Plaza de Armas and their route includes six blocks of the historic center, before they leave for other areas of the city.

Overcrowding and traffic pressures are problems Arequipa's Historic Center has been facing for years. Although tourism is not the main cause of these problems, it does contribute to them and could potentially increase these problems as Arequipa becomes more attractive for tourism (see figure 24). In the past few years both issues have been addressed through a reconfiguration of the transportation system as well as the introduction of pedestrianisation schemes in the historic center. Although these plans have mitigated the problems, tourist flows need to be controlled in order to avoid creating new problems.



Figure 24. Overcrowding and traffic pressures in Plaza de Armas. Both are problems to which tourism contributes. Photographs by author.

Changes of Ownership Patterns

Changes of ownership patterns as the result of the increase of tourism is another threat for conservation. If excessive importance is given to tourism in Arequipa's Historic Center, this area of the city could no longer be attractive for other activities.

While the 2002 Master Plan for the Historic Center of Arequipa addresses gentrification issues in different areas of the historic center, new demands and space use patterns generated by the increase of tourism are not assessed. A series of projects, part of the urban renewal program, have prevented areas of the historic center from changing to touristic uses, but there are still other areas that are vulnerable to tourism pressures and use changes.

The most important urban renewal projects in the historic center included the improvement of living conditions in El Solar, the district where most of the slums were concentrated. In this district the most important "tambos" in the city are located. As previously mentioned, these structures served as residence for merchants who stayed here while trading their products. So far three "tambos" have been rehabilitated. These projects required the Municipal Authority, AECI, as well as property owners and tenants to work together. The location and configuration of these buildings made them vulnerable to touristic pressures, but since living conditions have improved and the population has been part of the rehabilitation process, the possibilities of giving in to tourism pressures are fewer now.

On the other hand, an example of changes in space use patterns in Arequipa's Historic Center is the sharp increase in the number of accommodations in the city (see figure 25). In the district of Arequipa, of which the historic center is part, the number of

these establishments is constantly increasing. The number of such registered establishments increased by almost 67 % from 201 in 2003 to 325 in 2010.¹³⁰ Although hotels and other kinds of accommodation are necessary and important as part of a desired mixed use of the historic center, their number needs to be somehow controlled.



Figure 25. La Villa Real, one of many accommodation options in Arequipa’s Historic Center. Photograph by author.

Changing Commerce

“The dirty, unsightly but locally needed commercial activity is being replaced by an attractive souvenir market comprising sought-after exotic ingredients.”¹³¹ As trade

¹³⁰ MINCETUR, “Estadísticas: Indicadores de Ocupabilidad,” http://www.mincetur.gob.pe/turismo/estadistica/clasificados/ocupabilidad.asp?ano=2010&ubig=040101&c_depa=040000&t_depa=AREQUIPA&t_prov=AREQUIPA&t_dist=AREQUIPA&grup=01&t_grup=ESTABLECIMIENTO%20DE%20HOSPEDAJE&cate=TT&t_cate=TODAS%20CONSOLIDADAS&clas=TT&t_clas=TODAS%20CONSOLIDADAS&desde=03&t_desde=MARZO&hasta=03&t_hasta=MARZO (accessed March 25, 2011).

¹³¹ Orbaşlı, *Tourists in Historic Towns*, 66.

patterns changes in the historic center in the benefit of tourism, the utility of the historic center for local population diminishes.

La Uruguaya was the name of a local store specializing in clothes. It was located in Mercaderes street, the traditionally commercial street in Arequipa's Historic Center. La Uruguaya opened its doors as a small fabric store that its owners and their descendents turned into the most important clothing store in the city. A few years ago the store closed its doors and became Patio del Ekeko, "the largest and most complete tourist center of Southern Peru."¹³² In Patio del Ekeko tourists can buy handcrafts, souvenirs, clothes, jewelry and luggage. Services such as a travel agency and a restaurant can also be found. Even though local population visit Patio del Ekeko and shop in some of the clothing or jewelry stores or they might go to the restaurant, this happens in an environment prepared for tourists. It is very likely that they will run into groups of tourists taking their "Good Luck Picture" with the Ekeko, a figure representing abundance and prosperity (see figure 26).

Although this change of use was encouraged by the opening of an important department store in a different area of the city and the change of use to a touristic activity could be considered as a tourism opportunity, this is an example of how changing commerce alters the character and cultural significance of important areas of the city.

Most tourism threats for heritage conservation have already been recognized as general threats for conservation, but the causes so far considered are activities other than

¹³² Patio del Ekeko, "About Us," Patio del Ekeko, <http://www.elekeko.pe/index.html> (accessed March 26, 2011).

tourism. It is necessary to add tourism as an activity that influences these threats in order to better assess them.



Figure 26. “Good Luck Picture” in Patio del Ekeko, a tourist center in the building that used to house Arequipa’s most important clothing store. *Source:* Tripadvisor. “Photos of Patio del Ekeko, Arequipa,” http://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/LocationPhotoDirectLink-g294313-d1724879-i24314784-Patio_del_Ekeko-Arequipa.html#24314784 (accessed March 27, 2011).

Conclusion

The importance of heritage conservation in Arequipa’s Historic Center is widely recognized and efforts have been made in order to retain the cultural significance of the heritage in this historic urban area. On the other hand tourism, following Peru’s tendency, is mainly valued for its economic benefits and it is highly encouraged without recognizing its positive and negative impacts on the heritage and its conservation.

Although tourism has generated funds to support conservation efforts in the historic center, the availability of these financial resources requires Arequipa's community to share with tourism more than just the existing heritage, but to accept the influence tourism has on conservation efforts in the city. Tourism generating awareness of a more diverse heritage is also an example of this influence. Although the introduction of new activities and new uses to redundant buildings as well as tourism as a catalyst for development support conservation efforts in the city, Arequipa as a community accepts tourism as an important activity which presence is felt and that could lead to the emergence of a tourist district isolated from the local community.

“Carrying capacity is a combination of physical capacity and social tolerance”¹³³

Tourism brings confrontation in urban spaces and buildings, overcrowding, as well as traffic and parking pressures. If not mitigated, all of these threats contribute to reaching the threshold beyond which the Historic Center of Arequipa could no longer continue to be attractive for either the community or tourists. Changes of ownership patterns and changing commerce are also dangerous threats because their impacts are not felt as directly and they are harder to manage and mitigate. When these occur, the community might experience the conservation of the built environment, but at the expense of conservation of other aspects that are important in retaining the cultural significance of a place.

An analysis of the possible opportunities and threats that tourism poses for the heritage conservation effort in Arequipa's Historic Center shows that, in fact, tourism in Arequipa poses both opportunities and threats. Most opportunities may not have been

¹³³ Orbaşlı, *Tourists in Historic Towns*, 60.

recognized as such, but they are being taken advantage of, while threats are present but not always recognized. The identification, understanding, and management of both opportunities and threats is important in order to prevent opportunities from turning into threats as well as turning threats into opportunities, whenever possible.

Heritage conservation and heritage tourism cannot be successfully accomplished, in historic centers where tourism is an important activity, separately and in isolation from each other. Although conservation should guide the process, both activities need to be considered as impacting on each other and conservation and tourism goals should be integrated.

CHAPTER VI

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CONSERVATION AND TOURISM PLANNING IN AREQUIPA'S HISTORIC CENTER

The recommendations regarding conservation and tourism planning set forth in this chapter are based on the analysis of tourism opportunities and threats to conservation in the Historic Center of Arequipa. These recommendations seek to contribute to the successful management of these opportunities and threats.

Acknowledging that conservation should guide this process, these recommendations are based on the 2002 Master Plan for the Historic Center of Arequipa, a document intended to establish goals and guidelines for the heritage conservation of this area.

The 2002 Master Plan for the Historic Center of Arequipa redefined the Historic Center boundaries and established a Buffer Zone around it. Both areas together are considered as a Special Treatment Area, occupying 441.4 ha. (see figure 27).¹³⁴

In the 2002 Master Plan the Special Treatment Area was divided into twelve zones based on their specific characteristics, including heritage values, architectural typology, and uses given to the buildings, among others.¹³⁵ These twelve zones are the following (see figures 28 and 29):

¹³⁴ Oficina Técnica del Centro Histórico Convenio AECI-MPA, *Plan Maestro del Centro Histórico de Arequipa: Volumen II Propuesta*, Arequipa, 2002, 22.

¹³⁵ Oficina Técnica del Centro Histórico Convenio AECI-MPA, *Plan Maestro del Centro Histórico de Arequipa: Volumen II Propuesta*, Arequipa, 2002, 23-41.

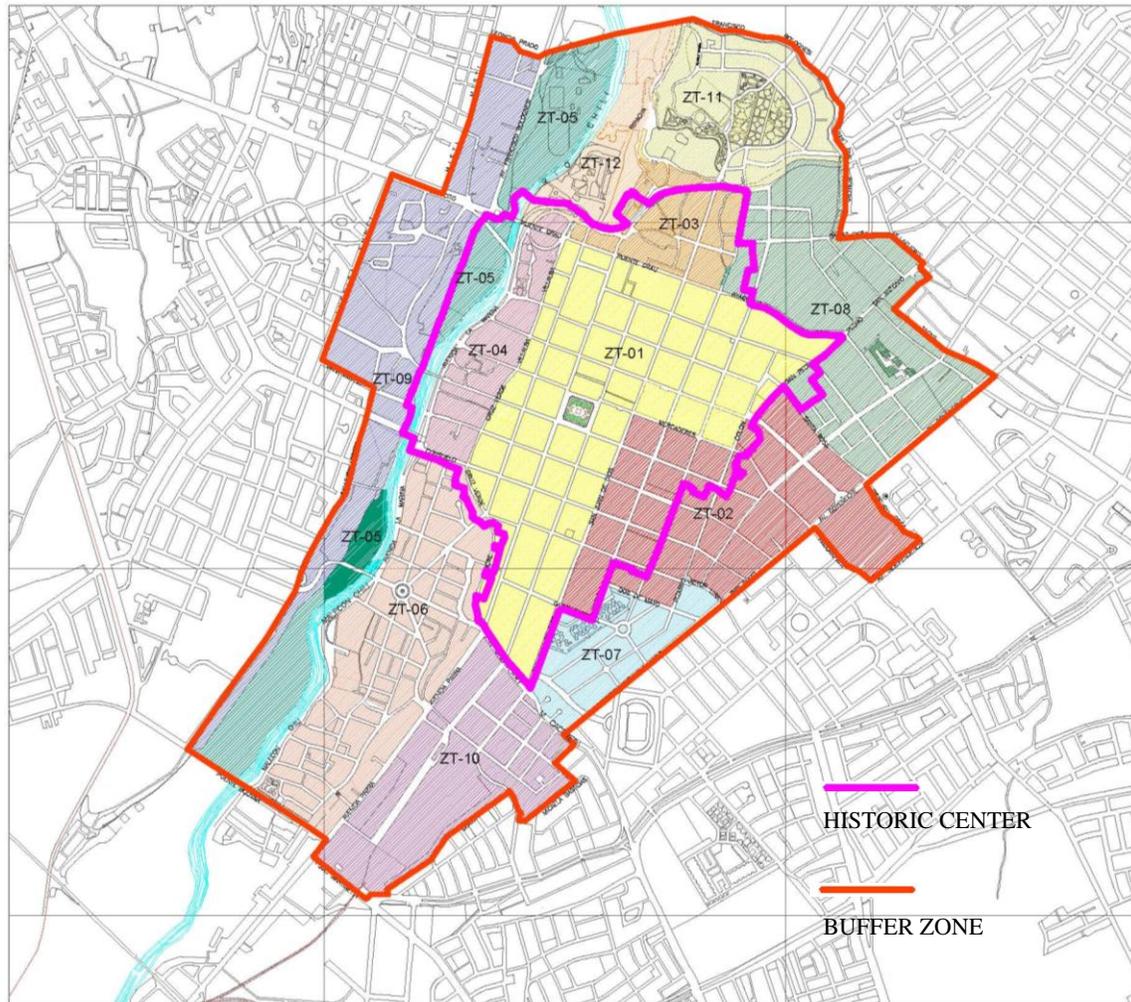


Figure 27. Arequipa’s Historic Center and Buffer Zone within the city’s Special Treatment Area. *Source:* Oficina Técnica del Centro Histórico Convenio AECI-MPA, *Plan Maestro del Centro Histórico de Arequipa: Volumen II Propuesta*, Arequipa, 2002, 24.

ZT-01 Cívico Cultural: 80% of the area declared by UNESCO as a World Cultural Heritage Site can be found here. This area occupies almost 75% of the original Spanish layout and part of the surrounding areas that grew respecting at the beginning the original orthogonal layout. It is the area where most monuments and monumental urban environments are located. The Plaza de Armas and important religious buildings including churches, convents, monasteries, as well as significant examples of domestic

civil architecture including “casonas” are concentrated here. In this area examples of colonial and republican architecture are predominant, but later examples of architecture expressing eclecticism, historicism, and later Arequipa’s neocolonial style complete the urban landscape.

ZT-02 San Camilo: Only a sector of this zone is located within the Historic Center boundaries. This sector occupies the remaining 25% of the original Spanish layout and part of the surrounding areas that grew respecting at the beginning the original orthogonal layout. This area had buildings with similar characteristics to those in ZT-01, but many of them have been lost. It is an area where both formal and informal commercial activities are concentrated.

ZT-03 San Lázaro: The pre-Hispanic irregular layout with winding and narrow streets in this area gives it a unique character within the Historic Center. It is a district where mainly residential, but also touristic activities are concentrated. The houses in this area of the city are usually two-story buildings and are smaller and simpler than the “casonas” in ZT-01.

ZT-04 El Solar: It is a traditional district where many “tambos” are located. As previously stated “tambos” were big houses with large courtyards, which served as residence for merchants, storage for their products, and a place where they could trade them. These buildings are nowadays occupied by many families.

ZT-05 Paisajista del Chili: An area that is still farmed and where a park for the city is planned.



Figure 28. Arequipa's Historic Center. ZT-01, ZT-02, ZT-03 and ZT-04 within the Historic Center boundaries. Map. *Source:* Oficina Técnica del Centro Histórico Convenio AECI-MPA, *Plan Maestro del Centro Histórico de Arequipa: Volumen II Propuesta*, Arequipa, 2002, 24. Photographs by author.

ZT-06 El Vallecito: This area was built during the 1920s and 1930s and is considered to be one of the first “modern” residential areas in the city. It maintains for the most part its residential use.

ZT-07 IV Centenario: This area was considered to be an upscale residential neighborhood in the 1950s but which has deteriorated in the last years.

ZT-08 San Antonio: Several residential areas with different characteristics are concentrated here. The San Antonio Plaza and San Antonio Church are also important within this zone. Facilities such as a hospital and schools are located in this area.

ZT-09 La Recoleta: It is situated on the right bank of the Chili River and is mostly a residential area where the Recoleta Convent as well as some facilities such as an important hospital are located.

ZT-10 La Estación: The old train station and the surrounding areas that will be turned into another park for the city. There are also some residential and commercial areas around it.

ZT-11 Selva Alegre: A residential area planned around the main park in Arequipa, where important examples of Arequipa’s neocolonial style can be found. Touristic and commercial activities are also important in this area.

ZT-12 Molino Blanco: It is situated on the left bank of the Chili River, where an important mill is located and where residential and touristic activities take place.

The Master Plan requires each of these zones to have its own individual plan, which plans ought to be drawn up on the assumption that tourism is an activity that impacts the conservation effort.



Figure 29. Buffer Zone. ZT-05, ZT-06, ZT-07, ZT-08, ZT-09, ZT-10, ZT-11, and ZT-12 within the Special Treatment Area, but outside the Historic Center boundaries. Photographs by author.

Within the historic center boundaries, ZT-01 Cívico Cultural, part of ZT-02 San Camilo, almost all of ZT-03 San Lázaro, ZT-04 El Solar, and a small area of ZT-05 are found. The recommendations for conservation and tourism planning in Arequipa's Historic Center will focus on the first four zones. The other eight zones will, however, also be taken into consideration.

Taking Advantage of Tourism Opportunities for Heritage Conservation

Use of Resources Generated by Tourism that Become Available for Heritage Conservation

1. Identification of Resources

In the historic center most of these resources are generated by entrance fees to historic buildings such as in the case of the Santa Catalina Monastery, La Recoleta Convent, and museums.

Buildings, which have been given a touristic use, also generate resources that often become available for heritage conservation. Since most of these buildings are private businesses, these resources are used to support heritage conservation to the extent the property and business owners consider it necessary. If they appreciate the heritage's values, they are more likely to use these resources to support heritage conservation.

There are other tourism related activities and businesses that generate resources that could potentially become available for heritage conservation. Examples of this are the bus companies offering city tours, which include part of the historic

center in their route. These companies could be charged a municipal levy or tax intended for the mitigation of traffic pressures in the historic center.

2. Encourage the Use of Resources Following Heritage Conservation Plans and Guidelines

The Master Plan for the Historic Center of Arequipa and its conservation plans and guidelines need to be easily accessible to the community. The most relevant sections of the plan should be summarized in a document and distributed to property owners in the historic center. This document should have clear references to the complete document, which should be available online.

While the Municipal Authority for the Historic Center is the institution in charge of the elaboration and enforcement of the 2002 Master Plan, the Ministry of Culture is the highest institution in Peru when dealing with the country's heritage. In Arequipa these two institutions have been working closely together in the past years. Both should be considered as institutions that act as a support for heritage conservation and tourism in the city. When these institutions engage in discussions with other organizations dealing with conservation issues that could be influenced by tourism, this activity should be considered in the discussion. Likewise, when tourism issues that could influence conservation are discussed in the city, these institutions should express their opinion. Moreover, the community should feel that they can visit or call these institution's offices and there will be someone to talk to and guide and support them in their conservation and tourism activities.

3. Creation of New Financial Resources

New financial resources for heritage conservation can also be generated by the creation of touristic circuits and touristic tickets in the historic center. Touristic tickets are encouraged in Peru, aiming to generate resources to promote the conservation and the touristic improvement of the heritage. These have proved to be successful in Cusco, the most visited region in Peru.

Within Arequipa's Historic Center context, tourist circuits could be considered as routes on which historic buildings with common characteristics are organized in a suggested sequence. These routes should take into consideration the building's location as well as the visiting hours. The creation of a tourist ticket for the Historic Center of Arequipa would allow for the organization and management of the different tourist circuits.

Although their creation might be considered opposite to heritage tourism practices and the idea of experiencing a place functioning on its own terms, they could become a helpful tool for conservation and tourism planning and at the same time enhance the tourists' experience. If carefully and creatively planned, their introduction could represent a great opportunity to generate resources, organize tourism, and allow for a planned distribution for heritage conservation.

The creation of tourist circuits can encourage and support other tourism opportunities. Tourist circuits can create awareness of a more diverse heritage by including areas which are not yet fully recognized as reflecting important heritage values. The creation of these circuits can become a catalyst for development by guiding and sending tourism to areas where development wants to be encouraged.

Finally, they support the new activities encouraged by tourism that allow us to give new uses to redundant buildings such as in the case of museums. The creation of tourist circuits can also help mitigate some tourism threats. By guiding, dispersing and organizing tourism, tourist circuits help control overcrowding and traffic pressures and therefore confrontation in urban spaces and buildings.

The characteristics of the historic center allow for the creation of a religious circuit that could include visits to churches, church museums and other religious buildings. The circuit could include information regarding visiting hours in order not to interrupt liturgical or other religious functions as well as hours when these activities take place, in the case that tourists want to share the experience with the community in Arequipa and to avoid confrontation between hosts and guests. Besides ensuring a better experience for visitors and the community, the creation of these circuits allows tourists to visit lesser known buildings that are usually left out of their itineraries, as well as granting them access to buildings that would otherwise be inaccessible.

A circuit including buildings that are examples of civil domestic architecture could also be developed. Although it is desired that the number of house museums in a historic center is limited, in order to express contemporary uses and needs and not the past, Casa del Moral, an eighteenth century building, is the only building in Arequipa's Historic Center that has been given this use. Tourists and the community could benefit from having the option to visit other buildings that represent different periods of Arequipa's history.

The local population could have the opportunity to recognize heritage values of a more diverse heritage than only colonial. If a house museum in a “casona” of the republican period opens its doors, changes in building techniques expressed in two-story buildings instead of one-story buildings, as well as different artistic expressions representing a neoclassic style, among other values, are easier to identify around the city. The local population will be able to become familiar with different periods of the city’s history as part of the city’s heritage. Tourists also have the opportunity to visit a more diverse heritage. Having the option to visit several house museums makes it easier for them to learn about a place that can be very different from their own cities or countries.

The selection of buildings should take into consideration the already existing list of monumental buildings (see figure 30).

Give Buildings New Uses by Taking Advantage of Activities Encouraged by Tourism

4. Identify New Uses

In Arequipa’s Historic Center activities encouraged by tourism that usually seek a location in the historic center and therefore create the possibility to give redundant buildings new uses include overnight accommodation, craft shops, and travel agencies. Tourism also encourages an increase in the number of restaurants, coffee shops and buildings such as museums, where cultural activities take place.

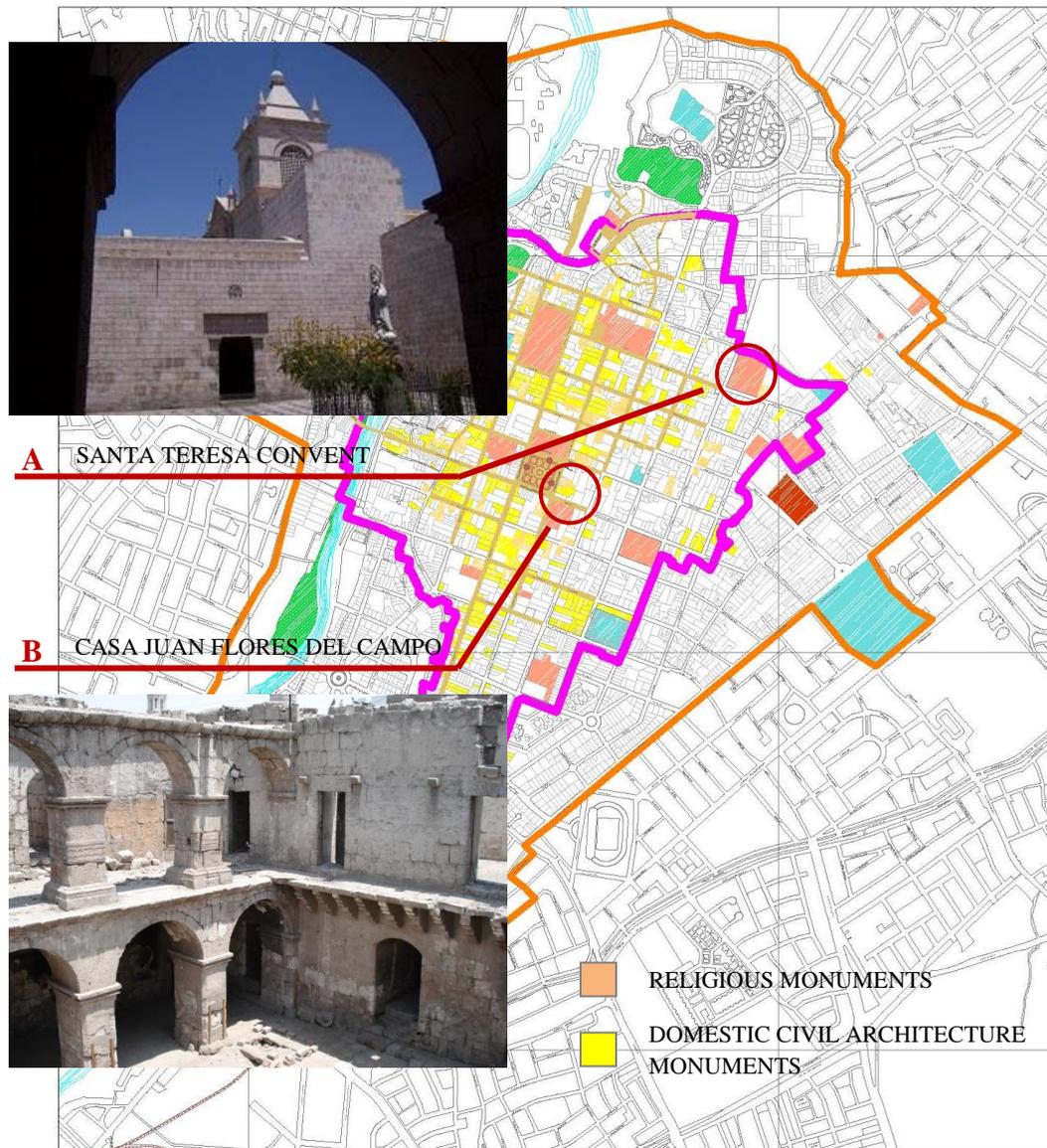


Figure 30. The development of tourist circuits in the historic center could contribute to take advantage of tourism opportunities for heritage conservation. **A.** Santa Teresa Convent could be included in a religious circuit. **B.** Casa Juan Flores del Campo could be included in a domestic civil architecture circuit. Map. *Source:* Oficina Técnica del Centro Histórico Convenio AECI-MPA, *Plan Maestro del Centro Histórico de Arequipa: Volumen I Diagnóstico*, Arequipa, 2002, 63. Photograph A. *Source:* Nuestras Vivencias y Viajes Blog, “Monasterio Santa Teresa-Arequipa,” <http://lalypicardo.blogspot.com/2009/01/monasterio-santa-teresa-arequipa.html> (accessed April 17, 2011). Photograph B. by author.

5. Compatibility of Uses with Conservation Goals

Each building has a different potential for reuse that is closely linked to ownership. In public buildings, where the local government will actively participate in the rehabilitation process, or institutional buildings in which more time and resources are likely to be spent, conservation goals are easier to keep in mind. On the other hand, these goals are more difficult to achieve when buildings are privately owned.

Domestic civil architecture encompasses most of the built environment in Arequipa's Historic Center. These one-story or two-story buildings are usually organized around one, two or three courtyards. Although these buildings can be given many different new uses, some support conservation goals better than others.

The most common tourism related new use given to these buildings in the historic center is accommodation. Although hotels of all categories are necessary, boutique hotels are the kind of hotel which best support conservation goals. The buildings where the boutique hotels are located are usually their main attraction. They can offer a high quality service without being required to have an established number of rooms or services, allowing for a flexible and respectful adaptive reuse.

While museums, restaurants, coffee shops, craft shops and travel agencies place flexible demand on space, allowing for a good balance between the demands of the market and the limitations of the building fabric, they are not all designed having local population in mind. When this occurs, important heritage values such as educational, social and community values are compromised for the community.

Consider Tourism as a Catalyst for Development

6. Identify Areas of the City that Can Become Catalysts for Development

Within the historic center boundaries, ZT-2 San Camilo is the area where tourism has the most potential to become a catalyst for development. This area of the historic center, where formal and informal commercial activities are concentrated, has been neglected for years.

Although many buildings in this area have been lost to accommodate to commercial activities, there are many other buildings that if developed could encourage the development of other projects, urban renewal, and therefore heritage conservation. Two projects that could play an especially important role in turning tourism into a catalyst for development in ZT-02 San Camilo are the adaptive reuse of the former Hotel Presidente building and the rehabilitation of the San Camilo Market (see figure 31).

Former Hotel Presidente, located two blocks from the Plaza de Armas, has lain vacant for almost 20 years since 1992.¹³⁶ It is an eleven-story structure built in the 1970s that has 91 rooms as well as an auditorium, a restaurant and an underground parking space.¹³⁷ For years the owners and the city have been discussing how to best use this building.

Giving former Hotel Presidente its original use represents a series of advantages to the conservation of the building, ZT-02 San Camilo, and the historic

¹³⁶ “Concesión del ex Hotel Presidente en Arequipa,” *miqueridaarequipa.com* (September 19, 2010), <http://miqueridaarequipa.com/concesion-del-ex-hotel-presidente-en-arequipa/> (accessed April 24, 2011).

¹³⁷ “Concesión del ex Hotel Presidente en Arequipa,” *miqueridaarequipa.com* (September 19, 2010), <http://miqueridaarequipa.com/concesion-del-ex-hotel-presidente-en-arequipa/> (accessed April 24, 2011).



Figure 31. ZT-2 San Camilo is the area, within the Historic Center boundaries, where tourism has the most potential to become a catalyst for development. **A.** Former Hotel Presidente. **B.** San Camilo Market. Map. *Source:* Oficina Técnica del Centro Histórico Convenio AECI-MPA, *Plan Maestro del Centro Histórico de Arequipa: Volumen II Propuesta*, Arequipa, 2002, 24. Photograph A. *Source:* De Todo Un Mucho, “Arequipa Modernovirgencita de Chapi,” <http://germaniaa.blogspot.com/2010/07/arequipa-modernovirgencita-de-chapi.html> (accessed April 17, 2011). Photograph B. *Source:* Arequipa: Ciudad Blanca, “Mercado San Camilo de Arequipa,” <http://sintiendosudamerica.blogspot.com/2010/06/arequipa-ciudad-blanca.html> (accessed April 17, 2011).

center. The building can serve the function for which it was originally built without requiring many changes to the original fabric of the structure. Using the building as a hotel also means taking advantage of important features such as a high number of

rooms and the height of the building that allows for interesting views of the city. A building with its height and density would no longer be allowed in the Historic Center of Arequipa. A hotel with 91 rooms and facilities where cultural and other events take place would bring life to the area encouraging others to follow the example in ZT-02 San Camilo. The development of this area of the city would immediately reflect into a better historic center.

San Camilo Market opened its doors in 1881, but the structure where the market is housed today was inaugurated in 1938. In 1987 the market was considered a national monument.¹³⁸ The market has been divided into 32 sections, where groceries, vegetables, fruit, and flowers are sold among other products.

Although in 2008 some improvements to the building such as changes of floors and roof repairs were made,¹³⁹ a comprehensive plan for the rehabilitation of the entire structure as well as the surrounding areas needs to take place. The rehabilitation of the San Camilo Market and the surrounding areas including tourism as an important activity, would contribute to changing commercial activities from informal to formal as new commercial activities are encouraged by tourism. Tourists would benefit from these improvements by having the opportunity to visit the market and in general, ZT-02 San Camilo adds variety to their experience in the city.

¹³⁸ “El más antiguo de Arequipa: Mercado San Camilo celebra 130 años,” *RPP Noticias: Actualidad* (January 6, 2011), http://www.rpp.com.pe/2011-01-06-el-mas-antiguo-de-arequipa-mercado-san-camilo-celebra-130-anos-noticia_325053.html (accessed April 25, 2011).

¹³⁹ “San Camilo, un mercado moderno y seguro,” *BLOG DE MI QUERIDA AREQUIPA* (April 14, 2008), <http://miqueridaarequipa.blogspot.com/2008/04/san-camilo-un-mercado-moderno-y-seguro.html> (accessed April 25, 2011).

Create Awareness of a More Diverse Heritage

7. Identify Areas of the City that Generate Awareness of a More Diverse Heritage

Heritage's own intrinsic touristic values contribute to change the perception the citizens of Arequipa have of their heritage. When tourists visit areas of the city not originally considered as worth conserving by local population, the community reconsiders or reevaluates the values of this heritage. Heritage conservation encourages even more tourism and allows for the opportunity to take advantage of other tourism benefits, enhancing the importance people give to heritage conservation. When tourists visit places in which they recognize important values and realize these are not being recognized by the local population, they reevaluate their own heritage and the way they conserve it.

In both cases awareness of a more diverse heritage is created and more energetic conservation efforts are encouraged. In the Historic Center of Arequipa the rehabilitation of San Lázaro (ZT-03) is the best example of how this tourism opportunity for conservation has been taken advantage of. Other areas in the Buffer Zone, where touristic values have been creating awareness of a more diverse heritage include ZT-09 La Recoleta and ZT-10 La Estación.

Since recognizing a more diverse heritage contributes to diversify the touristic offer and mitigate tourism threats such as overcrowding and traffic pressures, it is important that these values are taken into consideration when planning for conservation and tourism.

Mitigating Tourism Threats for Heritage Conservation

Avoid Confrontation in Urban Spaces and Buildings

8. Heritage Should Serve the Community and Tourism Should be Respectfully Integrated

Most conflicts between hosts and guests in urban spaces and buildings can be avoided if the community's needs are the ones guiding the development of the heritage. Although at an urban level this is more difficult to control, some parameters can be established in buildings.

It has been mentioned that in the historic center churches are the most vulnerable. In most churches daily masses are celebrated at six and eight in the morning, noon, and at six and seven in the evening. This leaves periods of time between nine and twelve and one to six, when churches are open to the public or sometimes, mostly due to security reasons are kept closed. The times when fewer people visit churches and when they are usually closed should be established individually in order to organize guided visits to the churches, allowing visitors to appreciate the historic and artistic values of the heritage without interrupting the community. If tourists want to share the religious experience with local population they can come back, and they would be able to enjoy the experience without creating conflicts. If these measures are applied, access to information regarding the rules established as well as behavior expected becomes very important.

Giving these buildings creative uses such as turning them into eventual concert spaces allows tourists and local population alike to enjoy them without generating confrontation.

Mitigate Overcrowding, Traffic and Parking Pressures

9. Understanding Carrying Capacity

In order to plan tourist development, it is important for tourist authorities to understand the carrying capacity for an area.¹⁴⁰ Although the calculation of carrying capacity in a living urban environment and maintaining a set target is difficult¹⁴¹, some parameters need to be established.

The concentration of tourism in the city varies in space and time. There are areas where tourism is more intensely concentrated and there are seasons during which tourism is more concentrated. Some of the most important areas where tourism concentrates include the Plaza de Armas, streets where touristic attractions concentrate such as Santa Catalina and San Francisco as well as the district of San Lázaro (see figure 32). Tourist activity in the historic center is concentrated in the months of July and August followed by September and October.

Having identified the areas and periods of time when carrying capacity should be measured, the physical capacity of these areas should be first established and then the valued image and context understood in order to get the real carrying capacity of these areas and therefore the historic center.

Through planning strategies such as the creation of tourist circuits and dispersion, the number of tourists should be controlled according to the carrying capacity established. It is important that tourist circuits and tickets offer an attractive alternative for tourists in order to have as many tourists as possible engaging in

¹⁴⁰ Orbaşlı, *Tourists in Historic Towns*, 164.

¹⁴¹ Orbaşlı, *Tourists in Historic Towns*, 164.

organized tourism in the historic center. Other measures that could contribute to respect the historic center's carrying capacity include making efforts to match the number of accommodation offered with the number of tourists desired in the historic center.



Figure 32. Areas within the Historic Center boundaries where tourism concentrates. Map. Source: Oficina Técnica del Centro Histórico Convenio AECI-MPA, *Plan Maestro del Centro Histórico de Arequipa: Volumen I Diagnóstico*, Arequipa, 2002, 63. Photographs by author.

10. Dispersion Strategy

Besides managing the number of tourists visiting the historic center, an appropriate dispersion strategy would help reduce pressure on central attractions. The development of tourist circuits, the identification of areas of the city that can become catalysts for development, as well as the recognition of a more diverse heritage, all contribute to a dispersion strategy.

Most of the zones within the Special Treatment Area (Historic Center and Buffer Zone) have an area that could be developed for tourists use without compromising its values for the community (see figure 33). Within the Historic Center limits, these areas have already been recognized, but a more careful study of the areas in the Buffer Zone is necessary.

Within the Historic Center limits we have ZT-01 Cívico Cultural, ZT-02 San Camilo, ZT-03 San Lázaro, and ZT-04 El Solar. In ZT-01 touristic attractions including churches, “casonas,” and museums are scattered through the area and tourism has developed around these individual attractions. Although some conflicts such as overcrowding or traffic pressures have arisen around them, in general they integrate well in the historic center. It has already been mentioned that ZT-02 San Camilo is the area of the historic center, where tourism should be encouraged and that could potentially become a catalyst for its development. In ZT-03 San Lázaro the small “plaza” and the narrow streets are already highly visited. In ZT-04 El Solar the residential character should be retained and the only tourism related activity encouraged should be the development of some specific kind of accommodation.

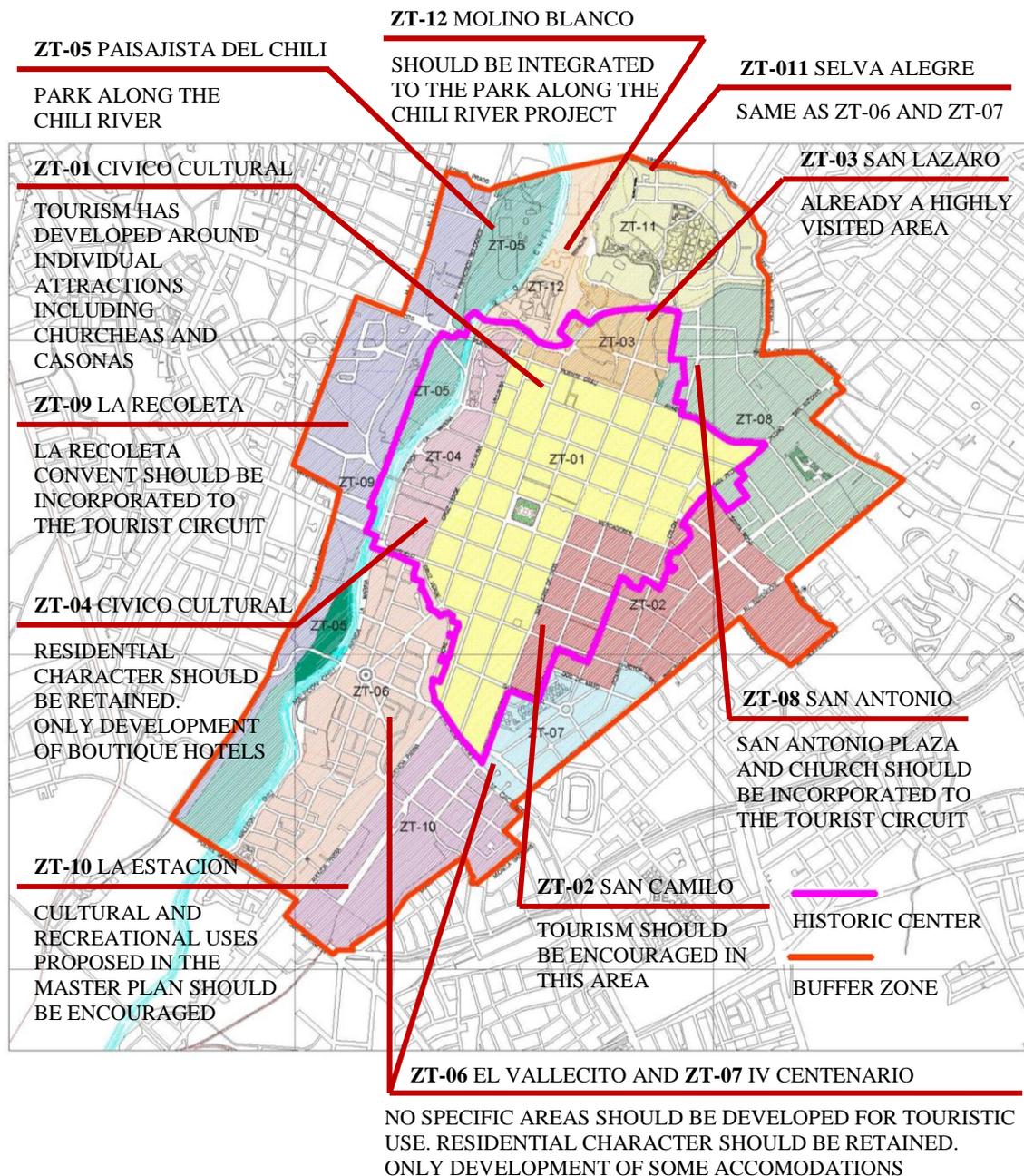


Figure 33. Tourism dispersion strategy in the Special Treatment Area (Historic Center and Buffer Zone). Map. *Source:* Oficina Técnica del Centro Histórico Convenio AECI-MPA, *Plan Maestro del Centro Histórico de Arequipa: Volumen II Propuesta*, Arequipa, 2002, 24.

Within the Buffer Zone boundaries we can find ZT-05 Paisajista del Chili, ZT-06 El Vallecito, ZT-07 IV Centenario, ZT-08 San Antonio, ZT-09 La Recoleta, ZT-10 La Estación, ZT-11 Selva Alegre, and ZT-12 Molino Blanco. In ZT-05 Paisajista del Chili the park that has long been considered along the Chili River could find in tourism a support to help its development for the benefit of the city and its visitors. Although in ZT-06 El Vallecito and ZT-07 IV Centenario no specific areas should be developed for touristic use in order to retain its residential character, the development of some accommodations should be allowed within their boundaries. In ZT-08 San Antonio, the San Antonio Plaza and San Antonio Church should be incorporated to the tourist circuit. This would benefit the community in the district of San Antonio allowing it to add tourism as one of its activities and would benefit tourists by offering them the opportunity to visit a more diverse heritage. In ZT-09 La Recoleta Convent is already considered a touristic attraction that should be incorporated to the tourist circuit. In ZT-10 La Estación the proposed cultural and recreational uses should be encouraged as they will encourage tourists to visit the area. In ZT-11 Selva Alegre as in El Vallecito and IV Centenario the residential character should be retained and the development of only some accommodations should be allowed. ZT-12 Molino Blanco should be integrated to the park project in ZT-05 Paisajista del Chili.

11. Follow the Master Plan for the Historic Center of Arequipa

The 2002 Master Plan established a plan to mitigate overcrowding and traffic pressures in the historic center. Traffic calming and regulations, including pedestrianisation schemes are tied into a wider local plan for the city of Arequipa.

When this plan is reevaluated, tourism should be considered as an activity that tends to stimulate overcrowding as well as traffic and parking pressures in order to better assess the issue for future plans and projects.

Understand Changes of Ownership Patterns

12. Consider Tourism as an Activity that Influences Changes of Ownership Patterns in the Historic Center

The Master Plan for the Historic Center of Arequipa addresses changes of ownership patterns, but does not consider tourism as an activity that influences these changes. Tourism needs to be included as an influential activity for changes of ownership patterns in the historic center.

The 2002 Master Plan for the Historic Center of Arequipa brought together important information regarding the different uses given to the buildings within the Special Treatment Area (Historic Center and Buffer Zone). Based on this information, whatever changes have occurred since the Master Plan's publication, should be identified. Since tourism has increased in the past ten years, evaluating and comparing 2002 information with 2011 or 2012 information is important and relevant. In the following years this evaluation should take place on a three to five years basis.

Once the pattern of changes has been established, the influence of tourism in these changes needs to be measured. This information would allow us to establish the desired uses in each zone and, if possible, in each block, in order to control the changes of ownership patterns which would prevent the historic center from

becoming a place that functions principally to serve the tourists and that could potentially lead to the emergence of a tourist district isolated from the local community. Getting detailed information is necessary if the changes are to be properly established and the desired results obtained. After this first assessment on-going monitoring is necessary.

Rehabilitation projects developed by the Municipal Authority, AECI (the Spanish Agency for International Cooperation), property owners and tenants in the “tambos,” where living conditions were improved reducing the possibility of these buildings succumbing to tourism pressures are great examples of the preventive measures that can be considered in order to avoid undesired changes of ownership patterns.

13. Plan for Tourism

“The amount, location and distribution of services can play an important part in managing visitors and tourism in historic towns.”¹⁴² The number, location and distribution of tourism related services should be regulated through licensing agreements.

The number and type of accommodations in the historic center are especially important (see figure 34). In ZT-1 Cívico Cultural, ZT-03 San Lázaro, and ZT-04 El Solar boutique hotels should be encouraged. In ZT-1 Cívico Cultural this use should try not to exceed a 10% of the buildings and in ZT-03 San Lázaro, and ZT-04 El Solar it should try not to exceed a 5% of the buildings in order to preserve the

¹⁴² Orbaşlı, *Tourists in Historic Towns*, 169.

residential character of these areas. All other kinds of accommodations should be concentrated in ZT-02 San Camilo. The location of this zone within the historic center boundaries and within walking distance to all of the main attractions in the historic center make it appropriate for this use.

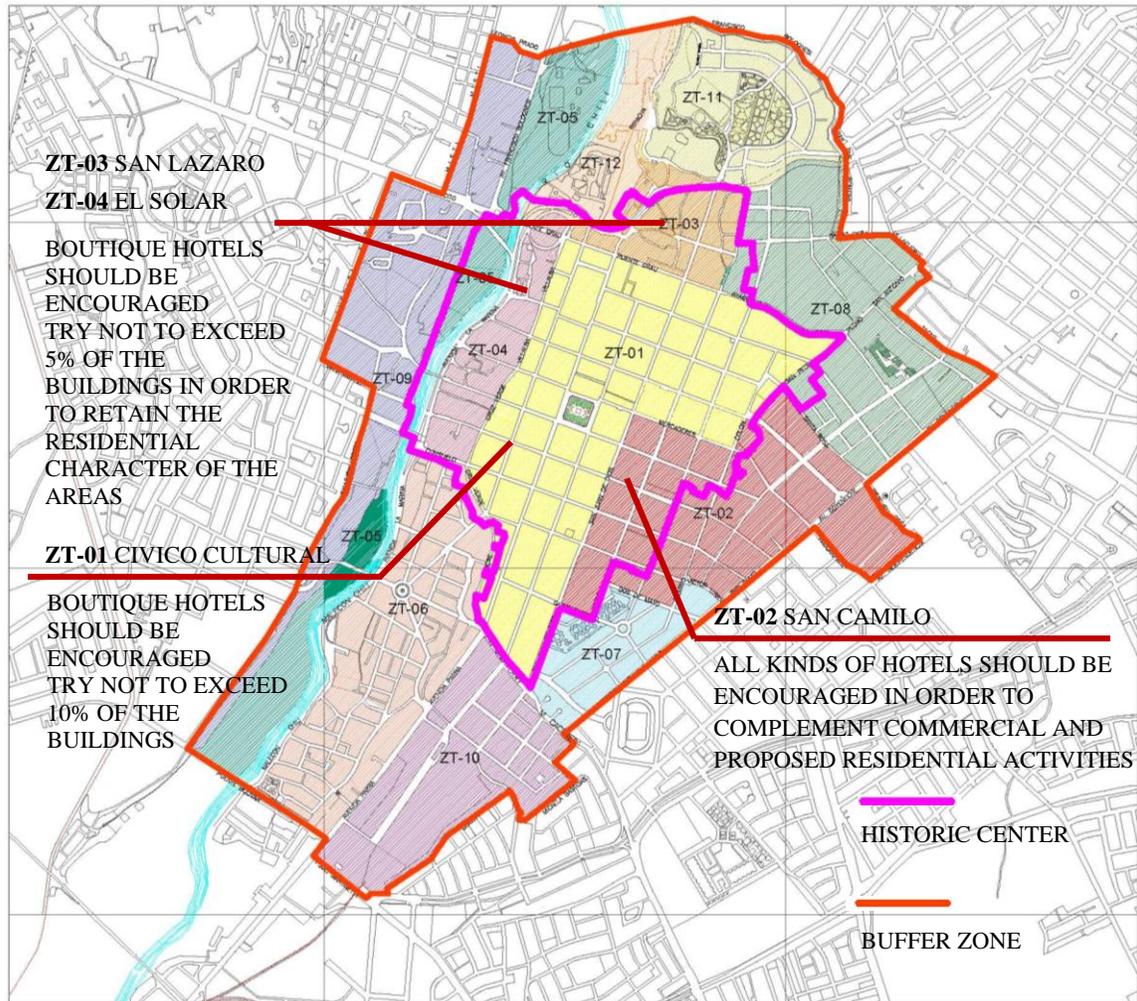


Figure 34. Number and type of accommodations within the Historic Center boundaries. Map. *Source:* Oficina Técnica del Centro Histórico Convenio AECI-MPA, *Plan Maestro del Centro Histórico de Arequipa: Volumen II Propuesta*, Arequipa, 2002, 24.

In ZT-02 San Camilo, we find a concentration of formal and informal commerce. Although the commercial character of this area needs to be retained, the master plan considers residential as an activity to be encouraged. Accommodations could be a good complement for the desired uses. In the Buffer Zone accommodations should also be prudently introduced.

Control Changing Commerce

“The importance of heritage value over commercial and economic gain must be recognized and commercial activity remain appropriate and sensitive to the qualities of an historic area.”¹⁴³

14. Tourism Related Commerce

Commerce should satisfy local needs and tourism related commerce should be considered just as another commercial option in the city. This commerce should be appropriate for the place where it is located.

Although the 2002 Master Plan for the Historic Center of Arequipa identifies the properties within the Special Treatment Area (Historic Center and Buffer Zone) where commercial activities take place, the plan does not distinguish between different types of commercial activity. The plan should be complemented with a detailed study establishing commercial activities that satisfy local needs, commercial activities that satisfy tourism needs as well as those that satisfy both. Once the different commercial activities are established, the location and distribution of these activities should be regulated using licensing agreements.

¹⁴³ Orbaşlı, *Tourists in Historic Towns*, 171.

Since much of tourism related commerce only satisfies tourism needs, there is a greater chance of developing a commerce that is not sensitive to the place where it is located. Involving the community in heritage conservation planning and discussions would allow it to be more aware of the heritage and its values. This would allow the community to develop appropriate commerce for the Historic Center of Arequipa.

15. Encourage Residential Use in Popular Touristic Areas

ZT-1 Cívico Cultural is the area of the city where touristic attractions and tourism related commerce concentrate. While the first floors of buildings have a high commercial value, second stories often have difficulties adapting to new uses in an area where commercial, cultural, administrative, and touristic activities concentrate. The use of second stories for residential purposes would encourage more varied commerce patterns.

Conclusion

Arequipa's Historic Center should plan for conservation and tourism as a priority, before tourism opportunities for conservation turn into threats and threats become difficult to mitigate and to transform into opportunities. These recommendations, building on the 2002 Master Plan, should be taken into consideration when planning for conservation and tourism in Arequipa's Historic Center.

The recommendations set forth in this chapter would benefit from the opinion and contribution of the regional government in Arequipa, the institution in charge of guiding the development of tourism in the region.

On-going monitoring is needed and in five or ten years, depending on tourism growth in the city, the effectiveness of these recommendations should be assessed. This evaluation should determine any necessary improvements to conservation and tourism planning recommendations, as well as evaluate and mitigate any unintentional consequences.

Based on the evaluated and improved recommendations, a standard should be established for other historic centers in Peru. Although each historic urban area in the country has its own particular characteristics, some general guidelines could contribute to the development of conservation and tourism planning in the country's historic centers first, and then adapted to other historic areas.

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