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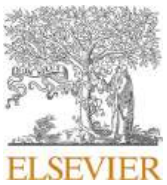

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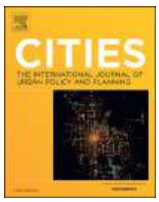

City profile

Cusco: Profile of an Andean city

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ABSTRACT

Nestling in the South American Andes, the Peruvian city of Cusco is one of the most emblematic metropolises of the continent. An impressive example of pre-Columbian urbanism, the capital of the former Inca empire developed into one of the most representative cities of the Spanish colonial realm—today a UNESCO World Heritage Site—and, since the 1920s, into the "tourist capital" of Peru. This article traces the development of the mountain city of Cusco and shows how a location in a specific natural and cultural space translates over time into urban and periurban dynamics dominated by touristification processes. A constitutive element of Andean intermediate cities, "the rural" and the elements related to its semantic space, play a crucial role in spatial reconfiguration processes that produce fragmented leisure landscapes of both the exclusive and the excluded. Local and regional real-estate developers profit from tourism-driven geographical imaginings of Cusco as an Andean city, and from the global urbanization of capital, by developing gated condominiums for a clientele in search of exclusivity, safety, and authentic and aesthetic mountain landscapes. Paradoxically, it is exactly this demand that increasingly destroys the very basis of Cusco's economy and challenges policy makers to overcome a set of dichotomies.

1. Introduction

The world's mountain regions increasingly face challenges of physical, demographic, and sociocultural urbanization, which deeply alter rural–urban relations in these spaces characterized by relief and altitude. Across continents, tourism represents one of the most important drivers behind these changes in and around mountain cities: prime examples are Alpine cities like Innsbruck, Austria (Haller, Andexlinger, & Bender, 2020), the Indian Himalayan hill town of Shimla (Jutla, 2000), the Tanzanian gateway to Mount Kilimanjaro, Moshi (Bart, 2016), or the Olympic city of Salt Lake City in the US Rocky Mountains (Li, Wei, Yu, & Tian, 2016). While it becomes clear that the specific location of mountain cities is essential for their environmental amenities and thus for tourism-driven urban development, the Peruvian Andean city of Cusco in particular shows that we need to look at (1) space *and* time and (2) nature *and* culture to understand, assess, and control a mountain city's development.

In fact, as renowned French geographer Olivier Dollfus wrote, "Cusco and its region are not just any space." (Dollfus, 1997: 15) The Inca empire's ancient capital, on whose foundations the Spanish colonial city was built and where today one of the largest and most important metropolises of the Central Andes emerges, is one of the world's most famous places. Today, the historic center of Cusco is a UNESCO World Heritage Site (since 1983) and, since 1993, the metropolis constitutionally stands for the Historical Capital of Peru. Not least because of its function as a gateway to the citadel of Machu Picchu, voted one of the New Seven Wonders of the World in 2007, it is also called the "tourist capital" of Peru.

As a result of its impressive material and non-material heritage, inextricably linked with its nature/culture *Gestalt* (sensu Gade, 1999), the city's tourist industry today forms one of the most important economic sectors. The historic center is one of the most visited destinations in Latin America. Tourism has contributed, in a decisive way, to population and settlement growth of the city. Apart from natural population growth, Cusco has experienced massive immigration of people since the 1940s —mainly from rural Quechua-speaking indigenous communities of the Department of Cusco and from other regions of Peru—attracted by the city's labor and educational openings (INEI, 2015; Sánchez Aguilar, 2015). More recently, in the course of globally observable processes of amenity migration (Gossnell & Abrams, 2011; Price, Moss, & Williams, 1997), wealthier populations too (from Peru and abroad) migrate to Cusco and its surroundings, be it permanently or, as part of a multilocal living, temporarily/periodically (e. g. second-home owners), often to enjoy an "Andean idyll." As a result, the city has tripled its population in

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recent decades and experienced massive settlement growth. Today, the physical expansion of the city reflects the prolongation of long-standing and deeply rooted inequalities of ethnicity and class. New, periurban gated condominiums for an emerging middle and upper class—often "white" and "mestizo" populations—are in proximity of marginal settlements built on the steep slopes, often exposed to problematic living conditions and mostly inhabited by descendants of "indigenous" rural migrants. This unbridled settlement growth dramatically impacts on the periurban fringes, at both the social and environmental level, since these areas, still characterized by peasant communities oriented on agriculture, experience a drastic reduction of arable land due to urban encroachment, which in turn changes the Andean mountain landscape that actually forms one of the pillars of Cusco's tourism (Pavelka, 2016).

Against this background, our city profile aims to provide a problem-oriented idiographic synthesis of the Andean intermediate city of Cusco, exploring how a settlement location in such a particular natural and cultural setting favors tourism development and induces processes of touristification that impact on the city and its periurban areas, driving the loss of arable land, provoking radical changes in the daily life of the agrarian inhabitants of these areas, and, ultimately, altering the nature/culture *gestalt* materially manifested by the landscape of Cusco's surroundings—originally an important asset for tourism itself.

We start by presenting the physical-geographic setting of Cusco's location, providing an insight into the history and genesis of the city, from the pre-Incan era until now, and present statistical data that underpin more recent population, settlement, and tourism development. Second, we interpret Peruvian newspaper articles and promotional material of real-estate developers to identify important discourses on tourism-led urban and periurban development. We conclude by highlighting current challenges for planners and policy makers in the mountain city of Cusco.

2. Geographic location and character

The mountain city of Cusco is one of the cultural and economic centers of Peru and probably the most important settlement of the southern Peruvian highlands apart from Arequipa. According to the national statistics office of Peru, the Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática (INEI), the official Cusco Metropolitan Area covers five districts (Cusco, San Jerónimo, San Sebastián, Santiago, Wánchaq) with a total population of 428,450 (INEI, 2017). However, the contiguous built-up area has already expanded much beyond that and includes a further five districts mainly located in the Huatanay Valley, in the Eastern Cordillera (Cachimayo, Oropesa, Poroy, Pucyura, and Saylla), bringing the figure up to 492,204 censused inhabitants and a total population of 500,095 people (INEI, 2017). To define the study area, we first manually delimited the adjacent building area (see Borsdorf & Haller, 2020) on high-resolution satellite images from Google Earth (view from a height of 5 km). Next, we used the external boundary of the contiguous built-up area to select the intersecting districts (geodata provided by the Peruvian Ministry of Environment) in a Geographic Information System. The agglomeration, henceforth called Cusco Metropolitano, was then defined by the total area of districts with a share of the contiguous built-up area (Fig. 1).

The Plaza de Armas is located at 13° 30′ 45″ southern latitude and 71° 58′ 33″ western longitude in the District of Cusco, about 1120 km southeast of Lima, at an altitude of 3403 m a.s.l. in the Quechua natural region (Pulgar Vidal, 1946), which corresponds more or less to the *tierra fría* altitudinal zone (Stadel, 1992) of the Central Andean countries. Typical for a mountain city, the hinterland stretches over different altitudinal zones: from the steep slopes of the Suni region to high-Andean Puna plains and the zone of ice and snow (Janca), which all play a role for urban development (Borsdorf & Haller, 2020; Haller & Branca, 2020). In terms of temperature, Cusco has a diurnal climate typical of tropical high-mountain regions. Measurements at the Granja

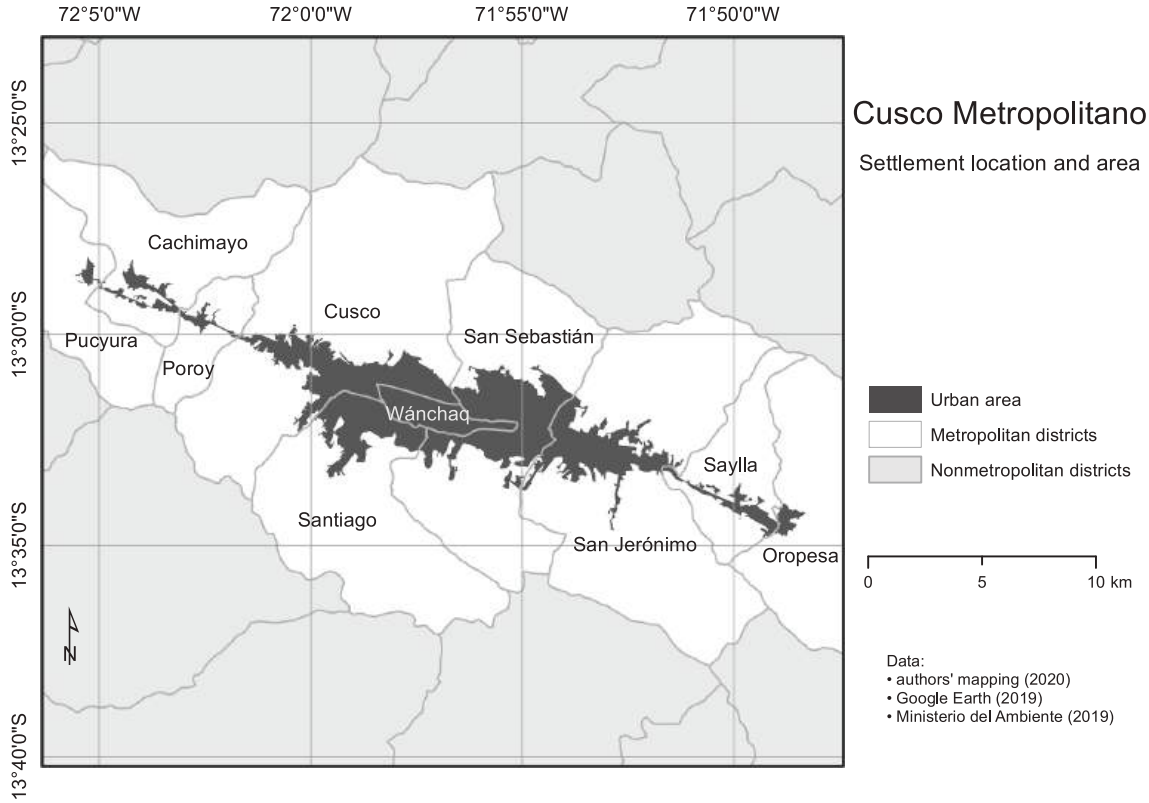


Fig. 1. The settlement area of Cusco Metropolitano in the Huatanay Valley of Peru.
Map: Haller et al. (2020).

Kcayra meteorological station in San Jerónimo (3219 m a. s. l.) between January and December 2018 list a daily maximum of 26.4 °C (November 23) and a daily minimum of −4.6 °C on July 9 (Servicio Nacional de Meteorología e Hidrología, 2020). The multiannual average (1950–1991) of annual precipitation around Cusco reached approximately 730 mm (Instituto Geofísico del Perú, s. a)—an important factor for the discharge of the Huatanay River and its tributaries, which provide important water resources for human land use.

The ancient Inca center was built on an alluvial fan formed at the confluence of the Saphi and Tullumayo rivers, which were channeled early by the Incas (De Azevedo, 1982) and today are mostly piped. Once both rivers join, the river is called Huatanay and is in turn a tributary to the Vilcanota (or Urubamba) River (on the Urubamba Valley, see Gade, 2015). The presence of numerous smaller streams that characterize the metropolitan area hydrographically should be noted. As in many mountain cities, urban sprawl has increased soil sealing and the risk of floods (Borsdorf & Haller, 2020).

Influenced by the hydrogeographic setting, the settlement is mainly built on alluvial, fluvial, and glacial Quaternary deposits, while some peripheral areas are characterized by Cretaceous or Tertiary sedimentary facies (Instituto de Geología y Minería, 1975). Consequently, the land-use capability of the valley floor of the metropolitan districts' area has been classified as "A2sc," that is, suitable for intensive arable farming under medium-quality agrological conditions. Limiting factors for urban and periurban agriculture on the valley floor are local soil and climate conditions (the surrounding slopes are classified as zones suitable for silvicultural production or pastures; Oficina Nacional de Evaluación de Recursos Naturales, 1981).

In sum, the geographic and topographic location and character served as a basis for the genesis of a prospering intermediate city (on this concept see Bolay & Rabinovich, 2004): owing to fertile soils, adequate temperatures, and originally sufficient water resources, year-round agriculture provided food and non-food products. Combined with the exploitation of minerals, it enabled cultural and economic development and led to the rise of Cusco as a political center of the Incas. Today, however, the narrow Huatanay Valley is almost entirely urbanized—except for some areas on the western high plains, the eastern valley floors, and the northern and southern steeps slopes—and presents the city with tectonic, orographic, atmospheric, and social/cultural challenges typical for mountain cities in the Andes (Borsdorf & Haller, 2020).

3. Development of the city: a brief history

3.1. Foundation to 1530s: the "navel of the world"

During the Late Intermediate Period (also known as *Killke* period in the region of Cusco; approximately 1000–1400 CE), the Incas were one of the many *señoríos* ("seigniories") that occupied the area of the Huatanay Valley (Christie, 2016). After 1000 CE, new settlements and infrastructures were built on the northern slopes of the Huatanay, while some villages already existed in the southern part (Bauer, 2004). The Incas emerged as a regional power between circa 1200 and 1400 (Covey, 2006), the urban growth of Cusco began in the 1440s (De Azevedo, 1982). Incan Cusco was located between the Tullumayo and Saphi rivers, an area that is currently part of the city's historic center. Surrounded by several mountain deities or *apus* that were thought to protect the city, the settlement was morphologically shaped like a puma, with the "head" in the northwest, on the *apu* Sacsayhuamán, the "legs" to the southwest, and the "tail" to the southeast; there is still the Quechua place name of Pumaq Chupan, the "puma's tail" (Garcilaso de la Vega, 1609; Rowe, 1967; Pease, 2014; see Fig. 2).

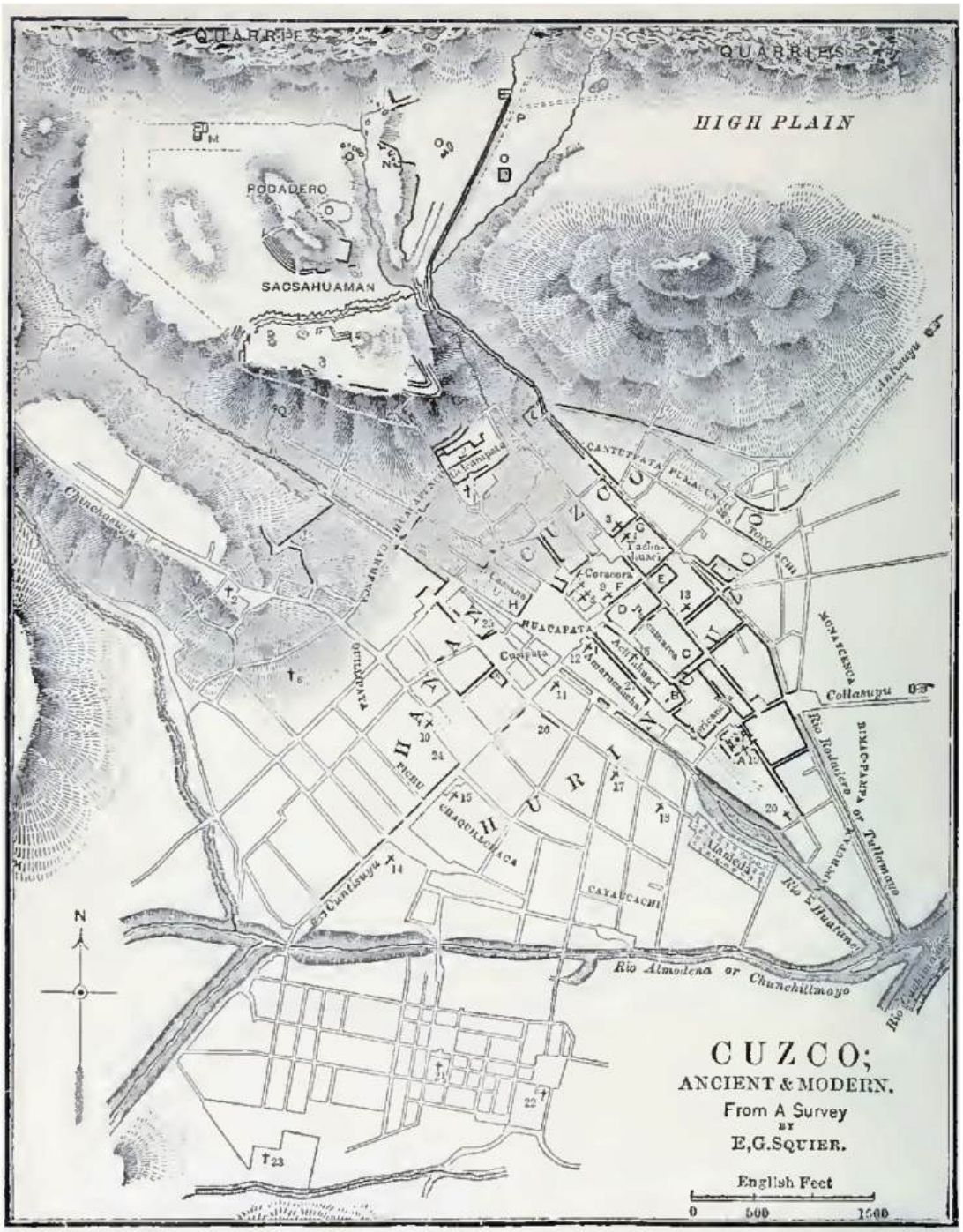
Spatially, the city of Cusco had a transcendental symbolic importance (Lavallé, 2004; Pärssinen, 2003; Zuidema, 1986). The city center—with an estimated population between 15,000 and 20,000 (Agurto Calvo, 1980)—was inhabited by the nobility, while the peripheries were populated by the lower classes. In fact, the Incas ruled over a society distinctly structured by class (Pärssinen, 2003). The city was vertically separated into a higher (*Hanan*) part and a lower (*Hurin*) part, with the first more important in symbolic and political terms (Garcilaso de la Vega, 1609; Pärssinen, 2003). Each half was further divided into two parts (*suyus*), reflecting the traditional construction of sociocultural space in the Inca empire or Tawantinsuyu (Pärssinen, 2003; Wachtel, 1976). *Ceques* (lines) radiated from the temple of Qurikancha (from the Quechua *quri*, "gold," and *kancha*, "enclosure"), power center of Incan Cusco, and spatially organized the religious geography through the connection of sacred sites; in addition, they determined the limits of the four *suyus* or regions of the Incan empire (Chinchaysuyu, Antisuyu, Cuntisuyu, and Qullasuyu) (Bauer, 1998; Zuidema, 1964).

In 1532, the Tawantinsuyu faced a civil war between Atahuallpa and Huáscar, in which the former was victorious (Rowe, 2006; Wachtel, 1976). The Spaniards, under the command of Francisco Pizarro, disembarked in Tumbes and on 15 November 1532 arrived in Cajamarca where they met with the Inca Atahuallpa (Rowe, 2006) who, after being captured, was executed on 26 June 1533 (Cook, 1969). A few months later, on 11 August 1533, a group of Spaniards left Cajamarca for Cusco, the capital of the empire, where they arrived on 15 November 1533 (Del Busto Duthurburu, 1966; Lavallé, 2004).

3.2. 1530s–1920s: the "very noble and grand city"

After crowning Manco, son of Huayna Cápac, as an Inca, Pizarro re-established Cusco according to Spanish tradition, on 23 March 1534, naming it *La Muy Noble y Gran Ciudad del Cusco* (Angles Vargas, 1988). One of the most accurate descriptions of Cusco is that of Garcilaso de la Vega (1609), who provides information on urban morphology, periurban growth, and patterns of ethnic settlement in a city that, during the Incan rule, was cosmopolitan. De Azevedo (1982) states that there was a rigid separation between the urban neighborhoods inhabited by the Spanish, those inhabited by the indigenous people (the outlying urban neighborhoods), and the countryside; a separation materially marked by arches. The sociospatial separation was also present in churches, hospitals, and educational institutions. The Spanish superimposed their power not only through architecture, but also by occupying spaces of Incan religious and civic power, such as temples and plazas, transforming them in accordance with Iberian cultural forms. According to De Azevedo (1982), there were many conflicts and confrontations between the two social identities in Cusco, for instance in 1698 and 1700. On 18 May 1781, on the Plaza de Armas of the city, the leader of the indigenous anti-colonial revolt, Túpac Amaru II, was executed by dismemberment (Golte, 1980; Serulnikov, 2010; Walker, 2013).

After Peruvian independence (1821), Cusco continued to grow steadily until the 1840s, when an economic crisis due to the loss of large markets (today's Bolivian Altiplano) caused a drastic fall in population and a period of stagnation that lasted until the early twentieth century, when, thanks to the boom of Amazonian rubber, Andean wool, and the construction of the railway, the city managed to break out of its economic deadlock (De Azevedo, 1982). From a sociocultural point of view, in the first part of the 20th century, the city was populated by different groups that included a regional "white" *élite*—the majority of them *latifundistas* ("owners of large estates")—, their indigenous workers, as well as merchants, both indigenous and non-indigenous. The outlying neighborhoods were still populated by indigenous people, while the Plaza de Armas and its surroundings—as in the past—were occupied by an *élite* of Hispanic descent (De la Cadena, 2000; for the current sociocultural meanings of the Plaza de Armas, see Silverman, 2020). It is useful to consider the ethnic composition of Cusco, since the unequal relations that were born, modified and acquired meaning during the colonial and republican era, have repercussions in the present; for example, in the way the city is presented for tourist purposes and the consequences on the peasant communities of the periurban areas. Both "race" and ethnicity are categories of social classification. They are not



CHURCHES.—1. San Cristobal; 2. Santa Ana; 3. Los Nazarenos; 4. San Antonio; 5. San Blas; 6. Beaterio de Arcopata; 7. Jesus Maria; 8. La Catedral; 9. Capilla del Santiago; 10. San Francisco; 11. La Merced; 12. La Compania; 13. San Agustin; 14. Hospital de Hombras; 15. Santa Clara; 16. Santa Catalina; 17. Beaterio de San Andrés; 18. Beaterio de Santa Rosa; 19. Santo Domingo; 20. Beaterio de Ahuacpinta; 21. Santiago; 22. Belen; 23. Iglesia del Panteon; 24. University; 25. Prefectura; 26. House of Municipality; 27. Prison. INCA RUINS.—A. Temple of the Sun; B. Palace of Virgins of the Sun; C. Palace of Inca Tupac Yupanqui; D. Palace of Inca Yupanqui; E. Palace of Inca Rocca; F. Palace of Inca Viracocha; G. Palace of Yachahuasi, or the Schools; H. Palace of Inca Pachacutic; I. Palace of Huayna Capac; J. Palace of Manco Capac; K. House of Garcilasso de la Vega; L. Intahuatana, or Gnomon of the Sun; M. Ruins of Inca building; N. Chingana chambered rock; O. Carved and chambered rocks; P. Inca graded road, leading to quarries; Q. Pila, or Bath, of the Incas. Black lines showing ancient Inca walls.

Fig. 2. Plan of the city of Cusco.
Source: Squier, 1877: 428.

natural characteristics, but the classification and naturalization of cultural and/or phenotypical traits that can lead to the subalternization of certain groups. In colonial Cusco (see Fig. 3), the subalternization of the native and "mestizo" population by the white minority of Hispanic origin led to relations based on ethnic and cultural inequality, as well as unequal access to symbolic and political-economic spaces of control. After Peru's independence, during the Guano Era, the War of the Pacific, and the República Aristocrática, the paradigms which seemingly explained these differences, changed to "scientific" notions of supposedly inferior and superior "races."

3.3. 1920s–1980s: becoming the "tourist capital of Peru"

The so-called "discovery" of the Incan fortress of Machu Picchu by Hiram Bingham in 1911 and subsequent years (supported by the National Geographic Society; see Gade, 2015), opened a new discourse on "the Incan" and "the indigenous," and, together with the rise of individual mobility (the Ferrocarril del Sur railway connection of Cusco opened in 1908; the founding of the Touring Club Peruano in 1925), tourism gained in importance (Armas Asín, 2019; see Fig. 4). The search for the "authentic Peruvian" landscape and people started, including a new *indigenismo* in Peruvian literature (on the concept of *incanismo* see Hill, 2007). Since the 1920s, with the end of the República Aristocrática in Peru (1985–1919) (see Burga & Flores Galindo, 1991), Cusco's indigenous *élites* have been refining concepts such as *cusqueñismo* (the pride of being *cusqueños*, heirs to the quintessence of a national historical legacy, in other words, the Inca). "Rather than an arena where either grassroots or *élite* intellectual prevails, cuzqueñismo is a shared dialogic field, the cultural expressive space from which both groups draw inspiration, the sphere where they compete for influence, and an important public arena in which to dispute the meanings of identity labels" (De la Cadena, 2000: 35, 231–271; see also Tamayo Herrera, 1992). From a sociospatial point of view, Cusco in the early twenties no longer presented a clearly segregated pattern of population. In the old colonial houses, for instance, both the *élite* and the popular classes used to live under the same roof. What kept the different inhabitants apart was not so much the physical separation as status and social class (De la Cadena, 2000). Yet these housing patterns changed after the 1950 earthquake (Fig. 5); an event that further accelerated the urban growth already underway (Navarro Halanocca, 2014).

Urbanization, mainly due to migratory movements from rural areas to the city, intensified and in 1969 the government of General Juan Velasco Alvarado enacted the Agrarian Reform which, on the one hand, redistributed land—formerly owned by large landowners—into the hands of peasant communities and, on the other, abolished the term "Indian" in favor of "peasant," thus moving from an ethno-racial classification to a social-class one (Degregori & Sandoval, 2007; for the Agrarian Reform, see i. e. Matos Mar & Mejía, 1980; Seligmann, 1995; Mayer, 2009; for Cusco, see Ramírez Caparó, 2019). However, the "Indians" should continue to play an important role for Cusco as national and international tourism intensified in the 1960s and 1970s and became a vital component of the urban and regional economy.

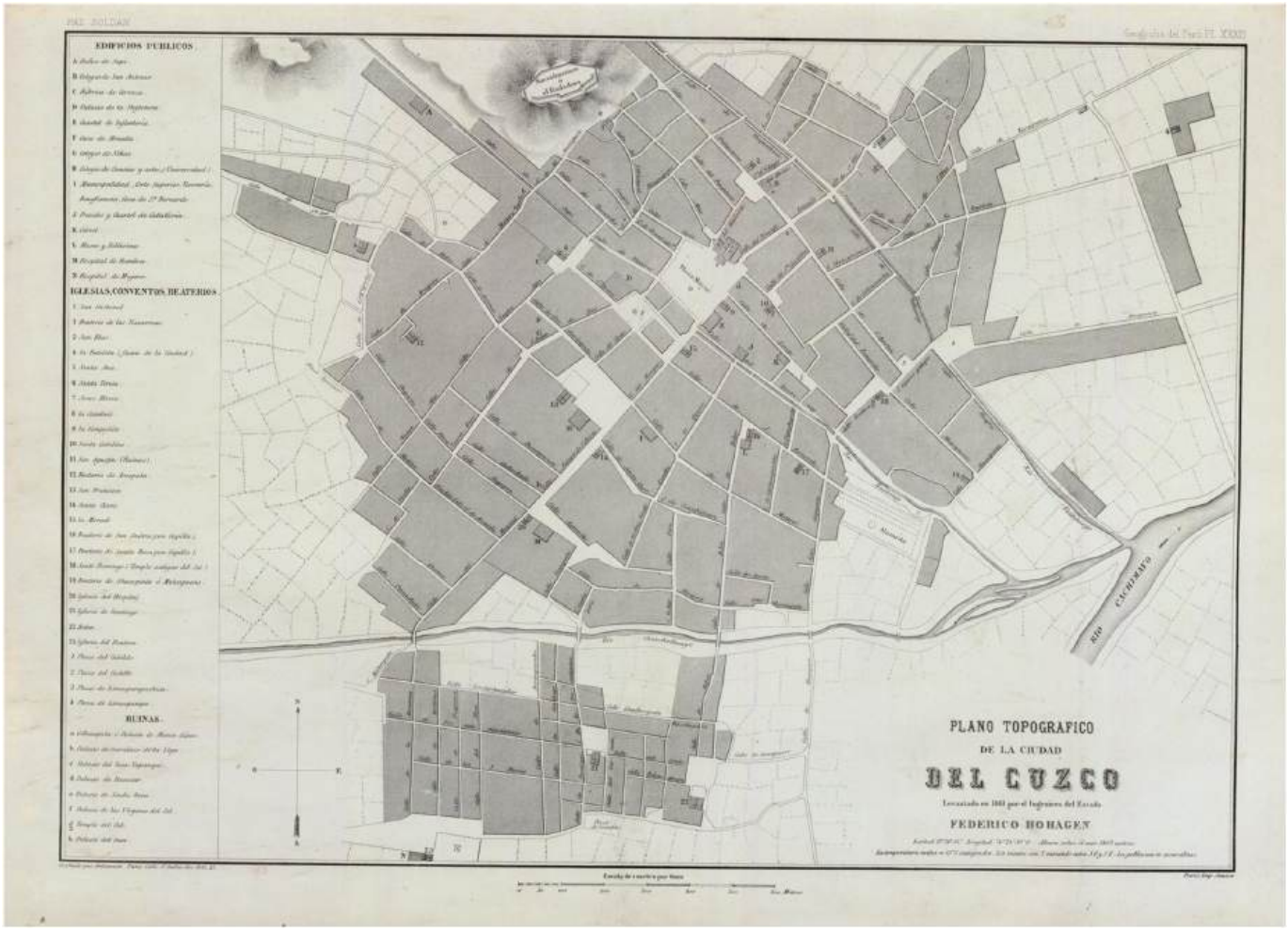


Fig. 3. Plan of the colonial center of Cusco in 1865, by Federico Hohagen.
Source: David Rumsey Map Collection (www.davidrumsey.com).

Fig. 4. Picture postcard showing Cusco's Plaza de Armas in 1911.
Source: Colección Giesecke/Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.

Fig. 5. Ruins after the 1950 earthquake.
Source: Colección Giesecke/Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.

4. Key figures on population, settlement, and tourism: 1980s–present

In recent decades, Cusco has experienced a massive (mainly migration-driven) growth in population and with currently 500,095 inhabitants (total population number 2017; see INEI, 2017), it is the sixth-largest urban agglomeration in Peru. As shown in Table 1, the District of Cusco presents only moderate growth rates, peripheral districts have grown the most, for instance San Sebastián by 750% since 1981 (with the largest absolute change of +45,351 people during the intercensal period 2007–2017). This increase in population in today's metropolitan area of Cusco is also reflected in the rising number of buildings, predominantly in peripheral districts but also in the District of Cusco (Table 2). Again, San Sebastián presents the largest relative growth of 1290% since 1981 (with the largest absolute change of +16,382 buildings during the intercensal period 2007–2017).

However, the population and settlement of Cusco cannot be adequately described without paying attention to the ethnic and linguistic identity, both of which are important, often essential "assets" of the tourism industry (Hill, 2007; Pérez, 2006; Silverman, 2002). According to the 2017 Peruvian census (2017), 63.17% of the inhabitants of Cusco Metropolitano self-identified as "Quechua," the most important indigenous group in the Andes, 30.90% as "Mestizos", a historic Latin American social identity born after the Spanish conquest (De la Cadena, 2005; Stolcke, 2008), 1.99% as "white", and 3.95% as "Aymara," the second most important Andean ethnic identity, or other (Table 3). This fact underlines the constitutive role that elements usually categorized as "rural", such as indigeneity, play in the "urban" development of Andean intermediate cities (Fig. 6).

In recent decades, Cusco has become one of the best-known tourist places in Peru, not least because of its constitutive "rural" (also "traditional," "indigenous," and "agrarian") elements. Against the background of unavailable long-term data on overnight stays or arrivals, the arrivals to the fortress of Machu Picchu (Table 4) can serve as a useful indicator of tourism development in Cusco, for almost all visitors to the Inca ruin arrive via the city of Cusco. While these figures may reflect the arrival of cultural tourists and local visitors to Cusco, they obviously do not include many business travelers. Between 2007 and 2017, tourist numbers increased by 176%, with a vast majority of incoming visitors. This fact underlines the attractiveness of Cusco for international investments in tourism (especially in the real-estate sector) and reveals the risk of touristification, a process distinct from "gentrification."

Table 1
Population of the districts of Cusco Metropolitano. 2017 figures do not refer to the censused population but to the total population. Due to problems during the 2017 census, figures for Poroy refer to INEI's 2018 estimate.

District	Population [count]			
	1981	1993	2007	2017
Cachimayo	1393	1757	2037	2589
Cusco	91,042	93,187	108,798	124,707
Oropesa	3978	5410	6432	10,281
Poroy	903	1587	4462	10,535
Pucyura	2877	2684	3545	3251
San Jerónimo	9093	15,166	31,687	61,139
San Sebastián	15,978	32,134	74,712	120,063
Santiago	51,901	73,129	83,721	100,124
Saylla	849	956	2934	5938
Wánchaq	35,803	51,584	59,134	61,468
Total	**213,817**	**277,594**	**377,462**	**500,095**

Source: INEI (1981); INEI (1993); INEI (2007); INEI (2017); INEI (2020).

Table 2
Buildings in the districts of Cusco Metropolitano. Due to problems during the 2017 census, figures for Poroy are estimated using 2018 population estimates and the 2007 population-per-building ratio.

District	Buildings [count]			
	1981	1993	2007	2017
Cachimayo	295	481	665	998
Cusco	17,592	19,810	28,809	30,156
Oropesa	992	1478	1985	3453
Poroy	196	410	1590	3754
Pucyura	580	638	1012	1066
San Jerónimo	1564	3012	8943	13,825
San Sebastián	2680	6446	18,154	34,536
Santiago	8851	14,338	21,176	24,761
Saylla	196	277	861	1895
Wánchaq	6321	10,274	14,790	18,484
Total	**39,267**	**57,164**	**97,985**	**132,928**

Source: INEI (1981); INEI (1993); INEI (2007); INEI (2017); INEI (2020).

5. Touristification and the rural drivers of periurban expansion

5.1. Conceptual thoughts: touristification versus gentrification

Without a doubt, tourism is one of the most dominant drivers of social and economic change in the Andean city of Cusco—a tendency often summarized under the umbrella term of "tourist gentrification"; reminiscent of what Steel and Klaufus (2010) called "gentrification of trade" (opposed to a "gentrification of housing"; for the case of Puebla, Mexico, see also Jones & Varley, 1994). However, Sequera and Nofre (2018) have argued that the approach called "tourist gentrification" is not adequate to account for the changes taking place in cities impacted by invasive tourism phenomena. The authors propose to go beyond the classic dichotomous scheme of "speculation–expulsion" and "gentrification–displacement," which, to this day, is the most accepted model to account for the economic, sociocultural, and political changes driven by "major transnational forces" in the urbanization of tourism (Sequera & Nofre, 2018: 844). The authors' claim that gentrification and touristification, albeit being complementary phenomena, should be analyzed as separate processes, since they have different characteristics—a fact visible in the case of Cusco.

Comparing Davidson and Lees' (2005) model of the conditions of gentrification with the tourism processes at work in southern European cities, Sequera and Nofre identify differences that become evident and require analyses from different perspectives. In gentrification processes, a neighborhood is the object of investment by public and/or private capital. This implies changes in the sociocultural and economic structure of the neighborhood due to the arrival of new, wealthier inhabitants with more financial capital. The gentrification process thus affects inhabitants with fewer resources, who may be expelled from their homes. Consequently, these changes can impact on the urban landscape: the structure of the previously existing neighborhood is gradually substituted by a new sociocultural and economic composition, causing forms of spatial injustice. This type of development can currently not be observed in the city of Cusco.

Yet what these authors call "touristification" presents different characteristics: while the displacement of the population by processes of gentrification particularly affects the working class, the processes of touristification affect the life of different classes. Moreover, gentrification is, *par excellence*, a process causing changes in the socioeconomic and cultural profile of a neighborhood's population, usually through a "social upgrade," while in touristification the profile of tourists, far from being monolithic, includes different social layers and classes. Considering the physical-material dimension of the built environment, gentrification impacts through a set of changes, which Sequera and Nofre (2018: 850) define as "chic" and "sophisticated," while the touristification of a neighborhood leads to a so-called "Disneyfication," that

Table 3
Self-identification based on ancestry and customs.

District	Quechua [%]	Aymara [%]	White [%]	Mestizo [%]	Other [%]	Total [count]
Cachimayo	75.82	0.16	2.56	20.37	1.10	1915
Cusco	61.35	0.55	214	30.41	5.55	93,852
Oropesa	70.60	0.26	0.85	25.14	3.14	7258
Poroy	81.71	0.27	0.54	16.77	0.70	1848
Pucyura	78.70	0.30	0.59	13.74	6.68	2366
San Jerónimo	65.19	0.84	1.93	30.12	1.92	45,462
San Sebastián	66.95	0.90	1.35	28.57	2.23	89,732
Santiago	66.97	0.74	1.42	28.32	2.56	75,038
Saylla	77.55	0.51	0.59	20.03	1.33	3920
Wánchaq	47.84	0.75	3.07	44.26	4.09	49,101
Cusco Metropolitano	**63.17**	**0.73**	**1.99**	**30.90**	**3.22**	**370,492**

Source: INEI (2017).

Fig. 6. A traditionally dressed woman and a little girl walk an alpaca through the streets of Cusco to be photographed by tourists for a fee. Photo: Domenico Branca (2013).

Table 4
Number of visitors to Machu Picchu in the census years of 1981, 1993, 2007, and 2007. Additionally, the intercensal years 2008–2016 are shown.

Year	Incoming visitors [count]	Domestic visitors [count]	Total visitors [count]
1981	96,060	37,214	133,274
1993	58,090	69,525	127,615
2007	548,168	251,900	800,068
2008	616,111	242,100	858,211
2009	581,880	233,388	815,268
2010	472,742	227,089	699,831
2011	670,959	300,683	971,642
2012	762,469	351,965	1,114,434
2013	804,348	372,960	1,177,308
2014	842,191	298,986	1,141,177
2015	911,053	371,462	1,282,515
2016	996,764	422,743	1,419,507
2017	1,070,684	340,595	1,411,279

Source: Observatorio Turístico del Perú (2020).

is, the transformation of space—through the implementation of specific policies—into a sort of recreational park, as shown, for example, by Nofre and Martins (2017) for the Bairro Alto neighborhood in Lisbon. Differences can also be seen in the demographic dimension. In the case of gentrified neighborhoods, we see a mere replacement of the original population and thus the continued residential function of the built environment. In tourism, however, we observe population losses, mainly due to the conversion of residential buildings into structures for tourist services (e. g. hotels, restaurants, or bars). Finally, gentrification primarily causes class conflicts between the original inhabitants of the working class and the new inhabitants, who belong to the middle and upper classes. In the case of touristification, cities face different conflicts, which often have to do with worsening living conditions (due to increased noise, for example). This development perfectly applies to the city of Cusco.

In sum, despite being undoubtedly related phenomena, gentrification and touristification have recognizably different characteristics. When analyzing specific cases, it is thus necessary to understand which of these processes apply and how they affect the context. In the present case of Cusco Metropolitano, we argue that currently it would be more accurate to speak of touristification, not gentrification, of the historic center—and increasingly also of the periphery.

5.2. *Spatial reconfigurations: urban and periurban change*

The impact of the tourist industry has, of course, is felt most sharply in the UNESCO World Heritage of the compact historic center of Cusco, which is directly influenced by the processes of touristification (Silverman, 2006). We argue that these processes create Andean imaginaries (or even a place brand; often related to indigenous people, Andean landscapes, and/or mountain environments)—on a regional to global scale—that attract both people and capital, and are responsible for changes in the urban and periurban fabric.

Regarding urban change, especially in the historic center, touristification processes can lead to sociospatial transformations that affect

existing inhabitants in different ways (Quispe Gonzáles, 2015). They cause rising rents that locals are often unable to pay. The same applies to increasing prices in traditional stores of the neighborhood—or even lead to these stores' closure. Additional pressure by real-estate investors, who purchase historical and still inhabited buildings with the aim of converting them into tourist accommodation or shops, can drive the displacement of people from the center to periurban areas. Finally, such a movement can also be influenced by the changing designation of public places that are of great value and meaning for the identity of local inhabitants, as well as by the forced end of symbolic capitals such as the *vecindario* ("neighborhood" in its sociocultural sense) (Quispe Gonzáles, 2015). Although it is true that these processes affect both the most vulnerable classes and the middle class, one must also consider the still close relationship between class and ethnicity in Peru. In terms of periurban change, bidirectional population movements cause, on the one hand, migration from the historic center of Cusco to other metropolitan districts, particularly to areas not yet or only partly urbanized (periurban areas). On the other hand, the direction is inverse, that is, people (often from Lima or even abroad) buy second homes (*casas de campo*) in the Cusco metropolitan area, for themselves and/or for short-term vocational rental, or rural people migrate from the remote areas of the Department of Cusco, as well as from other nearby departments, to Cusco Metropolitano—in line with current migratory patterns that show rural migration is no longer directed almost exclusively toward the national capital of Lima, but rather toward the intermediate provincial and departmental capital cities. These massive movements redesign the social and spatial relations and the faces of the destination cities, provoking tensions and conflicts in the use of space (Altamirano, 2003; Llona, Ramírez Corzo, & Zolezzi, 2004). At the same time, the relative proximity between the towns of departure and the cities of arrival allows close relations between the migrants and their places of origin, also made possible by the improvement of the road infrastructure. The periodical, often daily, movement between cities and rural areas (Branca, 2019; Llona et al., 2004; Vega-Centeno & Vilela, 2019; Vilela & Moschella, 2017) drive a growing rural urbanization that, however, does not mean the end of the rural, but rather its redefinition (Altamirano, 2003). In this sense, Cusco Metropolitano is a perfect case in point.

A diverse range of location motives (or push and pull factors) can be identified: voluntary migration as a result of lower land costs; promising investment in real estates; the attractiveness of both "the traditional" or "the modern"; and rather forced migration: from remote rural areas as a consequence of crime, lack of employment opportunities, and educational options; displacement from the historic center (in the case of mostly female indigenous street vendors, see Seligmann, 2004; Steel, 2012; Seligmann & Guevara, 2013).

In sum, the consequences for and impacts on space and place, as well as on their inhabitants, are multiple and affect both the historic center, which is turned into a kind of historical theme park for tourist use and consumption—a process of museification is under way (Silverman, 2006: 160)—and the periurban and adjoining rural areas, which are still characterized by agricultural land use and more or less scattered (agrarian) settlement. Here this may cause changes in land cover (i.e. urban encroachment on fertile agricultural land) and land use, which can affect the peasant population, trigger processes of deagrarianiziaton/*descampesinazción* (Cañada & Gascón, 2016: 11), and damage important landscape elements of cultural and/or natural value.

5.3. Real-estate boom: toward a fragmented cityscape

Discourses in regional and national newspapers, which have reported repeatedly on the real-estate boom driven by an increasing demand for houses and apartments in (gated) condominiums, confirm the observed patterns of urban and periurban development. In this respect, the recent development of Cusco seems to be approaching the phase of the "fragmented city" observed in several large Latin American cities (Borsdorf, 2003; Borsdorf, Hidalgo, & Sánchez, 2007; Inostroza, Baur, & Csaplovics, 2013).

Cusco Metropolitano's growth in recent decades has been predominantly periurban and horizontal; it is only recently that verticalization processes have started in some parts of the city, because the accelerated and dispersed urban growth of the past decades has partly led to a lack of building land, resulting in higher land prices. Prices have risen sharply in the historic center (6000 USD/m^2), on the Avenida de la Cultura (3000 USD/m^2) and in some exclusive areas of Santa Mónica, Magisterio and Larapa (2000 USD/m^2) (De la Cruz, 2012). The motives behind the run on houses or apartments are diverse and include "business purposes, as well as housing in urban areas" or the desire to "live in areas far from the city" (Mamani, 2018). It seems advantageous to invest in Cusco: on the one hand, due to easy payment through bonds such as the Crédito Mi Vivienda and, on the other, because of the important presence of the tourism industry. Many of the investments in apartments are for short-term vacation rentals, especially in residential districts like Wánchaq and San Jerónimo, "where the intensity of the real-estate boom can be seen most strongly" (Mamani, 2018).

As a representative of the Cusco Chamber of Commerce puts it, the city has gone from a "hotel boom" to a "real-estate boom," with more than 70 projects (in 2013) in the eastern districts; most of them developed with capital from Cusco or Arequipa (Barja Marquina, 2013). According to the Cusco Real-Estate Chamber, this accumulation of capital is, in particular, due to economic improvements caused by revenues from the mining, tourism, and construction sectors; a development that enables a limited sector of the population "to face the new prices with solvency" (Hurtado de Mendoza, 2013; see Fig. 7). However, the reasons for this "are [in part] worrying because they are linked to informal mining (most people who buy the apartments come from Puerto Maldonado), drug trafficking, smuggling, and corruption" (Barja Marquina, 2013).

In periurban areas of the northwestern part of Cusco Metropolitano—often quite far above the valley floor—lots and/or houses are sold by local real-estate developers who promote their projects as future condominiums ideally located for *casas de campo* (country houses normally used as second homes and/or for short-time vacation rental). Here it becomes clear how "the rural" next to "the urban" is promoted as the perfect location to enjoy an "Andean idyll" relatively close to urban transport infrastructure, entertainment centers, fine-dining restaurants, and shopping malls. Projects of this type, often located on the Suni slopes (3500–4000 m a.s.l.) and occasionally reaching the Puna plains at an altitude of 4100 m a.s.l, can be found in the southeastern part (Oropesa; Condominio San Isidro by Cusco-based Valles Verdes Grupo Inmobiliario), in the southwest (Santiago; Condominio Altamira by Cusco-based Inmobiliaria KASA MÁS), as well as in the northwestern area. Especially in the districts of Cachimayo, Poroy, Pucyura, and in some peripheral areas of the District of Cusco, there is a clear tendency toward the sale of serviced lots for the construction of gated projects like Condominio VillaSol, developed by Wánchaq-based developer Bienes Raíces Terranova (see Fig. 8).

Poroy and surroundings benefit from the starting point of the tourist railway Poroy–Machu Picchu (Aguas Calientes), privately operated by PeruRail and Inca Rail, and their proximity to the historic center of Cusco; a locational advantage that has led to the development of a postmodern leisure landscape that includes an "adventure" theme park (Action Valley Cusco; offering bungee jumping, climbing, and paintball gaming), countryside accommodation ("lodges" or "rural guest houses") and restaurants (*recreos campestres*), and, for those who want to stay permanently, even private bilingual schools (Spanish and English; teaching Quechua as a "third" language), evangelical Christian churches, and US-style cemeteries (Jardínes de la Luz). Moreover, the rise of residential projects, popping up all over the place in Poroy and surroundings, clearly has to do with the future nearby airport of Chinchero, which will allow a tranquil arrival from Lima or even abroad, without having to pass through the crowded city center (see Fig. 9; on the conflicts about Chinchero airport, see García, 2010, 2018; López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Boom inmobiliario en Cusco: viviendas se venden hasta en US$3 millones

El precio de las propiedades en el Cusco se ha sextuplicado desde el 2005, sobre todo al sur de la ciudad. Hoy existen predios con valores similares a los que se encuentran en San Isidro o Miraflores

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Fig. 7. The Lima-based newspaper *El Comercio* reports on the rise in prices for vacation real estates in Cusco since 2005.
Source: El Comercio.

Aguilar, 2017).

These facts demonstrate how local dynamics are closely intertwined with global issues, illustrated by what Harvey (2012) has called the "urbanization of the capital". Apart from the trite repetition of globalized forms of settlement and lifestyle, often in a postmodern eclectic manner, the railway operators, for instance, are part of multinational companies from the luxury and financial sectors (LVMH Moët Hennessy Louis Vuitton and The Carlyle Group), and the planned airport will be operated by Aeropuertos Andinos del Perú of the Luxemburg-based Argentine multinational Corporación América and the Peruvian multinational Andino Investment Holding. Mostly small local actors from the real-estate sector obviously aim at getting a share of the pie.

6. Planning challenges in a mountain context

Mountain cities like Cusco, in intramontane valley locations (see Fig. 10), face a number of interconnected challenges for urban planning: tectonic challenges like earthquakes; orographic challenges, for example mudflows; atmospheric challenges like temperature inversions and problems of air hygiene; and social/cultural challenges, often related to individual and collective perceptions and land-use decisions, which—especially on narrow and fertile valley floors—can lead to deep conflicts between different stakeholders of varying power and influence. Moreover, planetary urbanization and postmodern urban development increasingly lead to the integration of high-altitude zones into the very urban fabric (Borsdorf & Haller, 2020). Examples in the Peruvian Andes include the globalizing mining center of Cajamarca (Steel, 2013; Vega-Centeno, 2011) and the commercial center of central Peru, Huancayo, where physical urban growth is considered a "sowing of concrete" (Haller, 2014; Haller & Borsdorf, 2013).

The social/cultural challenges are obvious in Cusco Metropolitano and can be defined as a vicious circle. The growth in tourism, which every year sees a considerable increase in the number of visitor arrivals and overnight stays—domestic and especially foreign—sets off a series of processes that significantly affect the city and its surroundings. Touristification and the increasing demand for hotels trigger various inner-city processes, such as the reconversion of old houses in the historic center into accommodation and other services for tourism. At the same time, touristification processes and the (planned) creation of certain geographical imaginaries, which present the Andean as something rural (and thus "natural" and non-urban; see Berque, 2011), often indigenous and agrarian (see Branca, 2019), lead to the construction of new private settlements, often in the form of gated condominiums, for a growing urban leisure society in search for both first and second-home real estate. Both phenomena can force people of lower income, who cannot pay growing rents, to relocate to more distant and less expensive areas outside the center—a consequence that accelerates periurban growth further. Such processes are certainly not limited to the valley floors: as early as 2007, the then mayor of San Sebastián announced the construction of a (never realized) cable car line from the valley floor up to the peak of Picol (at approximately 4350 m a.s.l.), which he considered an "indispensable requirement" to bring tourism forward, providing visitors with a spectacular view of Cusco and its landscape from above (Hurtado Santillán, 2007).

In Cusco Metropolitano, the growing real-estate boom is affecting almost all districts of the city and particularly those located in periurban and rural areas. The inhabitants of these areas, especially farmers, are in the paradoxical situation of having an ever-expanding market to supply or to find employment in, yet land consumption for the construction of new settlements leads to significant loss of agricultural land. In addition,

Fig. 8. Condominio VillaSol in Cachimayo is promoted as an ecological, safe, and visually attractive private place to live.
Source: Bienes Raíces Terranova.

this process consumes not only the land as an agricultural resource, but also alters the "rural" landscape itself, as a cultural product contested between different actors: the local agrarian communities that produce and live on it, assigning certain values to the landscape; the tourism sector, who commodifies the landscape, turning it into a commercial product to be sold as part of the tourism package; and the local, regional, and national political institutions, who aim at (re)building a sense of common identity, often using the landscape as an intermediary.

A perfect case in point is the ongoing debate about insufficient regulation of construction companies (in 2012 there were 100 officially registered construction companies, yet only six were able to exceed the standards established by the Peruvian Chamber of Construction) which cause problems with "archaeological heritage" in the eastern neighborhoods, for instance with the urbanization-driven destruction of Incan terraces of Larapa and Patapata—declared National Cultural Heritage back in 2015 (Escalante Salazar, 2009; Luna Villafuerte, 2015; Salcedo, 2015). According to the newspaper *La República*, the Dirección Desconcentrada de Cultura (Decentralized Administration of Culture) of Cusco aimed at drawing up a conservation plan for these "archaeological sites" (ruins and terraces, many of the latter still in use), to prevent unbridled construction of buildings and infrastructure on the last material remains of the Incan past in this area (Anonymus, 2015). However, the question of what heritage is—and for whom (García Canclini, 1999)—remains unanswered, since it is the citizens of Larapa themselves who want the municipality to install basic services such as "power line poles on the pre-Hispanic platforms that are approximately two kilometers long" (Anonymus, 2015; translated by the authors). Outside the historic center, Cusco Metropolitano and the Huatanay Valley present dispersed settlement patterns and severe functional fragmentation—from the valley floor up to the peaks. Future planning in Cusco Metropolitano could benefit from:

(1) overcoming the urban–rural divide, taking into account agriculture, *campesinos* ("peasants"), and agrarian communities as integrative parts of past, present, and future "urban development" and as pillars of tourism in the region;
(2) avoiding an outdated center–periphery opposition, for Cusco Metropolitano is developing into a polycentric urban area and tourism destination; and
(3) bridging the valley–upland dichotomy, acknowledging that the continuous settlement area will soon extend over an altitudinal range of around 1000 m (with extremes in Cusco and Oropesa).

The sophisticated and detailed urban development plan of Cusco 2013–2023 (Municipalidad Provincial del Cusco, 2013) divides the whole area, in a traditional manner, into different zones of use. Yet for the periurban parts of Cusco Metropolitano, a shift from Euclidean zoning (where one specific use is attributed to a single zone) to performance-based zoning approaches (where different uses are permitted in one zone, as long as jointly agreed quality criteria are fulfilled) could be helpful (see Haller, 2017), for this could offer options for better integration of the often fragmented structures and functions in rural–urban interfaces. However, it would be essential that such an approach guaranteed all stakeholders, including agriculturalists, a participation at eye level, independently of factors such as gender, ethnicity, education, profession, or economic or political power and influence. In doing so, much-needed linkages between geographical spaces, social classes, and economic sectors could be strengthened, for

Fig. 9. "Green" condominiums like VillaSol advertise their location next to private schools, airports, train stations and urban centers. Source: Bienes Raíces Terranova.

Fig. 10. View of the city of Cusco from San Blas, one of the historic neighborhoods located in the upper part of the old town. Photo: Domenico Branca (2013).

instance by Urban Food Systems linking agriculturalists and urban-based tourism (Abu Hatab, Rigo Cavinato, Lindemer, & Lagerkvist, 2019). In this context, ongoing debates on periurban forms of food self-provisioning and exchange, illustrated in the Colombian Andes (Feola, Suzunaga, Soler, & Wilson, 2020), could inspire planners and policy makers in Cusco.

7. Conclusion

Due to its special geographic location in the middle of the fertile Huatanay Valley, surrounded by (often sacred) mountains, and thanks to its rich history, which goes back to the pre-Incan era and stretches, always in a prominent way, across the Tawantinsuyu (the "Inca empire"), the colonial, and the republican era, the city of Cusco is rightfully one of the "capitals" of Peru and the entire Americas. Its identity as a mountain metropolis and historical center of the Andean realm, with a strong sociocultural and linguistic Hispano-Quechua idiosyncrasy, makes it a unique space and place embedded between (1) space *and* time, and (2) nature *and* culture. Against this background, Cusco and its region has developed into a well-established and steadily growing tourist destination since the first decades of the 20th century—cleverly building an image that oscillates between the mystical, the Incan (but not the "Indian"; see Méndez, 1996), and the cultural landscapes representing both "colonial flair" and an "Andean rural idyll."

While valorizing Cusco's natural and cultural potential for tourist purposes has become a significant source of income for many actors

from different social classes, not only in the city but also in the entire region of southern Peru, this Andean city increasingly faces physical, demographic, and sociocultural challenges common to many other intermediate mountain cities across the globe: from settlement growth in hazard-prone areas, via the increase in (often gated) second-home real estate, to the misuse of local indigenous identities by a few in search of making intermediate cities more competitive destinations for visitors and investors alike. Although tourism is undoubtedly one of the main economic assets for contemporary intermediate cities, especially those in mountains, this sector's negative impact is becoming ever more problematic. Overcoming the urban–rural divide, avoiding an outdated center–periphery opposition, and bridging the valley–upland dichotomy could not only be key to solving the problems of Cusco, but also be a useful approach for similar tourist metropolises, especially in mountains of the Global South. An improved exchange of perspectives and experiences between researchers, planners, and policy makers from cities like Cusco, Shimla (India), or Moshi (Tanzania) and those from Innsbruck (Austria) or Salt Lake City (United States)—perhaps in the transdisciplinary context of montology (Sarmiento, 2020)—could be mutually fruitful.

In sum, Cusco is a perfect case in point to illustrate the direct and/or indirect consequences of tourism growth for urban and periurban development, phenomena that significantly modify the landscape and also trigger substantial changes in the lives of rural communities (Stadel, 2008: 25), whose role in urban and periurban development is often neglected. This vast array of changes calls for more environmentally integrated, economically viable, and socially inclusive solutions. If these were successful, Cusco could continue to be "not just any space" sensu Dollfus (1997: 15).

Declaration of competing interest

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

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