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Ya no tengo vecinos: Local Understandings of Neighborhood Change in Cusco, Peru

Kalyn Finnell

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Ya no tengo vecinos:

Local Understandings of Neighborhood Change in Cusco, Peru

by

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B.A. in Spanish

University of Oklahoma, 2013

THESIS

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Acknowledgments & Dedication

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Este proyecto es para los sambleños y espero con todo mi corazón que les beneficie.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis involves the San Blas neighborhood in the Historic Center of Cusco, Peru. It aims to better understand local effects of the changes that San Blas has undergone since the 1990s and to explore possibilities related to improving the qualities of life of long-term residents (vecinos) who have lived in San Blas for at least two generations. It has two principal objectives: 1) Make recommendations to present to various public and private entities who have a presence and influence over the San Blas neighborhood to improve the likelihood that vecino demands are heard, 2) Illuminate the ways that vecinos are adapting to neighborhood change in order to maintain a sense of community, traditions and ways of life in spite of the strong presence of tourism in the neighborhood. The data in this thesis were derived from participatory asset mapping sessions and interviews with San Blas vecinos, academic literature, literature published by the Municipality of Cusco and the Ministry of Culture, the Master Plan of the Historic Center of Cusco and participatory observation. Recommendations for improving vecino qualities of life were suggested by vecinos and myself. While this thesis is specific to the San Blas neighborhood of Cusco, I hope that its findings, methods and methodologies might be applied to additional areas of the Historic Center of Cusco and other UNESCO World Heritage cities of Latin America and beyond for exploring strategies and solutions to the displacement of long-term residents and the disruption of their livelihoods in the context of highly concentrated cultural tourism.

Keywords: cultural tourism, gentrification, Indigenous mapping, placemaking, cultural patrimony, Research Justice, Cusco

RESUMEN EJECUTIVO

Esta tesis trata del Barrio San Blas en el Centro Histórico del Cusco, Perú. Tiene el objetivo de conocer mejor los efectos de los cambios que el barrio ha sufrido desde los años 90 y de explorar ideas acerca del mejoramiento del barrio para los vecinos que han estado ahí por dos generaciones o más. Tiene dos objetivos principales: 1) Hacer recomendaciones para presentar a varias entidades públicas y privadas que tienen una presencia e influencia en el barrio para que tomen en cuenta las peticiones de los vecinos, y 2) Demostrar las maneras en las que los vecinos se están adaptando a los cambios en el barrio para mantener su comunidad, tradiciones y modos de vivir a pesar de la fuerte presencia del turismo en el barrio. Las metodologías de esta tesis valoran el conocimiento y sabiduría de los vecinos igual, o incluso más, que la literatura de la academia, de organizaciones no gubernamentales (ONGs) y de las ramas del gobierno del Cusco y del Perú. Este documento es tratado como una conversación e intercambio de información entre los vecinos, que están viviendo las realidades que se menciona en esta tesis, y yo, como investigadora. Así mismo, examina la historia del turismo en Cusco y en San Blas, el cambio de régimen económico del país en el año 1990, la entrada de capital extranjero en el barrio y el cambio de población, y los efectos que estas circunstancias han tenido en el Barrio San Blas y sus pobladores. Las sugerencias para mejorar la calidad de vida de los sambleños son recomendaciones hechas por los vecinos mismos y por mí como investigadora. Esta tesis se enfocó en el Barrio de San Blas en Cusco, sin embargo, espero que sus resultados, métodos y metodologías puedan ser aplicados a otras partes del Centro Histórico del Cusco y a otras ciudades designadas por la UNESCO Patrimonio Cultural del Mundo en Latinoamérica. Adicionalmente, que sirva como base para que se siga explorando estrategias y soluciones al desplazamiento de residentes y a la agitación de sus vidas en el contexto de este turismo cultural concentrado.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments and Dedication	iii
List of Figures	ix
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Problem Statement	1
1.2 Introduction	2
1.3 Analytical Framework	7
<i>A. METHODOLOGIES</i>	7
<i>B. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT & ASSET MAPPING</i>	11
1.4 Methods	14
<i>A. INTERVIEWS</i>	16
<i>B. MAPPING SESSIONS</i>	17
<i>C. PARTICIPATORY OBSERVATION</i>	19
CHAPTER 2: HISTORY & SOCIAL MAKEUP OF CUSCO	20
2.1 Indigenous history of Cusco & San Blas	21
2.2 Rural-urban blurring in Cusco	26
2.3 Tourism history of Cusco and San Blas	28
<i>A. 1920s-1940s</i>	28
<i>B. 1950s-1980s</i>	30
<i>C. 1980s-1990s</i>	33
2.4 Summary	35
CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW	35

3.1 Gentrification	35
3.2 Prioritizing local place and voices	37
3.3 Contextualizing gentrification	38
<i>A. NEOLIBERAL POLITICS OF GENTRIFICATION</i>	40
<i>i. Unequal distribution of tourism and wealth</i>	40
<i>ii. Inaccessibility to the tourism sector</i>	41
<i>iii. Cusco at capacity</i>	42
<i>B. SYMBOLIC GENTRIFICATION</i>	43
<i>i. Gringos legitimizing Indigenous culture</i>	43
<i>ii. Commodification of culture</i>	45
<i>iii. Historic value and urban practicality</i>	47
3.4 Contestations of space	47
3.5 Summary	51
CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS	51
4.1 Leaving and staying	51
4.2 Assets	53
<i>A. PUBLIC & GREEN SPACE</i>	53
<i>B. TRANQUILITY & SAFETY</i>	57
<i>C. ARTISAN WORK, TRADITIONS & CUSTOMS</i>	60
<i>D. PATRIMONY</i>	64
<i>E. CLEANLINESS & MAINTENANCE</i>	66
4.3 Master Plan	68
<i>A. ISSUES</i>	68

<i>B. ACTION PLANS FOR MASTER PLAN</i>	70
<i>C. PROJECTS FOLLOWING MASTER PLAN PUBLICATION</i>	75
4.4 Summary	77
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS	77
5.1 Vecinos and scholarly debates	78
5.2 Vecino placemaking	81
5.3 Critiques of the Master Plan	88
5.4 Recommendations	89
<i>A. SAFETY & PUBLIC SPACE</i>	90
<i>B. RENOVATIONS, MAINTENANCE & CLEANLINESS</i>	92
<i>C. ARTISAN WORK, TRADITIONS & CUSTOMS</i>	95
5.5 Summary & next steps	98
<u>Appendix A</u> : Map of San Blas.....	101
<u>Appendix B</u> : Glossary.....	102
<u>Appendix C</u> : Governmental and non-governmental entities in Cusco.....	113
<u>Appendix D</u> : Recommendation documents.....	115
References	133

List of Figures

Figure 1: Location of the San Blas neighborhood in the Historic Center of Cusco.....	2
Figure 2: <i>The Great Inka Road: Engineering an Empire</i>	3
Figure 3: San Blas Church, 1905.....	4
Figure 4: Carmen Alto, 2017.....	5
Figure 5: <i>Knowledge in the World</i>	7
Figure 6: Mapping Session.....	15
Figure 7: Mapping Session Chart.....	17
Figure 8: Chart from Mapping Session.....	18
Figure 9: Mapping Session.....	19
Figure 10: Participatory Observation Site, 2017.....	19
Figure 11: San Blas Church, 2017.....	22
Figure 12: Pedestrian street in San Blas, 2017.....	25
Figure 13: Mendivil Galleries, 2017.....	26
Figure 14: Inti Raymi, 2016.....	29
Figure 15: Canal in shape of serpent on Uspha Calle.....	33
Figure 16: San Blas neighborhood, 2017.....	34
Figure 17: Mapping Session.....	38
Figure 18: Informal workers in San Blas, 2017.....	42
Figure 19: Home for sale, 2017.....	43
Figure 20: Plazoleta San Blas, 2017.....	49
Figure 21: Map of present-day San Blas, from mapping session.....	52
Figure 22: Before and after maps of San Blas, from mapping session.....	54
Figure 23: Locals working in agricultural field above San Blas, along the Antisuyu.....	55
Figure 24: San Blas traffic, 2017.....	56
Figure 25: View of Cusco and Ausangate Mountain from San Blas, 2017.....	57
Figure 26: Asociación de Artesanos market, 2017.....	61
Figure 27: View from chichería above San Blas, 2017.....	62
Figure 28: Trash collection space in San Blas, 2017.....	67
Figure 29: Informal vendors in San Blas, 2017.....	79
Figure 30: Asociación de Artesanos, 2017.....	83

Figure 31: K'usilluchayuq, 2017.....	84
Figure 32: Sambleños in neighborhood above San Blas proper, 2017.....	85
Figure 33: Typical interior patio of San Blas home, 2017.....	86
Figure 34: Mote with Andean cheese.....	96

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Problem Statement

This thesis concerns the San Blas neighborhood in the Historic Center of Cusco, Peru in the context of the city's tourism boom, which began in the 1990s. It addresses the issue of tourism-led neighborhood change with particular attention to local perceptions of the transformations taking place, offering possible actions. This thesis asks: **What are the effects of patrimonyⁱ and tourism in San Blas and how can assets be maintained, revived and used to serve the needs of long-term residents better?** This thesis builds from literature that works to contextualize gentrification, combining gentrification, tourism and historic preservation literature with an emphasis on knowledge production taking place at a local level. I argue for the necessity to maintain and build from locally-determined neighborhood assets and to continuously address local issues that arise as Cusco's tourist population increases. By carefully examining long-term resident perspectives, this project addresses local actions suggested by and for the community. This document will be made available and presented to all participants, in addition to the Junta de Vecinos (Neighborhood Association) of San Blas. As a form of advocacy, it will include an appendix of documents addressed to organizations and governmental entities working in Cusco for the community to appropriate and use in making neighborhood demands. Finally, as a form of empowerment, this thesis will examine the ways that long-term residents maintain social networks, community, traditions and lifestyles in the face of neighborhood change.

1.2 Introduction

“Ya no tengo vecinos.” I don’t have neighbors anymore. This was among the most common phrases that San Blas residents related to me while talking about neighborhood change. This phrase was enunciated with regret and frustration; residents miss the warm, welcoming, quiet place that their neighborhood once was. While San Blas largely maintains its physical character, the human geography, culture, traditions and pace of life have changed dramatically since the tourism boom. To most residents, this constitutes a profound loss. Although many expressed hopelessness concerning the future of the neighborhood, expecting it only to commercialize more, residents continually enact resistance to the negative aspects of the change that has taken place in the neighborhood through community spaces that exist physically within and outside of the neighborhood.

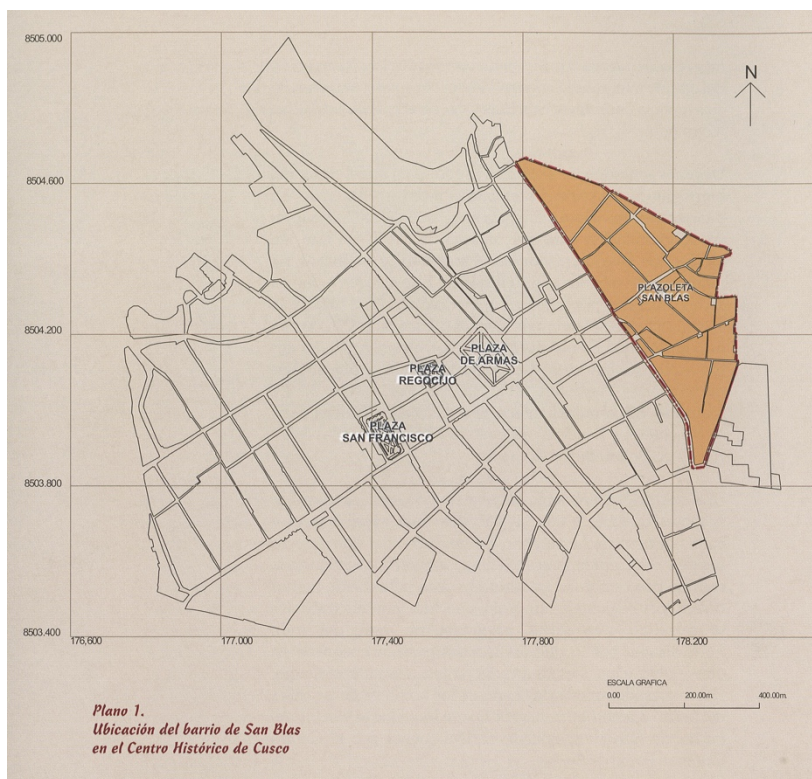


Figure 1: Location of the San Blas neighborhood in the Historic Center of Cusco. Source: Centro Guaman Poma de Ayala, 2005.

Residents have a strong sense of pride for San Blas and Cusco and enjoy talking about their love of place and memories, and what should be considered when planning for the neighborhood's future.

The San Blas neighborhood of Cusco sits on the edge of the

city center in the steep hills northeast of the Plaza de Armas. It is just below the well-known Inca ruins of Saqsayhuaman. Until the mid-1990s, San Blas was a small, quaint, typical Andean neighborhood on the outskirts of Cusco. It was an intimate neighborhood with few vehicles and businesses, where children played outside all hours of the day. Due

to the presence of water, San Blas has been inhabited since before Inca times. The Inca Empire (early 13th century – post-1533) is known as Tawantinsuyuⁱⁱ in Quechua. Tawantinsuyu was made up of four territories: Antisuyu, Qullasuyu, Kuntisuyu and Chinchaysuyu.

Cusco was the center of these four areas (see Figure 2). The main road leading to the center of Cusco from the Antisuyu is known by the same name, Antisuyu (Antisuyo). This road runs through the middle of San Blas down to the Plaza de Armas, Cusco's center. Thus, San

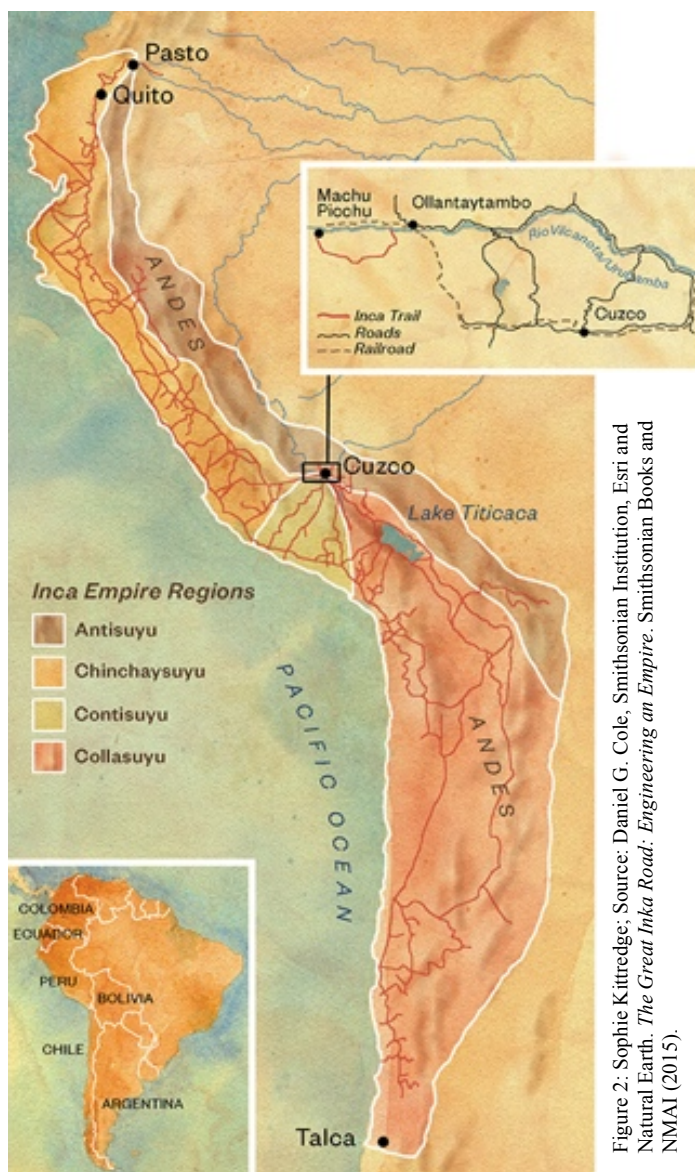


Figure 2: Sophie Kittredge; Source: Daniel G. Cole, Smithsonian Institution, Esri and Natural Earth. *The Great Inka Road: Engineering an Empire*. Smithsonian Books and NMAI (2015).

Blas was a significant neighborhood in Cusco during Inca times. The period following the conquest of Tawantinsuyu in 1533 is known as the Spanish-Colonial Period, and it lasted until the entrance of the Republican Period in 1822, marking Peruvian

independence from Spain. Of the twelve Inca neighborhoods in Cusco, San Blas was one of eight where Spanish parishes were established during the Colonial Period.ⁱⁱⁱ Thus, the neighborhood is home to both Inca and Spanish-colonial ruins.



Foto 2. Iglesia de San Blas (1905)

Figure 3: San Blas Church, 1905. Source: Centro Guaman Poma de Ayala, 2005.

Up until the 1970s, farmers would travel the Antisuyu road from the Sacred Valley with llamas and alpacas laden with agricultural goods to trade for products like sugar and other necessities (Yandel, personal communication, July 4, 2017). They were traded in what is now the main plaza of San Blas (the Plazoleta), which was then a field of grass that functioned as both a place for children to play and an informal market. During the 1980s, in part due to the presence of the terrorist group called the Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso), the civil war and a national

economic crisis, there was little tourism in Peru.

However, after tourist safety was secured in the 1990s, Cusco became one of the most important tourist destinations in Latin America, because of its history as the ancient Inca capital and its proximity to the famous archeological site, Machu Picchu.^{iv} Still, there were other actors at play in the transformation of San Blas and Cusco into tourism centers. For example, Daniel Estrada Pérez, mayor of Cusco during the 1980s and 1990s, played a large part in supporting Cusco's designation as a UNESCO^v World Heritage City,^{vi} for which it was designated in 1983. Estrada is widely loved among Cusqueños;

during his time as mayor, he made significant improvements to the city and the San Blas neighborhood concerning sanitation, lighting and conservation of historic structures. He did so in the midst of the civil war, enormous inflation and high levels of poverty and suffering.

These improvements were welcomed not only by locals but also foreigners; the winding, cobblestone streets, picturesque colonial homes and restored Inca structures throughout the San Blas neighborhood made it particularly popular for tourists. Thus, the neighborhood abruptly became highly commercialized and filled with artisan and souvenir shops, museums, tourism agencies, restaurants and hostels. Although the improvements, conservation of historic buildings and UNESCO designation have been beneficial to neighborhood residents, they also have had adverse effects, namely with the



Figure 4: Carmen Alto, 2017

transformation of the quaint, Andean neighborhood of San Blas into a busy, global tourism center. While it might be expected that the tourism boom would create positive opportunities for locals, in the midst of the boom Peru took a

dramatic economic turn. Alberto Fujimori was elected as President of the Republic of Peru in 1990; following his election, the country's dramatic shift to neoliberalism did not secure redistribution of the capital brought by tourism to Cusco residents, upon which I will expand later.

As a result of the changes since the 1990s, the cost of living and property values in the neighborhood have become much higher. Foreigners have moved in, tourists have become ever-present and the area has been recreated for tourists, rather than long-term residents. Examples of this include the disappearance of most *chicherías*^{vii} – small restaurants serving traditional, affordable food (*extras*) and *chicha* (Peruvian corn beer) – the disappearance of most stores selling necessary goods for households (*abarrotes*), and the appearance of expensive, international restaurants, hotels and souvenir/artisan shops. Many long-term residents have either sold their properties or are renting them out and living elsewhere in Cusco. Consequently, the San Blas neighborhood has acquired issues of increased amounts of trash, devaluing of local customs and values, alcoholism, drug addiction and lack of safety, among other things.

In the current chapter of this thesis, I will describe the analytical framework, methodologies and methods I employ in this project. In chapter two I will describe the history and social makeup of Cusco and San Blas, with an emphasis on Indigenous history, the movements between the rural and the urban and tourism. In chapter three I will outline the scholarly literature based in Cusco, with an emphasis on literature that relates to processes of gentrification. In chapter four I will outline my findings from the mapping sessions, interviews, participatory observation and the Master Plan of the Historic Center of Cusco. Finally, in chapter five, I will present conclusions and recommendations for the future of San Blas according to *vecino* priorities, which were shared in the data collection process of this project.

1.3 Analytical framework

A. METHODOLOGIES

The methodologies^{viii} I draw from and employ in this thesis establish local level knowledge production as priority. I draw from Research Justice Theory, which “envisions equal political power and legitimacy for different forms of knowledge” and works to deconstruct the power continuum of knowledge production that favors mainstream knowledge and knowledge produced in academic circles (See Figure 3) (Jolivéte, 2015, p. 6). This deconstruction of power continuums decolonizes knowledge by valuing non-Western knowledge equally and at times more than Western knowledge.

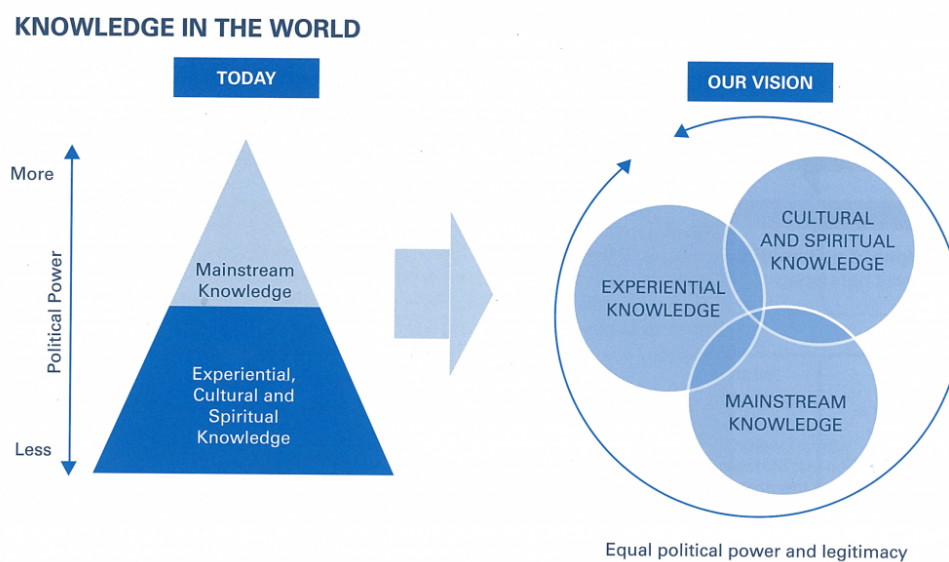


Figure 5: Source: Data Center: Research for Justice © 2010

According to Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999), “Decolonization, however, does not mean and has not meant a total rejection of all theory or research or Western knowledge. Rather, it is about [centering] our concerns and worldviews and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes” (p. 39). In this thesis, I work to balance different forms of theories and knowledges.

However, I maintain long-term San Blas residents as the primary source of knowledge, as they have experienced neighborhood change most directly.

The methodologies I use call for participatory methods where research is “a collective endeavor and a shared knowledge creation process between academic and community researchers” (Jolivéte, 2015, p. 7), drawing from Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR)^{ix} and Participatory Action Research (PAR)^x. These methods include active engagement of the communities affected by the phenomena being studied to promote positive change and action stemming from a local level (Hacker, 2013). While I was unable to employ total participation from the beginning of my thesis, I have worked to incorporate participatory processes into it within the geographical and time constraints of this master’s thesis. The idea of studying neighborhood change stemmed from conversations with my former Quechua teacher, whose home is on the outskirts of the San Blas neighborhood. She commented frequently about how different San Blas is today from when she was a young girl, and also from when she built her home there as an adult. I adapted my research question according to concerns of San Blas community members and used participatory methods for collecting data. In this thesis I identify only problems determined by community members themselves (which often correlate with scholarly literature), primarily exploring solutions offered by community members during the mapping sessions and interviews.

With that being said, this thesis is an intermediary step for the work that I am doing with the San Blas community. Upon graduating I will return to San Blas with a translated thesis, and I will adapt it according to community desires so that it may be used to help improve the livelihoods of long-term San Blas residents. As stated in the

introduction, the Appendix will have documents addressed to governmental entities and organizations that work in the San Blas neighborhood with demands for protecting neighborhood assets. The community will appropriate these documents and adapt them according to their needs for neighborhood demands. Thus, while this thesis builds from tourism and gentrification literature, it is written in a way that allows it to be appropriated by the locals affected by neighborhood change. I aim to write for both local and academic audiences simultaneously (Martin, 2015). The dissemination of this knowledge through sharing this thesis “[assumes] a principle of reciprocity and feedback” (Smith, 1999, p. 15).

The analytic timeframe of this thesis includes the lifetimes of the long-term San Blas residents aged 25 and older, up until now. A crucial period for my project is the 1990s when the tourism boom in San Blas began. The majority of the data I use come from interviews and mapping sessions where long-term residents articulated their experiences during their lifetimes. My analysis is also framed by the years to come, as my goal is to explore and suggest strategies for improving the lives of long-term residents in the present and future.

This research materialized after much time spent in Peru and Cusco. I visited Cusco twice as a tourist in 2011-12 while living in Lima, and in 2016 I lived in Cusco while studying the Quechua language for approximately two months, where I familiarized myself with the San Blas neighborhood. During the summer of 2017, I studied Quechua at the same center (Centro Tinku) for another two months, before conducting fieldwork in the neighborhood.

The time I spent in Cusco and Peru prior to conducting fieldwork was especially valuable because of my subject position. Peru was where I first learned Spanish in 2011. I attended a university that many Cusqueños attend in Lima. Also, during the summer months of 2016 and 2017, I lived with a Cusqueña family that was originally from the smaller town of Urcos in the Cusco region. I became close to my Cusqueña family and they would take me to weddings, baptisms and birthdays. I would work on their farm in the Sacred Valley, and we would spend countless hours over mate de muña^{xi} telling stories. My host mom made me typical dishes, and when I would learn about Andean foods in my Quechua class, she would prepare the dishes I had yet to try. She also helped me cook ponche de habas^{xiii} for my first mapping session. In Quechua class we learned where different typical sayings in Andean and Peruvian Spanish originate; we visited communities and made wathiyas^{xiii} with families and learned how to make ch'uño.^{xiv} In class we learned how to chew coca leaves^{xv}, drink chicha^{xvi} and play sapo.^{xvii} And of course, we played soccer. These experiences helped me relate to and understand the San Blas that long-term residents described to me, and it helped me contribute better to conversations and connect with local traditions and values, allowing for more mutual trust between participants and myself.

Nonetheless, despite my love for Peru and Cusco and the cultural knowledge I have obtained through personal experiences, relationships, language and books, I will never be Peruvian or Quechua and my subject position as a North American female researcher made an impact on the research I conducted. Some of the people I worked with talked about how my subject position will help create change because the Municipality of Cusco would be more likely to listen to an outside academic than local

neighborhood residents. However, community members were already enacting change in many ways. The San Blas Neighborhood Association (Asociación de Junta de Vecinos para la Defensa de los Intereses de la Parroquia de San Blas), for example, is working on a campaign for educative communication called *San Blas Verde, Limpio y Culto* (*San Blas: Green, Clean and Cultured*). In this campaign, they are working to establish allies throughout San Blas, its neighboring areas and Cusco to raise consciousness about the environment, cleanliness and cultural/historic patrimony and to promote responsible behaviors that benefit individuals and the collective neighborhood. They are primarily concerned with waste management, conservation of green space and patrimony.

In this thesis, I worked primarily with long-term residents of San Blas, the San Blas Neighborhood Association and the San Blas Artist and Artisan Association, whom I met through friends, Quechua teachers, interviewees and the director of the program where I studied Quechua. I refer to long-term residents as *vecinos*^{xviii} and *Sambleños*^{xix} because residents referred to themselves as such. I will refer to the San Blas Neighborhood Association (Asociación de Junta de Vecinos para la Defensa de los Intereses de la Parroquia de San Blas) as the Junta de Vecinos. Finally, I will refer to the San Blas Artist and Artisan Association (Asociación de Artistas y Artesanos Productores de San Blas) as the Asociación de Artesanos. *Sambleños* often referred to them as the *Artesanos*; however, I do not want to confuse the members of the Asociación de Artesanos with other artisans in the neighborhood.

B. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT & ASSET MAPPING

Asset mapping is a method often used for community development. In the context of this project, the defined community is long-term residents of San Blas who have lived

in the neighborhood for at least two generations. Community development can mean different things, depending on who is defining it. Ronda Phillips and Robert H. Pittman (2015) discuss community development as both an outcome and a process. As an outcome it is the “physical, social, and economic improvement in a community” and as a process it is “the ability of communities to act collectively and enhancing the ability to do so” (Phillips & Pittman, 2015, p. 3). The idea of development in this sense is to improve the qualities of life of residents, which I explore with this project.

However, “development” in Latin America is a charged term that often assumes unequal dealings between Latin America and wealthy countries of Europe, the United States and Canada, that has resulted in the dependency of Latin American countries on those leading global capitalism. The national projects in Peru that were carried out with a desired outcome of development include import-substitution industrialization, which was the exporting of raw materials using “a system of tariffs to protect nascent industries in Latin America until they could compete effectively with foreign imports” (Desforges, 2000, p. 181). This development strategy was formed at the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean in 1948. Like many other countries between the years 1970 and 1980, Peru borrowed heavily from governments of the United States and Europe. Gillian Hart (2010) notes that “the flood of petrodollars pouring into commercial banks created the economic incentive for massive loans to Third World governments during the 1970s that paved the way for the debt crisis,” from which Peru was not exempt (p. 124). Hart (2010) notes that the hesitancy to continue loaning money to countries of the Third World resulted in “bailout arrangements that shifted the risk of such loans to the populations of borrowing countries and the prising open of

capital markets” (p. 125). The neoliberal shift in the 1990s was a response to the damage that intervention for the sake of “development” had in Latin America. However, neoliberalism is also a form of development imported from the United States, and as stated before, it lacks the necessary distribution of wealth for improving the qualities of life of Peruvian peoples, and it mostly favors foreign capitalists.

While development often has loaded connotations in Peru, participatory processes are conversely geared more towards equity and community-centered development, allowing for community improvements according to local concerns, wants and needs. One way to consider and promote the improvement of local qualities of life is through Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD). ABCD “[builds] on a community’s assets rather than focusing on its needs for future development” (Haines, 2015, p. 45). An asset can be defined as “the status, condition, behavior, knowledge, or skills that a person, group, or entity possesses, which serves as a support, resource, or source of strength to one’s self and others in the community” (Burns, Pudrzynska & Paz, 2012, p. 6). Anna Haines (2015) examines assets in relation to different forms of capital, including physical capital, human capital and social capital. Physical capital, according to Haines (2015), “comprises the roads, buildings, infrastructure, and natural resources within a community” (p. 48). “Human capital is defined as the skills, talents, and knowledge of community members” (Haines, 2015, p. 48). Social capital is the most complex of the three, and it “often refers to the social relationships within a community and can refer to trust, norms, and social networks that are established” (Haines, 2015, p. 48). The idea is that ABCD can enhance and strengthen the assets that a community already possesses.

Asset mapping is the method used in this project as a way to exert Asset-Based Community Development. The purpose of asset mapping is to find out “how community action can build on the expertise, experiences, and resources that are already available” in a community (Green, 2015, p. 214). Participatory asset mapping is used here to envision the improvement in qualities of life for Sambleños. It is used because it allows for vecinos themselves to determine what is important in the neighborhood, to envision how they want their neighborhood to be and to focus on neighborhood opportunities, rather than negative issues (Green, 2015). In this way, asset mapping promotes proactive change that is rooted in place and that vecinos can control.

1.4 Methods

The methods I employed for this thesis were derived from the methodologies outlined in the previous section that call for collective, local knowledge production that is valued equally to mainstream and academic knowledge. Furthermore, residents that have lived through the massive neighborhood changes know best what they are missing, what they need, and what they had and did not have before the tourism boom. With the knowledge produced through oral history and stories, this project works to “create horizontal power and autonomy among marginalized communities” (Salomón A., 2015, p. 197). In terms of data collection, I conducted thirteen semi-structured interviews, two participatory mapping sessions and participatory observation. I also obtained the Historic Center’s current Master Plan (*Plan Maestro del Centro Histórico del Cusco*) and educational materials about cultural patrimony, which were created for residents in past campaigns. During the analysis phase of this project, the following data were coded using

atlas.ti: transcribed interviews, maps and charts made in mapping sessions, and participatory observation notes.

The participatory methods of this project also empowered vecinos by providing a platform for expressing opinions and suggesting solutions to issues they had with the current state of San Blas. Rachel Slocum (1995) views participation as a process of empowerment, “[involving] consciousness-raising and knitting together a ‘shared



Figure 6: Mapping Session

understanding of problems and a vision for the future that leads to commitment and ownership by the community” (Slocum et al., 1995). The participatory mapping sessions strengthened the awareness and importance of the effects that tourism-induced phenomena have on residents. Participants were vocal and passionate about their neighborhood

and the issues at hand. Having a platform for expressing opinions related to these matters, in addition to learning about outside, academic interest in the matter, strengthened neighborhood residents’ sense of pride and ownership over neighborhood priorities and possible solutions.

Oral testimony through the interviews and mapping sessions was also relevant because it bridges various spheres connected to, attributing to and affected by the changes going on in San Blas and the Historic Center of Cusco (Slim & Thompson, 1993). Oral testimony connected the changes affecting residents in San Blas to various life spheres;

the massive amounts of trash, for example, correlate to health, and the inaccessibility of restaurants is connected to income. These restaurants are also a significant reason for the increased amount of trash in the streets. The management of trash and of restaurants belong to different entities within the Municipality of Cusco, pointing to the importance of navigability through these multiple spheres that interconnect.

The importance of stories and storytelling is prominent among Quechua- and Spanish-speakers in the Andes. Thus, listening to the stories and lives of long-term residents is tied to the area's context. Citing Russell Bishop, Smith (1999) acknowledges storytelling as "a useful and culturally appropriate way of representing the 'diversities of truth' within which the storyteller rather than the researcher retains control" (p. 145). The Peruvian Andes is an area where oral tradition is particularly important; before the arrival of the Spaniards, there was no known written language. While the City of Cusco is mainly a Spanish-speaking city, Quechua continues to be widely spoken, and it is spiritually and emotionally present for those who do and do not speak the language. Furthermore, even Cusqueños who do not speak Quechua retain linguistic tendencies and vocabulary attributed to Quechua.

A. INTERVIEWS

The interviews I conducted were semi-structured and lasted between thirty minutes and one hour. They were primarily with residents living in the neighborhood for at least twenty years, between the ages of 28 and 68. All but two interviewees were from the neighborhood. The interview questions involved the following themes: family origins; memories; modern realities; San Blas identity; important spaces in the community; neighborhood change; neighborhood displacement and resistance;

neighborhood unity; tourism; personal priorities for the neighborhood's future; personal experiences in San Blas.

B. MAPPING SESSIONS

The two mapping sessions lasted two hours each and focused on community assets,^{xx} factors that put assets at risk, factors that work to maintain assets, and possible solutions. After a conversation about neighborhood values, assets, resources and change, participants drew two maps each: one map of the neighborhood in the past and one map of the neighborhood today; assets were included in the maps. The timeframe of each map of the neighborhood in the past depended upon the ages of the participants and the time periods they wanted to represent. After each person discussed his/her map, participants collectively decided upon the five most important assets/changes. We then filled out the following chart,^{xxi} which also analyzed each asset according to its importance and the factors that put it at risk and that help maintain it:

ASSET (Aspectos Valorados/Recursos)	IMPORTANCE (Importancia) (1-3)	FACTORS THAT PUT ASSET AT RISK (Factores que ponen en riesgo los recursos de la comunidad)	FACTORS THAT WORK TO MAINTAIN ASSET (Factores que aseguran el mantenimiento de los recursos de la comunidad)
Asset 1			
Asset 2			
Asset 3			
Asset 4			
Asset 5			

Figure 7: Mapping Session Chart.

Next, as a group, we considered solutions for maintaining the five most important assets discussed.

The first mapping session took place in the home of a participant, and there were five participants. The participants learned of the session by word-of-mouth amongst the contacts and friends I have in Cusco. All participants of the first session were at least second generation Sambleños.

The second mapping session took place in the Casa de la Cultura, which houses the Junta de Vecinos. There were ten participants, six of which belonged to the Junta de Vecinos. Two participants belonged to the Asociación de Artesanos. All participants but

ASPECTOS VALORADOS/ RECURSOS	IMPORTANCIA (1-3)	FACTORES QUE PONEN EN RIESGO LOS RECURSOS DE LA COMUNIDAD	FACTORES QUE ASEGURAN EL MANTENIMIENTO DE LOS RECURSOS DE LA COMUNIDAD
seguridad, tranquilidad	3	- droga, los vendedores de drogas (venta + consumo) - delincuencia turística - foráneos	- serenaazgo, policía en la Plaza - rondas vecinales (antes?) - iluminación - cámaras - espacio público
Espacio público	3	- parques dejados - inseguridad - no hay parques/jardines verdes - alcalde no hace bastante	- Junta directiva - residentes - municipio - alcalde
Artesanía	2	- el turismo - historia de barrio de artesanos - cultura - junta de artesanos	- artesanía foránea - no venden nuestra cultura - vendan cosas de otras partes
Casas coloniales	3	- huéspedes restringen el acceso - lluvias - falta de mantenimiento por los dueños - instituto no permite el mantenimiento a veces	- que vivan en ellas - gente que se ha ido, en problemas - muchos dueños - no se ponen de acuerdo - el hogar ha vuelto menos interesante - los intereses de la gente
turismo	2	- inseguridad - falta de respeto del barrio y sus valores - demasiados turistas - no hay vecinos ya no basura → No hay impuestos - transporte - turistas son para llevar solo drogas	- apoyan a los artesanos económicos - restaurantes, hostales - comparten cultura

Figure 8: Chart from Mapping Session

one in the second session were from San Blas, and all were San Blas residents.

The two groups approached the mapping sessions differently, particularly regarding solutions. The first mapping session's solutions looked at each asset separately, while the second mapping session's solutions considered all assets as a whole. The different approaches to the discussion were in part because the Junta de Vecinos was already engaging with these issues on a regular basis and enacting strategies for dealing with them. For example, in the past, the Municipality only picked up trash every other day. However, the Junta de Vecinos made an agreement with the Municipality to have



Figure 9: Mapping Session

trash collected daily, improving Sambleño health. Thus, in the mapping sessions, the suggestions for positive change with the Junta de Vecinos (second mapping session) were modeled mainly after what it was already doing as an association. The first mapping

session, however, discussed ideas about each particular program from different angles. The two mapping sessions complemented each other with their distinct perspectives.

C. PARTICIPATORY OBSERVATION

The participatory observation I conducted took place in the following spaces: Each morning I ate breakfast at the Mercado San Blas (the neighborhood market) and practiced Quechua with ladies who worked there; I frequented picanterías with local friends; I spent hours in the courtyard of the San Blas family home/Airbnb where I stayed, where the owners would spend countless hours



Figure 10: Participatory Observation Site, 2017

cleaning the rooms and battling the grass growing between the patio stones of the interior courtyard; I spent time in the Plazoleta San Blas, where restaurant workers promoting

their workplace often approached me, in addition to artisans selling work and guides selling tours; I also went to different businesses throughout the neighborhood frequented almost exclusively by tourists (mainly coffee shops, yoga studios and other businesses).

CHAPTER 2: HISTORY & SOCIAL MAKEUP OF CUSCO

In this thesis, I refer to San Blas as a formerly “typical” (típico) Andean community because long-term residents referred to it in this way. For context, I will expand upon what a “typical” Andean community means. By typical, I mean a community that follows Andean traditions and ways of living, such as consuming local gastronomy, shopping at local markets, spending the weekends during the dry season making wathiyas as a family and playing soccer. They are closely-knit communities. Most residents of San Blas and Cusco came from small towns throughout the Cusco region and beyond; thus, rural and urban traditions fuse and transform in neighborhood and city spaces.

Although Tawantinsuyu fell in 1533 with the murder of the last Inca Emperor, Atahualpa, the Spanish maintained structures of Inca/Quechua life during its reign over Peru; this attributed to their success in the region. Also, the City of Cusco stands at 11,155 feet (3,400 meters) above sea level and surrounding areas and towns are at an even higher altitude. The Andes were difficult to reach during the Spanish-Colonial Period; Cusco has always had much less Spanish influence than Peru’s coastal capital of Lima. Lack of Spanish presence, the extreme physical environment of the Andes and the continuing resilience of Quechua, Aymara and other Indigenous groups of Peru, contribute to the strong Indigenous presence in the country. After the fall of

Tawantinsuyu, Peru did not merely become a Spanish area; although the Spanish left significant and lasting impacts on Cusco, its Indigeneity has been continually present since it was first settled (before Tawantinsuyu's beginning). The typical Andean community is an example of the embodiment of lasting tradition and resilience within Andean peoples and places.

2.1 Indigenous history of Cusco & San Blas

Andean communities cannot be essentialized into a definition. They are complex and rooted in Indigenous cultures, primarily Quechua and Aymara; however, they have been dynamic and changing since prior to the existence of the Inca Empire, and they continue to be so with the constant flow between the urban and the rural (Starn, 1991), in addition to the global. Place and identity are crucial aspects that must always be taken into account when considering the future of the San Blas neighborhood.

Certain concepts are necessary to mention when discussing the Andean community. One concept is the vertical economy, which is a term coined by anthropologist John Murra to describe the trading network between ecological levels, amongst peoples extending from the Andes to the coast and the Amazonian jungle (Wachtel, 1973). San Blas was part of this vertical economy and has been inhabited since before the establishment of the Inca Empire (Concejo Provincial, 1993b). Up until the late 1980s, people from the Sacred Valley would walk to Cusco, entering through San Blas with llamas and alpacas laden with goods from the fertile valley to trade for other products, such as sugar and coffee. This tradition demonstrated continued examples of the vertical economy, which adapted to the urban environment with the existence of the

market in the Plazoleta of San Blas and in the Plaza de Armas, where people would trade goods and food (Yandel, personal communication, July 4, 2017).

Another term related to the Andes is ayllu, which refers to Andean kinship networks, including family, neighbor, marriage, trade and non-human networks. The vertical economy is a system deeply entwined with ayllus; goods were traded amongst ayllus. When the Spanish first arrived in Cusco, there were twelve Inca neighborhoods; the neighborhood in modern-day San Blas was known as Thoqo Kachi^{xxii} (Concejo Provincial, 1993b). Thoqo Kachi was divided into three sections,^{xxiii} which were controlled by ayllus (Concejo Provincial, 1993b). The Spanish converted eight of those neighborhoods into Catholic parishes; they constructed the churches of each parish atop huacas.^{xxiv} The San Blas Church was built in 1562 (Concejo Provincial, 1993b) and the new neighborhood was formed

between 1559 and 1562 (Centro Guaman Poma de Ayala, 2005).

During that time the neighborhood consisted of four ayllus.^{xxv} Around

this time, the Spanish inspector Sancho Verdugo recorded 1,136

Indigenous households in the

neighborhood (Concejo Provincial, 1993b). After the establishment of the San Blas

Parish, San Blas was home to Indigenous and Spanish residents. In 1689 the Church

registered 352 Indigenous residents^{xxvi} and 250 Spanish residents in San Blas (Concejo Provincial, 1993b; Centro Guaman Poma de Ayala, 2005). It was at this time that San



Figure 11: San Blas Church, 2017

Blas began its transition from an “Indian neighborhood” to a mestizo neighborhood. Nonetheless, according to linguist Bruce Mannheim (2018), there were few, concentrated pockets of Spanish settlers in Cusco between the 17th and the early 20th century. Furthermore, most Spaniards in Cusco during this time spoke both Quechua and Spanish (Durstun & Mannheim, 2018).

Later on, when the Spanish became more established in the area, many of those who lived in the region were hacendados (Spanish landowners), who usually lived on their haciendas (large areas of land owned by people of Spanish descent). Native people living on or near the haciendas worked in the fields; the hacendados would give the Native peoples a piece of land to work for themselves and in return they had to work for the hacendado. Native peoples working on the hacienda were overworked, abused and mistreated; the days that one was unable to work would accumulate, making a family indebted to the hacendado (Quispe Huamán, 1977). This hacienda system lasted until 1968 with the entrance of the military government of Juan Velasco and its subsequent Agrarian Reform. The Reform was welcomed by Indigenous communities and represented a recognition of discrimination against Indigenous peoples taking place since the arrival of the Spanish. However, the Velasco government did not properly organize the dismantling of the hacienda system through structural change, leaving a void where the hacendados formerly stood (Theidon, 2013, p. 4). This radical change in structure negatively affected the productivity of agricultural lands, leaving a devastating effect on Cusco’s economy, which was primarily agricultural (Hardoy & Dos Santos, 1983). The Agrarian Reform in Peru “transformed haciendas into state-owned agricultural cooperatives and...eradicating the label ‘Indian,’ officially replacing it with the term

‘peasant’” (campesino) (de la Cadena, 2000, p. 38). During this time, Indigenous communities became known as *comunidades campesinas*, making the terms community and peasant the most common ways of referring to Indigenous groups and lands in the Andes.

The Agrarian Reform, alongside the tourism boom and educational/professional opportunities, was a substantial reason for migration from rural areas of the Cusco region to the City of Cusco. Besides, "in the 1950s, the countryside was afflicted by a prolonged drought that impoverished the peasants and sent migrants to the city" (de la Cadena, 2000, p. 38). According to Tauro's Illustrated Encyclopedia of Peru, the City of Cusco's population grew "from a little over forty thousand in 1940 to almost 200,000 in 1981" (as cited in de la Cadena, 2000, p. 38). Hacendados also moved to the city when the Agrarian Reform was passed. During this surge of migration, San Blas received both campesino and hacendado migrants.

San Blas architecture dates back to the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries (Concejo Provincial, 1993a). There are four classifications of historic buildings in San Blas (Centro Guaman Poma de Ayala, 2005); most are a mixture of Inca and Spanish structures made of adobe with ceramic roof tiles. The houses in the lower part of the neighborhood were originally next to the river and have a terraced garden in the back. Higher up in the neighborhood homes are on a slope with an interior patio and a garden. The third type of home is that which is found on the Cuesta San Blas street, and it is smaller with an open, interior patio/garden. Finally, the fourth type of home is in the higher part of the neighborhood. These homes are small, they occupy various slopes and they have tiny doors and windows (Centro Guaman Poma de Ayala, 2005). The façades of buildings in

San Blas are painted white and the doors and balconies are bright blue. The neighborhood is filled with steep, cobblestone pedestrian streets and is perched upon the hillside with beautiful views of the city below.

The rooms of the homes in San Blas were traditionally inhabited by people of all economic levels of society. The buildings were typically owned by a family of higher economic status and rented or traded for work by residents of lower economic levels. This blended social mixing within households continued throughout San Blas until the tourism boom, when homes began to serve other purposes related to tourism, such as hotel and restaurant businesses.



Figure 12: Pedestrian street in San Blas, 2017

San Blas is known as the artist/artisan neighborhood (*barrio de los artesanos*). Even in the early 1900s, according to Marisol de la Cadena (2000), San Blas was the home to artisans; she points out that at this time artisan was “a very broad, stratified, and ambiguous occupational category in [Cusco], including tailors, seamstresses, shoemakers, bakers, barbers, tanners, and carpenters, among many others” (p. 35). Also, in reference to San Blas, de la Cadena (2000) mentions that “[the] streets of Tulumayo and Limacpampa...lodged *manaderos*, men and women who bought and slaughtered cattle from nearby rural areas” (p. 37). Later on, San Blas became home to self-taught, world-renown *artistas populares* (popular artists^{xxvii}) such as Hilario Mendivil, Santiago Rojas, Edilberto Mérida and Antonio Olave, among others. These famous artist families are of a

high social class. Much of the artist and artisan work that continued in San Blas stemmed



Figure 13: Mendivil Galleries, 2017

from the workshops of these famous artists and their workers, who often branched off to make artwork on their own; the children of these artist workers have also inherited the artist/artisan trades. Others in San Blas, however, have taken

advantage of the tourism market for artisan work and have become artists due to the profession's demand.

2.2 Rural-urban blurring in Cusco

In the context of Peru, when people move from a *comunidad campesina* to the city, complexities of identity are created and illuminated. People will often decide to no longer identify as Indigenous campesinos, but rather as *mestizo*. In Latin America, *mestizo* refers to a person of mixed heritage, who is part Indigenous and part European, namely Spanish in the context of Peru. This is primarily due to issues with racism against Indigenous peoples in the urban sphere. Nonetheless, identity is more complex than this, and despite the existence of racism, people are proud of their Indigenous identities and more often occupy a space that Marisol de la Cadena (2000) refers to as Indigenous *mestizo*. Furthermore, Indigeneity is far more accepted in terms of cultural norms in the highland City of Cusco than it is in Peru's coastal capital of Lima.

In de la Cadena's book titled *Indigenous Mestizos* (2000), she explains how Indigenous mestizos in the City of Cusco occupy a space that they themselves define, where they are culturally mestizo and indígena (Indigenous), or neto^{xxviii} (legitimately Indigenous/indigenous to an area). Over time, they will not necessarily become less "Indian." Nor do they label themselves as indio (Indian) because of degrees of education and urbanity and the negative association of the term indio, since it has been used in racist contexts since the arrival of the Spanish. De la Cadena writes about what she calls "de-Indianization," which differs from the dominant perspectives and stereotypes of "the Indian." "De-Indianization" is the process by which one can socially ascend without losing cultural Indigeneity. Nevertheless, it still reinforces a type of discrimination, because those who move up socially through movement or education refuse to accept the label of "Indian," and see themselves as superior to Indigenous peoples living in rural areas without a significant amount of education.

De la Cadena also writes about how dominant representations of tourist folklore are reinterpreted by urban Indigenous mestizos, who are continually reconfiguring their identities. In doing so, the rural and urban are merged, yet separate in specific instances. A hierarchy does exist for mestizos, and certain signifiers of Indianness are undesirable to urban people, yet Indigeneity is not denied, and representing oneself as neto is often desired. The vecinos with whom I worked in Cusco identified themselves mainly as mestizo. None of the participants spoke Quechua; the parents and grandparents of some spoke Quechua, while others came from families that only spoke Spanish. It can also be deduced that many of the Indigenous inhabitants did not necessarily own land, making their displacement more likely; in the context of rising home values, renters are the most

vulnerable to displacement. More than anything, participants were proud to identify themselves as *Sambleños*; they were proud of the history of their neighborhood, happy to be a part of it and worried about the negative outside influences affecting it.

2.3 Tourism history of Cusco and San Blas

A. 1920s-1940s

According to de la Cadena (2000) and Deborah Poole (1997), tourism in the city has its roots in the intellectual movement of Cusco's *indigenistas* of the 1920s. The *indigenistas* were self-designated experts on Indigenous peoples who believed that racial regeneration through reviving the Inca race was the best way to "fix" issues around the "Indian." Luis Valcárcel was the most significant proponent of this movement. This movement grew in response to the pro-criollo^{xxix} nationalistic agenda coming from Lima, which valued a lettered, "civilized," largely European society. *Indigenistas*, on the other hand, believed that *mestizos* were Indians who were morally degraded because of their residence outside of traditional agricultural communities. With the promotion of *Indigeneity* and Inca society, elite *Cusqueños* were able to claim Indigenous ancestry and simultaneously reject the morally degraded "indio" stereotype; today this is played out within Peru's tourism industry and its ways of glorifying the Inca past while marginalizing Indigenous peoples.

Following *indigenismo*, the 1940s brought a response of what came to be known as *neindianismo*. As a reaction to *indigenismo*, *neindianismo* was meant to be more inclusive of everyday people as a representative of authentic, rather than elite, Inca culture. In this way, Andean folklore was included, and the masculine image of the *cholo* was promoted. De la Cadena (2000) notes that in this context, *cholo* refers to a

phenotypically Indigenous person and is used as the opposition to “whiteness” (p. 147). Nonetheless, despite the neoindianistas’ intentions of resisting the elitist aspects of indigenismo with their creation of Cusco Day and Inti Raymi in 1944, the values of the idealized, elite, Inca past under the indigenista intellect were once again reinforced and everyday Quechua people were excluded from the festival (de la Cadena, 2000). Inti Raymi is the sun festival which was reportedly practiced yearly during the Inca Empire. The Inti Raymi practiced in 1944 and today, however, is not the actual Inca celebration; it is a recreation that was constructed using documentation and chronicles from the colonial period. Since then, Cusco Day has expanded into Cusco Week, and is filled with dances and processions throughout the city; during Cusco Week, movement through the city center is complicated and traffic increases dramatically. Through the contemporary



Figure 14: Inti Raymi, 2016

practices of Inti Raymi and other tourist-led activities, indigenismo as a concept valuing elite descendants of the Incas over modern-day peasants is perpetuated today.

Partially because of the emphasis that Cusco’s tourism sector puts on

Indigeneity and the Inca past, the City of Cusco prioritizes the preservation of Inca and Spanish-colonial structures, often dismissing the modern needs of long-term inhabitants of the Historic Center. It is important to recognize that even after the entrance of neoindianismo ideology, Luis Valcárcel continued to enact and promote his indigenista ideologies through the powerful positions he held throughout his professional career; he

was Minister of Public Education, president of various cultural institutions in Peru and he served on the Executive Peruvian Committee of UNESCO. Indigenismo has been incredibly intertwined with historic patrimony and tourism since their inception in Cusco.

Starting before the beginnings of Cusco Day and the Inti Raymi festival, Peruvian tourism was mostly coordinated through the Touring y Automovíl Club del Perú (Touring and Automotive Club of Peru) between the years of 1924 and 1963; the state was not very involved in Peru's tourism sector, which was small at the time (Desforges, 2000). During this time, however, particular events and funding for the restoration of archaeological sites enabled the expansion of tourism. For example, in 1933, law No. 1788 was passed, "which recognized Cuzco as the Archaeological Capital City of South America" (Mendoza, 2009, p. 32). At the same time, Cusco was recognized as the "Folkloric Institution in Peru" (Mendoza, 2009, p. 35). 1934 marked the Commission for the Fourth Centennial of the Spanish Foundation of Cuzco, which resulted in the funding of much-needed infrastructural projects, such as the road next to the Urubamba River leading to Machu Picchu in 1948 and the funding of archaeological restoration, such as with Machu Picchu and Pisac^{xxx} (Mendoza, 2009). The construction of a road leading to Machu Picchu made a tremendous impact on tourism accessibility in Cusco.

B. 1950s-1980s

In the year 1950, Cusco suffered a magnitude seven earthquake, which destroyed almost 3,000 homes, left over 30,000 people homeless and caused nearly 20,000 people to leave the city (Samanez Argumedo, 2013). The earthquake spurred the creation of the Junta de Reconstrucción y Fomento Industrial del Cusco (Reconstruction and Industrial Development of Cusco), since the city needed significant urban changes and restructuring

(Samanez Argumedo, 2013). Due to the improper management and demolition of historic structures at the beginning of Cusco's post-earthquake reconstruction, in addition to the lack of public agreement as to how historic structures should be managed within these circumstances, Cusco requested help from UNESCO. UNESCO assisted with the creation of a Misión de asistencia (Assistance Mission) to help with the management and reconstruction of historic structures. The indigenista Luis Valcárcel played a large part in the creation of this Misión, which was led by Dr. George Kubler (Samanez Argumedo, 2013). This marked a major turning point in Cusco's movement towards designation as a UNESCO World Heritage City.

Beatrice Simon (2009) notes that after “a UN declaration in 1963, tourism came to be seen as a good alternative income strategy in Peru” (p. 118). Accordingly, in 1963, the state tourism institution called Corporación del Turismo del Perú (COTURPERU) was created (Desforges, 2000). COTURPERU was in charge of hotels run by the state; it was in charge of the train between Cusco and Machu Picchu; it created the Escuela Nacional de Turismo (National School of Tourism); and it employed numerous Cusqueños (Desforges, 2000). Soon after COTURPERU's creation, in 1965, Plan COPESCO was formed, which was in charge of stimulating the construction of touristic installations in Peru (Hardoy & Dos Santos, 1983). In 1969 under the military government of Juan Velasco, COTURPERU was put below the Ministry of Industry and Commerce. In 1978 with the growth of tourism, the sector was expanded into the Ministry of Industry, Tourism, Integration and Commerce (MINTINCI) (Desforges, 2000). Velasco's government favored a state-led development model. Nonetheless, despite the entrance of tourism as a major economy for the Cusco region, agriculture

remained the most prominent economic activity in the area (Hardoy & Dos Santos, 1983).

During the 1970s, Velasco created the Sistema Nacional de Apoyo a la Movilización Social (SINAMOS), which translates to the National System of Social Mobility Support. Through this program, the Peruvian government paid for the restoration of Inca structures and the channeling underground of the Tullumayo^{xxx} River, which is the border of the San Blas neighborhood with the rest of Cusco (Mariana, personal communication, August 10, 2017). A paved street was placed atop the river, maintaining the name Tullumayo. The redirecting of the Tullumayo River cut off vecino access to the river and allowed for further urbanization and traffic in and around the San Blas neighborhood.

In addition to the incorporation of the tourism sector into the state, Velasco expropriated mining and oil companies from foreign capital. In the early 1970s tourism became an important factor in Cusco's economy (Mendoza, 2009). However, at the same time, Peru was borrowing vast sums of money. By the 1980s, Peru was suffering from massive inflation, debt and high-interest rates "related to new Thatcherite/Reaganite ways of controlling inflation in the north," leading to the collapse of its state-led development model (Desforges, 2000, p. 183). Furthermore, as previously stated, in the 1980s the country was in a civil war between the military and the Shining Path; the country was suffering greatly from violence, poverty and migration.

C. 1980s-1990s

Despite Peru's difficult situation in the 1980s, Cusco still had an enormous potential to return as a significant tourist destination; in 1983 Cusco was designated a UNESCO World Heritage City and Daniel Estrada Pérez was also elected as mayor of Cusco. Estrada was a young socialist committed to decentralization of government and high redistribution policies (Mora de Estrada, 2014). As previously stated, in 1993 Estrada was in charge of the major restoration project of the San Blas neighborhood, called the Integral Remodeling of the San Blas Neighborhood (Concejo Provincial, 1993a). The title he held that related to this project was Vice President of the Interim Executive Committee of the Organization of World



Figure 15: Canal in shape of serpent on Uspha Calle

Patrimony Cities (Concejo Provincial, 1993b). During this restoration project, the City of Cusco restored Inca water channels, installed drainage, widened and paved 24 streets with cobblestone, paved the Plazoleta, built one large fountain in the Plazoleta and seven smaller fountains throughout the neighborhood and added 228 streetlamps (Concejo Provincial, 1993b). The streetlamps, fencing and Plazoleta integrated Inca designs, and the Quechua language was incorporated into the street names. In addition, supplies, such as paint, were provided to neighborhood residents to improve the façades of their homes. Neighbors financially supported 30% of the project and the Municipal government of Cusco financed the remaining 70% (Concejo Provincial, 1993b). This intervention took

place a few years before the massive tourism boom in San Blas. It should be noted, however, that in 1983, other areas of the Historic Center already had significant tourist traffic (Hardoy & Dos Santos, 1983). At this time, the plazas of Nazarenas, San Blas and Santo Domingo still counted for activities related with permanent resident and vecino needs (Hardoy & Dos p. 88). The restorations carried out by Estrada and the Municipality



Figure 16: San Blas neighborhood, 2017

were welcomed by neighbors, as they improved qualities of life immensely; drainage and paving of roads made movement through the neighborhood safer, especially during the rainy season. Lighting also improved neighborhood safety. The aesthetic improvements and incorporation of Inca elements and design were a positive change for residents.

Nonetheless, as the tourism boom began in the 1990s, the restorations and Inca-inspired improvements to

San Blas made the neighborhood prone to heavy tourism and outside investment.

In the year 1990, as a result of the violence, extreme poverty and hyperinflation, Peru elected a new presidential leader. When Alberto Fujimori took office, he significantly curtailed state spending and allowed for the privatization of state-owned industries. Private sector promotion led to the shrinking of the state tourism sector. Fujimori's policies aligned with the Washington Consensus policies of privatization and liberalization. Luke Desforges (2000) argues that the withdrawal of the state from the tourism sector caused a lack of ability "to take initiatives necessary for the country to cope with its tourism boom," referring specifically to the heavy concentration of tourism

traffic in the Cusco-Machu Picchu region (p. 189). Furthermore, Desforges (2000) points out that the emphasis on the private sector has contributed to neglect in aiding poverty and agricultural communities. In the Cusco region, this neglect has led to massive migration to urban sectors and a considerable reliance on the informal economy for those living in poverty.

2.4 Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to give a necessary background of the historic, social and economic processes at play within Cusco and San Blas. Understanding the Indigenous, colonial, global and political histories, processes and presences and their dynamic, overlapping and complex natures is integral for beginning to understand the identities and realities to which Sambleños belong. This knowledge is crucial for understanding the meaning of place in San Blas, which is necessary when looking at possible futures, desires and needs in the neighborhood. Furthermore, because the tourism in San Blas is cultural, the histories, perceptions and realities of culture and local populations are contextually significant for this project.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Gentrification

When I tried speaking about gentrification in San Blas, most vecinos were not familiar with the term. Thus, quickly after seeing that the term gentrification would not be useful when working with Sambleños, we spoke more about *neighborhood change*. Nonetheless, in scholarly literature the term gentrification is used, and when used

carefully, it is a practical concept for understanding the forces at play in places undergoing these processes.

As a definition for gentrification, I draw from Eric Clark (2014), who describes gentrification as “a process involving a change in the population of land-users such that the new users are of a higher socioeconomic status than the previous users, together with an associated change in the built environment through a reinvestment in fixed capital” (p. 263). Ernesto López-Morales (2015) expands this definition of gentrification because its forces are not only economic; in addition to land dispossession, gentrification includes the “loss of use value in space as well as the denegation of the right to use certain land for social reproduction for the many at the bottom of society” (p. 564). Correspondingly, “gentrification also means urban inequalities and segregation accentuated by the state responding to large-scale private interests” (López-Morales, 2015, p. 571). While much of the gentrification literature concerns debates about the good and bad that stem from gentrification, the literature that concerns this thesis has more to do with the context of the term gentrification and how it fits into the processes taking place in Cusco.

Nonetheless, I draw from some of the debates taking place amongst scholars whose focus is outside of Latin America, such as from Tom Slater's (2006) stance that “[d]isplacement is and always will be vital to an understanding of gentrification, in terms of retaining definitional coherence and of retaining a critical perspective on the process” (p. 748). Some scholars contend that gentrification does not always entail displacement (Zukin and Kosta, 2004; Freeman & Braconi, 2002; 2004); however, I look at neighborhood change in relation to displacement, or decisions to leave the neighborhood due to various factors and opportunities.

While Slater (2006) argues that it is crucial to call gentrification by what it is, I am wary of using the term in Latin American contexts because of the differing histories, epistemologies, causes, effects and factors at play across geographies, which could be overlooked when using the same terminology outside of the contexts where term was created. I will focus on specific changes to the San Blas neighborhood, such as the rise in tourism, private sector encouragement and the movement of non-Cusqueños and foreigners into San Blas and Cusco. I prefer to look at these phenomena related to gentrification more specifically so that the San Blas neighborhood may enact change on its own terms; for this reason, I will use *vecinos'* terminology outside of the literature review.

3.2 Prioritizing local place and voices

Part of my decision to stay away from the term gentrification in Latin American contexts is to avoid the assumption that the processes taking place in Cusco are comparable to situations in the leading capitalist countries of the United States, Canada and Europe and should be dealt with in a similar manner (Betancur, 2014; Maloutas, 2012). Gentrification's arrival in Cusco happened in a way that relates in some ways to other Latin American countries (Washington Consensus policies, World Bank & IMF presence), while in other ways it is specific to Peru and Cusco (the capturing of Abimael Guzmán^{xxxii} in 1990, Cusco's tourism potential as home to the ancient Inca Empire, Cusco's potential for adventure and ecotourism). Still, my decision to not use the term gentrification does not counteract Slater's argument, because he is especially concerned with the adverse effects of gentrification, meaning the displacement and marginalization of economically vulnerable populations should not be ignored. In this way, my intent

with this thesis is not to debunk the use of the gentrification term in Latin America, but to further contextualize its forces and impacts in the San Blas neighborhood of Cusco, Peru.



Figure 17: Mapping Session

Chris Allen (2008) builds from Slater's concern related to scholarly celebration of gentrification, arguing that "the social proximity of the academic nobility to gentrifiers (and social distance between the academic nobility and the displaced) has epistemological consequences, notably, the lack of critical perspectives in gentrification research" (p. 180). In consideration of this, through the fieldwork I conducted in San Blas, I address my own positionality as a North American graduate student by prioritizing the experiences

related to me through interviews and mapping sessions. This thesis is meant to be not only a conversation among the "academic nobility" to which Chris Allen (2008) refers, but a conversation that includes and prioritizes local voices, knowledges and understandings of neighborhood change.

3.3 Contextualizing gentrification

Michael Janoschka, Jorge Sequera and Luis Salinas (2013) pay particular attention to how gentrification manifests in different ways in Latin American and Spanish contexts compared to the Anglophone world. My research builds from these scholars' analyses of the different contexts where gentrification arises in Latin America because "when gentrification expands to urban settings outside the Anglophone world, it embraces local specificities and creates symbiotic forms that embed existing discourses,

practices and administrative, political and social structurings" (Janoschka, Sequera & Salinas, 2013, p. 1251). The three authors, along with others writing about Latin American gentrification, attribute gentrification mainly to neoliberal policies in Latin America and Spain (Janoschka, Sequera & Salinas, 2013; López-Morales et al., 2016; Steel, 2013; Casgrain & Janoschka, 2013; Janoschka & Sequera, 2016). In the case of Cusco, Fujimori's neoliberal policies coincide with the beginnings of the tourism boom and the subsequent major neighborhood changes.

Janoschka, Sequera and Salinas (2013) divide gentrification in Latin America into four categories of scholarly debate: (1) symbolic gentrification, (2) neoliberal politics of gentrification, (3) new real estate markets and gentrification, and (4) resistance to gentrification. They place tourism, heritage, race and ethnicity, and revitalization into the two categories of **neoliberal politics of gentrification** and **symbolic gentrification**. Neoliberal politics of gentrification are the economic forces that often make way for gentrification to take place and are played out differently “in social, political and administrative urban environments that had never developed a notable Keynesian welfare state” (Janoschka, Sequera & Salinas, 2013, p. 1245). In Cusco the absence of a strong welfare state has made residents in the Historic Center particularly subject to displacement because residential homes often become the only source of wealth that locals may have, especially in the context of the dramatic drop in the number of jobs provided by the state during the shift to a neoliberal regime. The literature relating to neoliberal politics of gentrification involves the tourism industry, state policies and objectives, and revitalization as related to the shifting prioritization of private over public interests. The symbolic gentrification is “often entangled with policies that re-stage the

rich architectural heritage of Latin American city [centers]” (Janoschka, Sequera & Salinas, 2013, p. 1243). It is often associated with UNESCO presence in a city. Urban and cultural heritage, commodification of culture, street vendors disrupting the lifestyles of gentrifiers and “leisure- and lifestyle-oriented mobility and migration” are all encompassed within the category of symbolic gentrification (Janoschka, Sequera & Salinas, 2013, p. 1244). Still, these two types of gentrification are incredibly intertwined, especially in their relationship to tourism. Examples of their intertwined nature are city partnerships with UNESCO and the promotion of international tourism to boost the economy.

A. NEOLIBERAL POLITICS OF GENTRIFICATION

i. Unequal distribution of tourism and wealth

As previously mentioned, with the election of Alberto Fujimori as President of the Republic of Peru in 1990, the country’s economy transitioned to a neoliberal regime. Since this transition, “Peru’s tourist development programs have been characterized by neoliberal economic policies, openness to foreign investment, and the granting of concessions to international companies” (Ypeij, 2012, p. 21). These policies have made way for state-enabled gentrification, where foreigners’ and international companies’ interests are favored and their political and physical presence often overpower that of local residents. Much of the literature that focuses on the tourism sectors of the Cusco city and region focus on the unequal distribution of wealth that this neoliberal trend has created (Desforges, 2000; Ypeij, 2012; Baud & Ypeij, 2009; Steel 2013; Meisch, 2009). This unequal distribution of wealth has a variety of negative effects on locals related to

gentrification, including the inaccessibility of spaces and inability to pay rent in the city's Historic Center.

Annelou Ypeij (2012) demonstrates this unequal distribution with the example of the monopolization of the PeruRail train, to which the Peruvian state granted concessions. PeruRail is the only option for traveling from Cusco to Machu Picchu and "is partly owned by Orient Express Ltd., an international travel company listed on the New York Stock Exchange" (Ypeij, 2012, p. 21). In the neighborhood of San Blas, many residents were formerly employed by the state-owned railroad that ran to Machu Picchu; however, this shifted in the 1990s when it was privatized. Before the election of Alberto Fujimori, the tourism sector was state-led. However, beginning in the 1990s, the state's employee base was significantly reduced (including staff working for the state tourism sector, MINTINCI)^{xxxiii}. Also, "COPRI, the state privatization unit, was brought in to develop the national state hotel chain before selling units off one at a time" (Desforges, 2000, p. 186). The state's current role in the tourism sector is primarily promotional. Employment in the private sector is less enticing because its wages are low and it lacks the benefits offered by state-owned entities and businesses.

ii. Inaccessibility to the tourism sector

Under the neoliberal regime, the increased number of tourists primarily benefits "companies owned by members of the [Cusco] urban middle class, political and economic elites from Lima, and foreigners" (Ypeij, 2012, p. 18). Ypeij (2012) contends that "[because] the jobs they offer require high levels of education, not many are generated for local people from rural backgrounds or from the urban lower classes" (p. 18). Many people from the City of Cusco and its surroundings find work in the informal

tourism sector because of the exclusive nature of the formal tourism sector. While the informal sector makes up a large part of Cusco's tourism economy, this type of work is insecure and low-paying. Many scholars who write about Cusco's tourism sector focus upon actors within the informal economy and their marginalization regarding benefits from tourism, in addition to their acts of resistance (Ypeij, 2012; Steel, 2012; 2013; Meisch, 2009; Simon, 2009; Bromley & Mackie, 2009). For



Figure 18: Informal workers in San Blas, 2017

example, Griet Steel (2012) focuses on the challenges that informal vendors face in Cusco as a UNESCO World Heritage City, where municipalities often work to hide poverty for a desired city image. More specifically, Steel writes about the policies that former Cusco mayor Carlos Valencia put in place in the late 1990s, which organized vendors into fixed, permitted spaces to sell, marginalizing hundreds of informal vendors.

iii. Cusco at capacity

Desforges (2000) argues that the main issue with the switch to reduced state involvement in the context of the tourism boom is the resulting inability of the state to help cope with the massive influx and dense concentration of tourists in the City and Region of Cusco. This concentration has led to issues related to spatial planning, the environment and poverty. Sambleños spoke extensively about the issues of the highly concentrated tourist loop in Peru, insisting that Cusco could not handle any more tourists before structural changes were enacted by the Municipality and the state to raise the city's

tourist capacity. This haphazard way of planning Cusco's urban environment and managing the tourism industry plays a significant role in the subsequent displacement of locals in the Historic Center. Heavy reliance on the market and little state intervention have resulted in the marginalization of residents of the Historic Center of Cusco and vecinos of



Figure 19: Home for sale, 2017

San Blas, who often cannot compete with foreign competition or do not have the financial capital to stay in the neighborhood.

B. SYMBOLIC GENTRIFICATION

i. Gringos legitimizing Indigenous culture

The designation of UNESCO World Heritage sites and cities contributes to symbolic gentrification because it often causes a “musealization” of place (Janoschka, Sequera & Salinas, 2013 citing Monterrubio, 2009; Nelle, 2009). This “musealization” includes city trends to hide and stifle informal trade and other actions/inhabitants that reveal the existence of poverty. Furthermore, it reifies issues of commodification of culture and creates a culture that tourists want to see, rather than the living culture that exists and adapts over time with the modern world. Anthropologist María Elena García (2013) expands upon the culinary aspect of cultural tourism, which is Peru’s novoandino^{xxxiv} gastronomic boom. In the case of food tourism, plates with Indigenous ingredients consumed in high-traffic tourist areas separate the wanted ideals of Indigenous identities and pasts from their realities. This is represented through the

reworking of certain typical foods in a Western fashion, such as "ravioli stuffed with guinea pig meat" (García, 2013, p. 511). García (2013) also highlights the entrance of European experts to help "artisanal producers to develop a product pleasing to European tastes" (p. 511), positing sophistication of Indigenous foods as a contradiction of the long-time view of Indigenous foods as local and backward. Thus, the gastronomy industry in Peru "draw[s] on European knowledge as a way to 'authenticate' Peruvian tradition" (García, 2013, p. 511). In this way, non-Indigenous peoples create an idealized Indigenous identity, obscuring the realities of the producers and consumers of traditional foods. Some of these realities include the heterogeneity of diets of peoples of Peru according to geographic location, history, economy and economic status. Thus, Western epistemologies and values are drawn upon to legitimize Indigenous cultural traditions, such as food.

This thesis reveals local perspectives on symbolic gentrification through the frustrations of vecinos who feel that the tourism taking place in Cusco is haphazard, unplanned and lacking in a real exchange in cultural knowledge and values. Over the years, the Municipality's priorities have been conserving architectural and physical heritage, rather than cultural heritage, which has resulted in the adaptation of Cusco to a city that provides for tourists, rather than locals, and that allows for the marginalization of local traditions and values that extend beyond the Inca past. Similarly, John Pendlebury, Michael Short and Aidan While (2009) contend that the presence of UNESCO "will inevitably be part of a universalizing approach to heritage which denies space to, or at least exists in competition with locally produced notions of heritage, authenticity and sense of place" (p. 357). In this way, the Western ontological values not only work to

legitimize Indigenous culture as demonstrated by García, but they also often conflict with local notions of Indigeneity and tradition. According to vecinos, local perceptions of tradition and culture are removed from the Cusco that is experienced through the eyes of tourists, creating an environment where it is more difficult for locals to interact with tourists in a meaningful way. This gap harms neighborhood unity and increases vecino distrust of tourists, foreigners and non-Cusqueños.

ii. Commodification of culture

Scholars focusing on tourism in Cusco often touch on the commodification of Indigenous culture and the agency that Indigenous players enact as related to cultural identities within the city (Baud & Ypeij, 2009; Ypeij, 2012; Scarles, 2012; van den Berghe & Flores Ochoa, 2000). The Peruvian state promotes Peru's Indigenous identity as a way to attract tourists. Nonetheless, Indigenous peoples living in poverty are excluded from the national tourism project and therefore have less access to upward socioeconomic mobility, despite the small economic gains they obtain within the tourism economy (Ypeij, 2012; van den Berghe & Flores Ochoa, 2000). While the state promotes Inti Raymi as an Indigenous festival each year, it excludes Indigenous peoples from tourism benefits by enforcing laws against informal street vending, which is how many Indigenous peoples of Peru gain access to Cusco's tourism economy.

In connection with this project, Miriam Choin (2009) writes about the changes in Cusco and San Blas as related to tourism, however, she focuses primarily on cultural change. She finds that the tourist demand for a simplified version of Cusqueña culture has in many ways led to the degradation/decline in production of traditional artisan goods. Rather, artisans prefer to make work that tourists like, instead of work that aligns

with traditional artisan work of the past and present. Nonetheless, she finds that some people separate the culture which is to be consumed in city workplaces from the traditions they return to at home. Still, Choin finds that this trend in the replacement of the culture demanded by tourists will eventually replace the actual culture that Andean peoples embody.

Choin (2009) presents the City of Cusco as one where the traditional and the modern exist separately, alongside and in tension with one another. She discusses Cusco as a “city of memory” and as a cosmopolitan city, contending that the cosmopolitan aspects of the city, such as trendy restaurants, are often out of reach for Cusqueños, who tend to navigate their way through the "city of memory" (Choin, 2009, p. 140). Choin highlights a few instances where these two separate worlds of the City of Cusco are more fluid, such as non-Cusqueño attendance to traditional festivals, modern objects made with traditional weaving techniques (such as water bottle holders), international weaving cooperatives and internationally-renown Sambleño artists like Mendivil, Olave and Mérida; however, she does not present the average Cusqueño as a person living a life that is both cosmopolitan and traditional. In her final paragraph Choin (2009) recognizes the complexities of Cusco's situation as a place of multiple and flexible identities that continuously change and should not necessarily be dichotomized. Nonetheless, in the majority of her article, she writes about the dichotomy of tradition and modernity. During my stay in Cusco, participants were indeed worried about the loss of culture and tradition; however, it was not their only priority. Choin's study overlaps with my project because it focuses mainly on neighborhood change since the tourism boom in Cusco and San Blas. However, our projects have different priorities and questions; Choin focuses

primarily on the dichotomization of tradition and modernization, while I focus on vecino priorities for improving local qualities of life. Furthermore, I understand tradition and modernity as intertwined; I deem it necessary to recognize them as such when planning for the neighborhood's future.

iii. Historic value and urban practicality

Pendlebury, Short and While (2009) write about urban places designated as UNESCO World Heritage Sites and Cities, highlighting the tension between historic value and modernization and practicality; they note that in general, historic value is deemed more important than practicality, which causes issues for residents of urban World Heritage Sites. This tension is manifested in Cusco through the regulations for updating and renovating historic homes; to have a home renovated, it is necessary to have a Construction License from the Municipality of Cusco and Authorization from the Ministry of Culture. The renovations must be made in a way that is consistent with the materials and building techniques already in place; these rules make renovations more expensive than they would be otherwise. Vecinos often do not have enough money to restore homes within regulation and must either sell the home, abandon it once it is no longer habitable, or take out a loan to fund the works. Those who take out loans often rent out the spaces at a high price to pay off the loan or use the home to open a business compatible with tourism.

3.4 Contestations of Space

The contestations of space in Cusco's Historic Center are "intrinsically related to transnational investment, leisure-oriented mobility and the conflictive displacement of local inhabitants" (Janoschka, Sequera & Salinas, 2013, p. 1244). While informal vendors

are among the most marginalized and blocked from city space access, the visitors from Europe, the United States and Canada are on the opposite side of the spectrum. It is here that Lefebvre's concept of "Right to the City" comes into play, which David Harvey (2003) contends "is not merely a right of access to what already exists, but a right to change it after [one's] heart's desire" (p. 939). In other words, it is the right to have power over the shaping of the city and its urbanization in a way that it does not stifle human rights. Physical displacement of the non-elite in the Historic Center takes away local access to the city, handing it to those with more power, which "re-establishes and exacerbates ... hierarchies" (Janoschka & Sequera, 2016, p. 1188). Iranzu Gárriz Fernández (2011) writes within Lefebvre's Right to the City framework in her research on North-South migration in the UNESCO World Heritage City of San Miguel de Allende, Mexico. She argues that the incoming populations in North-South migration are in a privileged position of power, which facilitates their navigation through space over the resident population of the receiving country.

Thus, in Gárriz Fernández's (2011) analysis, the migrants from the United States and Canada, rather than long-term residents of Mexico, have the right "to full and complete use of the urban space in the course of their daily lives" and the "right to play a central role in the process of making decisions that surround the production of urban space" (p. 15). She attributes this largely to the amount of foreign direct investment brought by the American and Canadian migrants, which allows for the prioritization of businesses and development that convenience privileged migrants.

Doreen Massey touches on globalization in the context of meanings of place and space in the global world in her article titled “A Global Sense of Place.” She writes about “geographic fragmentation [and] spatial disruption,” which often result in “reactionary responses,” including “sentimentalized recovering of sanitized ‘heritages’, and outright antagonism to newcomers and ‘outsiders’” (Massey, 2010, p. 1). Accordingly, in cities like Cusco, where places of Latin America receive an influx of long- and short-term visitors from the wealthy countries of Europe, the United States and Canada, this is often the case. This idea relates to the indigenismo that is implemented in Cusco’s tourism



Figure 20: Plazoleta San Blas, 2017

industry through the idealization of the Indigenous, Inca past. Money, capitalism, colonialism, gender and race all play a part in creating different populations’ place-based experiences. For example, the paving of the Plazoleta San Blas changed its social use, as it was formerly a field where people would sell goods and play soccer. Its pavement, benches, fountains and trees have adapted its social use to one that benefits tourists more than local residents (Hardoy & Dos Santos, 1983). It becomes an aesthetically appealing place for people to visit, with less function for locals. The non-governmental organization (NGO) Centro Guaman Poma de Ayala (2005) contends that the alterations of public space made in

Daniel Estrada's 1993 renovations of the San Blas neighborhood have had adverse effects on the neighborhood and its local population, while benefitting tourists. For example, converting pedestrian roads to roads where cars can enter has increased agitation and decreased air quality in the neighborhood (pp. 177-8).

Massey recognizes that these inequalities exist in any global space, and that specific places have character which should not be dismissed. With this in mind, she argues that spaces should also be recognized for the multiple identities that are inherent to any place in the global world. Massey's recognition of the complexity of place allows her to move towards developing "a progressive concept of space" (Massey, 2010, p. 7). This concept includes: (1) viewing space as processes "of social interactions" (Massey, 2010, p. 7), rather than as static, (2) recognizing that places have no fixed boundaries, and finally, (3) acknowledging the multiple identities that make up a place. From this, Massey (2010) points out that globalization is not only homogenization, but a "specificity of place which derives from the fact that each place is the focus of a distinct mixture of wider and more local relations" (p. 8). Cusco is a place that has a long history of colonization and dynamic cultural encounters. As the heart of Tawantinsuyu, Cusco was the center of a massive, expanding empire that encompassed many groups of peoples. Later, the Spanish, who also have a dynamic history, became a part of this place, and today as a tourist center its international nature is impossible to ignore. The different histories of the peoples in Cusco and their multiple encounters make Cusco and San Blas what they are. While the forces of history, politics, tourism, neoliberalism and globalization threaten a sense of place to which vecinos are attached, they also make

Cusco and San Blas what they are, and they are by no means entirely rejected by vecinos and other residents, who recognize the complexities of the place they call home.

3.5 Summary

In this thesis, I explore processes of neighborhood change in San Blas. Literature concerning gentrification processes, especially that focused on Latin America, displacement and the loss of the right to social reproduction, is helpful for understanding the processes and changes taking place in Cusco and San Blas. Gentrification in Cusco relates to the scholarly debates of neoliberal politics of gentrification and symbolic gentrification, which are explored by Janoschka, Sequera & Salinas (2013). While the literature concerning Cusco and San Blas often do not explicitly write about gentrification, they approach debates that are closely related to it, such as cultural heritage, contestations of space, commercialization of culture and “musealization” of space (Janoschka, Sequera & Salinas, 2013). In the following section, I will discuss project findings, which are organized into discussions of neighborhood displacement, locally-determined neighborhood assets and the Master Plan of the Historic Center of Cusco.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

4.1 Leaving & Staying

During the interviews and mapping sessions, participants revealed that vecinos have been leaving the San Blas neighborhood since the 1990s. Interviewees clearly indicated that people are leaving the neighborhood because of economic opportunity (selling, renting homes), UNESCO regulations, the high cost of living, annoyances

caused by tourists, agitation, crime and lack of tranquility. It was determined in mapping sessions and interviews that most who leave go to other neighborhoods outside of the Historic Center, where property is less expensive and the environment is less chaotic. Those who decide to stay are usually only able to do so if they own a home, as opposed to renting. Mapping participants and interviewees who have stayed in the neighborhood

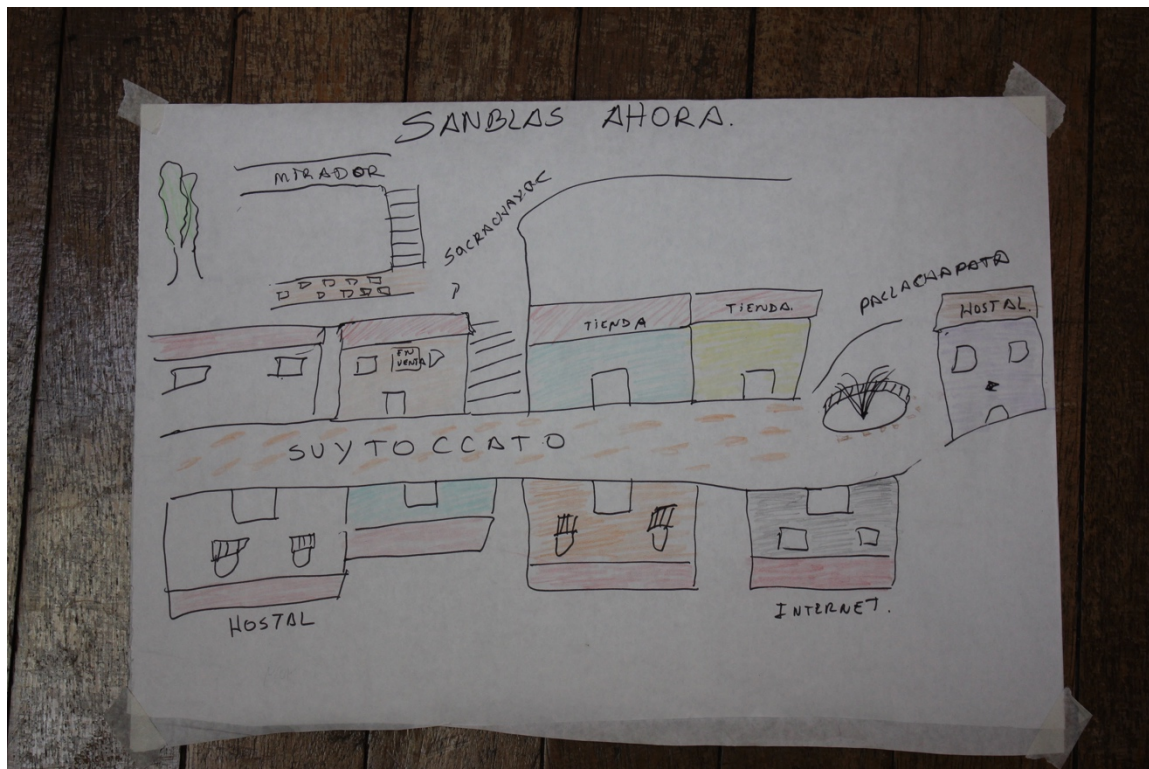


Figure 21: Map of present-day San Blas, from mapping session

indicated that they decided to do so because of nostalgia, love for home and place, inability to sell homes, convenience and walkability, cultural and community ties, the declination to leave the lives that are rooted in the neighborhood, and economic opportunities that San Blas has to offer, namely tourism. The nostalgia to which participants referred was a nostalgia for the memories and traditions tied to their homes and neighborhood.

4.2 Assets

Vecinos determined the following five assets as the most important: (A) Public and green space, (B) Tranquility and safety, (C) Artisan work, traditions and customs, (D) Patrimony, and (E) Cleanliness and maintenance; vecinos determined these assets during the mapping sessions and reinforced and contextualized them in the interviews. Some of these assets, such as tranquility, safety and cleanliness, have become less present because of the influx in the neighborhood's temporary and long-term population. In some cases, assets have disappeared, such as with the loss of teterías (tea rooms) throughout the neighborhood. Other assets remain intact and are deemed worthy of protection. The assets' content, contexts, causes and effects overlap; however, they will be presented as five separate sections because Sambleños explained them as separate issues. Nonetheless, to avoid repetition, the recommendations for retaining assets are presented with only three sections in the following chapter.

A. PUBLIC & GREEN SPACE

Vecinos determined that public and green space should be a priority in the neighborhood's development and planning moving forward. Since its beginning, small farms and the eucalyptus forest have been integral to the identity and sense of place in San Blas. They are entwined with local traditions and neighborhood health.

Mapping session participants identified green space and public space as important, because they are vital for maintaining Cusqueño leisure traditions such as picnics, wathiyas and soccer. Also, green space and public space improve community health because they give accessibility to play spaces for children where cars are not a danger, as well as accessibility to spaces for exercise. They also provide spaces for

reciprocal exchanges with the natural world, such as offerings to the Pachamama^{xxxv} (Mother Earth), which is a common practice in Cusco and the Andes.

The current public spaces and green spaces in the San Blas neighborhood include the Plazoleta, the Antisuyu road leading to the K'usilluchayuq and Templo de la luna



Figure 22: Before and after maps of San Blas, from mapping session

ruins above San Blas, the neighborhood streets, lookout points in the neighborhood and the forest/agricultural fields above the neighborhood. Many vecinos also spend time at Saqsayhuaman and Qenqo, which are open spaces near archaeological ruins (outside of San Blas) where families have picnics, make wathiyas and play soccer.

Over time urbanization has encroached upon and depleted most of the farms and much of the eucalyptus forest in the neighborhood's hills. In the past, San Blas was less urbanized and had a smaller population, so kids could play almost anywhere in the neighborhood. As noted in previous sections, the place where the Plazoleta is now located was formerly a field that was used as a mercado^{xxxvi} and as a soccer field. In the

farmland and forest areas, people would congregate for picnics and make wathiyas. Because the neighborhood was small and peaceful, gathering space was readily available. Also, the neighborhood was filled with spaces that were shared amongst vecinos, such as chicherías and teterías (tea rooms), where people would congregate. Many of the chicherías and all of the teterías have disappeared. The interior patios of most homes no longer serve as spaces for cultivation. Furthermore, displaced San Blas residents have built homes above the neighborhood, destroying parts of the forest. Still, the areas above San Blas have not been completely



Figure 23: Locals working in agricultural field above San Blas, along the Antisuyu, 2017

urbanized and remain tranquil spaces with fresh air, forest and agricultural fields. Vecinos deemed it important to maintain the green space that remains in the neighborhood. Although spaces like the Plazoleta have changed over the years, they remain important public places to gather, which vecinos value.

Today in San Blas the Western conceptions of space and private property, lack of safety and the creation of hotels where locals are unwelcome have made many spaces inaccessible to vecinos. Furthermore, vecinos are now more evasive because their lives have become agitated since the tourism boom (Omar, personal communication, July 27, 2017). Before the entrance of tourism and the trend of non-Cusqueños buying homes and

properties in the neighborhood, the homes were often left unlocked and neighbors could move freely through space.

In general, transit has had a large impact on public space in San Blas. The roads are winding and only fit one car. However, cars are permitted to drive in both directions down the roads. Thus, lines of cars driving backward to allow other cars to exit is a typical neighborhood sight. The Municipality has made standing traffic a priority in the



Figure 24: San Blas traffic, 2017

neighborhood, and taxis can no longer sit next to the Plazoleta taking up space. However, to increase the amount of green space and simultaneously enforce the rules that prevent cars from parking next to the Plazoleta, the Municipality decided to

place large flower pots in the road, which are frequently hit by cars and broken.

During the Integral Remodeling of the San Blas Neighborhood in 1993, the neighborhood's public space was incredibly improved through the bettering of streets, the use of natural springs to create fountains throughout the neighborhood, the creation of lookout points and the implementation of lighting in the neighborhood. Unfortunately, many of these improvements have been neglected by the Municipality and vandalized. Most of the fountains have become places where people put trash and nearly all of their water sources have been cut off. The maintenance of these works is dependent upon the mayor who enters office and his/her priorities.

B. TRANQUILITY & SAFETY

In the mapping sessions and interviews, vecinos made it clear that they cherish the neighborhood's quality of being close to the bustling Historic Center yet tucked away into the mountains and difficult to reach by car. It has peaceful views of the city valley,



Figure 25: View of Cusco and Ausangate Mountain from San Blas, 2017

and from the neighborhood it is easy to access the quiet eucalyptus forest.

In the past, because San Blas was so small, it was easy to know what was going on and neighbors looked out for each other.

Furthermore, people of various social standings lived in different areas of the same household. At this time, the neighborhood was more united. It was almost purely residential, besides the abarrotes (small shops with household goods for sale) and some artist workshops, both of which normally functioned also as residential spaces.

Vecinos described San Blas before the tourism boom as a place where everyone knew one another, with a market where campesinos from the Sacred Valley came to trade food products for processed goods like sugar and coffee. Vecinos regularly spoke about how San Blas used to be tranquilo (tranquil, peaceful). Tranquilo, however, no longer describes the San Blas neighborhood. It is a bustling neighborhood filled with hotels, hostels, restaurants, souvenir shops, artist workshops, bars, yoga studios, coffee shops and tourism agencies. These establishments have different priorities than residential

homes, including making a profit. They also often promote the consumption of alcohol. On a Saturday afternoon, as I sat on a bench taking notes for half an hour, four different people approached me to try to sell me artisan work and visit restaurants around the neighborhood. Tourists are constantly walking around, taking photos and shopping. Apart from its faster pace, larger population and tourist traffic, San Blas also suffers from issues with safety and security, particularly at night.

Many vecinos describe the abrupt tourism boom as unplanned, disorganized and dramatic. Since its beginning, tourism in San Blas has been chaotic and has lacked a necessary balance. Neighbors are moving away and selling and renting homes out to tourists at high prices, partially because of the lack of tranquility and the drastic change in neighborhood pace. Consequently, the human geography of the neighborhood has changed drastically, and it has been challenging to maintain the sense of community that was once present. It is more difficult for neighbors to look out for one another when so many unknown faces are present in the neighborhood.

In addition, the foreign population has brought a different set of values to the neighborhood, which many vecinos described as negative and lacking in respect. In the 1970s and '80s, many people with little money working as artisans began coming to the neighborhood, primarily from Lima and other countries of Latin America. Many of the vecinos refer to this population as los hippies (the hippies), or parcheros.^{xxxvii} This population sells artisan works on blankets in the streets of San Blas. Vecinos contend that this population sells not only artwork but also drugs. According to vecinos, since the parcheros' entrance into the neighborhood, the selling and consuming of drugs and alcohol have become a significant issue. This particular population spends the majority of

its time behind the Parish on Calle Tandapata and Calle Suytuccato. There is a reggae bar that many of them frequent and they often drink on the cobblestone streets and steps around it.

Taxis cause chaos. They also overcharge people, mainly tourists, and honk frequently and in the middle of the night for tours that begin early in the morning. The streets are not well-equipped for so much traffic. They also pose a threat to children playing near the streets.

The lack of safety, security and peace is also related to the presence of bars and nightclubs; the alcoholism in the neighborhood has made fights frequent and many vecinos avoid walking around the neighborhood at night. One vecina expressed thankfulness that her house can be accessed by car for this reason (Amelia, personal communication, July 12, 2017). There are specific areas of the neighborhood that vecinos avoid at night, particularly on Calle Tandapata and above it. Vecinos also reported people blocking streets with dogs (Mariana, personal communication, August 10, 2017). It is particularly dangerous for women to walk around at night. Furthermore, the San Blas streets are winding, narrow and easy for people to escape after committing crimes or dangerous acts. Vecinos also often expressed concern about the presence of people from more dangerous neighborhoods who come to San Blas and make the neighborhood less safe.

Neglect on the part of the Municipality concerning infrastructure and trash presence also contributes to the lack of security in the neighborhood. Police are currently only present in the Plazoleta, and their presence is not felt at night. Furthermore, different police officers rotate around the city, and it is thus difficult for the Junta de Vecinos and

other Sambleños to make meaningful relationships with police officers to secure the neighborhood effectively. Finally, there are many areas of the neighborhood that are not well-lit.

Cultural traditions have also become an issue with delinquency in some cases; vecinos attribute this to degradation of local values. For example, the Día del Patrón de San Blas,^{xxxviii} which is a religious festival celebrated since the Spanish first came to the neighborhood, has become less about faith and more about material culture, consumption of alcohol and partying. In the mapping sessions and interviews, vecinos reported that during this festival people get incredibly drunk and it is unsafe to walk around at night. Fights take place, along with other violent acts.

C. ARTISAN WORK, TRADITIONS & CUSTOMS

As stated in previous chapters, vecinos continuously describe San Blas as a typical Andean community. Regarding the identity of San Blas, vecinos called it conservative and inviting, colonial, traditional, typical and the “barrio de los artesanos.”^{xxxix} When San Blas had the name Thoqo Kachi, its population was called the Yawar Maki,^{xl} which means bloody hands in Quechua. The customs and traditions that Sambleños identified as most important include the following: art/artisan work, chicherías, the Día del Patron, Día de los Reyes, teterías, picnics, local foods and soccer.

A large percentage of people living in San Blas are artisans. The internationally renowned artistas populares from the neighborhood are part of its attraction. Some of the most famous artist families in San Blas include Mendívil, Olave, Mérida and Rojas. Some of these artist families converted their homes into museums, and the younger generations of some of these artists, such as the Mendívil family, continue making art,

which they sell in shops in and around the neighborhood. The Mendivil family has multiple art shops nearby.

In addition to the famous San Blas artists, the the Asociación de Artistas y Artesanos Productores de San Blas (Asociación de Artesanos) is a is a major community asset. The Asociación de Artesanos is a group that was formed in 1997 by the then-president of the neighborhood, Dr. Paz, who knocked on vecino doors to recruit artists and artisans to formalize an association that could legally sell artwork in San Blas. The artists/artisans came together as a group to gain city recognition and permits, and they now sell in the Plazoleta every Friday and Saturday. The Asociación de Artesanos also

hosts cultural events during its weekend market. Its primary clientele include tourists and souvenir shop owners. Also, the Artesanos pass down artisan traditions to their



Figure 26: Asociación de Artesanos market, 2017

children across generations. To be a part of the Asociación de Artesanos, it is necessary to be a San Blas resident and to demonstrate one's artwork and workspace. Because San Blas is small, most know by word of mouth who does and does not produce his/her own work. The Asociación de Artesanos also allows campesinos from other parts of the region and country to participate on a short-term basis. The Asociación de Artesanos arrives early to clean and wash the Plazoleta, and it also cleans up at the end of the day. The

principal challenges that the Asociación de Artesanos faces include lack of Municipality/mayor support (the supporting of vendors, rather than producers) (Alejandra, personal communication, July 29, 2017), disorder in the Plazoleta that the Artisans have to endure and clean up after, particularly during the Día del Patrón fiestas, and bullying from certain artists with economic power. Members of the Asociación de Artesanos determined the following institutions as important for their continuance as an association: Dircetur, EMUFEC, Gerencia de Centros Históricos, Junta de Vecinos, Ministry of Culture, Municipality of Cusco and Centro Guaman Poma de Ayala.

Chicherías are traditional, cultural hubs which over time have often become sites of heavy drinking and its associated negative behaviors. Here people drink chicha and eat traditional dishes at an affordable price for locals, play traditional games like sapo and often speak Quechua. They are critical sites for maintaining culture and community. The chicherías closer to the city are less likely to be made traditionally and sometimes have alcohol/liquor mixed into the chicha. The chicherías higher up in the neighborhood are more traditional and less likely to have issues with overconsumption of alcohol.

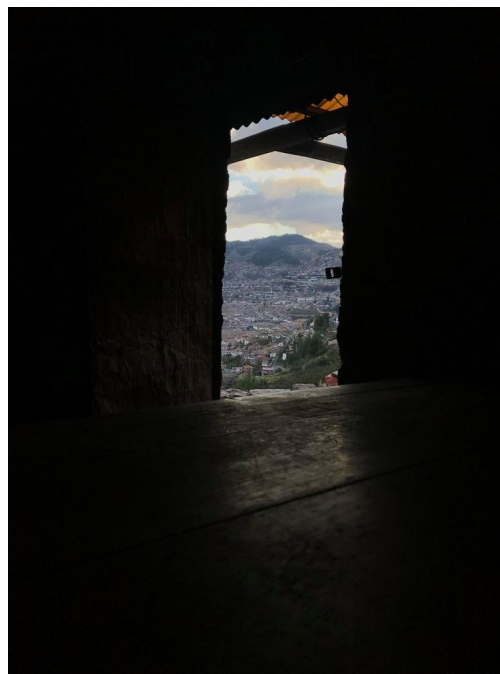


Figure 27: View from chichería above San Blas, 2017

The teterías of San Blas are no longer present. These were spaces where people of all ages could spend time. Here they would sell the famous té piteado, which is a hot,

sweet tea with key lime juice and pisco. There are now very few teterías in Cusco, but one can find té piteado in bars and cafés. Vecinos talked about how they missed having the teterías in the neighborhood.

The Día del Patrón is a festival that lasts about a week. It dates back to Spanish times when the San Blas Parish was established in Cusco, and it is Andean in its structure; it is structured around cargos or carguyuqs,^{xi} referring to the person who is in charge of putting on the fiesta that particular year. It is tradition that the person with the cargo asks friends and family to bring certain necessities to the fiesta, such as animals, food and alcohol. According to vecinos, the fiesta is supposed to be focused on community and faith. Now, however, it is more about alcohol and giving a lavish exhibition of material goods.

The Día de los Reyes is Three Kings Day, when people give out gifts to neighborhood children from the balconies of the San Blas neighborhood near the Plazoleta. It is a celebration specific to San Blas and it involves multiple generations.

Vecinos in the mapping sessions and interviews identified lack of access to local foods in neighborhood restaurants as a priority regarding needs. The restaurants in San Blas are mainly international; the neighborhood has certain areas with specific populations from across the world. For example, Calle Carmen Alto is the French area of the neighborhood, where one can find French food and French hostels. Sambleños complain primarily about the fact that food is too expensive for them to consume, and they are unable to find the foods that they enjoy most and grew up eating.

Vecinos deem these traditions and cultural activities as priorities, with which the Municipality and the Ministry of Culture are less concerned. Vecinos want the cultural

patrimony focus to take the neighborhood assets listed above into account, rather than solely investing in Inca Calendar activities, ruins and museums that appear on the Cusco Tourist Ticket.

D. PATRIMONY

San Blas is a distinctive historic neighborhood with homes from the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries, which are made of adobe with ceramic tile roofs and interior gardens. Its winding streets are narrow and mostly pedestrian. The homes and streets of the San Blas neighborhood give it a romantic, historic character in which vecinos take pride.

Since its designation as a UNESCO World Heritage City and the entrance of Daniel Estrada Pérez as mayor, architectural patrimony has become a city priority. In the case of San Blas, and much of the Historic Center, tourism has brought both good and bad to the city; while the prioritization of tourists and tourist preferences has caused families to leave the neighborhood, it has also been a significant factor in city improvements, such as the paving of streets, the construction of additional lighting and the maintenance of drainage systems.

Nonetheless, vecinos expressed major frustrations with the building regulations and their management since UNESCO standards came into play in the 1980s. In the case of San Blas, it is required that each home be painted white on the outside with blue doors and balconies. When any type of restoration or rebuilding of homes takes place, it is necessary to pay for and obtain a Construction License and Authorization for the work to take place. In addition, the materials used must be consistent with original materials. The home inspection and the materials needed for consistent building construction are expensive, particularly for locals. This opens the homes of vecinos to foreign capitalists

who have the money to buy the homes and restore them. According to mapping session participants and interviewees, the fate of the homes usually falls into the following categories:

- A family is unable to afford restorations and is forced to abandon the home when it is no longer habitable.
- A family takes out loans to invest in the restoration of a home, and often either rents the rooms out at high prices to pay back the loans or puts in a tourist-friendly shop that will generate revenue.
- A family decides to sell the home because the property values are so high that they can build two or three houses in another area of the city with the money they receive selling the home.
- Family members who received homes from parents cannot agree on what to do with the house and it becomes dilapidated.
- Homes remain in court battles between owners and tenants, or among family members who own the house collectively, resulting in the home's dilapidation.
- Some family members rent out a room to others, while other family members remain in the home.
- A family remains in the home and does minimal restoration because of the price.
- One or two family members find a way to buy the shares of other siblings so that the home stays in the family.

The frustrations expressed by vecinos include the inability to build and expand upon houses as they wish. Nonetheless, they were also worried about cultural patrimony and

the lack of awareness regarding its importance and knowledge in how to care for historic structures.

Thus, the difficulties related to historic patrimony point to the growth and progress of a historic place/structure in a modern, changing city. On the one hand, vecinos want to conserve the neighborhood's patrimonial elements. On the other hand, they are frustrated with the laws and regulations that do not allow them to organically grow and change as cities do. Many Sambleños suffer from the high costs of restoration projects. Nonetheless, governmental corruption allows people, chains and companies with economic power to bypass archaeological studies before building and destroy parts of structures protected by patrimony to build as they wish without constraints. For example, the Four Points hotel by Sheraton on Calle Saphi did not comply with the necessary archaeological checks for construction, resulting in the destruction of Inca structures. In this case, the project was investigated and stopped because the hotel exceeded the two-story limit of buildings in Cusco's Historic Center, which was impossible to hide (Neyra, 2016). Nonetheless, many projects as such go unnoticed and harm the city's architectural patrimony (Guillermo, personal communication, July 5, 2017).

E. CLEANLINESS & MAINTENANCE

In the second community asset mapping workshop, vecinos ranked cleanliness as a five on a scale of one to three. Trash and neighborhood upkeep were pervasive themes in all of the interviews and mapping sessions. In the past, because of its small population and low number of businesses, Sambleños produced very little trash. The neighborhood

was more precarious in its lack of paved roads, particularly during the rainy season, but trash and waste produced by people were not significant issues.

During the interviews and mapping sessions, vecinos deemed cleanliness and maintenance in the neighborhood high priorities because their absence contributes to problems associated with public health and safety, degeneration of values, crime, dilapidation of patrimonial structures, degradation of the natural environment and subsequently of spiritual necessities connected to the natural world.

Since the current population and the number of tourists have exceeded San Blas's capacity, the habits and ways of organizing the neighborhood need to be adapted to fit a larger population. While disposing of trash properly was not a major issue with a smaller population, it is now. Vecinos considered the upsurge in hotels and restaurants as the most substantial factor in the increase in the amount of neighborhood trash. According to vecinos, the Municipality has yet to adequately adapt to these factors.

In the past, such as in the early 1990s when Daniel Estrada was mayor of Cusco, the Municipality invested more money and involved the neighborhood residents in its maintenance and restoration. Mapping session participants and interviewees contended that the



Figure 28: Trash collection space in San Blas, 2017

involvement of Sambleños in these works made vecinos more invested in the neighborhood's maintenance, and the Municipality's care and diligence in taking neighborhood interests seriously resulted in the bettering of the neighborhood. However,

since Estrada left, San Blas has been largely forgotten and the public works that he oversaw, such as the installation of fountains and the restoration of Inca acequia systems for drainage, have been neglected and are now broken and filled with trash.

4.3 Master Plan

The Plan Maestro del Centro Histórico del Cusco (Master Plan of the Historic Center of Cusco) was approved by Municipal Ordinance on March 11, 2005, and The Provincial Council approved the Reglamento del Plan Maestro (Regulations of the Master Plan) for implementation in December of 2005. The primary purpose of the Master Plan is to halt processes of deterioration, destruction and unsuitable transformation of material patrimony in the Historic Center of Cusco and to avoid the loss of its cultural patrimony (its customs and traditions). The Master Plan also considers the issues of environmental contamination and watershed deterioration around the Historic Center (Municipalidad del Cusco & Instituto Nacional de Cultura Cusco, 2009).

A. ISSUES

The Master Plan acknowledges that tourism services, which are concentrated in the Historic Center, are gradually displacing residential building use, which has contributed to the population decrease. It also recognizes that each year there is an increase in about 1,000 beds for hotel/hostel services, implying that about ten homes are converted into hostels each year (Municipalidad del Cusco & Instituto Nacional de Cultura Cusco, 2009). The Master Plan also attributes family displacement from homes in the Historic Center to the increase in the educational centers and students.

The Master Plan identifies a significant issue with conservation to be the lack of willingness on the part of residents. Also, according to the Instituto Nacional de

Desarrollo Urbano (National Institute of Urban Development), 55% of the population in the Historic Center of Cusco is living at or below the poverty level.

The Master Plan contends that change in building use from residential to commercial causes more foot traffic in patrimonial buildings of the Historic Center, resulting in more deterioration of spaces. Also, increased foot and vehicle traffic in the Historic Center has caused deterioration of its patrimonial spaces. The Master Plan recognizes the issues of the division of properties among various owners, causing legal and infrastructural problems. The constant changes and pressures in the use of buildings and spaces in the Historic Center cause the following issues: lack of maintenance; informality in restorations; lack of adequate administrative procedures for protecting historic patrimony; the increased demand for services; the concentration of activities in the city center; lack of education and awareness; lack of instruments for efficient management in cataloguing of properties and archaeological resources for protecting them.

The Master Plan also identifies the environment as a priority, due to the increase in solid waste that is not adequately disposed of, in addition to the deterioration of rivers directed below the streets of the Historic Center. The total amount of solid waste generated by the City of Cusco is 310 tons per day, 80 of which come from the Historic Center (Municipalidad del Cusco & Instituto Nacional de Cultura Cusco, 2009). The Municipality only collects 85% of the generated waste (Municipalidad del Cusco & Instituto Nacional de Cultura Cusco, 2009).

The issues with tourism stem primarily from the lack of regulations to prevent displacement and the behavior and conditions of tourism in relation to the conservation of historic monuments and of the Historic Center itself. Other factors are the lack of zoning,

deficiencies in clear and sufficient signage, and the absence of regulation of tourism use in the Historic Center. Tourism does not distribute its incomes equitably throughout the local economy. The increased flow of people creates disorder and deterioration of cultural patrimony.

B. ACTION PLANS FOR MASTER PLAN:

The following action plans are indicated in the Reglamento del Plan Maestro del Centro Histórico del Cusco (Regulations of the Master Plan of the Historic Center of Cusco) (Municipalidad del Cusco, 2005b). I will present these plans in relation to vecino desires which were indicated by participants in the mapping sessions and interviews. I have chosen to illuminate the action plans which relate to subjects spoken about in the mapping sessions and interviews. It is important to note, however, that while the Master Plan shares many priorities with Sambleños, vecino discontent with many of the issues that were part of the Master Plan's action plan illuminates problems with implementation.

- People, citizens and their culture
 - Mapping session participants indicated that the supporting of neighborhood associations aligns with vecino desires, in addition to the citizen participation in defense of patrimony and qualities of life. Furthermore, the revaluing of traditional Andean medicines and the installation of neighborhood health centers and neighborhood sports centers were mentioned by interviewees on more than one occasion. The use of original names for streets, plazas and foods is also supported (indicated in mapping sessions and interviews).
- Protection of built patrimony

- Under this category, the Law Number 27157 requires that all types of renovation and intervention on historic buildings in Cusco have a Construction License (Licencia de Obra) from the Municipality, with the prior authorization of the Regional Management of Culture in Cusco, of the INC (Dirección Regional de Cultura Cusco del INC). It is obligatory to present integration studies with the building's context, including the façade, the size of the area and the urban landscape (Municipalidad del Cusco, 2005b). It is necessary to include the following in the documents of the applicant wishing to make renovations to his/her property (Municipalidad del Cusco, 2005b):
 - Intervention timeframe
 - Construction License from the Provincial Municipality
 - Authorization from the INC
 - Type of intervention
 - Authority responsible for the construction
- It is required that the spatial distribution, physical structure, façade, architectural elements and original decorative/ornamental elements and elements of historic and artistic interest remain intact following the construction. Interior building walls cannot be taken down. It is also required that any reconstruction, demolition, change of use, amplification or new integral construction, or anything that requires the drilling, excavation or movement of earth, have authorized archaeological intervention, approved by the INC (Municipalidad del Cusco, 2005b). Mapping session participants and interviewees contended that these requirements impede vecinos and make the

improvement of homes more expensive, time-consuming and difficult. The Municipality and the Ministry of Culture do not offer any financial assistance for conducting archaeological interventions or for the costs associated with obtaining licenses. Furthermore, the requirement of using the same materials with which the structure was initially built is expensive, making renovations inaccessible for many vecinos (indicated in mapping sessions and interviews).

- Within this category, the projects that align with indicated vecino desires include the cataloging of historic buildings and the emergency intervention for historic buildings in danger. Also, the delimitation and implementation of signage in areas of historic importance will help with respect for historic roads and buildings. The patrimonial awareness campaigns that distribute knowledge about regulations, procedures and suitable technologies for maintenance, conservation and restoration of patrimonial buildings were established by vecinos as a priority.

- Integral urban rehabilitation

- Within this category, the following projects align with vecino desires (indicated by mapping session participants and interviewees): implementation of sanitation programs; recuperation of streets; promoting the investment for the intervention in the urban rehabilitation; improving the quality of public spaces that are abandoned or underused; and the study, design and improvement of the networks of basic services.
- The following project could be both beneficial and problematic for communities of the Historic Center of Cusco: the acquisition of properties for

rehabilitation. While this could help conserve architectural patrimony, it could also lead to the displacement of long-term residents, and it is not guaranteed that the property in question will become a space that integrates the surrounding community.

- Home revitalization
 - The project of residential zoning, which makes up the majority of the San Blas neighborhood, is ideal for the livelihoods of vecinos. However, the regulation which states that up to 40% of the buildings in residential areas can be hotels/hostels is problematic because participants indicated that the implementation of hostels is one of the most prevalent forms of displacement in the San Blas neighborhood. 40% is a high threshold.
 - The project of incentives for investment in the renovation of historic homes could be beneficial to vecinos. Nonetheless, the Master Plan is not specific about what types of incentives will be implemented. The acquiring of buildings for construction or rehabilitation is also problematic because it may displace long-term residents.
 - The project of physical, economic and social rehabilitation of homes in the Historic Center is not well-explained. The protection and intervention of buildings declared emergencies align with the vecino desire for Municipal help with home restorations, which was indicated in mapping sessions and interviews.
- Movement and accessibility

- Education and awareness for pedestrians and drivers were indicated as a priority in the mapping sessions and interviews. Vecinos also support pedestrian accessibility. The Master Plan does not, however, have a specific plan in place for the excess number of taxis and cars in the neighborhood.
- Physical security/safety
 - Interviewees expressed concern for the neighborhood's adobe structures during the rainy season, indicating support for the mitigation and preventative measures for areas with the potential for landslides. The regulations for structural and physical safety for buildings, in addition to safety measures for earthquakes, align with vecino desires.
- Environment
 - The improvement of the natural environment in the Historic Center, the forestation of the Historic Center with native plants and the protection of natural and cultural areas were all mentioned by participants as priorities; vecinos are particularly worried about the deforestation above the neighborhood. The promotion and implementation of Comités Ciudadanos Ambientalistas (Environmental Citizen Committees) align with the desires of many participants, who wished for educational campaigns about the natural environment.
- Tourism
 - Mapping session participants and interviewees were concerned with the unplanned nature of Cusco's tourism industry. This concern indicates support for the Formulation of a Plan of Touristic Use in the Historic Center of Cusco.

The creation of cultural artisan workshops in different neighborhoods is something in which San Blas is already involved with the Asociación de Artesanos.

- Economic revitalization
 - The project of revitalization of traditional economic activities and the investigation and recuperation of traditional, productive technologies for local residents aligns with what participants indicated as a priority in the mapping sessions and interviews. The development of traditional economic activities in public spaces is also something that the Asociación de Artesanos is already doing in San Blas. The promotion of investment in the Historic Center is problematic because of the entrance of foreigners with capital that are displacing long-term residents throughout the Historic Center.
- Awareness and education
 - The following awareness campaigns are to be implemented: respect for patrimonial structures, homes, physical safety, tourism, environment. These campaigns align with vecino desires indicated in the mapping sessions and interviews.

C. PROJECTS FOLLOWING MASTER PLAN PUBLICATION:

According to the Centro Guaman Poma de Ayala (2005), the Municipality of Cusco and the Centro Guaman Poma de Ayala combined forces in 1997 to create a patrimonial registry of the Historic Center. While this project's primary objective for the Municipality was for tax purposes, Centro Guaman Poma de Ayala was more interested in obtaining a database for possible home interventions (Centro Guaman Poma de Ayala,

2005). Unfortunately, despite the shocking results of historic building degradation in the Historic Center of Cusco, nothing was being done to slow down this degradation (Centro Guaman Poma de Ayala, 2005). For this reason, Centro Guaman Poma de Ayala carried out a second registry in 2005 by itself. From this registry, Centro Guaman Poma de Ayala worked to create awareness around these issues of degradation, in part with the publication of the book titled *San Blas: La destrucción de un barrio histórico* (*San Blas: The Destruction of a Historic Neighborhood*).

Between 2000 and 2003, Centro Guaman Poma de Ayala and the Junta de Andalucía of Spain, through the Solidaridad Internacional de Andalucía (International Solidarity of Andalusia), began the Proyecto Piloto de Recuperación y Rehabilitación de Vivienda en el Centro Histórico (Pilot Project of Recuperation and Rehabilitation of Homes in the Historic Center). This project consisted of involving public institutions and beneficiaries in supporting the financing of physical interventions in the Historic Center (Centro Guaman Poma de Ayala, 2005).

Also, the Municipality of Cusco, along with the Government of Spain, through the Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional (Spanish Agency of International Cooperation), distributed educational materials to residents living in buildings designated as historic patrimony. After the economic crisis of 2008, Spain was no longer able to participate in such projects, and the employees of the Dirección Desconcentrada de Cultura de Cusco (Management of Culture of Cusco) and of the Subgerencia de Gestión del Centro Histórico (Sub-management of the Historic Center) with whom I spoke could not think of any current projects in place that involve offering assistance or educational materials towards historic home restoration in the city.

The Gerencia del Centro Histórico (Management of the Historic Center) is currently in the process of updating the Master Plan. In November 2017, Cusco mayor Carlos Moscoso announced in a press conference that the Peruvian state will now play a part in the protection of Cusco's Historic Center. The Peruvian state, Moscoso reported, will help specifically in six Historic Center projects, one of which involves the Plazoleta San Blas.

4.4 Summary

This chapter discussed five community assets which were determined in the mapping sessions as the most critical assets in San Blas. It then discussed the Historic Center Master Plan and how its goals support and contradict vecino desires and needs. The following and final chapter will display the depth that Sambleño testimonies give to literature concerning gentrification and Cusco, followed by a discussion about vecino placemaking in San Blas and Master Plan critiques. Finally, it will present recommendations suggested by vecinos during the mapping sessions as a response to the determined assets which were discussed earlier in this chapter.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

As discussed in the literature review, this thesis is in conversation with Sambleños and prioritizes their perceptions, understandings and knowledges about neighborhood change, the forces that play into it and the multiple effects that vecinos have experienced as a result. This thesis also examines how Sambleños want to see their neighborhood's future and the assets they wish to prioritize and maintain. This prioritization of vecino perceptions of neighborhood change speaks to Chris Allen's (2008) reservations about

conversations among the “academic nobility” that are not supported by local knowledge. Conversations that exclude local voices exemplify the breach in communication between researchers and the researched, which causes the benefits to lie with the researcher rather than the participants, resulting in “inequalities [which] reproduce hierarchies the researcher is often explicitly committed to breaking down” (Martin, 2015, p. 36).

The existing literature focusing on Cusco explains the Historic Center's journey and arrival at its current overly-saturated touristic state. This literature focuses on Cusco's position as a UNESCO World Heritage City, Peru's neoliberal approach to the economy, gentrification and unequal relations. Vecino testimonies coming from the mapping sessions and interviews from this project substantiate and add complexities to these scholarly debates. More importantly, in this project vecinos voice the priorities that should be considered no matter the country's economic approach. Furthermore, in the case of San Blas, local prioritization constitutes the continuation of local values, tradition and cultural norms, which is an essential aspect of cultural patrimony that is often forgotten.

5.1 Vecinos and scholarly debates

The unequal distribution of wealth from the tourism economy is evident in San Blas, as most of those who do not own properties have been priced out of the neighborhood. Also, contestations of space between Cusqueños were made evident by participants who feel frustrations with the informal vending that takes place in San Blas by those who do not have formal access to the tourism sector. While Steel (2012) reveals the marginalization of informal vendors by policies that former Cusco mayor Carlos Valencia put in place, Sambleños spoke highly of Valencia's work to clear the streets of

vendors, because of the high tourist and vendor traffic that the neighborhood receives. It is not only the tourists that occupy the streets of San Blas, but also the local vendors trying to benefit from the tourism. Since the neighborhood is organized with the Asociación de Artesanos, many vecinos can sell artisan work formally each weekend.

The vecino opposition to the presence of informal vending, coupled with the city's tendency to marginalize informal vendors throughout the Historic Center, presents a situation that cannot be



Figure 29: Informal vendors in San Blas, 2017

easily resolved; the informal vendors reduce the amount of public space and tranquility in the neighborhood. However, they live and work in a constant state of insecurity and marginalization. These difficulties related to spatial contentions often result in the exercising of power of one Cusqueño/Cusqueña over another according to socioeconomic status.

Sambleños also spoke to Desforges's (2000) fears of the state not having the capacity to manage the magnitude of tourism in Cusco, because in the San Blas neighborhood they greatly feel its consequences. The state is currently in the process of building an international airport in the nearby town of Chinchero so that internationals will not have to stop in Lima on their way to Cusco. Lack of funding has caused this controversial project to be put on hold, and Sambleño participants were passionate about

their opposition to the airport. In January of 2017 two different schedules for entry to Machu Picchu were implemented because of the increased number of visitors and the subsequent impacts of the foot traffic on the ruins and the surrounding environment, demonstrating the magnitude that already exists (*El Comercio*, 2017). Still, the planning of the airport reveals the region's priority of attracting more tourists despite the area's need for better tourism infrastructure.

The commodification and adaptation of culture to which María Elena García (2013) speaks through her analysis of the novoandino gastronomic boom were accredited by participants in their frustrations with inaccessibility to local, affordable foods. These frustrations reveal the adaptation of tradition and culture to satisfy tourists' desires. When I asked vecinos about how they would identify San Blas, the words "typical," "traditional" and "cosmopolitan" were the most common responses I received. Vecinos used these words together in a sentence because San Blas is concurrently typical, traditional and cosmopolitan, which contradicts Miriam Choin's (2009) argument for the dichotomization of the "city of memory" and the cosmopolitan city. This response reveals the complexities of local identities and culture, which de la Cadena (2000) describes eloquently through her analysis of identity in Cusco with the term "Indigenous mestizos." Nonetheless, Choin makes an excellent point that cultural tourism pressure often results in the commercialization and simplification of culture. This display of culture for tourism is a result of the fetishization of the Spanish-colonial and Indigenous pasts, which leads to a distortion of local realities. Vecinos are frustrated by these cultural pressures because they inhibit meaningful knowledge and cultural exchanges with tourists. Furthermore, this fetishization of Spanish-colonial and Indigenous pasts

contributes to a static approach to culture, heritage and patrimony. Although patrimony is approached and described in Cusco as something static, in reality it is a dynamic process affected by various factors, such as local and international perceptions of heritage, the natural environment, history, globalization, politics, capital and modernity. Local frustrations with Cusco's approach to patrimony – which follows UNESCO's model of universalizing historic and architectural patrimony without taking local perceptions, values and priorities into account – demonstrate that UNESCO's approach does not fulfill community needs (Pendlebury, Short & While, 2009). UNESCO is not invaluable to patrimony and its universalizing approach often harms communities, which we see in San Blas through the lack of concern for the maintenance of local traditions and customs outside of the Cusco Tourist Ticket destinations and the Inca Calendar celebrations, the incapacity for many vecinos to renovate their homes within regulation, and the subsequent change in the fabric of the neighborhood's population.

5.2 Vecino placemaking

Accordingly with Doreen Massey's proposed "progressive concept of space" (Massey, 2010, p. 7), Sambleños have found dynamic ways of maintaining tradition and community despite the abrupt population and economic shifts that have taken place in the neighborhood since the 1990s. One of the primary concerns in the midst of its location and identity as a tourist hub is maintaining living tradition and culture, which vecinos repeatedly mentioned was not a priority of the Municipality and the Ministry of Culture, who focus primarily on the traditional Inca Calendar and archaeological sites and museums that tourists visit. Despite the lack of support by the Municipality and Ministry of Culture with maintaining its living traditions and culture associated with its identity as

a typical, traditional, artisan, historic and cosmopolitan Andean neighborhood, vecinos find ways of maintaining these on their own, and in ways that are both inclusive and exclusive of the international community.

In addition to the place-based history of San Blas, Sambleños are part of different understandings, mixings and scales of community to which non-vecinos also belong. One vecino with whom I spoke has a small store near the Plazoleta that sells goods for both locals and tourists; he explained that he keeps his store open for sentimental reasons, and because there he has the opportunity to chat with locals and foreigners alike (Omar, personal communication, July 27, 2017). In this way, he forms different scales of community and can interact more closely with people in San Blas than he otherwise could.

In the first mapping session, when tourism was brought up as a possible asset, a lengthy debate took place regarding whether it was good or bad for Sambleños and their qualities of life. While vecinos recognized the importance and the entrenched nature of tourism in the neighborhood and the economic dependence upon it, many wished for a more diversified economy that would allow for less agitated lifestyles. Nonetheless, as San Blas is known as being an artisan neighborhood, tourism has allowed artisanry work to prosper and has given vecinos traditional means of making a living through the formation of the Asociación de Artesanos and other avenues for creating and selling work. Artisanry work of many forms has arrived in the neighborhood, and conflicts exist among the different groups of artisans. These conflicts exist among famous artistas populares, the Asociación de Artesanos and informal vendors around the neighborhood. Informal vendors include locals, campesinos, parcheros and backpackers. Still, the

formation of the Asociación de Artesanos in particular has helped maintain an important local sense of community through artisanry traditions. The artists that are part of the Asociación de Artesanos live in the neighborhood, teach their children their techniques for making artisan work, support the neighborhood's maintenance and safety through their presence, and uphold other traditional customs, such as music, through the fairs that they organize during their Friday and Saturday markets.

Furthermore, the Asociación de Artesanos supports the campesino community through the short-term contracts that they give to artists and artisans from other parts of Cusco and Peru. At



Figure 30: Asociación de Artesanos, 2017

the same time, the Asociación de Artesanos brings in a type of tourism which participants deemed desirable – the interactions with tourists during the Friday and Saturday markets create opportunities for exchanges of cultural knowledges between locals and tourists, and they simultaneously support local artists.

Many vecinos marry foreigners who have visited or entered the San Blas community (Alegría, personal communication, August 24, 2017), which often allows for the maintenance of homes through the availability of foreign capital. This also allows for different perspectives and ideas for what can be done with the homes as a way to conserve them. For example, there is a very successful vegan/vegetarian restaurant in a historic family home of San Blas that was started after one of the children married a

vegan Brazilian woman (Victoria, personal communication, July 19, 2017). The restaurant's success has allowed the family to retain the home and renovate it accordingly. However, the food served at this restaurant does not reflect local cuisine and it is too expensive for many Sambleños. Still, the restaurant brings in a healthier crowd, as opposed to a bar serving alcohol.

Another important group in the neighborhood that works to maintain a sense of community, traditions and local values is the Junta de Vecinos. The Junta de Vecinos organizes lectures and discussions that involve local, cultural and traditional knowledges. They also work with other neighborhood associations, the Asociación de Artesanos, and governmental and non-governmental entities to better vecino livelihoods. Furthermore, its building, the Casa de la Cultura, is a safe space for vecinos to spend time in the heart of the neighborhood.

Sambleños also find other ways of forming community, which are less inclusive of foreigners and not bound to the confines of the neighborhood boundary. One of the main



Figure 31: K'usilluchayuq, 2017

forms of the continuance of local community, tradition and culture is the family and friend gatherings above San Blas along the Antisuyu. These gatherings take place in the forest

above San Blas and near the ruins of K'usilluchayuq, Templo de la luna and

Saqsayhuaman. Here people have picnics, make wathiyas during the dry season, play soccer, converse, relax and breathe fresh air. At any given time, families and friends can be found in these spaces. These are spaces that are also frequented by tourists, but more intermittently, because they are not part of the typical tourist route. Saqsayhuaman has high tourist traffic, however, vecinos spend time in an area near the ruins that is set apart from the tourism route.

Also, above San Blas, on the urban outskirts and high above the neighborhood, one can find chicherías, where many locals – mainly of older generations – converse and spend afternoons drinking chicha. The chicherías higher above the neighborhood and further from the city are better and more likely to be prepared in the traditional way and without liquor (Yandel, personal communication, July 4, 2017).



Figure 32: Sambleños in neighborhood above San Blas proper, 2017

Although many vecinos, particularly those who were renters, have left the center of San Blas due to the rise in property values and rent prices, a large number of them have moved to urbanizations higher up

the mountain (Bernardo, personal communication, August 11, 2017). Although the mountain urbanization degrades the natural landscape and the buildings are not consistent

with the patrimonial buildings in the Historic Center, the movement up the mountain allows Sambleños to remain part of the neighborhood, stay in the area where they grew up and retain community. In the neighborhood above San Blas proper, the businesses are directed at vecinos; they carry household goods for vecinos at affordable prices. For vecinos, one of the important characteristics of San Blas is its proximity to the Center of Cusco and the ability to move around by foot (Amelia, personal communication, July 12, 2017). The urbanization of this part of the neighborhood allows vecinos to continue in a tradition of pedestrian movement to and from the Center of Cusco. Furthermore, for those who are part of the Asociación de Artesanos, they can arrive at the Plazoleta by foot to sell their work. In this way, artisans, among other community members living in the urbanizations above



Figure 33: Typical interior patio of San Blas home, 2017

San Blas, can benefit from the San Blas tourism industry, while maintaining a quiet lifestyle above San Blas proper.

Concerning those who have remained in the houses they own in San Blas, it is through the home and its sentimental value that the family and traditions continue existing within that space (Mariana, personal communication, August 10, 2017). The inheritance of the home from one's parents, which was the case with many of the vecinos

with whom I worked, is also a tradition that can keep families living and interacting in the same space (although, not always).

By inclusive and exclusive means, vecinos are able to maintain community and living traditions and culture despite the lack of support from local governmental entities. In this way, vecinos are inhabiting multiple community spheres and scales of spheres simultaneously and on a magnified level because of the high concentration of tourism in the neighborhood. The simultaneous belonging to different spheres allows vecinos to improve their qualities of life through maintaining, creating and reforming community on multiple levels.

In addition to maintaining and forming community and traditions in dynamic ways, locals in the Historic Center of Cusco and San Blas respond to regulatory, economic strategies of the neoliberal model in various ways. For example, locals will often apply a sliding scale price when renting out homes; locals or Peruvians who work in the Historic Center will often pay less money than a typical tourist to stay in a historic San Blas home. For example, during part of my time in Cusco, I stayed in a San Blas Airbnb that was advertised as \$40 per night. However, when I arrived in person and explained that I was a graduate student researching the neighborhood, the family lowered the price significantly. One of the owners of the home explained that they have hosted students from Lima, women who work in the nearby laundromat and tourists from all over the world. By renting out their home on a sliding pay scale, the family of the Airbnb where I stayed was able to pay for the home renovations without pricing out locals who want to stay there.

Another way that locals in the Historic Center of Cusco push back on regulations is by renovating homes at night; it is common to hear construction taking place in historic homes once it is dark outside. In this way, families are able to renovate homes in a less expensive manner and without the required permits.

By creatively adapting to the imposed structures in the Historic Center that contribute to displacement of local families, Cusqueños of the Historic Center are able to push back on top-down regulatory structures. These actions are a direct response to the regulations, and their manifestation reveals the tension between local home owners of the Historic Center and the Municipality, demonstrating locals' demands for rights, respect and recognition.

5.3 Critiques of the Master Plan

The Master Plan expresses that Cusco's cultural richness is expressed in manifestations like Semana Santa (All Saint's Week), Corpus Christi and Inti Raymi, among many others. Mapping session participants and interviewees, however, expressed frustration with the Inca Calendar (to which Semana Santa, Corpus Christi and Inti Raymi belong) being the only promotion of culture by the Municipality. This frustration stems from the fact that the Inca Calendar activities are often directed more at tourists than locals, and the influx of tourists during these celebrations makes life more aggravated and difficult for long-term residents of the Historic Center.

The Master Plan contends that the Historic Center does not have the appropriate infrastructure for cultural development. However, according to participants, the Historic Center lacks the necessary capacity for the increased number of tourists as a result of the connection between the Inca Calendar and tourism. While the Inca Calendar is important

to locals, it only scrapes the surface of what culture and tradition mean to long-term residents of the Historic Center. Therefore, it is not that the Historic Center lacks the capacity for cultural development, but that it lacks the capacity for more tourists, which are attracted by cultural manifestations promoted by the Municipality and the Ministry of Culture.

In the book titled *El Centro Histórico del Cusco: Introducción al problema de su preservación y desarrollo* (*The Historic Center of Cusco: Introduction to the Problem of its Preservation and Development*), which was released in 1983, many of the issues that the current Master Plan addresses were acknowledged (Hardoy & Dos Santos, 1983): the increase in hotels resulting in a housing shortage in the Historic Center; densification of the homes still occupied by locals; external demographic pressure; unequal distribution of capital; rising rent prices; and the tendency for public spaces to displace Cusqueños with the increase in tourism (Hardoy & Dos Santo, 1983). The current Master Plan was written almost twenty years after the publication of this book. However, these issues have yet to be confronted effectively by the Municipality of Cusco or the Ministry of Culture.

5.4 Recommendations

The following recommendations emerged from mapping sessions as strategies for securing, recovering and enhancing assets in San Blas; they were contextualized in both the mapping sessions and interviews. The assets involved in these recommendations are: (A) Public and green space, (B) Tranquility and safety, (C) Artisan work, traditions and customs, (D) Patrimony, and (E) Cleanliness and maintenance.

Although I begin with five assets determined crucial in the mapping sessions, I aggregate them into three overarching categorical assets because their associated

recommendations overlap. They will be discussed as: (A) Safety and public space, (B) Renovations, maintenance and cleanliness, and (C) Artisan work, traditions and customs. I folded public space into the category of safety and patrimony into the category of cleanliness and maintenance. Green space is present in all three categories. I number the recommendations so that they can be easily referenced and more useful for those working on projects calling for this information. In addition, I made documents from these recommendations directed at governmental and non-governmental organizations which succinctly list neighborhood demands. These three categorical assets and their corresponding recommendations are found in Appendix D. The documents in Appendix D were written to be appropriated by vecinos and presented to entities working in San Blas who have positions of power to enact policies and changes to assist in asset retention.

A. SAFETY & PUBLIC SPACE

Participants complained that the Municipality prioritizes historic heritage and tourist safety and leisure over neighborhood security and vecino safety/needs. The following recommendations within this theme address crime, policing, safety, public space and tranquility. The following measures call for infrastructure, police presence and the implementation of regulations related to tourism-led activities. Safety and tranquility will help immensely in securing public space, which is currently lacking in unsafe areas of the neighborhood, such as Calle Tandapata.

1. Support the organizations that help with the maintenance of safety and green and public spaces in the neighborhood: Junta de Vecinos; schools; Colegio de Arquitectos; Pukllasunchis; Asociación de Artesanos. The Junta de Vecinos'

neighborhood safety rounds, their relationship with the police and their placement of cameras helps with neighborhood security. These organizations must receive support for their continuance in the neighborhood, and they should work together on issues related to neighborhood safety.

2. Install more security cameras and monitor them in the neighborhood. The Municipality currently monitors its cameras elsewhere in the city; however, they could be used more effectively in the neighborhood.
3. Repair and update lighting in the neighborhood for safety reasons. Certain areas of the neighborhood have no lighting, and much of the lighting installed in 1993 no longer works.
4. Place more police/security throughout the neighborhood (not only in the Plazoleta) to ensure safety. The work performed by seguridad ciudadana (citizen security), organized by the Junta de Vecinos, has proven to be dangerous at times, particularly for women.
5. Maintain the same police/security officers in the neighborhood so that they understand the neighborhood needs. Currently, police in the Plazoleta rotate and are therefore less able to work closely with locals to secure vecino needs related to safety.
6. The police should respond to the calls and needs of locals. Vecinos complained that the police do not usually appear when they are called unless a tourist is in danger.
7. The neighborhood should focus on campaigns about neighborhood safety with the youth. Neighborhood values should be incorporated into this piece. It is widely

believed among vecinos that local values have been marginalized with the change in fabric of the population.

8. Neighborhood traffic should be better organized to improve the air quality with less congestion and traffic presence. This will also make streets safer for children.
9. The cars that pick up tourists in the middle of the night should not honk horns between the hours of 9 p.m. and 8 a.m. Those that do not comply with this rule should be fined.
10. The people selling goods on blankets (parcheros) should not take up too much public space on the streets. Parcheros should consistently rotate their designated locations of sale so as not to bother neighbors. Currently, parcheros are taking up much of the limited public space available in the pedestrian streets of San Blas.

B. RENOVATIONS, MAINTENANCE & CLEANLINESS:

The key themes within this category are vecino retention in the neighborhood, patrimony and beautification. Trash, which was considered a top priority for neighborhood improvement in the mapping sessions and interviews, is part of both beautification and patrimony. Cusco is faced with the challenge of conserving patrimonial structures within an ever-changing, urban context. The regulations associated with the conservation of historic structures have caused many vecinos to leave the neighborhood in various contexts, which I expand upon in previous sections. These recommendations, which come directly from the mapping sessions and interviews, give ideas for conserving architectural patrimony while simultaneously retaining Sambleños. They also give suggestions related to neighborhood beautification, which contributes to green space and the character and identity of San Blas.

1. The Municipality of Cusco should reevaluate the system of trash collection and enforce laws regarding the timing of when neighbors are authorized to place their trash in the street for pickup. Historic structures and streets should be taken into consideration when deciding on the locations of trash pickup. In the case of San Blas, the small number of navigable streets leaves few options for trash pickup locations. For this reason, creativity and brainstorming are necessary to find ways of protecting historic streets and walls from trash piles which are to be picked up. Historic streets and structures should remain clean and intact during the daily trash collection process.
2. The Municipality of Cusco should involve local people from San Blas in neighborhood restoration projects involving public space so that they feel a sense of investment and a need to help with the neighborhood's daily maintenance. This was done in the Integral Remodeling of the San Blas Neighborhood in 1993.
3. The maintenance of historic and architectural patrimony must be treated as an entire system, rather than obtrusive rules and regulations that hurt local families.
4. To promote the conservation of historic structures, vecinos should help shape curriculum about why patrimony is important and how it relates to traditions that local families practice. The curriculum should also address how to care for historic structures.
5. The following places in the neighborhood should be maintained and protected: picanterías; Qhapaq Ñan (Camino Inca/Antisuyu), Mercado San Blas; the San Blas Church; teterías; abarrotes; the Plazoleta; neighborhood streets; and family homes. Family homes are of utmost priority for maintaining living tradition and

culture in the neighborhood. Homes should also be maintained to offset and prevent further displacement of Sambleños. The historic and cultural value of these spaces exceed beyond physical structure.

6. The Municipality should provide archaeological and technical assessments for home renovations/restorations free of charge. The costs of these assessments contribute majorly to the financial burdens that add to vecinos' decisions to sell or rent homes and to home abandonment.
7. Vecinos need technical, financial and educational assistance with home restoration and upkeep. This assistance will help maintain a population who cares about neighborhood maintenance, and it will help slow down the displacement of locals and forest encroachment.
8. The Municipality of Cusco should give out materials for restoring home façades. This was done in the Integral Remodeling of the San Blas Neighborhood in 1993, and it contributed to the community buy-in for maintaining private homes, in addition to neighborhood unity and maintenance accountability.
9. The Municipality should give flowerpots to homeowners for their balconies to enhance neighborhood green space. These flower pots should be given out on a voluntary basis to avoid unnecessary costs for those who do not wish to maintain plants on balconies.
10. The Municipality of Cusco should remove the flower pots between the Plazoleta and Colegio El Carmelo so that they are not continuously broken by cars.
11. The Municipality of Cusco should repair and update the public works from the Integral Remodeling of the San Blas Neighborhood in 1993, such as the fountains,

the streets, the Inca canals and the lookout areas. Continued maintenance creates a neighborhood standard and incentivizes local inhabitants and visitors to continue with this standard of maintenance.

12. Transparency regulations should be implemented in all restoration projects to help with issues of corruption which result in patrimonial destruction. In this way, people and companies with economic power will be less likely to bribe the Municipality or other governmental entities to construct without following the necessary building regulations.
13. The following entities are possible allies for patrimonial education campaigns: Municipality of Cusco; Junta de Vecinos; Asociación de Artesanos; Dircetur; EMUFEC; Gerencia del Centro Histórico; Ministry of Culture; Centro Guaman Poma de Ayala; San Blas Church; Centro Bartolomé de las Casas (CBC); Colegio de Arquitectos; Pukllasunchis; Casona de San Bernardo.

C. ARTISAN WORK, TRADITIONS & CUSTOMS

The following recommendations address the importance of sharing knowledge intergenerationally, particularly from parents and grandparents to children. Also, during the mapping sessions and interviews, participants complained about the Ministry of Culture's and the Municipality of Cusco's focus on architectural patrimony, which has in many ways caused the neighborhood's living culture to be marginalized. Regarding cultural patrimony, the Ministry of Culture focuses primarily on maintaining archaeological sites found on the Cusco Tourist Ticket that visitors purchase, and on the Inca Calendar, which promotes particular celebrations throughout the year that the Incas celebrated. Vecinos regretted the Municipality's and the Ministry of Culture's lack of

concern for Andean peoples' living culture, arguing that its current promotion of the Tourist Ticket sites and of the Inca Calendar creates a situation where tourism is highly-concentrated and past capacity. It also leads to inequity for certain neighborhoods that do not appear on the Tourist Ticket. In addition, these recommendations respond to issues of degradation of values related to long-standing traditions, such as the Día del Patrón and chicherías. Finally, a few of the recommendations are directed at the Asociación de Artesanos, which is an important asset for maintaining artisan work, traditions and customs.

1. Neighborhood identity should be maintained through the living continuance of artisanry work, local foods, chicherías, the Día del Patrón, the Día de los Reyes, the Asociación de Artesanos, the Junta de Vecinos, the Mercado San Blas, abarrotes and residential homes.
2. Vecinos must transmit values and traditions to younger generations, particularly through teaching artisan work, taking children to have picnics, making wathiyas and interacting with the Pachamama and Apus^{xiii} through making and leaving offerings. These values, knowledges and traditions can also be passed down through walking the neighborhood, telling stories and making traditional foods.
3. Local foods, such as chuño, potatoes, p'esque,^{xiii} mote^{xiv} with queso andino (Andean cheese), ponche de habas and soup with alpaca jerky, should be incorporated into restaurants, and restaurants should serve food at prices that locals can afford.



Figure 34: Mote with Andean cheese

4. Locals should create cultural campaigns against alcoholism to conserve the neighborhood's current chicherías. The campaigns should address the importance of making chicha with culturally appropriate ingredients, which does not include liquor. Vecinos determined that for the continuance of chicherías in San Blas, they must remain cultural hubs that do not invite alcoholism.
5. The leaders of the Día del Patrón, which are the San Blas Parish and vecinos with economic power, should start a dialogue to reevaluate the intentions and customs of the fiesta so that it promotes tradition and faith, rather than alcoholism and violence.
6. Police must show their presence at the Día del Patrón to avoid fights and keep alcohol levels under control.
7. The San Blas community considers the Día de los Reyes an important and long-standing function in the community. It is suggested that it be maintained by continuously involving the youth to keep the fiesta intergenerational and lasting.
8. The Asociación de Artesanos should make formal, written demands to the Municipality/mayor to promise the supporting of producers over vendors.
9. The Asociación de Artesanos should seek out permits from competent institutions to expand the businesses of local producers.
10. The Asociación de Artesanos should raise awareness about its members being Sambleños, and about its beginnings. This is my recommendation; it was not discussed in the mapping sessions. I recommend this because many vecinos with whom I spoke did not realize that the artists/artisans were Sambleños. The presence of people with artwork from other parts of the country at the weekly

artisan market leads locals to believe that the Asociación de Artesanos does not belong to vecinos.

11. Vecinos must communicate their needs clearly to the Municipality to accomplish the continuance of tradition and cultural aspects of the San Blas neighborhood.
12. The Municipality must take vecinos seriously by putting vecino wants/needs above tourists’.

5.5 Summary & next steps

This document works to understand Sambleño perceptions regarding neighborhood change, especially since the tourism boom of the 1990s. Through participatory mapping sessions and interviews, this thesis emphasizes the importance of local knowledge, closing the gap between those experiencing the change and academics studying these phenomena. This gap should be bridged not only in the academy, but also in local governments that plan for the City of Cusco. This project’s recommendations for maintaining assets and bettering livelihoods come directly from the mapping sessions and interviews. The priorities illuminated in the mapping sessions and interviews were: (1) safety and tranquility and their connection to public and green space, (2) renovations and patrimony and their relation to neighborhood displacement, (3) maintenance and cleanliness with the population surge, and (4) traditions and customs in relation to the constant changes that San Blas and Cusco are undergoing, and in relation to Cusco’s position as a cultural tourism hub. The primary purposes of this document are to: identify community assets that enhance local livelihoods; provide a means for making Municipal and other organizational demands in the San Blas neighborhood; highlight local means of

maintaining community; and offer perspective for other Latin American cities that receive high levels of tourist traffic.

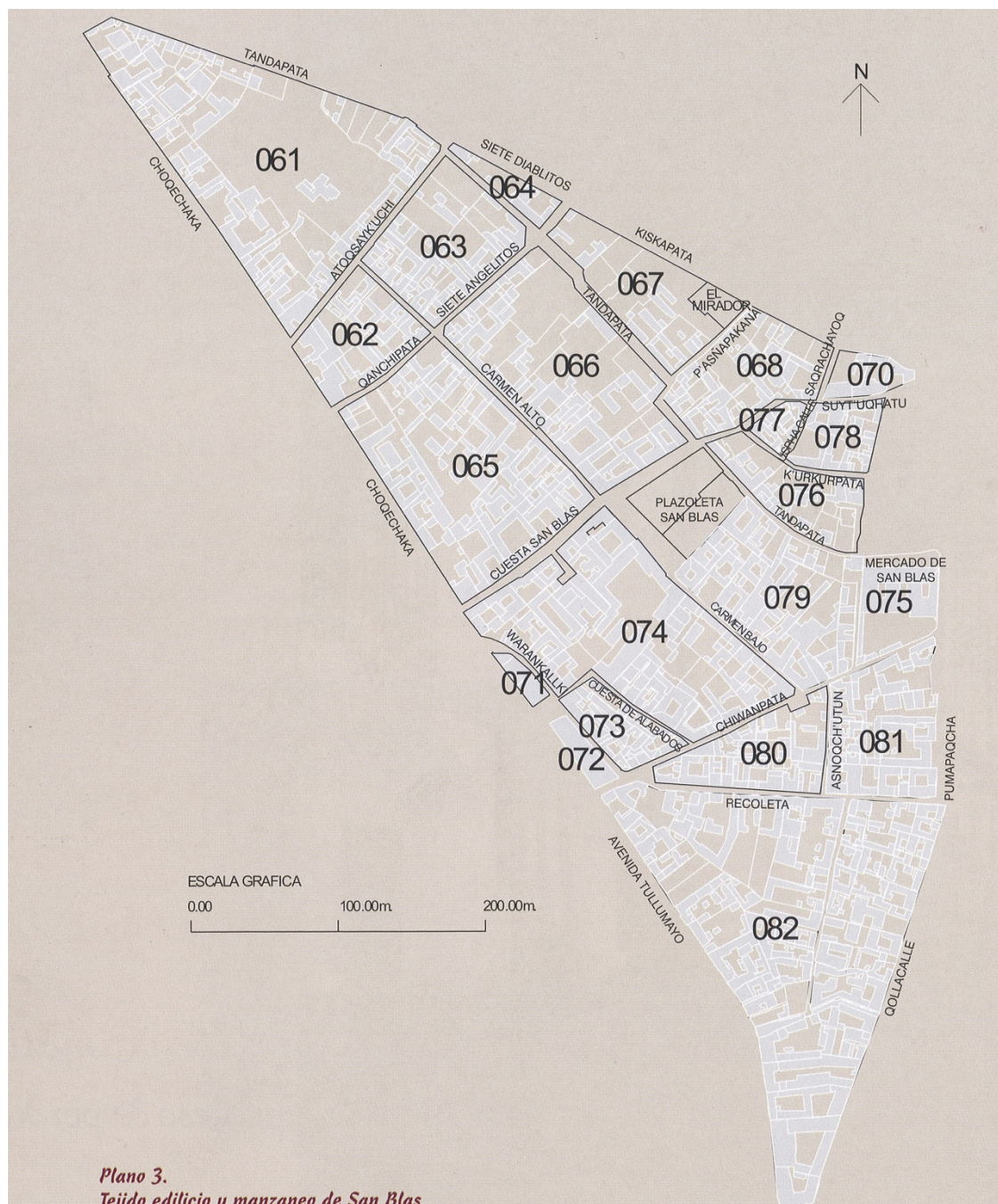
Alongside data collection through participatory and collective means, this thesis examines the historic context of the tourism boom to better understand the changes and complexities taking place. It looks at the history of tourism in Cusco and San Blas, the change in Peru's economic regime in the 1990s, the entrance of foreign capital into San Blas, population change in the neighborhood, and the effects that these circumstances have had on the San Blas neighborhood and its inhabitants. Furthermore, this thesis compares the Master Plan of the Historic Center of Cusco's objectives with vecino priorities according to the interviews and mapping sessions, and it comments on the efficiency of the current Master Plan.

The participatory mapping sessions directed the results and recommendations of this thesis. Had I prioritized other data collection methods, the recommendations would have been drastically different. As a North American researcher, I perceive Cusco and San Blas differently from vecinos and I have not personally experienced these processes of neighborhood change. Furthermore, I never visited the San Blas neighborhood prior to its position as a tourism hub. Therefore, the implementation of participatory processes such as mapping was critical for finding results and recommendations that align with local needs. While participatory methodologies and methods were used as much as possible in this project, the time and geographical constraints of this master's thesis have contributed to its inability to be completely constructed and driven by the neighborhood. Nonetheless, through the neighborhood connections I made in Cusco and San Blas, I plan to continue

this work in a strictly participatory context where vecinos write the research questions and decide how to proceed.

I have considered the following methods for future work in the San Blas neighborhood: (1) Concentric rings for prioritizing assets and needs and deciding where to spend energy for demands from the Municipality, (2) Power analysis for assessing how to approach issues of safety and security in the neighborhood, (3) Collective creation of awareness workshops discussed in the recommendations of this thesis document. I would also like to discuss with community members the possible effects of the recommendations made during the mapping sessions, such as increased neighborhood surveillance and policing, to confirm that the benefits of the offered solutions outweigh possible costs. Following the defense of this thesis, I will translate this document to Spanish and return to Cusco to present my findings with participants and other Sambleños. I will go over the documents (created for governmental and non-governmental entities working within the Historic Center of Cusco. See Appendices C and D.) with the vecinos and ask them to make changes before finalizing them. I will also offer my services for presenting the documents to the different entities to which they are directed. In addition, I will make this document available in libraries across Cusco for both academic and practical use.

Appendix A: Map of San Blas



Map of San Blas. Source: Centro Guaman Poma de Ayala, 2005

Appendix B: Glossary

Abarrotes: small stores that sell necessary goods for households.

Agrarian Reform: reform passed in 1968 by Juan Velasco’s military government, which transferred hacienda lands from the hands of hacendados (landholders of Spanish descent) to Native communities. The Agrarian Reform recognized discrimination taking place against Indigenous peoples and it sparked migration from rural to urban areas.

Antisuyu (Antisuyo): the name of the eastern territory of the Inca Empire. Also the name of the main road from the Antisuyu territory of the Inca Empire to Cusco, which passes from the Sacred Valley through the center of the San Blas neighborhood to the modern-day Plaza de Armas.

Apu: mountain god/deity. Different Apus have different degrees of power and are highly respected by Andean peoples. It is important to maintain a reciprocal relationship with Apus by giving offerings.

Artistas populares: the name given to artists who did not study art formally. Most of the world-renown artists in San Blas were artistas populares.

Asset: the “gifts, skills and capacities” of different community members and entities, according to Kretzmann and McKnight (1993). When explaining the meaning of assets in Spanish to participants, I called them “aspects of the community that they value” (aspectos valorados), or “resources” (recursos).

Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD): “[builds] on a community’s assets rather than focusing on its needs for future development” (Haines, 2015, p. 45). The idea is that ABCD enhances and strengthens the assets that a community already possesses.

Asset mapping: a method used to exert Asset-Based Community Development. The purpose of asset mapping is to find out “how community action can build on the expertise, experiences, and resources that are already available” in a community (Green, 2015, p. 214). In this method, participants either draw maps of their community or identify assets on an existing community map.

Atlas.ti: a qualitative data analysis software.

Ayllu: Andean kinship networks, including family, neighbor, marriage, trade and non-human networks.

Barrio de los artesanos: Spanish for artisan neighborhood. San Blas is known by this name.

Calle: Spanish for street.

Campesino: Spanish for peasant. Indigenous peoples of Peru became known by this name after the Agrarian Reform in 1968.

Cargo/Carguyuq: refers to the person who is in charge of putting on the Día del Patrón fiesta. It is tradition that the person with the cargo ask friends and family to bring certain necessities to the fiesta, such as animals, food and alcohol. Cargo is Spanish for a load (which one carries), and the Quechua suffix -yuq translates to with. Thus, carguyuq means, with a load, or one carrying a load.

Chicha: an alcoholic drink made from fermented corn. It has been consumed in the Andes since Inca times. It is made with particular types of corn and is cooked over a wood fire, then left under dirt and straw for about 8 days to ferment. It is then cooked again and served, typically in chicherías/picanterías.

Chichería: a small traditional restaurant in an adobe house that serves Peruvian corn beer (chicha) and traditional, affordable food called extras. Also known as picanterías.

Chuño: freeze-dried potatoes. In the Andes, people have been freeze-drying potatoes since Inca times by immersing them in rivers and laying them out on the ground as a way to conserve them in the harsh climate. Some potatoes can only be eaten after going through the freeze-drying process. Ch'uña in Quechua.

Coca leaf (hoja de coca): originates in the high jungle of South America and it is highly significant in Andean culture. It is chewed and used for making tea. It provides energy to workers and helps with altitude sickness. It is also used in prayer and ceremony and as an offering to others as a form of respect.

Commodification of culture: the transformation of aspects of culture and/or tradition into something which can be bought and sold.

Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR): a research approach that strives for community “engagement and full participation of community partners in every aspect of the research process from question identification to analysis and dissemination” (Hacker, 2013, p. 2).

Community development: Ronda Phillips and Robert H. Pittman (2015) discuss community development as both an outcome and a process; as an outcome it is the “physical, social, and economic improvement in a community;” as a process it is “the ability of communities to act collectively and enhancing the ability to do so” (p. 3).

Comunidad campesina: Spanish for peasant community. It is the name for Indigenous communities since the Agrarian Reform in 1968.

Concentric rings: a form of participatory diagramming where large rings moving outward are drawn, and each ring closer to the center has a higher level of importance. Participants write priorities on small pieces of paper, which are placed in the rings according to level of importance.

Corporación del Turismo del Perú (COTURPERU): Spanish for Tourism Corporation of Peru. Created in 1963 to help manage tourism. It was initially in charge of hotels run by the state. It was also in charge of the train between Cusco and Machu Picchu. It created the Escuela Nacional del Turismo (National School of Tourism). It was put below the Ministry of Industry and Commerce in 1969. COTURPERU now mainly focuses on tourism promotion (Desforges, 2000).

Criollo: in the context of the Colonial period, this term refers to people born in Peru to Spanish parents. Today criollo also refers to Afro-Peruvian people.

Cusco Tourist Ticket (Boleto Turístico): permits entrance to sixteen places of interest in and near the City of Cusco, including ruins and museums.

Cusqueño: a person from Cusco. (Cusqueña is used for females).

Decolonization: in the context of research, according to Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999), decolonization means “[centering Indigenous] concerns and world views and then coming to know and understand theory and research from [Indigenous] perspectives and for [Indigenous] purposes (p. 39).

De-Indianization: a concept coined by Marisol de la Cadena (2000). The process by which an Indigenous person can socially ascend without losing cultural Indigeneity. Nevertheless, it still reinforces a type of discrimination, because those who move socially upward through movement or education refuse to accept the label of “Indian” and see themselves as superior to Indigenous peoples living in rural areas without a significant amount of education.

Día de los Reyes: Three Kings Day, when people give out gifts from the balconies of the San Blas neighborhood near the Plazoleta.

Día del Patrón de San Blas: the Saint Blas Patron Saint Day. It is celebrated in the San Blas neighborhood for about one week.

Estrada Pérez, Daniel: mayor of Cusco during the 1980s and 1990s. He played a large part in supporting Cusco’s designation as a UNESCO World Heritage City. Estrada was a young socialist committed to decentralization of government and high redistribution policies (Mora de Estrada, 2014). In 1993 he was in charge of the major restoration project of the San Blas neighborhood, called Remodelación integral del Barrio de San Blas (Integral Remodeling of the San Blas Neighborhood) (Concejo Provincial, 1993a). Estrada is widely loved among Cusqueños.

Eurocentered colonialism: “a relation of direct, political, social and cultural domination...established by the Europeans over the conquered of all continents” (Quijano, 2013, p. 22). It was followed by Western imperialism, which “is an association of social interests between the dominant groups (‘social classes’ and/or ‘ethnies’) of countries with unequally articulated power, rather than an imposition from the outside” (Quijano, 2013, p. 22). This power structure is that which continues and furthers colonialism today.

Fujimori, Alberto: President of the Republic of Peru from 1990 until 2000. Fujimori’s entrance as president marks a drastic economic shift to neoliberalism in the 1990s in Peru, known as the “fujishock.”

Gentrification: “a process involving a change in the population of land-users such that the new users are of a higher socioeconomic status than the previous users, together with an associated change in the built environment through a reinvestment in fixed capital” (Clark, 2014, p. 263). In addition to land dispossession, gentrification includes the “loss of use value in space as well as the denegation of the right to use certain land for social reproduction for the many at the bottom of society” (López-Morales, 2015, p. 564).

Global sense of place: Doreen Massey’s (2010) “progressive concept of space,” which includes: (1) viewing space as processes “of social interactions” rather than as static, (2) recognizing that places have no fixed boundaries, and (3) acknowledging the multiple identities that make up a place (p. 7).

Hacendado: Spanish landowner.

Hacienda: large area of land owned by people of Spanish descent. Many of the haciendas were re-appropriated to Native communities during the Agrarian Reform.

Huaca (Waka): a physical place or natural object that is sacred; huacas are often boulders in certain shapes or water springs, but they are not limited to this. To pay respect to huacas, Andean peoples leave them offerings, such as coca leaves, food and alcohol. When the Spanish came to Cusco, they strategically placed the eight churches atop huacas to facilitate conversion to Catholicism.

Human capital: “the skills, talents, and knowledge of community members” (Haines, 2015, p. 48).

Inca Calendar (calendario inca): festivities that take place in Cusco, which are promoted by the municipal entity, EMUFEC (Empresa municipal de festejos del Cusco). These festivities follow the circular agricultural cycle of the Inca people.

Indigenismo: intellectual movement of Cusco that began in the 1920s. It grew in response to the pro-*criollo* nationalistic agenda coming from Lima, which valued a lettered, civilized, largely European society. Indigenismo values followed the idea that racial regeneration through reviving the Inca race was the best way to “fix” issues around the “Indian.” This idea contended that mestizos were Indians who were morally degraded because of their residence outside of traditional agricultural communities. Luis Valcárcel was the most significant proponent of this movement.

Indigenista: a person following the indigenismo movement; self-designated experts on Indigenous peoples.

Indigenous mestizos: this is a term coined by Marisol de la Cadena (2000), which refers to identities of Cusqueños who occupy a space that they themselves define, in which they are culturally both mestizo and indígena (Indigenous), or neto (legitimately Indigenous/indigenous to an area).

International Monetary Fund (IMF): created during the 1944 Bretton Woods Conference to give short-term loans to countries to help balance their economies when in financial crises.

Inti Raymi: the sun festival which was reportedly practiced yearly during the Inca Empire; the Inti Raymi practiced today is a recreation, constructed using documentation and chronicles from the colonial period.

Junta de Reconstrucción y Fomento Industrial del Cusco (Reconstruction and Industrial Development of Cusco): formed to manage the reconstruction of Cusco after the earthquake of 1950.

Keynesian Welfare State: here the demand side is the driver of the economy. A strong Keynesian Welfare State intervenes in the economy to keep the market moving smoothly. State regulations use taxes to redistribute wealth and favor the less wealthy, who have a higher pent-up demand and will spend more money, stimulating the economy.

K’usilluchayuq: Inca ruins below the Templo de la luna. They are above San Blas and along the Antisuyu. Fewer tourists frequent this place. Here locals have picnics, make wathiyas during the dry season, play soccer, converse, relax and breathe fresh air.

Machu Picchu: highly-conserved Inca ruins placed atop a mountain ridge, located 46.4 miles (74.7 km) from Cusco. It is thought to have been an estate for the Emperor Pachacuti and also a place used for ceremonial purposes. Machu Picchu is Peru’s most visited archaeological site, and its visitation has risen immensely since it was voted one of the New Seven Wonders of the World in 2007 (Global Platform Ltd., 2000-2018).

Mate de muña: Andean mint. Used for cooking and making tea.

Mercado San Blas: the traditional, neighborhood market of San Blas.

Mestizo: a person of mixed heritage, who is part Indigenous and part European, namely Spanish in the context of Peru.

Methodologies: the theory and analysis that “[frame] the questions being asked, [determine] the set of instruments and methods to be employed and [shape] the analyses” (Smith, 1999, p. 143).

Methods: the techniques used in order to carry out research or a project.

MINTINCI: Ministry of Industry, Tourism, Integration and Commerce. Created in 1978, COTURPERU was expanded into MINTINCI because of the growth of tourism (Desforges, 2000). The organization of this sector has since changed.

Misión de asistencia (Assistance Mission): short-term project created to help with the management and reconstruction of historic structures after the earthquake of 1950. Indigenista Luis Valcárcel played a large part in its creation, which was led by Dr. George Kubler (Samanez Argumedo, 2013).

Moscoso, Carlos: current mayor of Cusco.

Neoindianismo: an intellectual movement of the 1940s following indigenismo which was meant to be more inclusive of common people as a representative of authentic, rather than elite, Inca culture.

Neoindianista: a person who is part of the neoindianismo movement.

Neoliberalism: economic policies that became prevalent in the 1990s, which curtail state spending, promote the private sector and rely heavily on the market for economic stability.

Neoliberal politics of gentrification: the economic forces that often make way for gentrification to take place and are played out differently “in social, political and administrative urban environments that had never developed a notable Keynesian welfare state” (Janoschka, Sequera & Salinas, 2013, p. 1245).

Neto: a term that many Sambleños use to refer to the ‘authentic’ Cusqueños or Sambleños. It is also used in terms of Indigeneity.

Pachamama: Quechua for Mother Earth. People of the Andes frequently give offerings of food, drink and tobacco as a form of gratitude and reciprocity with the natural world upon which they rely.

Parchero: the people sell their artwork informally on blankets on the ground in neighborhood streets.

Parroquia de indios: Indian Parish. The Inca neighborhoods where the Spanish established parishes were initially known by this term. Eight of the twelve Inca neighborhoods were transformed into Parroquias de indios.

Parroquia/Iglesia San Blas (San Blas Church): built in 1562 atop a huaca, this church marked the transformation of the Inca neighborhood of Thoqo Kachi to the mestizo neighborhood of San Blas. It is located next to the Plazoleta San Blas, in the heart of the San Blas neighborhood. The San Blas Church helps organize religious festivals in the neighborhood, like the Día del Patrón.

Participatory Action Research (PAR): involves research, education and socio-political action and often employs the following techniques: “collective research; critical recovery of history valuing and applying folk culture; and production and diffusion of new knowledge” (Thomas-Slayter, 1995, p. 12).

Patrimony/Patrimonio: refers to the cultural/natural/historic/structural significance and/or qualities that designate a place worthy of being declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site. It could also be referred to as cultural heritage. In Cusco this term is used frequently by locals. Patrimony is what UNESCO aims at preserving.

Physical capital: “comprises the roads, buildings, infrastructure, and natural resources within a community” (Haines, 2015, p. 48).

Picanterías: small traditional restaurants in adobe houses that serve Peruvian corn beer (chicha) and traditional, affordable food called extras. Also known as chicherías.

Pisac: a town in the Sacred Valley that is home to Inca ruins and agricultural terraces which are highly visited by tourists today.

Plan COPESCO: formed in 1965. In charge of stimulating the construction of touristic installations in Peru (Hardoy & Dos Santos, 1983). Today COPESCO still exists, however, it constructs installations that are not only for tourism, but also for the public in the Region of Cusco.

Plan Maestro del Centro Histórico del Cusco (Master Plan of the Historic Center of Cusco): the primary purpose of the Master Plan is to halt processes of deterioration, destruction and unsuitable transformation of material patrimony in the Historic Center of Cusco and to avoid the loss of its cultural patrimony (its customs and traditions). The Master Plan also considers the issues of environmental contamination and watershed deterioration around the Historic Center (Municipalidad del Cusco & Instituto Nacional de Cultura Cusco, 2009).

Plaza de Armas: the center of the Historic Center of Cusco.

Plazoleta San Blas: the center of the San Blas neighborhood. It was formerly a field that was used as a market for trading and as a soccer field for children to play. Now it is paved with benches and two fountains. It is a gathering place for Sambleños and tourists. It is also the space where the Asociación de Artesanos sells its artisan work on Fridays and Saturdays.

Ponche de habas: a hot, sweet drink made from ground lima beans. It is a typical drink in Cusco.

Power analysis: a participatory method where a group identifies stakeholders and places them on a chart accordingly. On the chart, the y-axis represents the amount of decision making power/influence of stakeholders. The x-axis represents solutions/damage which stakeholders may enable (low to high: long-term solutions, medium-term solutions, short-term solutions, short-term damage, medium-term damage, long-term damage).

Qhapaq Ñan: Quechua for great road. This term refers to the system of Inca trails throughout the Inca Empire. They are protected by patrimony and include the Antisuyu, which passes through San Blas.

Quechua: the language of the ancient Inca people. It is the most highly-spoken Indigenous language of the Andes today, and it is also the name for many of the Indigenous groups who speak it.

Reglamento del Plan Maestro del Centro Histórico del Cusco (Regulations of the Master Plan of the Historic Center of Cusco): the regulations which implement the Master Plan of the Historic Center of Cusco.

Republican Period: the period of Peruvian history that began with Peruvian independence from Spain in 1822 and lasted until 1842.

Research Justice Theory: “envisions equal political power and legitimacy for different forms of knowledge” and works to deconstruct the power continuum of knowledge production which favors mainstream knowledge and knowledge produced in academic circles (Jolivéte, 2015, p. 6). It is “a collective endeavor and a shared knowledge creation process between academic and community researchers” which draws from Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR) and Participatory Action Research (PAR) (Jolivéte, 2015, p. 7).

Sacred Valley (valle sagrado): the fertile valley to the northeast of Cusco in the direction towards Machu Picchu that goes along the Antisuyu.

Sambleño: a person from San Blas (Sambleña is used for females).

Sapo: Spanish for toad. It is a game played in many areas of South America, where one attempts to throw golden coins into the mouth of a golden toad. It is often played in picanterías/chicherías.

Saqsayhuaman/Saqsaywaman: famous Inca ruins above San Blas, which were formerly a military fortress. Today they are highly visited by tourists and locals go there to make wathiyas, play soccer and have picnics.

Seqe: an Inca system for dividing land, created by the Inca Emperor Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui. The seqes were portions of land divided by 41 territorial lines radiating from Cusco's Temple of the Sun, Qori Cancha. Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui used seqes to organize the city and sacred spaces (together) of Cusco when it was built (Gartner, 1998).

Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso): Maoist terrorist group at large in Peru from 1980 until 2000. It was formed in the highland city Ayacucho, Peru and took advantage of its proximity to Andean communities and their struggles with poverty, which the Peruvian government largely ignored. The Shining Path's rise to power led to government violence as well, and this violent period is referred to as a civil war. In 1990 Abimael Guzmán, the Shining Path leader, was captured, which signified the beginning of the end of the group's power. Nonetheless, the group's violence continued until 2000.

Sistema Nacional de Apoyo a la Movilización Social (SINAMOS): Spanish for the National System of Social Mobility Support. This was a program implemented by the Velasco government in the 1970s to expand access to basic needs and social services to communities across Peru. This program still exists.

Social capital: “often refers to the social relationships within a community and can refer to trust, norms, and social networks that are established” (Haines, 2015, p. 48). It involves financial capital through access to sources of funds and political capital, or the ability of a community to demonstrate political leverage (Haines, 2015).

Spanish-Colonial Period: the period of Peruvian history where the Spanish ruled over Peru from 1533 until 1822.

Symbolic gentrification: “often entangled with policies that re-stage the rich architectural heritage of Latin American city [centers]” (Janoschka, Sequera & Salinas, 2013, p. 1243). It is often associated with UNESCO presence in a city. Urban cultural heritage, commodification of culture, street vendors disrupting the lifestyles of gentrifiers and “leisure- and lifestyle-oriented mobility and migration” are all encompassed within the category of symbolic gentrification (Janoschka, Sequera & Salinas, 2013, p. 1244).

Tawantinsuyu: the name for the Inca Empire. Ruled from the early 13th century until 1533 with the arrival of the Spanish. In Quechua tawa means four and suyu is a territory or a section of land. The Inca Empire was divided into four sections (Antisuyu, Qullasuyu, Kuntisuyu, Chinchaysuyu).

Templo de la luna: these are Inca ruins which are above San Blas and along the Antisuyu. Fewer tourists frequent this place. Here people have picnics, make wathiyas during the dry season, play soccer, converse, relax and breathe fresh air.

Tetería: traditional Cusqueña tea room where one can buy different drinks and food, including the famous té piteado, which is a hot, sweet tea with key lime juice and pisco (Peruvian liquor made from grapes).

Thoqo Kachi (t'oqo kachi): spring of salt in Quechua. Modern-day San Blas was formerly known by this name. It was given this name during the Inca Empire because of the presence of numerous springs, some of which contain salt water.

Touring y Automovíl Club del Perú: private club in charge of most tourist activities in Peru from 1924 until 1963. This club no longer exists.

Tullumayu (Tullumayo): Quechua for river of bones. The name for the river that divides San Blas from the rest of Cusco. It is now covered by a road that goes by the same name and further northwest is called Choquechaka (Quechua for bridge of minerals).

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Formed after World War II, this organization “seeks to build peace through international cooperation in Education, the Sciences and Culture” (UNESCO, 2018). It is highly involved with the conservation of historic structures, heritage, sites and cities internationally.

UNESCO World Heritage Site: “inscribed [by UNESCO] on the basis of their ‘outstanding universal value,’ ‘cultural and/or natural significance which is considered so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity’” (Pendlebury, Short & While, 2009, p. 349, citing UNESCO, 2008).

Valencia, Carlos: former mayor of Cusco during the 1990s, who implemented strict regulations for informal vendors.

Vecino: Spanish for neighbor. Long-term residents of San Blas refer to themselves as vecinos (vecina is used for females).

Vertical economy: a term coined by anthropologist John Murra to describe the trading network amongst different ecological levels among peoples extending from the Andes to the coast and the Amazonian jungle (Wachtel, 1973).

Washington Consensus: a set of standard policies for bringing developing countries out of crisis. These policies applied to nations borrowing from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Wathiya: oven made from clumps of dirt during the dry season in the Cusco region of Peru. After turning the earth, people go to the fields, make ovens from the large clumps of dirt and get them very hot by burning sticks. Once the wathiya is red-hot and the contents inside have burned, tubers and lima beans are thrown inside and the oven is beaten down and buried in dirt. After about half an hour, the food is removed from the hot earth and eaten.

World Bank: created at the 1944 Bretton Woods Conference to extend private bank loans to countries for long-term investment in capital projects, such as infrastructure and productive enterprises. In the early 1980s, the World Bank shifted to a neoliberal strategy.

Ya no tengo vecinos: Spanish for I don't have neighbors anymore.

Yawar maki: Quechua for bloody hands. The population of Thoqo Kachi (San Blas in Inca times) was known by this name. Some say their name derives from being hard workers; others say it is because they were warriors; and some say that it refers to the artist and artisan tradition of the neighborhood.

Appendix C: Governmental and non-governmental entities in San Blas

The following governmental and non-governmental entities in San Blas are stakeholders and organizations with influence in the San Blas neighborhood. Some are possible allies for promoting positive neighborhood change in San Blas, and others are entities to which vecinos can make neighborhood demands.

Public sector entities:

Diretur: directs, organizes and regulates public and private entities in foreign trade, tourism and artisanry in the Cusco region of Peru.

Dirección Desconcentrada de Cultura de Cusco (Management of Culture of Cusco): an entity of the Ministry of Culture, which is managed in Cusco. It manages the Inca Calendar, the Tourist Ticket, cultural patrimony, art and culture, interculturality and the Inca Trail. It includes:

- Dirección de Producción, Desarrollo y Difusión Cultural (Management of Production, Development and Cultural Dissemination)
- Dirección de Conservación del Patrimonio Cultural Inmueble (Management of Cultural Patrimony of Buildings)
- Dirección de Museos y Conservación del Patrimonio Cultural Mueble (Management of Museums and Conservation of Cultural Patrimony)
- Dirección de Investigación y Catastro (Management of Investigation and Land Registry)
- Dirección del Parque Arqueológico de Saqsaywaman (Management of the Archaeological Park Saqsayhuaman)
- Oficina de Planificación y Presupuesto (Office of Planning and Budgeting)
- Oficina de Asesoría Jurídica (Office of the Legal Department)
- Dirección de Administración (Administrative Management)
- Gerencia de Imagen Institucional (Management of Institutional Image)

EMUFEC (Empresa Municipal de Festejos del Cusco) (Municipal Business of Festivities in Cusco): works primarily with the Annual Calendar of Traditional Events of Cusco, including Inti Raymi.

Gobierno Municipal del Cusco, Municipalidad (Municipal Government of Cusco): consists of the following: Mayor (Alcalde); Municipal Council (Concejo Municipal, Regidores); Municipal Management.

Instituto Nacional de Cultura (INC): (National Institute of Culture): this institute was absorbed by the Ministry of Culture in 2010. Many still refer to the Ministry of Culture as the INC. Created in 1972, it was the organism that integrated the functions of various institutions that came before it and centralized the work of protecting cultural patrimony (Hardoy & Dos Santos, 1983).

Ministerio de Cultura (Ministry of Culture): responsible for cultural patrimony in all of Peru: contemporary cultural creation and living arts, cultural management and cultural industries, and cultural and ethnic diversity of Peru. It is based in Lima.

Subgerencia de Gestión del Centro Histórico (Sub-management of the Management of the Historic Center): directs, manages and coordinates the maps, programs and projects related to the protection of historic and cultural patrimony related to infrastructure and landscapes, the urban development of the Historic Center of Cusco and of the historic centers of the Cusco province, in addition to others that obtain the ranking of historic center or urban environments to be protected.

Private entities:

Asociación Pukllasunchis: founded in 1981. Its office is located in San Blas. In its beginnings, its primary focus was establishing educational centers in marginalized areas of Cusco's urban periphery. They also work in rural communities of the Cusco region and they have a bilingual Quechua/Spanish radio station for children of Cusco that focuses on Andean knowledge that is present in both urban and rural spheres. Pukllasunchis has a Center for Education Services just outside of San Blas where students and educators can find cultural activities, materials for teaching, a carpentry workshop, internet and more. The Pukllasunchis school in Cusco is not in San Blas, but in another area of the city.

Casona de San Bernardo: Casa de la Cultura (House of Culture). Promotes the traditional arts and cultures of the Andes, Cusco and Peru in general. It is a space that the Municipality offers to the community for the promotion of art and interculturality in Cusco.

Centro Bartolomé de las Casas (CBC): the Center for Regional Andean Studies. CBC was founded in 1974. It promotes the sociocultural, historic, economic and environmental dimensions of the Andean world. CBC is committed to supporting marginalized Andean communities through academic investigation, education and the dissemination of knowledges, and the emergence of autonomous social actors in an intercultural and democratic society. It has hotels and hostels in Cusco, a library, a bookstore, a bakery and a coffee shop. One of the hotels is known as the Casa Campesina, where it provides affordable spaces for campesinos and bilingual Quechua-Spanish discussions/workshops/lectures for those staying in the hotel and others who wish to attend.

Centro Guaman Poma de Ayala: NGO that was established in Cusco in 1979 and works with marginalized populations and also helps to better the qualities of lives of the long-term residents of Cusco's Historic Center. They help with home restoration and improving access to basic services in order to recuperate built patrimony in Cusco.

Colegio de Arquitectos: this is an architectural guild/union/association in Cusco that is located in San Blas.

Appendix D: Recommendation documents

The following (3) documents articulate the needs and desires of the San Blas community to the Municipality of Cusco and other organizations working in the San Blas neighborhood. These documents will be given to interview and mapping session participants, the Junta de Vecinos and the Asociación de Artesanos. I created these documents with the intention that they will be adapted and coopted by Sambleños for their use in making neighborhood demands.

A. SEGURIDAD Y ESPACIOS PÚBLICOS Y VERDES

Objetivo principal:

- Asegurar que el barrio de San Blas de Cusco, Perú, sea seguro para sus habitantes y posea suficientes espacios públicos y verdes, ahora y en el futuro.

Objetivos específicos:

- Basura
- Tráfico
- Falta de mantenimiento
- Propiedad privada
- Vandalismo, falta de respeto
- Delincuencia y drogas
- Inseguridad (por los bares, extranjeros, gente de otros barrios)

Diagnóstico:

A través de sesiones de mapeo participativas y entrevistas entre Kalyn Finnell, M.A. Planificación Comunitaria y Regional/Estudios Latinoamericanos, y vecinos del Barrio de San Blas del Cusco, Perú, se ha establecido que los espacios públicos y verdes son prioridades con respecto a las necesidades de los vecinos en el barrio. Como tantos extranjeros, hoteles y negocios relacionados al turismo han desplazado a muchos vecinos en el barrio, es importante que la Municipality del Cusco y las otras organizaciones que trabajan en San Blas tomen en cuenta las necesidades de los vecinos que han vivido en este barrio por varias generaciones y evitar que lo sigan abandonando.

Los espacios verdes en San Blas tienen importancia con respecto a la identidad y las tradiciones de los sambleños. San Blas tiene una tradición de agricultura y el bosque de eucaliptos es importante para los vecinos. Los espacios verdes son importantes para actividades tradicionales, como los picnics, wathiyas, la agricultura, el fútbol y los despachos. También son importantes para que los niños tengan espacios para jugar.

Los espacios públicos y verdes más importantes en San Blas son la Plazoleta, el camino del Antisuyu hacia K'usilluchayuy y el Templo de la luna arriba de San Blas, las calles de San Blas, las chakras interiores de las casonas, el Mercado San Blas, los miradores del barrio y el bosque y las chakras arriba del barrio. Saqsayhuaman y Qenqo, a pesar de que quedan fuera del barrio, también son sitios importantes para los vecinos.

Con el tiempo, la urbanización ha traspasado muchas de las chakras y del bosque arriba del barrio. En el pasado, San Blas era menos urbanizado, tenía una población

pequeña y los niños jugaban por todo el barrio. La Plazoleta antes servía como cancha de fútbol y también como mercado. También había bastantes picanterías, teterías y abarrotes para la gente local. Sin embargo, con la urbanización del barrio y el aumento de la población y del turismo, los espacios públicos son diseñados más para los turistas que para la gente local y ya no hay la seguridad que había antes. Los patios interiores de las casas ya no sirven tanto para el cultivo el aumento de carros en las calles diseñadas para peatones hace que sea peligroso para los niños y el incremento de los bares y extranjeros hace que el barrio sea inseguro para la gente local en las noches. Por otro lado, los sambleños desplazados han construido casas hacia la parte de arriba del barrio, destruyendo partes del bosque. Muchos elementos de los espacios públicos no han sido mantenidos, como las fuentes y las acequias que se han creado y trabajado en la *Remodelación integral del Barrio de San Blas* del año 1993. El incremento de la población, de restaurantes y de hostales ha influido en el aumento de la generación de basura en el barrio. Junto a esto, la incapacidad de la Municipalidad del Cusco para adaptarse a las necesidades del Barrio de San Blas ha influido para que se deteriore la imagen del Barrio de San Blas, así como la salud de sus habitantes y el espacio público y verde. También, con el aumento del turismo, ahora los espacios públicos están llenos de turistas y de vendedores que aprovechan del turismo. Por ejemplo, la mayoría del tiempo hay gente que vende productos artesanos en mantas en las calles, ocupando el poco espacio público que existe. También, la incorporación de hoteles y restaurantes caros hace que los servicios del barrio sean menos accesibles a la gente local.

A pesar del boom del turismo, en los años 90, San Blas era un lugar tranquilo. Sin embargo, ahora es un centro turístico con mucha gente, actividades comerciales y actividades que tienen que ver con la venta y consumo de drogas y alcohol, lo que ha tenido un efecto negativo en el barrio con respecto a la tranquilidad y seguridad. Ahora, los vecinos no se sienten seguros durante las noches en su barrio y los valores locales no son respetados.

Recomendaciones:

- Apoyar a las organizaciones que ayudan con el mantenimiento de los espacios verdes y públicos en el barrio: Junta de Vecinos para la Defensa de los Intereses de la Parroquia de San Blas; Asociación de Artistas y Artesanos Productores de San Blas; las escuelas; Pukllasunchis; Colegio de Arquitectos.
- Instalar más cámaras de seguridad y vigilarlas dentro del barrio.
- Arreglar y mejorar la iluminación del barrio.
- Aumentar policías/seguridad que vigilen todo el barrio y no solamente en la Plazoleta.
- Mantener los mismos policías que vigilan el barrio para que entiendan las necesidades de los vecinos con respeto a la seguridad.
- Responder a las necesidades y las llamadas de los vecinos por parte de la policía.
- Realizar campañas, con el apoyo de los jóvenes, enfocándose en la seguridad del barrio.
- Organizar el tráfico para mejorar la calidad del aire en el barrio y hacer que las calles sean más seguras para los niños.

- Regular la contaminación sonora por parte de Los carros/taxis que recogen a los turistas en el medio de la noche. No deben tocar la bocina entre las 9 de la noche y las 8 de la mañana. Los que no cumplen con esta regla deben recibir una multa.
- Limitar el uso del espacio público en las calles con respeto a la gente que vende en mantas por el barrio (“los parcheros”). Deben vender en ciertas calles del barrio y estas calles deben rotar.
- Reevaluar, por parte de la Municipalidad del Cusco, el sistema de recogimiento de la basura y realizar campañas de concientización para hacer que la gente cumpla con las horas en que se debe dejar la basura.
- Involucrar, por parte de la Municipalidad del Cusco, a los sambleños en restauraciones y mejoramientos del espacio público de San Blas para que sientan una necesidad de ayudar a mantenerlas.
- La Municipalidad del Cusco debe dar materiales para la restauración de las fachadas de las casas particulares.
- La Municipalidad del Cusco debe dar maceteros a los vecinos que quieran para sus balcones para aumentar el espacio verde en el barrio.
- La Municipalidad del Cusco debe quitar los maceteros grandes entre la Plazoleta y el Colegio el Carmen porque se rompen a menudo.
- Crear entre los sambleños una campaña educativa sobre la importancia del espacio público, el patrimonio y su mantenimiento.
- La Municipalidad del Cusco debe restaurar y actualizar los mejoramientos hechos en la *Remodelación integral del Barrio de San Blas* de 1993, como las fuentes, las calles, las acequias y los miradores. Su mantenimiento impone un estándar en el barrio e incentiva a los habitantes

A. SAFETY & PUBLIC/GREEN SPACE

Main objective:

- Secure safety and public and green spaces for the San Blas neighborhood of Cusco, Peru for the present and future.

Specific objectives:

- Trash
- Traffic
- Lack of maintenance
- Private property
- Vandalism, lack of respect
- Crime and drugs
- Insecurity (due to bars, foreign presence and presence of people from other neighborhoods)

Assessment:

By means of participatory mapping sessions and interviews between Kalyn Finnell, M.A. Community & Regional Planning and Latin American Studies and neighbors of the San Blas neighborhood in Cusco, Peru, locals determined public and green space as priorities with respect to local neighborhood needs. There is a trend of long-term resident displacement due to foreign encroachment and the entrance of tourism and hotels in the San Blas neighborhood. Therefore, the Municipality of Cusco and other organizations that work in San Blas must take local needs into account to prevent future continued displacement of long-term residents.

Green space in San Blas holds importance with regard to identity and local traditions. San Blas has a tradition of agriculture and the eucalyptus forest is important to locals. Green spaces are important for traditional activities such as picnics, wathiyas, agriculture, soccer and offerings to the Mother Earth. They are also important for children to have space to play.

The most significant green and public spaces in San Blas are: the Plazoleta; the Antisuyu road towards K'usilluchayuq and the Templo de la luna above the neighborhood; the neighborhood streets; the interior gardens of homes; the San Blas Market; neighborhood lookout points; and the cultivated fields above the neighborhood. Saqsayhuaman and Qenqo are also important places to neighborhood residents, although they are located outside of the neighborhood.

Over time urbanization has encroached upon many of the fields and forest above San Blas. In the past, San Blas was less urbanized; it had a smaller population and there was space for children to play throughout the neighborhood. The Plazoleta served as both a soccer field for kids and a market for adults. The neighborhood also had many picanterías (establishments that serve Chicha – Andean corn beer – and local foods), tea rooms and abarrotos (establishments that sell household goods) for local residents. However, with the urbanization of the neighborhood and the rise in population and tourism activity, public spaces are designed more for tourists than for local people. San Blas is no longer as safe as it was in the past. The interior patios of most homes no longer serve as spaces for cultivation. The increase in traffic on streets designed for pedestrians makes it unsafe for children to play in the neighborhood and the increase in bars and foreigners makes the neighborhood less safe for local residents at night. Furthermore, displaced San Blas residents have built homes above the neighborhood, destroying parts of the forest. Much of the public space has not been maintained, such as the fountains and Inca canals that were worked on during the Integral Remodeling of the San Blas neighborhood in 1993. The Municipality of Cusco's inability to adapt to the neighborhood needs with respect to the increase in trash due to the rise in population, restaurants and hostels also negatively affects the San Blas neighborhood, local health, and public and green space. Also, with the increase in tourism, now public spaces are full of tourists and of people taking advantage of the tourism industry. For example, there are constantly people selling artisan products on blankets in the public neighborhood streets, taking up the little public space that exists. Also, the increase in the number of hotels and expensive restaurants makes neighborhood space less accessible for the local population.

Up until the tourism boom of the 1990s, San Blas was quiet and peaceful. However, now San Blas is a tourism center filled with people, commercial activity and activities related to the selling and consumption of drugs and alcohol, which have had a

negative effect on the neighborhood related to tranquility and safety. Locals no longer feel safe at night in San Blas and neighborhood values are no longer respected.

Recommendations:

- Support the organizations that help with the maintenance of green and public spaces in the neighborhood: Junta de Vecinos para la Defensa de los Intereses de la Parroquia de San Blas (San Blas Neighborhood Association); Asociación de Artistas y Artesanos Productores de San Blas; the schools; Pukllasunchis; Colegio de Arquitectos.
- Install more security cameras and monitor them in the neighborhood.
- Repair and update lighting in the neighborhood.
- Place more police/security in the neighborhood and not only in the Plazoleta.
- Maintain the same police/security officers in the neighborhood so that they understand the neighborhood needs with regard to security.
- The police should respond to the calls and needs of locals.
- The neighborhood should focus on campaigns about neighborhood safety with the neighborhood youth.
- Traffic should be better organized to improve the neighborhood's air quality and to make the streets safer for children.
- The cars that pick up tourists in the middle of the night should not honk horns between the hours of 9 pm and 8 am. Those that do not comply with this rule should be fined.
- The people selling goods on blankets ("los parcheros") should not take up too much public space on the streets. They should sell on certain neighborhood streets that are rotated so as not to bother neighbors too much.
- The Municipality of Cusco should reevaluate the system of trash collection and enforce laws regarding the timing of when neighbors are authorized to place their trash in the street for pickup.
- The Municipality of Cusco should involve local people from San Blas in neighborhood restoration projects involving public space so that they feel a sense of investment and a need to help with the neighborhood's daily maintenance.
- The Municipality of Cusco should give out materials for restoring home façades.
- The Municipality of Cusco should give out flower pots for home balconies on a voluntary basis to increase neighborhood green space.
- The Municipality of Cusco should remove the large flower pots between the Plazoleta and the Colegio el Carmen because they are repeatedly broken by cars.
- Locals should create an educational campaign about the importance of public space, historic patrimony and its maintenance.
- The Municipality of Cusco should repair and update the public works from the Integral Remodeling of the San Blas Neighborhood in 1993, such as the fountains, the streets, the Inca canals and the lookout areas. Continued maintenance creates a neighborhood standard and incentivizes local inhabitants and visitors to continue with this standard of maintenance.

B. ARTESANÍA, TRADICIONES Y COSTUMBRES

Objetivo principal:

- Asegurar que el barrio de San Blas de Cusco, Perú mantenga sus tradiciones y costumbres.

Objetivos específicos:

- Arte/artesanía
- Picanterías
- Día del Patrón
- Día de los Reyes
- Teterías
- Picnics
- Comida local/tradicional
- El fútbol
- Los mercados

Diagnóstico:

A través de sesiones de mapeo participativas y entrevistas entre Kalyn Finnell, M.A. Planificación Comunitaria y Regional/Estudios Latinoamericanos, y vecinos del Barrio de San Blas del Cusco, Perú, se ha establecido que la artesanía, las tradiciones y las costumbres son prioridades con respecto a las necesidades de los vecinos en el barrio. Como tantos extranjeros, hoteles y negocios relacionados al turismo han desplazado a muchos vecinos en el barrio, es importante que la Municipalidad del Cusco y las otras organizaciones que trabajan en San Blas tomen en cuenta las necesidades de los vecinos que han vivido en este barrio por varias generaciones y evitar que lo sigan abandonando.

Los vecinos de San Blas dicen que su barrio es tradicional, colonial, conservador, típico y el “barrio de los artesanos.” Las costumbres y tradiciones que los sambleños identificaron como las más importante son: arte/artesanía, picanterías, Día del Patrón, Día de los Reyes, teterías, picnics, comida local, mercados y el fútbol.

Un gran porcentaje de la gente viviendo en San Blas es artesana. Los famosos artistas populares de San Blas forman parte de la atracción de los turistas. Algunos de estos artistas han convertido sus hogares en museos, y también tienen varias tiendas donde venden su arte.

Además de los artistas famosos, la Asociación de Artistas y Artesanos Productores de San Blas (Asociación de Artesanos) es un grupo de artesanos muy importante del barrio. Es un grupo formado en el año 1997. Los artistas y artesanos se juntaron para poder vender sus obras en la Plazoleta con autorización de la Municipalidad del Cusco. Ellos venden en la Plazoleta cada viernes y sábado y, también realizan eventos culturales durante su mercado. Para ser parte de este grupo, es necesario ser residente de San Blas y ser productor de su propio arte/artesanía. Campesinos de otras partes de la Región del Cusco y del Perú también pueden participar por plazos cortos. La Asociación de Artesanos promueve el tipo del turismo apoyado por los vecinos, que tiene que ver con intercambios culturales y apoya a productores locales. La Asociación de Artesanos también limpia la Plazoleta cada viernes y sábado antes y después de su mercado. A veces tienen problemas durante el Día del Patrón por la basura, el consumo del alcohol en

la fiesta y la cantidad de gente presente, que tienen que sufrir cuando necesitan trabajar. A través de la Asociación de Artesanos, los sambleños pueden hacer su vida y apoyar sus tradiciones y costumbres simultáneamente. También sus hijos pueden aprender su profesión, promoviendo el intercambio de conocimiento intergeneracional. Como los artesanos tienen que vivir en San Blas para ser socios de la Asociación de Artesanos, el grupo promueve la permanencia de sambleños en su barrio. La Asociación de Artesanos recibe apoyo de: Dircetur; EMUFEC; Gerencia de Centros Históricos; Asociación de Junta de Vecinos para la Defensa de los Intereses de la Parroquia de San Blas; Ministerio de Cultura; Municipalidad del Cusco; Centro Guaman Poma de Ayala.

Las picanterías en el barrio son, simultáneamente, centros de tradición y de alcoholismo. Aquí la gente toma chicha y frutillada local, consume comidas tradicionales y económicas, juegan juegos tradicionales como el Sapo, y muchas veces hablan el quechua. Son sitios importantes para mantener la cultura y la comunidad local. Sin embargo, con el tiempo, han empezado a hacer que la chicha no sea pura y tenga alcohol aparte de la fermentación natural del maíz. Por eso, en las picanterías también se encuentra el alcoholismo y la degradación de cultura y valores. Las picanterías más lejos de la ciudad y en las partes arriba del barrio de San Blas son más tradicionales en su manera de hacer y consumir la chicha y se encuentra menos alcoholismo.

Las teterías de San Blas ya no están presentes. Antes, personas de todas las edades pasaban tiempo ahí y los adultos tomaban el famoso té piteado. Ahora quedan pocas teterías en Cusco, pero se encuentra el té piteado en los bares y cafeterías de la ciudad. Los vecinos extrañan las teterías de San Blas, ya que eran una parte importante de la identidad del barrio.

El Día del Patrón dura una semana y tiene sus raíces en la época colonial. Su estructura es andina con cargos/carguyuqs. Según los vecinos, esta fiesta debe ser enfocada en la fe y en la comunidad. Ahora, sin embargo, el alcohol y la presentación de riqueza material se han vuelto más importantes que la fe y la comunidad.

En el Día de los Reyes, la gente da regalos a los niños del barrio desde los balcones del barrio de San Blas cerca de la Plazoleta. Es una tradición específica de San Blas e involucra varias generaciones.

Los vecinos lamentan la falta de acceso a comida local en los restaurantes del barrio. Los restaurantes en San Blas son mayormente internacionales; el barrio tiene ciertas zonas con poblaciones específicas de varias partes del mundo. Por ejemplo, Calle Carmen Alto es la zona francesa de San Blas. Los sambleños lamentan que la comida ofrecida en los restaurantes del barrio es demasiado cara, y fuera del mercado y las picanterías, no se encuentran comidas locales y accesibles a su economía.

Sobre todo, los sambleños lamentan que las únicas tradiciones y actividades culturales que el Municipalidad del Cusco y el Ministerio de Cultura promueven sean las del Boleto Turístico del Cusco y en el Calendario Inca. Quieren que haya más enfoque en el mantenimiento de las tradiciones locales y que se incluyan los aspectos intergeneracionales de estas costumbres. La promoción de los lugares en el Boleto Turístico hace que el patrimonio en el barrio sea marginalizado y el Calendario Inca hace que el turismo sea demasiado concentrado en ciertas zonas de la ciudad, como en el Centro Histórico. Esto influye en el colapso de la ciudad, pues no tiene la capacidad de soportar tanta gente a la vez.

Recomendaciones:

- Los siguientes sitios y entidades tienen importancia con respecto a la meta de mantener una cultura viva en el barrio: picanterías; teterías; Qhapaq Ñan (Camino Inca/Antisuyu); Mercado San Blas; la Iglesia de San Blas; abarrotes; Asociación de Artistas y Artesanos Productores de San Blas; Asociación de Junta de Vecinos para la Defensa de los Intereses de la Parroquia de San Blas; la Plazoleta; las calles; y las casas de familia. Las casas de familia son especialmente integrales para mantener tradiciones.
- Es importante que los vecinos mayores transmitan los valores y las tradiciones a las generaciones más jóvenes. Por ejemplo, pueden enseñarles la artesanía, hacer picnics, wathiyas y despachos con ellos, contarles historias y enseñarles a preparar comida tradicional.
- Comidas locales, como el chuño, papas, p'esque, mote con queso andino, ponche de habas y sopa con charqui de alpaca, deben ser incorporados en los restaurantes locales a un precio alcanzable para los vecinos.
- Los locales deben crear campañas culturales contra el alcoholismo para conservar las picanterías que quedan en el barrio de San Blas. Deben abordar la importancia de hacer la chicha con ingredientes y procesos naturales. Para que las picanterías sigan siendo centros culturales, no deben incitar al alcoholismo.
- Los que se encargan del Día del Patrón (la Parroquia San Blas y los sambleños con poder económico) deben empezar un diálogo para reevaluar las intenciones y costumbres de la fiesta para promover las tradiciones y la fe, en vez del alcoholismo y la violencia.
- La policía debe tener una presencia en el Día del Patrón para prevenir las peleas y vigilar el consumo del alcohol.
- La comunidad de San Blas considera el Día de los Reyes una fiesta importante en el barrio. Debe ser mantenido con la integración continua de los jóvenes en la fiesta para que perdure.
- La Asociación de Artistas y Artesanos Productores de San Blas debe hacer demandas escritas y formales al Municipalidad del Cusco y al alcalde para que prometan el apoyo prioritario a los productores por sobre el apoyo a los vendedores.
- La Asociación de Artistas y Artesanos Productores de San Blas debe buscar licencias/autorizaciones de instituciones competentes para que crezcan sus negocios.
- La Asociación de Artistas y Artesanos Productores de San Blas debe promover la historia de su inicio y hacer que los locales sepan que todos son sambleños. Muchos vecinos no saben que los artistas y artesanos de la Asociación son sambleños.
- El Municipalidad del Cusco debe dar prioridad a las necesidades y los deseos de los vecinos antes que a los turistas, pues de ellos depende que el turismo se mantenga.

B. ARTISAN WORK, TRADITIONS AND CUSTOMS

Main objective:

- Maintain traditions and customs in the San Blas neighborhood of Cusco, Peru.

Specific objectives:

- Art/artisan work
- Picanterías (establishments that serve Chicha – Andean corn beer – and local foods)
- Día del Patrón (Saint Blas Day)
- Día de los Reyes (Three Kings Day)
- Tea rooms
- Picnics
- Local/traditional food
- Markets
- Soccer

Assessment:

By means of participatory mapping sessions and interviews between Kalyn Finnell, M.A. Community & Regional Planning and Latin American Studies and neighbors of the San Blas neighborhood in Cusco, Peru, locals determined artisan work, traditions and customs as priorities with respect to local neighborhood needs. There is a trend of long-term resident displacement due to foreign encroachment and the entrance of tourism and hotels in the San Blas neighborhood. Therefore, the Municipality of Cusco and other organizations that work in San Blas must take local needs into account to prevent future continued displacement of long-term residents.

San Blas residents describe their neighborhood as traditional, colonial, conservative, typical and the “barrio de los artesanos” (“artisan neighborhood”). Among the most important customs and traditions for people from San Blas are: art/artisan work, picanterías, Día del Patrón, Día de los Reyes, tea rooms, picnics, local food, markets and soccer.

A large number of San Blas residents are artisans. The famous “artistas populares” (“self-trained artists”) are a major tourism attraction for the neighborhood. Some of these artists have converted their homes into museums, and many also own shops where they sell their art.

In addition to the famous San Blas artists, the Asociación de Artistas y Artesanos Productores de San Blas (Asociación de Artesanos) is a major community asset. This group was created in the year 1997. Artists and artisans of the San Blas neighborhood created the group to sell their art and artisan work in the San Blas Plazoleta with Municipal authorization. They sell their work in the Plazoleta every Friday and Saturday, and they also hold cultural events at their market. To be part of this group, it is necessary to be a San Blas resident and to produce one’s own art/artisan work. Campesinos (rural, often Indigenous peoples) of other areas in the Cusco Region and across Peru also can participate in the market for shorter timeframes. The Asociación de Artesanos promotes a type of tourism with which many residents agree, involving cultural exchanges which

support local producers. The Asociación de Artesanos members also clean the Plazoleta each Friday and Saturday before and after their market. Sometimes issues arise, particularly during the Día del Patrón, due to the trash and alcoholic activities they must work around. The Asociación de Artesanos has allowed many local people from San Blas to make a living while simultaneously supporting local traditions and customs. It also supports the transmission of artisan knowledge from parents to children through its feasibility for making a living. Since it is necessary for the artists and artisans to live in San Blas in order to be members of the Asociación de Artesanos, the group also promotes the continued presence of long-term San Blas residents in the neighborhood. The Asociación de Artesanos receives support from: Dircetur; EMUFEC; Gerencia de Centros Históricos; Asociación de Junta de Vecinos para la Defensa de los Intereses de la Parroquia de San Blas (San Blas Neighborhood Association); Ministerio de Cultura; Municipality of Cusco; Centro Guaman Poma de Ayala.

Picanterías are traditional, cultural hubs which over time have often become sites of heavy drinking and its associated negative behaviors. Here people drink Andean corn beer and eat traditional dishes at an affordable price for locals, play traditional games like sapo and often speak Quechua. They are critical sites for maintaining culture and community. The picanterías closer to the city are less likely to be made traditionally and sometimes have alcohol/liquor mixed into the chicha. The picanterías higher up in the neighborhood are more traditional and less likely to have issues with overconsumption of alcohol.

The tea rooms of San Blas are no longer present. These were spaces where people of all ages could spend time. Here they would sell the famous té piteado, which is a hot, sweet tea with key lime juice and pisco. There are now very few tea rooms in Cusco, but one can find té piteado in bars and cafés. Vecinos spoke about how they missed having the tea rooms in the neighborhood.

The Día del Patrón is a festival that lasts about a week. It dates back to Spanish times when the San Blas Parish was established in Cusco, and it is Andean in its structure. According to long-term residents, the fiesta is supposed to be focused on community and faith. Now, however, it is more about alcohol and displaying a lavish performance of material goods.

The Día de los Reyes is Three Kings Day, where people give out gifts from the balconies of the San Blas neighborhood near the Plazoleta. It is a celebration specific to San Blas and it involves multiple generations.

Long-term residents in the mapping sessions and interviews identified lack of access to local foods in neighborhood restaurants as a priority regarding needs. The restaurants in San Blas are mainly international; the neighborhood has certain areas with specific populations from across the world. For example, Calle Carmen Alto is the French area of the neighborhood, where one can find French food and French hostels. Sambleños complain primarily about the fact that food is too expensive for them to consume, and they are unable to find the foods that they enjoy most and grew up eating.

Residents regret that the traditions and cultural activities in the Cusco Touristic Ticket and in the Inca Calendar are the only activities promoted by the Municipality of Cusco and the Ministry of Culture. Residents wish for more focus on the maintenance of local traditions, and for a focus on the intergenerational aspects of these customs for their continuance. The promotion of places on the Touristic Ticket marginalizes cultural

heritage in San Blas and the Inca Calendar makes tourism activities heavily concentrated in certain areas of the city, such as the Historic Center, when the city does not have the capacity to support so many people at once.

Recommendations:

- The following elements of the neighborhood should have particular importance regarding the maintenance of a living culture that exceeds beyond physical structures: picanterías, tea rooms, Qhapaq Ñan (Camino Inca/Antisuyu), Mercado San Blas (San Blas Market), the San Blas Church, teterías (tea rooms), abarrotes (local shops for buying household goods), the Plazoleta, neighborhood streets and family homes.
- Long-term residents must transmit values and traditions to younger generations, particularly through teaching artisan work, taking children to have picnics, making wathiyas (ovens made from dirt clods for cooking tubers and lima beans) and interacting with the Pachamama (Mother Earth) through leaving offerings. These values, knowledges and traditions can also be passed down through walking the neighborhood, telling stories and making traditional foods.
- Local foods, such as chuño (freeze-dried potatoes), potatoes, p'esqe (a local quinoa dish), mote (a local corn dish) with queso andino (Andean cheese), ponche de habas (a hot drink made from lima beans) and soup with alpaca jerky, should be incorporated into restaurants, and restaurants should serve food at prices that locals can afford.
- Locals should create cultural campaigns against alcoholism to conserve the neighborhood's current picanterías. The campaigns should address the importance of making chicha with culturally appropriate ingredients, which does not include liquor. Locals determined that for the continuance of picanterías in San Blas, they must remain cultural hubs that do not invite alcoholism.
- The leaders of the Día del Patrón, which are the San Blas Parish and long-term residents with economic power, should start a dialogue to reevaluate the intentions and customs of the fiesta so that it promotes tradition and faith, rather than alcoholism and violence.
- Police must show their presence at the Día del Patrón to avoid fights and keep alcohol levels under control.
- The San Blas community considers the Día de los Reyes an important and long-standing function in the community. It should be maintained by continuously involving the youth to keep the fiesta intergenerational and lasting.
- The Asociación de Artesanos should make formal, written demands to the Municipality/mayor of Cusco to promise the supporting of local producers over vendors.
- The Asociación de Artesanos should seek out permits from competent institutions to expand the businesses of local producers.
- The Asociación de Artesanos should raise awareness about its members being Sambleños, and about its beginnings. Many residents do not realize that the artists/artisans are from San Blas. The presence of people with artwork from other

parts of the country leads locals to believe that the Asociación de Artesanos does not belong to locals.

- The Municipality of Cusco must take long-term residents seriously by putting local wants/needs above tourists’.

C. PATRIMONIO

Objetivo principal:

- Mantener el patrimonio cultural y arquitectónico en el barrio de San Blas del Cusco, Perú.

Objetivos específicos:

- Desplazamiento de familias
- Decadencia del patrimonio
- Costos de restauraciones
- Necesidad de crecer y cambiar
- Capital extranjero
- Basura
- Seguridad

Diagnóstico:

A través de sesiones de mapeo participativas y entrevistas entre Kalyn Finnell, M.A. Planificación Comunitaria y Regional/Estudios Latinoamericanos, y vecinos del Barrio de San Blas del Cusco, Perú, se ha establecido que el patrimonio es una prioridad con respeto a las necesidades de los vecinos en el barrio. Como tantos extranjeros, hoteles y negocios relacionados al turismo han desplazado a muchos vecinos en el barrio, es importante que la Municipalidad del Cusco y las otras organizaciones que trabajan en San Blas tomen en cuenta las necesidades de los vecinos que han vivido en este barrio por varias generaciones y evitar que lo sigan abandonando.

San Blas es un barrio particular con casonas de los siglos XVII, XIX, XX hechas de paredes de adobe, techos con tejas, cerámicas y con jardines interiores. Sus calles son estrechas y mayormente peatonales. Las casas y calles le dan al barrio un carácter romántico, histórico y los que son de San Blas, se sienten orgullosos de pertenecer al lugar.

Desde su designación como ciudad de Patrimonio por UNESCO, el patrimonio arquitectónico ha sido una prioridad de la ciudad del Cusco. En el caso de San Blas y otras partes del Centro Histórico, el turismo ha traído aspectos positivos y negativos a la ciudad. La priorización de turistas y preferencias turísticas implicó la salida de muchas familias del barrio. Sin embargo, el patrimonio ha sido un factor importante para los mejoramientos de la ciudad y del barrio de San Blas. Por ejemplo, en el pavimento de las calles, la implementación de iluminación adicional y el mantenimiento de sistemas de acequias.

No obstante, los vecinos se sienten frustrados con las regulaciones de edificios y su gerencia desde que empezaron los estándares y las normativas de la UNESCO. En el caso de San Blas, es obligatorio que cada fachada sea blanca con puertas y balcones azules. Cuando los vecinos quieren llevar a cabo un proyecto de restauración o de

edificación, es necesario que cumplan con ciertos requisitos. Por ejemplo, la familia tiene que obtener las licencias. Los materiales para la edificación tienen que ser igual a los preexistentes. Todos estos factores tienen un alto costo, especialmente para la gente local. Por eso, el barrio está abierto al capital extranjero y los capitalistas de fuera tienen el dinero para comprar las casas y restaurarlas. La mayoría del tiempo pasa lo siguiente:

- Una familia no puede pagar las restauraciones y tiene que abandonar la casa cuando ya no es habitable.
- Una familia saca préstamos para invertir en la restauración de una casa, y decide alquilar los cuartos a un precio alto o poner un negocio que tiene que ver con el turismo para poder pagar el préstamo.
- Una familia decide vender la casa porque con el dinero que pueden ganar, podrán construir más de una casa en otra parte de la ciudad.
- Miembros de familia que han heredado la casa no pueden llegar a un acuerdo con respeto al futuro de la casa y la casa empieza a deteriorarse.
- Algunos miembros de una familia alquilan un cuarto, mientras otros se quedan en la casa.
- Una familia se queda en la casa y hace pocas restauraciones porque los precios son muy altos.
- Uno o dos miembros de familia encuentran una manera de comprar las porciones de la casa de los otros miembros de familia que también son dueños de la casa para poder mantener la casa en familia.

Las frustraciones de los vecinos incluyen la incapacidad de construir y adaptar sus casas a su gusto. Sin embargo, también están preocupados por el patrimonio y la falta de conciencia con respeto a su importancia y conocimiento en saber cuidar estas estructuras históricas.

Entonces, las dificultades tienen que ver con el crecimiento y progreso de un lugar con patrimonio histórico que existe en una ciudad moderna que sigue cambiando con el tiempo. Por un lado, los vecinos quieren conservar los elementos patrimoniales del barrio. Por otro lado, ellos se sienten frustrados con las leyes y regulaciones que no les dejan crecer de manera orgánica como en otras ciudades. Muchos sambleños sufren de los costos de los proyectos de restauración. No obstante, muchas veces las personas, las cadenas y las compañías con poder económico pueden esquivar estas reglas y destruir partes de los edificios protegidos por el patrimonio para construir como quieran. Por ejemplo, el hotel FourPoints de Sheraton en la Calle Saphi no cumplió con los estudios arqueológicos para su construcción, acabando en la destrucción de estructuras incas. En este caso, el proyecto fue investigado y parado. Sin embargo, muchos proyectos avanzan sin que nadie se dé cuenta o diga nada, haciendo daño al patrimonio arquitectónico de la ciudad.

Recomendaciones:

- El mantenimiento del patrimonio debe ser tratado como un solo sistema, en vez de regulaciones agresivas contra los habitantes del lugar.

- La Municipalidad del Cusco debe involucrar a los sambleños en restauraciones y mejoramientos del espacio público de San Blas para que sientan una necesidad de ayudar a mantenerlas.
- Para promover la conservación de edificaciones históricas, los vecinos deben ayudar a hacer currículo sobre las diferentes maneras en que el patrimonio relaciona a las tradiciones de las familias sambleñas. El currículo también debe incluir parámetros de cómo cuidar estas estructuras históricas.
- La Municipalidad del Cusco debe aportar con el costo de una parte o en su totalidad, las evaluaciones arqueológicas y técnicas para las renovaciones de las viviendas de los vecinos. Los costos de estas evaluaciones contribuyen a la decisión de los vecinos de vender, alquilar o abandonar sus casas.
- La Municipalidad del Cusco debe restaurar y actualizar los mejoramientos hechos en la *Remodelación integral del Barrio de San Blas* de 1993, como las fuentes, las calles, las acequias y los miradores. Su mantenimiento impone un estándar en el barrio e incentiva a los habitantes y visitantes a cuidarlos y mantenerlos en buen estado.
- Los siguientes elementos deben ser mantenidos y protegidos en el barrio: picanterías, Qhapaq Ñan (Camino Inca/Antisuyu), Mercado San Blas, Iglesia San Blas, teterías, abarrotes, la Plazoleta, las calles y casas de familia. Las casas, sobre todo, son importantes para mantener las tradiciones y costumbres de las familias.
- Regulaciones de transparencia deben ser implementadas en cada obra de restauración en el Centro Histórico del Cusco para ayudar con el problema de la corrupción, lo que muchas veces acaba en la destrucción patrimonial.
- Instalar más cámaras de seguridad y vigilarlas dentro del barrio.
- Arreglar y mejorar la iluminación del barrio.
- Aumentar policías/seguridad que vigilen todo el barrio y no solamente en la Plazoleta.
- Limitar el acceso vehicular al barrio e incentivar la peatonización. De esta manera se mantendrán mejor las calles.
- Limitar el acceso de las motocicletas a las calles peatonales del barrio.
- Reevaluar, por parte de la Municipalidad del Cusco, el sistema de recogimiento de la basura y realizar campañas de concientización para hacer que la gente cumpla con las horas en que se debe dejar la basura.
- La Municipalidad del Cusco debe dar materiales para la restauración de las fachadas de las casas particulares.
- La Municipalidad del Cusco debe dar maceteros a los vecinos que quieran para sus balcones para aumentar el espacio verde en el barrio.
- Para campañas de educación del patrimonio, las siguientes entidades son aliadas posibles para los sambleños: Municipalidad del Cusco, Asociación de Junta de Vecinos para la Defensa de los Intereses de la Parroquia de San Blas, Asociación de Artistas y Artesanos Productores de San Blas, Dircetur, EMUFEC, Gerencia del Centro Histórico, Ministerio de Cultura, Centro Guaman Poma de Ayala, Iglesia San Blas, Centro Bartolomé de las Casas, Colegio de Arquitectos, Pukllasunchis, Casona de San Bernardo.

C. PATRIMONY

Main objective:

- Maintain cultural and architectural patrimony/heritage in the San Blas neighborhood of Cusco, Peru.

Specific objectives:

- Displacement of local families
- Patrimonial decadence
- Restoration costs
- The need to grow and change as an urban center while retaining patrimony/heritage
- Foreign capital
- Trash
- Safety/security

Assessment:

By means of participatory mapping sessions and interviews between Kalyn Finnell, M.A. Community & Regional Planning and Latin American Studies and neighbors of the San Blas neighborhood in Cusco, Peru, locals determined patrimony as a priority with respect to local neighborhood needs. There is a trend of long-term resident displacement due to foreign encroachment and the entrance of tourism and hotels in the San Blas neighborhood. Therefore, the Municipality of Cusco and other organizations that work in San Blas must take local needs into account to prevent future continued displacement of long-term residents.

San Blas is a distinctive historic neighborhood with homes from the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries, which are made of adobe with ceramic tile roofs and interior gardens. Its winding streets are narrow and mostly pedestrian. The homes and streets of the San Blas neighborhood give it a romantic, historic character in which long-term residents take pride.

Since its designation as a UNESCO World Heritage City, architectural patrimony has become a city priority. In the case of San Blas and much of the Historic Center, tourism has brought both good and bad to the city. The prioritization of tourists and tourist preferences has caused families to leave the neighborhood. However, it has also been a significant factor in city improvements, such as the paving of streets, the construction of additional lighting and the maintenance of drainage systems.

Nonetheless, residents expressed major frustrations with the building regulations and their management since UNESCO standards came into play in the 1980s. In the case of San Blas, it is required that each home be painted white on the outside with blue doors and balconies. When any type of restoration or rebuilding of homes takes place, it is necessary to obtain a Construction License and Authorization to clear it for restoration, and the materials used must be consistent with original materials. The home inspection and the materials needed for consistent building construction are expensive, particularly

for locals. This opens the homes of locals to foreign capitalists who have the money to buy and restore them. According to mapping session participants and interviewees, the fate of the homes normally falls into the following categories:

- A family is unable to afford restorations and is forced to abandon the home when it is no longer habitable.
- A family takes out loans to invest in the restoration of a home, and often either rents the rooms out at high prices to pay back the loans or puts in a tourist-friendly business that will generate revenue.
- A family decides to sell the home because the property values are so high that they can build two or three houses in another area of the city with the money they receive selling the home.
- Family members who received homes from parents cannot agree on what to do with the house and it becomes dilapidated.
- Homes remain in court battles between owners and tenants, or between family members who own the house collectively, resulting in the home's dilapidation.
- Some family members rent out a room to others, while other family members remain in the home.
- A family remains in the home and does minimal restoration because of the price.
- A family converts its home into a tourist-friendly place, such as a laundromat, restaurant, souvenir shop, hostel, tourism agency, etc.
- One or two family members find a way to buy the shares of other siblings so that the home stays in the family.

The frustrations expressed by long-term residents include the inability to build and expand upon houses as they wish. Nonetheless, they were also worried about cultural patrimony and the lack of awareness regarding its importance and knowledge in how to care for historic structures.

Thus, the difficulties related to architectural patrimony point to the growth and progress of a historic place/structure in a modern, changing city. On the one hand, San Blas residents want to conserve the neighborhood's patrimonial elements. On the other hand, they are frustrated with the laws and regulations that do not allow them to organically grow and change as cities do. Many Sambleños suffer from the high costs of restoration projects. Nonetheless, people, chains and companies with economic power can bypass archaeological studies before building and destroy parts of structures protected by patrimony to build as they wish without constraints. For example, the Four Points hotel by Sheraton on Calle Saphi did not comply with the necessary archaeological checks for construction, resulting in the destruction of Inca structures. In this case, the project was investigated and stopped because the hotel exceeded the two-story limit of buildings in Cusco's Historic Center, which was impossible to hide. Nonetheless, many projects as such go unnoticed and harm the city's architectural patrimony.

Recommendations:

- The maintenance of historic and architectural patrimony must be treated as an entire system, rather than obtrusive rules and regulations that hurt local families.

- The Municipality of Cusco should involve long-term residents in any restorations or improvements to public space/green space in San Blas. This will help ensure restoration and improvement success through feelings of ownership and investment that resident involvement would foster.
- To promote the conservation of historic structures, long-term residents should help shape curriculum about why patrimony is important and how it relates to traditions that local families practice. The curriculum should also address how historic structures should be cared for.
- The Municipality of Cusco should provide archaeological and technical assessments for home renovations/restorations free of charge. The costs of these assessments contribute majorly to the financial burdens that add to long term residents' decisions to sell or rent out homes, and to the abandonment of homes.
- The Municipality of Cusco should restore and update the improvements made in the Integral Remodeling of the San Blas Neighborhood in 1993, such as the fountains throughout the neighborhood, the streets and the lookout points. The constant maintenance of these improvements sets a neighborhood standard, encouraging inhabitants and visitors to follow suit, in turn promoting cleanliness, maintenance, patrimony and safety.
- The following elements of the neighborhood should be maintained and protected: picanterías (establishments that serve Chicha – Andean corn beer – and local foods); Qhapaq Ñan (Camino Inca/Antisuyu); Mercado San Blas (San Blas Market); the San Blas Church; tea rooms; abarrotes (local shops for buying household goods); the Plazoleta; neighborhood streets; and family homes. Family homes are of utmost priority for maintaining living tradition and culture in the neighborhood.
- Transparency regulations should be implemented in all restoration projects to help with issues of corruption which result in patrimonial destruction. In this way, people and companies with economic power will be less likely to bribe the Municipality of Cusco or other governmental entities to construct without following the necessary building regulations.
- Install more cameras and monitor them in the San Blas neighborhood.
- Update and expand upon lighting in the neighborhood.
- Place police/security guards throughout the neighborhood and not only in the Plazoleta.
- Permit fewer cars to enter the neighborhood. They damage the historic neighborhood streets.
- Do not permit motorcycles to enter pedestrian neighborhood streets.
- The Municipality of Cusco should reevaluate its trash collection system and enforce the rules for disposing of trash in the proper places at the appropriate moment. The trash damages the neighborhood building façades and streets.
- The Municipality of Cusco should distribute flowerpots to homeowners on a voluntary basis to put on their balconies to increase neighborhood green space.
- The following entities are possible allies for patrimonial education campaigns: Municipality of Cusco, Junta de Vecinos para la Defensa de los Intereses de la Parroquia de San Blas (San Blas Neighborhood Association), Asociación de Artistas y Artesanos Productores de San Blas, Dircetur, EMUFEC, Gerencia del

Centro Histórico, Ministerio de Cultura, Centro Guaman Poma de Ayala, San Blas Church, Centro Bartolomé de las Casas, Colegio de Arquitectos, Pukllasunchis, Casona de San Bernardo.

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ⁱ Patrimony refers to the cultural/natural/historic/structural significance and qualities that designate a place worthy of being declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site. It could also be referred to as cultural heritage. In Cusco this term is frequently used by locals.

Patrimony is what UNESCO aims at preserving.

ⁱⁱ In Quechua *tawa* means four and *suyu* is a territory or a section of land. The Inca Empire was divided into four sections; hence, the Inca Empire's Quechua name: Tawantinsuyu.

ⁱⁱⁱ The Inca neighborhoods where the Spanish established parishes were initially known as *parroquias de indios* (Indian parishes).

^{iv} Machu Picchu is a place with highly-conserved Inca ruins placed atop a mountain ridge, located 46.4 miles (74.7 km) from Cusco. It is thought to have been an estate for the Emperor Pachacuti and also a place used for ceremonial purposes. Machu Picchu is Peru's most visited archaeological site, and its visitation has risen immensely since it was voted one of the New Seven Wonders of the World in 2007 (Global Platform Ltd., 2000-2018).

^v United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Formed after World War II, this organization “seeks to build peace through international cooperation in Education, the Sciences and Culture” (UNESCO, 2018). It is highly involved with the conservation of historic structures, heritage, sites and cities internationally.

^{vi} Cities and sites are “inscribed [by UNESCO as World Heritage Cities] on the basis of their ‘outstanding universal value,’ ‘cultural and/or natural significance which is considered so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity’” (Pendlebury, Short & While, 2009, p. 349, citing UNESCO, 2008).

^{vii} Chicherías are also known as *picanterías* in Cusco.

^{viii} According to Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999), methodologies are the theory and analysis that “[frame] the questions being asked, [determine] the set of instruments and methods to be employed and [shape] the analyses” (p. 143). Methodologies differ from methods, which are the techniques used to carry out research or a project.

^{ix} CBPR is a research approach that strives for community “engagement and full participation of community partners in every aspect of the research process from question identification to analysis and dissemination” (Hacker, 2013, p. 2).

^x PAR involves research, education and socio-political action and often employs the following techniques: “collective research; critical recovery of history valuing and applying folk culture; and production and diffusion of new knowledge” (Thomas-Slayter, 1995, p. 12).

^{xi} Andean mint

^{xii} A hot, sweet drink made from ground lima beans. It is typical in Cusco.

^{xiii} *Wathiyas* are ovens made from clumps of dirt during the dry season in the Cusco region of Peru. After turning the earth, people go to the fields, make ovens from the large clumps of dirt and get them very hot by burning sticks. Once the *wathiya* is red-hot and the contents inside have burned, tubers and lima beans are thrown inside and the oven is beaten down and buried in dirt. After about half an hour, the food is removed from the hot earth and eaten.

^{xiv} Freeze-dried potatoes. In the Andes, people have been freeze-drying potatoes by immersing them in rivers and laying them out on the ground as a way to conserve them in

the harsh climate since Inca times. Some potatoes can only be eaten after going through the freeze-drying process. Many typical dishes include ch'uño.

^{xv} The coca leaf originates in the high jungle of South America and it is highly significant in Andean culture (particularly in Peru and Bolivia). It is chewed and used for making tea. It provides energy to workers and helps with altitude sickness. It is also used in prayer and ceremony, and as an offering to others as a form of respect.

^{xvi} Chicha is an alcoholic drink made from fermented corn. It has been consumed in the Andes since Inca times. It is made with particular types of corn and is cooked over a wood fire, then left under dirt and straw for about eight days to ferment. It is then cooked again and served, typically in chicherías.

^{xvii} Sapo is Spanish for toad. It is a game played in many areas of South America, where one attempts to throw golden coins into the mouth of a golden toad. It is often played in picanterías.

^{xviii} Vecinos is Spanish for neighbors.

^{xix} Sambleño is a person from San Blas.

^{xx} Assets are the “gifts, skills and capacities” of different community members and entities, according to Kretzmann and McKnight (1993). When explaining the meaning of assets in Spanish to participants, I called them “aspects of the community that they value” (aspectos valorados), and “resources” (recursos).

^{xxi} This chart was adapted from Jacques M. Chevalier and Daniel J. Buckles’ *before and after* table and combined with the *Force Field* tool, which looks at factors that contribute to a problem or change and factors that counteract it (Chevalier & Buckles, 2013, pp. 203 & 221-22).

^{xxii} Thoqo Kachi means spring of salt in Quechua. The neighborhood was given this name because of the presence of numerous springs, some of which contain salt water.

^{xxiii} The three sections in which Thoqo Kachi and the other Inca neighborhoods were divided were known as seques. A seque is an Inca system for dividing land, created by the Inca king Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui. The seques were portions of land divided by 41 territorial lines radiating from Cusco’s Temple of the Sun, Qori Cancha. Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui used seques to organize the city and sacred spaces (together) of Cusco when it was built (Gartner, 1998).

^{xxiv} A huaca is a physical place or natural object that is sacred; huacas are often boulders in specific shapes or water springs, but they are not limited to this. Andean peoples leave offerings, such as coca leaves, food and alcohol, at huacas to pay them respect. When the Spanish came to Cusco, they strategically placed the eight churches atop huacas to facilitate conversion to Catholicism.

^{xxv} The four ayllus of Thoqo Kachi were as follows: Ayllu Inca Kusi, Ayllu Qhapaq Pillku, Ayllu Qollana and Ayllu de los Forasteros (Concejo Provincial, 1993b). Forastero is the name for people who left the ayllu of their homeland and live without ties to family (Powers, 1995).

^{xxvi} The Hatun Ayllu Inkakona had a population of 114; the Ayllu Qhapaq had a population of 96; the Ayllu Qollana had a population of 76; and the Ayllu Urinqosqo had a population of 66 (Concejo Provincial, 1993b). The names of the Thoqo Kachi ayllus were recorded differently in varying accounts; Spanish census records were often inaccurate due to movement of Native peoples, census evasion and mistranslation (Powers, 1995).

^{xxvii} Artistas populares is the name given to artists who did not study art formally. Most of the famous artists in San Blas were artistas populares.

^{xxviii} Neto is a term that many Sambleños used to refer to the ‘authentic’ Cusqueños or Sambleños.

^{xxix} Criollo refers to people born in Peru to Spanish parents.

^{xxx} Pisac is a town in the Sacred Valley that is home to Inca ruins and agricultural terraces which are highly visited by tourists.

^{xxxi} Tullumayu is Quechua for river of bones.

^{xxxii} Leader of the Shining Path

^{xxxiii} According to Luke Desforges (2000), MINTINCI “reduced its employees from 2700 to 300” and “[w]ithin MINTINCI, the *Dirección Nacional de Turismo* fell from 270 staff to 16” (p. 186).

^{xxxiv} Novoandino translates to New Andean.

^{xxxv} Pachamama is Quechua for Mother Earth. People of the Andes frequently give offerings of food, drink and tobacco as a form of gratitude and reciprocity with the natural world upon which they rely.

^{xxxvi} Market

^{xxxvii} Parchero refers to a person who sells his/her artwork informally on blankets on the ground in neighborhood streets.

^{xxxviii} The Día del Patrón de San Blas is the Saint Blas Patron Saint Day and it is celebrated in the neighborhood for an entire week. I refer to it as the Día del Patrón in this thesis.

^{xxxix} Artisan neighborhood

^{xl} Some say the name Yawar Maki derives from the population being hard workers; others say it is because they were warriors; and some say that it refers to the artist and artisan tradition of the neighborhood.

^{xli} Cargo is Spanish for a load (which one carries) and the suffix -yuq in Quechua translates to with. Thus, carguyuq means, with a load, or one carrying a load.

^{xlii} Mountain god/deity. Different Apus have different degrees of power and are highly respected by Andean peoples. It is important to maintain a reciprocal relationship with Apus by giving them offerings.

^{xliii} P’esqe is a quinoa dish.

^{xliv} Mote is boiled corn kernels. It is very common and often eaten with Andean cheese.