

Urban renewal to turistification: Oaxaca de Juárez's historic downtown**De renovación urbana a turistificación, centro histórico de Oaxaca de Juárez**

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Abstract

The city of Oaxaca, renowned for its rich history and cultural diversity, has undergone a major transformation in recent years. Seeking urban renewal and increased tourism, authorities have dramatically altered the character of the historic city center. This study analyzes Oaxaca's urban renewal and resulting turistification, as well as the socioeconomic and cultural impacts on local residents, with a focus on the historic downtown. Qualitative research methods like interviews, observations, and analysis of historical documents were used, along with quantitative data assessing tourism's effects. While urban renewal can provide economic revitalization, an overemphasis on tourism leads to 'touristification,' generating tension between tourism interests and local needs. The findings indicate a rise in Oaxaca's tourism, attracting investment and renewal, but also leading to increased housing costs, resident displacement, and potential cultural loss. Citizens are divided: some welcome economic growth, while others believe tourism undermines Oaxaca's essence. This analysis aims to understand the interplay between urban renewal and tourism in places with deep cultural and historical roots.

Urban renovation, Touristification, Heritage**Resumen**

La ciudad de Oaxaca, famosa por su historia y diversidad cultural, ha pasado por una importante transformación reciente. Las autoridades, buscando la renovación urbana y atracción turística, han alterado la dinámica del centro histórico. Este estudio analiza la renovación urbana de Oaxaca y su consecuente turistificación, además de los impactos socioeconómicos y culturales en la población local, centrándose en el centro histórico. Se utilizó una investigación cualitativa con entrevistas, observaciones y análisis de documentos históricos, y cuantitativa para evaluar el impacto del turismo. Aunque la renovación urbana puede revitalizar económicamente una ciudad, si se enfoca demasiado en el turismo, surge la turistificación, generando tensiones entre los intereses turísticos y las necesidades locales. Los hallazgos señalan un incremento turístico en Oaxaca, que ha atraído inversión y revitalización. Sin embargo, también ha provocado el alza en precios de vivienda, desplazamiento de residentes y potencial pérdida cultural. Los ciudadanos tienen opiniones divididas: mientras algunos valoran el crecimiento económico, otros creen que el turismo altera la esencia de Oaxaca. Este análisis busca entender la relación entre renovación urbana y turistificación en lugares con profunda cultura e historia.

Renovación urbana, Turistificación, Patrimonialización

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Introduction

Deep in the historic centre of Oaxaca de Juárez lies the Benito Juárez Maza Market, an architectural and cultural jewel that has witnessed profound transformations over time. This chapter arises as a derivative of the qualitative research work developed for the doctoral thesis "Touristification of the Benito Juárez Maza Market". Through this research, the aim is to elucidate the process of touristification that the Benito Juárez Maza Market has undergone, and how urban policies, in their desire to beautify and renovate the historic centre of Oaxaca, have had a direct impact on this iconic space.

Starting from a macro vision, the tourism policies of the state of Oaxaca and the municipality where the capital resides are explored. This research has uncovered revealing clues about the transformation of urban areas as a function of both public and private policies, showing how these strategies have favoured touristification. With a methodology based on the collection of primary and secondary data, the socio-spatial dynamics within the market are analysed, with special emphasis on its recognition as a heritage site within the historic centre. These data, contrasted with updated information from the National Institute of Statistics and Geography, and supported by historical archives and academic literature, form the basis of this chapter.

On a theoretical level, key concepts such as urban renewal, tourism, touristification, patrimonialisation, gentrification and urbanisation are addressed, supported by previous studies related to the city of Oaxaca and other urban centres in Mexico. Within this framework, the chapter proposes not only a diagnosis, but also a critical reflection on the consequences of these tourism-oriented urban renewal policies.

Touristification, as observed in Oaxaca and other Mexican cities, is not an isolated phenomenon. It is a complex reality, the result of political and economic decisions that, while they have boosted tourism, have also posed significant challenges to the preservation of cultural heritage and the well-being of local residents. This research aims to unravel these dynamics and offer a clearer picture of their implications for the social and cultural fabric of Oaxaca de Juárez.

Methodology

A mixed research approach was chosen, combining qualitative and quantitative techniques. The purpose of this combination was to achieve an in-depth understanding of the phenomena investigated and, at the same time, to support the findings with empirical data. Qualitative techniques such as semi-structured interviews with key actors such as residents of the historic centre and market traders were used for data collection. These interviews provided insights into how urban policies and changes have influenced daily life and commercial dynamics.

Observations were carried out in different areas of the historic centre, especially in the Benito Juárez Maza Market and the historic centre of Oaxaca City in order to capture the daily dynamics and how tourists and locals interact in the renovated space. For the documentary analysis, a review of historical documents from the General Archive of the state of Oaxaca and research on tourism, touristification of Oaxaca and cities in Mexico with the same characteristics was carried out, which helped to trace the evolution of urban policies and interventions in the historic centre in favour of tourism. In addition, quantitative data were considered to analyse tourism growth in Oaxaca, number of annual visitors, tourism expenditure and hotel occupancy, in order to assess the impact of tourism in the city. These data were obtained from official sources and tourism-related organisations.

It is assumed that urban renewal, i.e. the modernisation and improvement of urban infrastructure, can be an effective tool for economic revitalisation. However, when these interventions are mainly oriented towards tourism, the phenomenon of touristification arises.

This phenomenon, understood as the excessive adaptation of urban spaces to satisfy tourist needs to the detriment of local needs, presents tensions between tourism development and the well-being of the resident population.

In summary, the methodology adopted for this chapter offered a panoramic and detailed vision of the process of touristification in the historic centre of Oaxaca, allowing us not only to understand its emergence and evolution, but also its implications for the social and economic fabric of the city.

Before going into the content of this chapter, it is essential to establish conceptual clarity about the notions we will deal with here. Let us begin with the definition of "urban renewal", a term that refers to the process by which urban areas are revitalised and updated, usually through the remodelling or renovation of pre-existing buildings and infrastructure. This process encompasses a set of interventions that aim to transform and enhance the physical, social and economic dimensions of a city or a certain sector of it (Castro, 2020).

Projects that fall under the label of urban renewal can manifest themselves through various actions, such as the demolition of buildings in disuse or deterioration, the construction of new structures, the revaluation of public spaces, and the enactment of social and economic programmes that seek to improve the well-being of the resident population. By contextualising this definition in a specific space, such as Mexico City, urban renewal can be understood as the reconfiguration of urban properties and the implementation of various governmental strategies that aim to intervene in the urban fabric. However, sometimes these efforts are aligned with real estate development interests, which can displace or modify the original character of certain areas (Castro, 2020). In the case of the city of Oaxaca, it has been found that these interventions are for commercial use focused on tourism, accommodation services, restaurants, galleries, cafes and *mezcalerías* in the case study; on the other hand, interventions have also been made to public buildings with the aim of "rescuing" them and preserving their architecture, however their renovation has been focused on increasing the tourist spaces in the historic centre of Oaxaca City.

Yadira Rodríguez examined the urban metamorphoses that have taken place in the historic centre of Oaxaca, following its designation as a World Heritage Site by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). He elaborated a theoretical framework around historic centres and their heritage recognition, his object of study being the urban dimensions which, in his opinion, have undergone significant transformations in the way local residents interact with their environment. I conclude with some reflections and proposals that could contribute to the enrichment of the space in question (Rodríguez, 2017).

The process of touristification in urban centres has been studied in the context of the analysis of the impact of tourism in cities. This process is characterised by the concentration of visitors and tourism-related activities in certain urban areas, which has social, economic and physical-spatial effects on these environments (Calle Vaquero, 2019). Touristification can lead to the deterioration of the urban landscape with the appearance of visual pollution and the shaping of urban scenes that are clearly touristy. It also induces changes in the tertiary sector of the city, with a commercial and hotel reorientation towards visitors to the detriment of the needs of the local population. Other relevant consequences are increased congestion, disruptions in daily life and challenges in the management of tourist flows (Calle Vaquero, 2019). In summary, touristification is a complex process that requires addressing both its continuity manifestations and the disruptive changes derived from the concentration of tourism in urban centres. It is necessary to advance in the comprehensive understanding of its effects and associated challenges. According to Adrián Hernández (2021), touristification refers to the intensification of tourism activity in a specific area, which can trigger changes in the local economy, cultural expressions and social interactions. These transformations can manifest themselves in the reorientation of commercial establishments to meet the demands of tourists, fluctuations in the costs and accessibility of products and services, as well as the eviction of original inhabitants due to real estate development. It is essential to differentiate between touristification and gentrification, as the latter connotes the replacement of the population of lower socio-economic strata by those with higher economic capacities.

Based on the above arguments, it can be argued that: Touristification is the process by which an urban space is progressively oriented towards satisfying the needs of visitors and tourists, rather than local residents. It involves a transformation of the use and dynamics of urban space, which is put at the service of tourist activity.

The process of patrimonialisation consists of the recognition and preservation of cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible, with historical, cultural or natural significance. It aims to protect and promote these assets for future generations, through activities such as documentation, conservation, restoration and heritage education. The affective dimension of heritage, including emotional and experiential connections, is central to this process. Individuals and communities play a vital role in actively engaging with and valuing their cultural heritage. Education also plays an important role in raising awareness and understanding of the relevance of heritage (Gómez, 2014).

There is research in Latin America and Europe on the changes and effects on urban centres and heritage cities, which present similar effects of tourism, patrimonialisation of the historic centre and its consequences (Lira Vásquez, 2014) (Rodríguez Y. , 2017) and the touristification of the historic centre (Yescas, 2018), urban development of the city of Oaxaca (Ramírez M. d., 2013), there is research carried out in Mexico City (Delgadillo, 2018), Querétaro (Hiernaux:-Nicolas & González-Gómez, 2014), Zacatecas, Mérida (Fuentes & Rosado, 2018), San Miguel de allende (De la Torre, 2018), Puebla (Aguilar, 2019) on the process of touristification taking up the above, similar characteristics can be identified in these cities of the Mexican Republic.

From urban renewal to touristification

The historic centre of Oaxaca

The exponential increase of the tourist industry in a few decades, especially from the 1970s to the present day, has evolved into a complex reality intertwined with different economic and social processes on a local, national and international level.

The inclusion of neoliberal policy in the urban sphere changed the way cities are built, commodifying spaces through the beautification of the city and the accumulation of capital with tourism-oriented urban renewal projects (Aguilar, Ferrusca, Ramírez, & Maya, 2021).

The use of urban heritage as a tourism resource presents opportunities for physical and socioeconomic recovery (Vaquero & Hernández, 1998). In our country, strategies and programmes to promote tourism have been implemented since the 20th century, and one of the main strategies has been to preserve its architectural and cultural legacy, normally located in the city centres.

During the 20th century, Oaxaca took up the indigenous and "colonial" heritage arguments of the political vision in favour of tourism. Urban history and architecture are evidence that it was in this way, so in 1920 the road to Mitla was improved, which passed through the Tule Tree, and the area was beautified with the aim of its "conservation" (Ramírez, 2013).

The ex-governor Genaro V. Vásquez (1925-1928) carried out actions with the aim of promoting Oaxacan identity "paved the way for later governments to use the cultural potentials of Oaxacan territory to promote tourism" (Lira Vásquez, 2014:74).

In the General Archive of the State of Oaxaca, in the documentary collection Government, section secretary of the office of tourism series and committees belonging to box 5155 file number 1 of 1929, official documents addressed to the first protourism committee were found, where the governor requests that the places that can be attractive for tourism be exposed, in addition to entrusting the municipal presidents with the task of beautification, The governor asked the governor to present the places that could be attractive for tourism, as well as entrusting the municipal presidents with the beautification, cleaning and elimination of "mendicity" (Mexico, 1929), as well as a series of official letters requesting collaboration with the tourism committee to promote different areas of the State of Oaxaca, confirming the importance of tourism for the development of roads and highways, facilitating access to the state and not thinking about the use and benefits for communication between local inhabitants.

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Tourism as a development strategy

Tourism has played a relevant role since the beginning of the 20th century in our country. The state of Oaxaca, with its natural and cultural richness, was part of the strategy to promote this activity, as it was already known how lucrative it could be. After the discovery of Tomb 7 of Monte Alba, in 1929 the road linking the city with the archaeological zone was improved (Ramírez, 2013).

Placido Zarate in 1930 formed the "Comité Local Proturismo", with the aim of promoting the development of tourism, one of the most important works of this administration was the construction of the first airport in the city finished in 1932 (Ramírez, 2013), being this same year the presentation for the first time the "Guelaguetza" dance show where the research done by V. Vásquez, to commemorate the 400 years of the founding of the city of Oaxaca, was retaken (Lira Vásquez, 2014).

During the government of Constantino Chapital (1936-1940), he included the monumental heritage as an attraction for tourism and encouraged research by foreigners in Oaxaca with the aim of promoting Oaxaca by all possible means up to that time (Lira Vásquez, 2014).

From the government of Vicente Gonzales (1940-1944) onwards, the image of the city of Oaxaca was disseminated as a temporary conservatory of an ancestral indigenous culture that, despite the passing of the centuries, preserved its ethnic "purity". This "ancestral culture" develops in an attractive urban atmosphere with "colonial" architecture, but lived by indigenous people of "pre-Hispanic origin" who every year celebrate their "Guelaguetza" and manifest their identity through their customs, traditions, food, clothing, language and handicraft reproduction, visible above all in their "exuberant" markets (Lira Vásquez, 2014). From this period onwards, the tourist objective of beautifying the city is clear; street repairs, remodelling of viceregal buildings, as well as the construction of new ones were carried out, in addition to the necessary infrastructure in the city to support the expected influx of tourists (Ramírez, 2013).

In 1942, the Law on the Protection of Colonial, Artistic and Historic Monuments and Typical Towns of the State was enacted, with the aim of not losing its colonial type, the aforementioned law influenced the decision making process between 1940-1960 (Lira Vásquez, *El discurso patrimonial: una coartada para frenar el desarrollo de la ciudad de Oaxaca*, 2014).

During the administration of Eduardo Vasconcelos (1947-1950), streets such as García Vigil were repaired, the football field and the baseball stadium were built, schools were repaired, the Conzati Garden was built, the Plaza de la Danza, the Health Centre, the Casa Magro was remodelled to house the State Library and the former Convent of San José was transformed into the Oaxacan School of Fine Arts, the Macedonio Alcalá Theatre was remodelled to receive conventions (Ramírez, 2013). These constructions were carried out with the support of municipal authorities during the second half of the 19th century, with the aim of organising and formalising the traders who were out in the open in the squares they occupied at the beginning, in addition to cleaning and beautifying the city's landscape (Drunker, 1988), in synchrony with what was happening throughout the country, as the economic system encouraged work in the fields and in food distribution, the latter being one of the objectives of the creation of public markets throughout the country (Chertorivski, 2013).

Vásquez (2014) highlights the message between the lines of Eduardo Vasconcelos (1947) in his report, which underlay, once again, the concern for tourism "because the state in which the streets of our capital and some of our roads are found, as well as the lack of other services, can bring as a consequence an unpleasant impression to those who visit us, with serious damage to the future of such an important industry" (Vasconcelos 1947 quoted by Lira 2014:78).

At the end of the Second World War, North American economic power grew along with its yearning for adventure, its main attraction until then being the war-torn continent of Europe, made it turn its gaze to the "exotic" Latin American cities and other parts of the world, becoming its preferred destinations.

Attention was focused on what today makes up the historic centre, with it the urban stain was formed around it, from the second decade of the twentieth century, which grew in a disorderly manner (Lira Vásquez, *El discurso patrimonial: una coartada para frenar el desarrollo de la ciudad de Oaxaca*, 2014).

Doctor Jesús Jaime Francisco proposes a period from 1950-1970 of conurbational growth within the municipality, a period when the Guelaguetza was consolidated, the city grew beyond the historic centre, but within the limits of the municipality to which it belongs (Ramírez, 2013). This is demonstrated in map 1, which shows the greatest population growth in Oaxaca de Juárez during the 1950s.

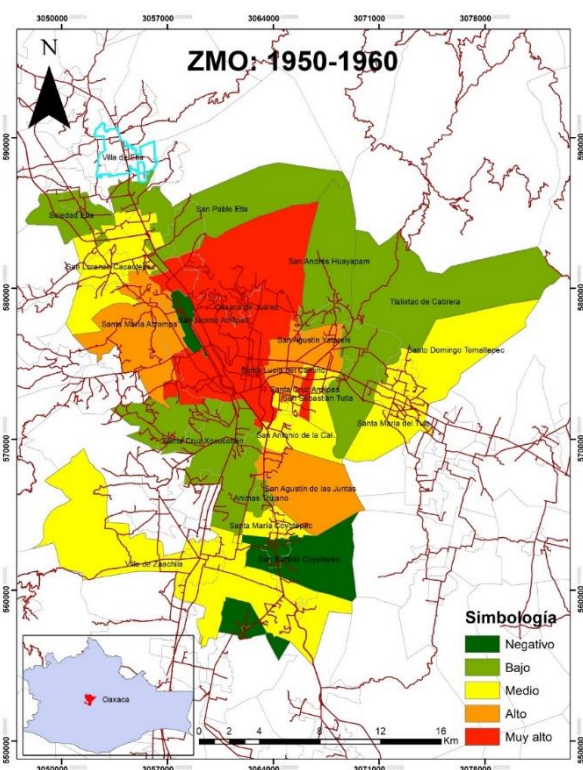


Figure 1 Population growth 1950-1960 in the Metropolitan Zone of Oaxaca

Source: INEGI, *Population and Housing Census 1950-1960*. Prepared by Mtro. Faustino Benjamín Rivera López

In 1946, the section of the Pan-American Highway corresponding to Oaxaca was inaugurated, consolidating the internal market, thus linking the main economic regions of the state with the city, which led to new settlements at its exits (Ramírez, 2013).

In 1958, construction began on the current airport in Xoxocotlán, as a complement to this work, the Armenta y López street was widened, the work was completed in 1961, and it was not until 1978 that it achieved the status of international airport (Ramírez, 2013).

The penitentiary and the psychiatric hospital were also relocated, the former located in the former Convent of Santa Catalina moved to Santa María Ixcotel between 1956 and 1962, while the hospital was relocated to San Bartolo Coyotepec in 1963, known since then as "Hospital Granja Cruz del Sur".

By the end of 1960 and the beginning of 1970, the city moved from conurbation to metropolitan growth, driven by the increase and diversification of tertiary activities, informal commerce and state bureaucracy.

The city moves out of the boundaries of Oaxaca de Juárez and incorporates others to form the metropolitan area (Ramírez, 2013). As a result of the 1969 flooding of the Atoyac River, in 1971, the river was channelled and filled in, and a sewage and rainwater collector was built on the left bank of the river.

Hotels were set up in the city and water and sewage services were provided, thus indirectly benefiting the inhabitants living near a hotel. However, there was still a lack of infrastructure not only in the city but also in the whole state. The hotels that existed were Marqués del Valle, Victoria on the slopes of Cerro del Fortín, Señorial, Margaritas and Oaxaca Court.

In 1971 the government built the first food market in the city, since colonial times, the government decided to remove the market from the Zócalo and built near the Atoyac River the "Margarita Maza" market known as "Central de Abastos", "this change is consistent with urban development features that are by no means coincidental" (Drucker, 1988:29).

Drucker narrates one of the most relevant changes for the markets in the historic centre of Oaxaca, with the transfer of a large part of the traders to the new building constructed on the banks, with 500 stalls sold to future vendors, this change being necessary to "1) protect tourists, 2) facilitate the transit of automobiles and 3) improve hygiene conditions", leaving a small market in the centre of the city (Drucker, 1988: 28).

Susana Druker's research emphasises the changes found in the traditional system and the transfer of part of the Benito Juárez market from the city centre to the periphery (1978). At the same time, three more zonal markets were built: Sánchez Pascuas (1972), Democracia or "La Merced" (1973) and IV Centenario. In 1972, the Jalatlaco River was piped and the Calzada de la República was built over it.

On March 15, 1976, the city of Oaxaca was declared a Historic Monument Zone. For the construction of the "Auditorio Guelaguetza" (1970), the inhabitants who occupied the space in the Xochimilco neighbourhood were relocated, Zarate Aquino justified the expenditure as "the most powerful instrument of spiritual integration of the Oaxacans", supported by FONATUR, it was the federation who provided the capital for its construction, it was not until 1977 that the construction was completed.

"When making a comparison of the investment made by the federation via FONATUR in Oaxaca City to remodel the historic monuments in the 1970s, we see that the difference in the amount does not vary much with respect to what was invested by the ISSSTE Housing Fund in the same years for the construction of 200 houses. While 17,000,000 pesos were invested to promote tourism, 17,643,000 pesos were invested for the construction of 200 houses. The priority is clear, not only at the local level, but also at the national level, focusing on the importance of investing in tourism in the State of Oaxaca" (Ramírez, 2013:92).

It was not until 1977 with the Hotel Presidente, installed in the former Convent of Santa Catalina, known today as Camino Real, with the increase of hotels, the lighting in the city centre was improved, the telephone service was modernised and the first traffic lights arrived, and the streets and avenues of access to the city were widened and paved (Ramírez, 2013).

In the "Plan Parcial del Centro Histórico de la ciudad de Oaxaca" (1980), he proposed the cancellation of vehicle circulation, favouring the pedestrian, "the pedestrian tourist", with the aim of providing a walk without complications or interruptions through the city centre, observing the architecture, starting from the back of the cathedral, passing through the Casa de Cortés until reaching the former Convent of Santo Domingo (Ramírez, 2013).

During the government of Pedro Vásquez Colmenares (1980-1985), among his most important actions was the promotion of cultural policy, he implemented the creation of the State System of Cultural Houses, the Rufino Tamayo Biennial, the Spring and Band Festivals, opened galleries, encouraged the publication of books and collections, developed an ambitious programme of children's art education, detonated the project of the tourist complex "Bahías de Huatulco" and created the Government Delegations (Hernández, 2012).

At the end of this governmental period, in 1985, the way for cars to walk through the monuments area was closed to cars, making way for galleries, restaurants and bars, and beautification works were carried out in the historic centre of Oaxaca.

Oaxaca's historic centre of colonial characteristics, inscribed by UNESCO as a World Heritage Site in 1987, "it is from this inscription that greater interest was generated in the management, conservation and dissemination of the cultural riches of this area" (Chira, 2019: 67), it is through this declaration that urban changes were generated in the Historic Centre of Oaxaca according to the research "La transformación urbana a partir de la declaración patrimonial: El Centro Histórico de Oaxaca de Juárez" (Rodríguez, 2017), however as it could be it is from decades ago that urban improvement has been thought for tourism while the resident has benefited indirectly.

"Thus the city of Oaxaca has become more and more a collection of hotels, inns, inns and houses of assistance for the tourist: fondas, restaurants, cafés, cantinas, antros, which prefer above all the assistance of the tourist and, of course, a large number of art galleries showing products of the Oaxacan School of Painting, many of whose representatives are determined to patch up the great Oaxacan painters of the 20th century in an effort to sell their paintings to the unwary and uninformed tourist who is increasingly far from penetrating the true universal spirit of Oaxaca" (Lira, 2007:386).

In 1994, the process of integral restoration of the temple of Santo Domingo de Guzmán was made possible when the Secretary of National Defence ceded the property to the Oaxacan government. At the same time, archaeological studies were carried out which confirmed the damage inflicted on the building due to its military function, evidenced by holes resulting from artillery shells. In the area of the old orchard, traces of the original vaults were discovered, along with military artefacts such as grenades and ammunition from different periods.

The ceramics found prompted research into the trade routes and access points to Antequera during the viceregal era. The restoration process, which lasted more than five years, was characterised by the application of 16th century construction methods, passed down through the generations among regional experts, including craftsmen, labourers, carpenters, stonemasons and blacksmiths. Once the interventions were completed, the history of the prominent San Hipólito Mártir, with its heyday in the 17th and 18th centuries, was consolidated. The architectural complex was bifurcated: a religious area, consisting of the main temple and the Chapel of the Rosary, and the Museum of the Cultures of Oaxaca, composed of fourteen rooms articulated around three thematic pillars: ethnography, history and archaeology, mostly located on the upper floor. On the lower level, former areas such as the Sala De Profundis and the refectory have been reconfigured as travelling exhibition halls. In addition, the site houses a restaurant and an auditorium, the latter set up in the space originally intended for the sewer. The Ethnobotanical Garden of Oaxaca (Hernández Ortega, 2021) was created in the spaces previously dedicated to the orchard.

In 1997, the Mezcal Fair was created, bringing together brands from the State, with the aim of promoting local mezcal brands to tourists, since it is held during the week from Monday to Monday of the Cerro, forming an indispensable part of "Las Fiestas de Los Lunes del Cerro" (The Monday Fiestas of the Cerro). Oaxaca de Juárez increased the number of hotels in all categories from 1997 to 2017.

The most significant actions in highways and roads from 2005 to 2007 were the widening of the Cerro del Fortín to four lanes, and the change in the direction of traffic on the international highway, at the point where it crosses the city: the direction of traffic was redirected from an "English cross", both entrances to Oaxaca.

In 2005, the Landscape Recovery Project for the Zócalo, Alameda de León and the atrium of the Cathedral of the city of Oaxaca began, devised by the State Government through the Institute of Cultural Heritage, INPAC, the Municipality of Oaxaca de Juárez through the General Directorate of the Historic Centre, interventions "based on the political and touristic interests that legitimised them" (Ramírez, 2013: 98), again an intervention of this magnitude is carried out disguised as a local interest, with the supposed intention of disappearing marches and sit-ins that annoyed society.

The governor broke with tradition by decentralising the powers by taking them to another space, and decided to build the Administrative City (2005-2008) and the Judicial City (2007-2010), in the neighbouring municipalities of Tlalixtac de Cabrera and Santa María Coyotepec, generating changes in the lives of the municipality's inhabitants.

"With the removal of the Palace, the legislative exercise of the representatives of the State, the public hearings in which the government faced the demands and needs of the people, the signs of discontent and protest and demanding justice or demanding the discharge of some good or service in a community, no longer has a place to be held" (Ramírez, 2013:99).

Once the Government Palace was vacated, it was modified to house the Palace Museum, the Space for Diversity, tourist events; the official house of the Governor and his family was refurbished in 2009 to be used as the Governor's Hotel, under the 5-star service standard, and as a tourism school, which housed the "Hotel Training Centre of the University of the Sea" temporarily (Ramirez, 2013), as it is currently closed (Ramirez, 2013).

Continuing with the cultural tourism trend, the new Chamber located at Calle 14 Oriente #1 San Raymundo, 71248 Jalpan de Serra (March 2006), is a complex of three buildings, the most outstanding being the Plenary Hall, built with an investment of \$62.1 million in a space of 1738 square metres, the remaining buildings with a cost of \$221 million, privileging monumentality and not functionality, an example of this is the "liaison building" called "glass cube" with an excess of area without defined function and with high maintenance costs (Ramírez, 2013).

Also the headquarters of section XXII of the National Union of Education Workers left the historic centre, with an investment of \$20.9 million, an area of 3101 square metres was fitted out, in Ferrocarril, El Bajío, 71228 Santa Lucía del Camino, Oaxaca, consisting of three levels for administrative offices, the documentation centre, a bookshop, meeting rooms, presses and an auditorium.

In May 2010, the roof of the Guelaguetza auditorium was built to offer comfort to spectators and make the building profitable for other activities, generally artistic, favoring the commercial spectacle over tradition, at a cost of \$60 million. However, it was only used in 2011, because that same year, due to natural causes or lack of planning, the roof was lifted.

With this Ulises Ruiz intended to turn Oaxaca into a "museum city", however, again the inhabitants benefited indirectly from the introduction of basic services, the urban intervention favoured tourist development, violated not only the demonstrations but also the urban space of the city, which is now in dispute between investors, hotel owners, restaurants, protests and artisans.

In 2015, Ciudad de las Canteras: Paisaje cultural de la Verde Antequera was built, an enclosure, in the words of the State Government, "houses part of the memory of the Verde Antequera. Its rocky scree was used to build buildings such as the Cathedral or the Museum of Oaxacan Painters (Mupo)" (Gobierno del Estado de Oaxaca, 2020), in addition to the Cultural and Convention Centre of Oaxaca and the General Archive of the State of Oaxaca. It is worth mentioning that in 2019 it hosted the Mezcal Fair after 20 years of being held in El Llano Park, in addition to a series of conferences, gastronomic encounters and concerts.



Figure 2 Andador turístico del Centro Histórico de Oaxaca

Source: 2 Joaquín Rodríguez P., 16 July 2017, Oaxaca

Under the administration of Alejandro Murat, the General Archive of the State of Oaxaca, AGEO, was inaugurated in 2017, "the urban-environmental project takes advantage of its excellent location. The main function of the Archive Building is to conserve and protect the documentary heritage. For this reason, the areas are distributed on four levels, the first for public activities and access to the documents and the upper levels for the archive's own activities", has won the 2017 Special Award for Innovation in Construction, a prize awarded by the CEMEX Building Award to the best construction and development projects worldwide" (Government of the State of Oaxaca, 2020).

Its architecture has also been a tourist attraction, through tours inside and outside the facilities.

Tourism is an essential element in urban planning that brings with it spatial, social and political transformations of the city that aim to satisfy transnational middle-class tourists with greater capital than those of its original inhabitants (Navarrete, 2019).

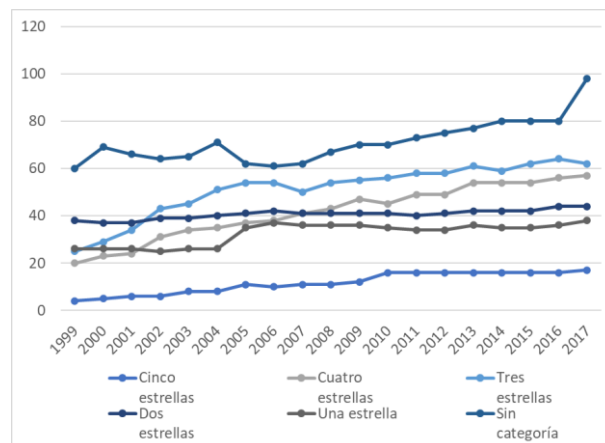
Impacts of tourism in Oaxaca City

Analyzing these phenomena becomes necessary to alert about the possibility of "overtourism" or over tourism, where tourism generates more problems than benefits (Calle Vaquero, 2019), in the following images we can observe the tourist walkway during "El desfile de Delegaciones 2019", national and foreign visitors, as well as locals "enjoying the parade".

Oaxaca was named in 2020 as the best city in the world to travel chosen in the first position of tourist taste worldwide in the Travel+Leisure World's Best Awards 2020, in addition to standing as the best city in Mexico to visit, the aspects that were considered were art, architecture, food, drink, history and crafts, placing the city of Oaxaca and its Historic Centre in the tourism spotlight (INFOBAE, 2020).

Tourism is a snowball that seems impossible to stop, once it has been born it continues to develop and grow, it has rolled everywhere in different ways impacting the way of life of the local inhabitants of the tourist centres.

These changes have been analysed and identified with neologisms such as touristification, patrimonialisation, gentrification, globalisation, which characterise each process. The increase in tourism during the last thirty years is notorious, the increase in flights, the improvement of motorways make it easier for visitors to access, and the infrastructure to receive all this tourism has been built in all these years in the historic centre and the surrounding area. The following graph 5 shows the increase in the number of hotels in all categories:



Graphic 1 Hotels in Oaxaca de Juárez, 1999-2017
Source: Datur, 2021

In addition to the increase in hotel rooms, the emergence of accommodation platforms such as Airbnb, founded in 2008, arrived in Mexico in 2012, changing the dynamics of booking and accommodation, becoming popular in tourist cities, and Oaxaca has been no exception.

Colonia	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023
Centro Histórico	295	312	330	348	359
Reforma	150	160	170	180	204
San Felipe del Agua	120	130	140	150	146
Santa Cruz Xoxocotlán	100	110	120	130	122
La Soledad	90	100	110	120	119
Arboledas	70	80	90	100	101
Candiani	60	70	80	90	92
Cinco Señores	50	60	70	80	83
El Llano	40	50	60	70	74
Ex Hacienda Guadalupe	30	40	50	60	65
Total	1005	1112	1220	1328	1365

Table 1 Reported Airbnb distribution in Oaxaca City

Table 1 includes entire houses as private rooms, distributed in the municipality of Oaxaca de Juárez, Etla and Xoxocotlán, they were considered within this count as they are offered as available places in "Oaxaca de Juárez" due to their proximity to the city, prices vary and depend on factors such as number of rooms, location, proximity to the CH, most are concentrated in the historic centre.

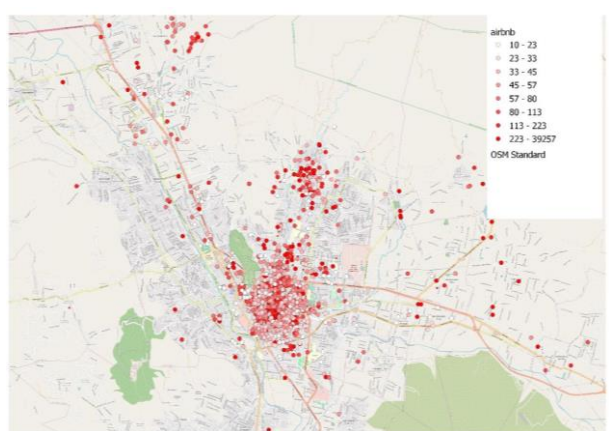


Figure 3 Airbnb in Oaxaca de Juárez distributed by cost, 2023

Source: Airbnb, 2023

In map 2 it can be seen that the prices offered are from 10 dollars, the locations marked in red are the highest price range, however, there is a greater supply concentrated in the historic centre of the city, this is one of the factors why the INEGI in 2020, found several blocks of this same place with less than 10 inhabitants per block, data according to the decline of the municipality to which it belongs, Figure 1.



Figure 4 Blocks belonging to the centre of Oaxaca de Juárez with less than 10 inhabitants

Source INEGI, 2020

Tourism is a snowball that seems impossible to stop, once it has been born it continues to develop and grow, it has rolled everywhere in different directions impacting the way of life of the local inhabitants of tourist centres. These changes have been analysed and identified with relatively new terminologies: touristification, globalisation, patrimonialisation, gentrification, globalisation, to name a few, terms created to make sense of processes that exist all over the world.

Each of these terms has been studied separately, one as a consequence of the other, conditional, interdependent, all with similar underpinnings, all leading to one trigger, the generation of capital. Culture is now a commodity that tourists are willing to buy through experiences, often locals are willing to sell, without realising that culture is commodified by the presence of tourism and new capital.

A further consequence of the presence of tourism is the increase in the value of land. For Hilda M. Herzer, the change in the value of land for housing plays a decisive role, the phenomenon leads to a rise in prices in renovated areas, including a recovery of the symbolic value of urban centres, for this author gentrification can also be described "as a process of social and spatial differentiation" (Herzer, 2008). At present, commercial and housing spaces in the historic centre of Oaxaca are of high cost, in the municipality of Oaxaca de Juárez there is a supply of houses, mostly with residential characteristics and prices in thousands and millions of dollars.

In 2019 Oaxaca registered a 6.53% growth in tourist arrivals, receiving 5 million 367,649 tourists. In the city of Oaxaca, the arrival of foreign visitors increased by 20.26% with a total of 20,715 more people (Gobierno del Estado de Oaxaca, 2021).

The impact of tourism is not only economic, it can be observed in the streets of the historic centre of Oaxaca City, a great offer of hotels, restaurants, galleries, cafes, bars, coffee shops, exchange houses, among other services installed in order to satisfy the needs and desires of tourists who come to this destination. Even the public markets have modified their function with the purpose of obtaining benefits from the visitors.

Tourist activity has also had an impact on the symbolic reconstruction of space. Tourist sites are often constructed and promoted as places of fantasy and escape, and idealised images of these places have been created in popular culture.

This idealised image can have negative consequences, such as the exploitation of local culture and the perpetuation of cultural stereotypes and prejudices (Harvey, 2006), as was found by Carolina Hernández in traditional markets in the central valleys of Oaxaca (2017); within this research we propose to find evidence of the touristification within the MBJM, and the consequences it has had for its tenants, collaborators, authorities, neighbours and Oaxacans.

Each of these terms has been studied separately, one as a consequence of the other, conditional, interdependent, all with similar underpinnings, all leading to one trigger the generation of capital. Culture is now a commodity that tourists are willing to buy through experiences, often locals are willing to sell, without realising that it is changing, it is that culture alone, their own, that is changing because of the presence of tourism and new capital.

Another consequence of the presence of tourism is the increase in the value of land. Herzer the change in the value of land for housing plays a decisive role, the phenomenon leads to a rise in prices in the renovated areas, even a recovery of the symbolic value of the urban centres, for this author gentrification can also be described "as a process of social and spatial differentiation" (Herzer, 2008), currently the commercial and housing spaces in the historic centre of Oaxaca are of high costs, in the municipality of Oaxaca de Juárez there is a supply of houses, mostly with residential characteristics and prices in thousands and millions of dollars.

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Conclusions

The city of Oaxaca has been subject to a profound urban transformation in recent decades, guided by public policies focused on boosting tourist activity.

Interventions in the historic centre have shaped a process of touristification that has had mixed results for the local population. While these measures have allowed for economic revitalisation and a repositioning of Oaxaca as a tourist destination, they have also led to problematic impacts such as an increase in the cost of living, displacement of residents and loss of the socio-cultural identity of the historic centre.

Touristification has reconfigured public spaces and altered traditional commercial dynamics to suit tourist interests. Thus, a tension is generated between these urban policies and the safeguarding of the welfare and rights of local inhabitants. There is an imminent need to critically analyse these tourism-linked urban renewal processes in terms of their multidimensional impacts.

There are ambiguous effects of tourism-oriented urban renewal policies when touristification takes precedence over local needs. A holistic approach is required that balances tourism promotion with the protection of citizen welfare and community identity.

The city of Oaxaca has undergone a profound urban transformation in recent decades, guided by government policies that seek to promote tourism activity through the renovation and enhancement of the historic centre.

These policies have materialised in various interventions such as the remodelling of historic buildings, pedestrianisation of streets, beautification of squares and other public spaces. While these actions have positioned Oaxaca as an important tourist destination, they have also shaped an accelerated and complex process of touristification.

Touristification has brought with it problematic effects for the local population, such as an increase in the cost of living, displacement of native residents, and the progressive loss of the socio-cultural character and identity of the historic centre.

The case of Oaxaca can serve as a reference point for investigating similar problems in other Mexican cities. The ambiguous impacts of putting touristification before citizens' needs. Integral approaches are required that balance tourism promotion with the quality of life of the community.

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