

MITIGATING DISPLACEMENT AND RE-CONNECTING WITH THE CITY



STRATEGIES FOR THE SUSTAINABLE CONSERVATION OF OLD SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO

AUTHORS

Celine Apollon
Alison Carolina Cavicchio
Nilo Teixeira Cobau
Stephanie Rivera Fenniri
Yimin Hu
Wallace Lee Jordan
Hillary Morales Robles
Calvin Tran Nguyen
Verónica Cristina Rosado
Paulina Alessandra Safarian
Tamani Anae Simmons
Linjing Wang

LECTURER

Dr. Eduardo Rojas

EDITED BY

Eduardo Rojas

GRAPHIC DESIGN

Faye Messner

Advanced Topics Seminar-Studio
Urban Regeneration in the Americas
"The Conservation and Development of Urban Heritage Areas
Under tourism-related development pressures"
University of Pennsylvania
Stuart Weitzman School of Design

Philadelphia 2022

The information and opinion contained in this publication are the authors' and do not represent the views of the University of Pennsylvania.

Title Page Image: San Juan, Puerto Rico
Photo: Eduardo Rojas



FOREWORD

The report contains the results of the authors' fieldwork conducted in Old San Juan, Puerto Rico, as part of the Topic Seminar-Studio course on Urban Regeneration in the Americas: The Conservation and Development of Urban Heritage Areas offered jointly by the Programs in Historic Preservation and City and Regional Planning of the Stuart Weitzman School of Design at the University of Pennsylvania during the Spring Semester of 2022. The course explored critical aspects of the rapidly changing urban heritage conservation research and practice field that requires interdisciplinary approaches and methods of intervention. Central among them are the unprecedented challenges emerging from the enlarged role placed on urban heritage by international agreements on equitable and sustainable development. The Sustainable Development Goals adopted by the United Nations (UN 2015) mention intangible heritage's contribution to fostering social cohesion and highlights the material heritage's role in providing communities with a sense of place. The New Urban Agenda (UN HABITAT 2016) lists the social and economic development contributions of inherited buildings, public spaces, and infrastructure that house contemporary activities (economic use-value) and serve as physical platforms for social events and festivities (social value) or religious practices (spiritual value). This expanded conception of the multiple roles of urban heritage was advanced by UNESCO (2011) in the "Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape" (HUL Recommendation) which considers the interconnectedness that exists among the intangible and material forms of urban heritage and advocates for an integrated approach to its analysis and conservation, including its environmental, urban material, and intangible dimensions (Bandarin and Oers 2012, Labadi and Logan 2016). This approach is reiterated and expanded in documents by UNESCO (2016) and UNESCO and World Bank (2021).

Taking as a starting point the growing international consensus on the significant role played by urban heritage in the development of communities, the course analyzed the social, economic, and physical impacts of the growing tourism trade in historic centers listed as UNESCO World Heritage Sites where city governments and investors increasingly use adaptive rehabilitation approaches to put urban heritage to contemporary uses. This approach—while responding to the growing demand for residential, retail, craft production, and office space in historic neighborhoods of cities of all sizes—often conflicts with the interest of urban communities to preserve their intangible and tangible heritage. The ensuing issues are at the cutting edge of the research and practice of urban

heritage conservation, city planning, urban design, and architecture, making their study suited for a multi-disciplinary approach.

The course allowed the master's degree students to individually and collectively explore selected issues confronted by conservationists, urban planners, landscape architects, and architects in turning the urban heritage into a social and economic development resource. The course included three parallel streams of work: lectures, seminar discussions, and a field study, structured in ways that support each other. The lectures introduced concepts and discussed the issues involved in integrating urban heritage in the social and economic development process of communities. The seminar section allowed the students to examine selected issues in the conservation of urban heritage sites concentrating on problems commonly faced by cities in the Global South but retaining a global view. In the field-study section, students were able to pursue their research, planning, or design interests in Old San Juan, the historic center of the city in Puerto Rico whose fortifications are inscribed in UNESCO's World Heritage List and its urban structure is adapting to growing development pressures coming from tourism. While conducting the field work in Old San Juan the students were accompanied by Professor Rodrigo Arteaga of the Jorge Tadeo Lozano University of Cartagena, Colombia, and Miss Isabela Restrepo, Executive Director of the Cartagena Historic Center Foundation and benefited from their experience in studying and conducting advocacy work in a World Heritage Site confronting similar challenges.

The work completed by the students does not intend to be a comprehensive analysis of the challenges and opportunities offered by this remarkable urban heritage area. The main aim is contributing to a conversation about significant issues confronting the urban heritage area of Old San Juan that are not normally discussed, and to provide information and analysis for assigning them a priority in the debate and finding viable solutions.

Eduardo Rojas, Lecturer



Weitzman Students and faculty travel to San Juan, Puerto Rico to conduct fieldwork for this report in the spring of 2022.
Photo: Eduardo Rojas

FOREWORD REFERENCES

Bandarin, F. and R. van Oers. 2012. *The Historic Landscape. Managing Heritage in an Urban Century*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell

Labadi, S. and W. Logan 2016. *Urban Heritage, Development and Sustainability. International Framework, National and Local Governance* London, Routledge.

UN 2015 General Assembly, Resolution 70/1, "Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development" A/RES/70/1 (September 25, 2015)

UN-HABITAT 2016 Conference on Housing and Sustainable Development, Resolution 71/256, *New Urban Agenda, A/RES/71/256* (October 20, 2016), Quito, Ecuador, <https://habitat3.org/the-new-urban-agenda>

UNESCO.2016 *Culture Urban Future: The Global Report on Culture for Sustainable Urban Development* Paris, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0024/002462/246291E.pdf>

----- .2011 General Conference, *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*, 36 C/23 Annex (May 27, 2011), Paris, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0021/002110/211094e.pdf>.

UNESCO and World Bank 2021 *Cities, Culture, Creativity*. Paris, Washington. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation; The World Bank. <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/35621>

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The field research upon which this report is based was possible thanks to the contributions and support of:

Mr. Héctor Berdecía Hernández,
Director General, Centro de Conservación y Restauración de Puerto Rico.

Mr. Pablo Ojeda O'Neill,
President, Centro de Conservación y Restauración de Puerto Rico.

Dr. Raul Santiago Bartolomei,
Assistant Professor at the Graduate School of Planning, University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras.

Mr. José Silvestre and, Mr. Elliot Cruz,
Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña.

Mr. Juan Botello,
Director, Botello Art Gallery, Old San Juan

Mr. Armais Negrón,
Archeologist

Ms. Tamara González,
Head of the Office of Planning, Municipality of San Juan

Ms. Kirsten González Sánchez,
Manager of the Historic Center of San Juan, Municipality of San Juan

Ms. Hilda Teresa Ayala González, Mr. Juan Román, and Ms. Leyda Santiago, Archivo General de Puerto Rico, Instituto de Cultura Portorriqueña (General Archive, Porto Rican Cultural Institute)

Mr. Carlos Rubio Cancela,
Oficina Estatal de Conservación Histórica, Gobierno de Puerto Rico (State Historic Conservation Office, Government of Puerto Rico)

Mr. Nick Quijano,
Practicing artist in Old San Juan

Ms. Margarita Gandia, Ms. Tamara Sosa, and Ms. Coral Bouret,
Asociación de Vecinos del Viejo San Juan (Old San Juan Neighborhood Association)

Ms. Isabela Restrepo,
Directora Ejecutiva (Executive Director), Fundación del Centro Histórico de Cartagena (Cartagena Historic Centre Foundation) Colombia

Mr. Rodrigo Arteaga,
Professor, School of Architecture, Universidad Jorge Tadeo Lozano, Cartagena, Colombia
of Pennsylvania.

ACRONYMS

BID	Business Improvement Districts
CAPM	Corporación Antiguo Puerto Madero
CENCOR	Centro de Conservación y Restauración de Puerto Rico
DDEC	Department of Economic Development and Commerce
DTOP	Puerto Rico Department of Public Works
FEMA	U.S. Federal Emergency Management Agency
FRHC	Fundación Rafael Hernández Colón
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HUD	U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development
ICP	Institute of Puerto Rican Culture
IDC	Industrial Development Company
IP	Internet Products
NLCHP	Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty
MICSUR	Mercado de Industrias Culturales del Sur
NPS	U.S. National Park Service
PRT	Puerto Rico Tourism
SEPTA	Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority
OSJ	Old San Juan
SHPO/OECH	State Historic Preservation Office
SJHCHP	San Juan Health Care for the Homeless Program
SME	Small and Medium Size Enterprises
TDR	Transferable Development Rights
TUF	Tourism User Fees
UBI	Universal Basic Income
USA	United States of North America
WHO	World Health Organization
WTP	Willingness to Pay

CONTENTS

FOREWORD.....	3
ACRONYMS.....	6
PART 1. DISPLACEMENT, LOSS OF DIVERSITY AND ISOLATION: THE CHALLENGES OF OLD SAN JUAN	8
OLD SAN JUAN: IN THE BEGINNING OF THE COLONIZATION OF THE AMERICAS.....	8
OVER TOURISM: A BLESSING AND A CURSE?.....	14
PART 2. DESIRABLE FUTURES FOR OLD SAN JUAN	19
BALANCING COLONIAL NOSTALGIA AND CHANGE: PRESERVATION CHALLENGES IN OLD SAN JUAN. A POLICY BRIEF	19
CULTURAL INDUSTRIES: AN OPPORTUNITY TO RE-CONNECT OLD SAN JUAN WITH THE CITY	24
EXAMINING TOURISM AS AN ECONOMIC AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY FROM NATIONAL, REGIONAL, AND LOCAL PERSPECTIVES.....	31
VULNERABILITY AT HOME: ADDRESSING THE INVISIBLE AND PERVASIVE VULNERABILITY AND INSECURITY ISSUES IN OLD SAN JUAN.....	35
CAPACITY BUILDING MODELS FOR ARCHITECTURAL CONSERVATION AND HISTORIC TRADES	44
PART 3. OPPORTUNITIES FOR MATERIALIZING DESIRED FUTURES	51
A NEW CULTURAL CORRIDOR, BRIDGING OLD SAN JUAN CULTURES WITH PEOPLE.....	51
MANAGING SOUND IN PUBLIC SPACES	59
REDEVELOPING UNDERUSED AND DECAYING WATERFRONT, FROM LA PUNTILLA TO CANAL SAN ANTONIO: THE OPPORTUNITY FOR RE-CONNECTING OLD SAN JUAN TO THE CITY.	66
PART 4. A SIMILAR CASE	77
THE HISTORIC CENTERS OF SAN JUAN AND CARTAGENA: A COMPARISON OF THEIR PRESENT SITUATIONS	77
BOXES	
UNESCO CRITERIA FOR LISTING LA FORTALEZA AND SAN JUAN NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE IN PUERTO RICO.....	11
BAIDAI XIAOLOU: THE “LITTLE RED HOUSE” IN SHANGHAI, CHINA.....	27
THE PALACE MUSEUM, BEIJING, CHINA	28
HOMELESSNESS: HISTORY AND DEFINITIONS.....	36
POLICY RESPONSES IN TOURISM AREAS: THE CASES OF HAWAII AND PUERTO RICO	42
INFORMALITY	45
CASE STUDIES OF THE ESCUELA TALLER MODEL: CUBA, PUERTO RICO, AND MOROCCO	49
CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS IN OLD SAN JUAN	53
A POLYPHONY OF CHANGE:MANAGING SOUND IN PUBLIC SPACES OF HISTORIC CITY CENTERS	61
FINANCIAL TOOLS AVAILABLE FOR FINANCING WATERFRONT REDEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS	68
BUENOS AIRES: PUERTO MADERO.....	71
THE URBAN REGENERATION OF ORTYGIA, SYRACUSE, ITALY	73

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Puerto Rico and the Antilles	10
Figure 2: Puerto Rico Island	11
Figure 3: San Juan urban area	12
Figure 4: The Fortress	13
Figure 5: The Islet	14
Figure 6: Old San Juan and the Islet	14
Figures 7-8: Examples of domestic architecture	15
Figures 9-10: Examples of civic and religious architecture	15
Figures 11-12: Public space and part of the fortresses	15
Figure 13: Cruise ships berthing at Old San Juan Piers	17
Figure 14: Traffic and pedestrian congestion in the narrow street of Old San Juan	19
Figure 15: San Juan, Plaza de la Barandilla	23
Figure 16: Puerto Rico's gross domestic product (GDP) by economic sector	25
Figure 17: Puerto Rico: Contribution to Percent Change in Real GDP	27
Figure 18: Throsby's Concentric Circles Model	28
Figure 19: Baidai Xiaolou (La Villa Rouge), Shanghai, China	29
Figure 20: Vinyl Workshop, Baidai Xiaolou (La Villa Rouge), Shanghai, China	29
Figure 21: Maboneng Precinct, Johannesburg, South Africa	31
Figure 22: In Sichuan, China, Women Flexible Employment Association	32
Figure 23: National Park Service specialists restoring the exterior of the Castillo San Felipe del Morro	33
Figure 24: A dedicated room for preservation efforts	34
Figure 25: The monument is dedicated to the successful fending off a Dutch military attack	34
Figure 26: Plate motioning the early conflict between Spaniards and the Tainos of Borinquen (Puerto Rico)	35
Figure 27: The plan is to extend the path along the north section of the islet	35
Figure 28: A map of the 2019 homeless census report	37
Figure 29: La Perla	41
Figure 30: Geographic distribution of homeless in Puerto Rico	45
Figure 31: Informal labor and vulnerable groups. Percentage of Informal Employment by gender and age.	46
Figure 32: United Nations, Women in Informal Employment	48
Figure 33: The chart on Conservation Training Models, Actors, and Beneficiaries	48
Figure 34: Sustainable Livelihood Framework Diagram	49
Figure 35: Demographics and representation of women in Escuela Taller	50
Figure 36: Map and Charts of Escuela Taller locations	51
Figure 37: Photo of Students at Gaspar de Melchor de Jovellanos ET in Habana Vieja, Cuba	52
Figure 38: Escuela Taller Students in Puerto Rico	52
Figure 39: Images of Morocco's UNESCO Global Network of Learning Cities	52
Figure 40: There are few local craft persons and producers in Old San Juan	54

Figure 41: The facilities of many public cultural institutions look underutilized	54
Figure 42: Key land uses in Old San Juan and the location of de la Luna and San Francisco Street	55
Figure 43: Current building uses, street level	56
Figure 44: Current building uses, upper levels	56
Figure 45: Plan of the Cultural Corridor in the existing urban structure	57
Figure 46:Reconnected public space through the corridor	57
Figure 47: Abandoned building at number 53 Calle San Jose, San Juan, 00901, Puerto Rico	58
Figure 48: Tentative adaptive reuse programming for “A Home for Artisans,”	58
Figure 49: Street section	58
Figure 50: Multisector cooperation for implementation	59
Figure 51: Governance and capital interactions	60
Figure 52: Platform Interactions	60
Figure 53: Location of the public spaces analyzed	61
Figure 54: Average dB in Old San Juan across four case studies	62
Figure 55: Average Peak dB in Old San Juan across four case studies	62
Figure 56: Tourists’ accounts of the most prominent noises in Quito.	63
Figure 57: Signage on the eastern perimeter of Plaza Colon	64
Figure 58: Signage on the eastern perimeter of Plaza Colon and Existing conditions	65
Figure 59: Existing conditions (top) recommended changes (bottom) to Plaza de Armas.	66
Figure 60: Old San Juan and the Isleta	68
Figure 61: Master Plan for “San Juan, The Walkable City”	69
Figure 62: Puerta de Tierra and the Waterfront states of underutilization and decay in 2022	71
Figure 63: Puerto Madero in the early 20th Century	73
Figure 64: Waterfront Redevelopment Past Proposals	74
Figure 65 : Ortygia, Syracuse, Italy.	75
Figure 66:T-Mobile Entertainment District	76
Figure 67: Old San Juan Urban fabric satellite image and Proposed Redevelopment Strategies	76
Figure 68: Diagram of the recommended structure for the Waterfront Redevelopment Corporation	77
Figure 69: San Juan, Plaza de la Barandilla	79
Figure 70: Cartagena, Plaza del Ayuntamiento	79
Figure 71: Where are the tourism profits going?	83
Figure 72: No a McDonald’s	84

1 DISPLACEMENT, LOSS OF DIVERSITY AND ISOLATION: THE CHALLENGES OF OLD SAN JUAN

OLD SAN JUAN: IN THE BEGINNING OF THE COLONIZATION OF THE AMERICAS

Eduardo Rojas

Old San Juan (OSJ) is on an Islet connected to the main island of Puerto Rico by bridges on the eastern side and is one of the oldest cities in the Western Hemisphere. The historic center of OSJ is on the west side of the Islet and walled in on three sides. Fort Cristobal protects the eastern side of the island while Fort El Morro protects the western side. The tourist port of OSJ is in the southern part of the Isleta and in addition to the piers, it contains commercial and tourist shops, and restaurants. The northern area of OSJ is mainly comprised of residential developments.

The Spanish settled San Juan in 1521 and the island evolved from a frontier community to become an important Spanish outpost and port until the United States of North America (U.S.) annexed Puerto Rico in 1898 at the end of the Spanish-American War. Old San Juan retains magnificent examples of Gothic, Renaissance, Baroque and Mannerist style architecture that gives testimony to the four centuries of development that shaped its historic built environment. Today, OSJ is a bustling hub for tourism although it is experiencing a decline in population that resides in the historic center, estimated in 2022 as comprising of 5,800 inhabitants down from 7,000 in 2010.

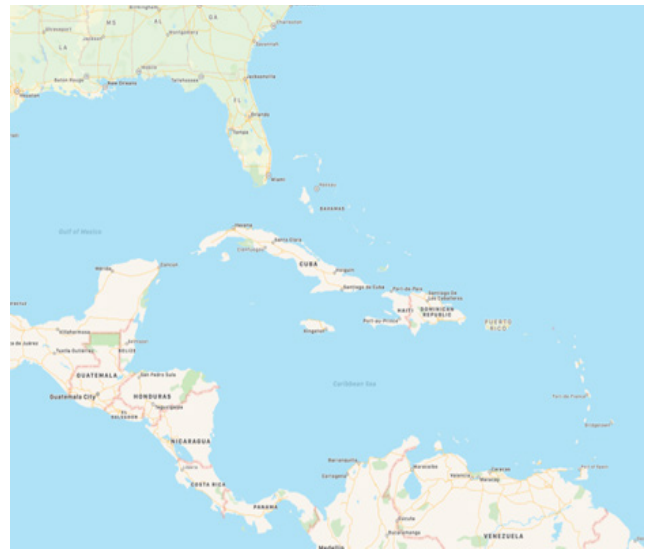


Figure 1: Puerto Rico and the Antilles
Source: Google Maps

PUERTO RICO, A BRIEF HISTORY¹

Puerto Rico is an island that together with Cuba, Hispaniola, and Jamaica form part of the Greater Antilles. With a total area of 3,515 sq. miles, the island is home to 3.3 million inhabitants. Since 1952 Puerto Rico is a Free-Associated State (Commonwealth) of the United States of America (USA). In 1898 Puerto Rico became an Unincorporated Territory of the U.S. after four centuries of Spanish Colonial rule. In 1952 the United States Congress approved a new constitution for Puerto Rico, thus establishing the Estado Libre Asociado de Puerto Rico (Commonwealth of Puerto Rico) and defining its status within the United States of America.

1. This section is based on the text "A primer on the history of Puerto Rico" by Professor Anibal Sepúlveda, City Planner and Historian, former faculty member of the Department of Urban Planning of la Universidad de Puerto Rico (UPR), included in the 2022 Syllabus of "The Toa Baja, Puerto Rico Studio" led by D. Gouverneur, LSAR y CPLN, University of Pennsylvania, School of Design. Additional information was taken from Wikipedia https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Puerto_Rico.



Figure 2: Puerto Rico Island
Source: Google Maps

The island of Puerto Rico has an almost rectangular shape, measuring 100 miles from east to west and 36 miles from north to south. The dominant trade winds blow from the northeast to the southwest. The interior of this land mass is mountainous, extending in an east-west direction. The rivers with greater flows descend from the mountains and irrigate the northern coastal plain (called the Northern Valley), reaching the Atlantic Ocean. The rivers that descend towards the southern coastal plain (the Southern Valley) are more numerous and discharge into the Caribbean Sea. The southern coastal plain is drier, and wider geographic conditions influenced the different periods of economic activity, population growth, and urban form.

Puerto Rico—originally populated by the indigenous Taíno people—was one of the first territories to be occupied by Spain in the New World and became a key location to launch its exploration, conquest, and colonization. For almost four centuries, San Juan and its fortifications played a strategic role in securing transatlantic crossings for Spanish Armadas. Spanish rule led to the displacement and assimilation of the native population, the forced migration of African slaves, and bought into the island Spanish settlers primarily from the Canary Islands and Andalusia. The city of San Juan established by Ponce de León in 1521 is the third oldest capital city in the Americas after Santo Domingo in the Dominican Republic founded in 1496, and Panama City, in Panama, founded in 1519. Early in the Spanish colonial period the lowlands were used for large-scale sugarcane plantations; later, coffee and tobacco were introduced in the mountains.

The development of San Juan—as was the case of La Havana in Cuba, Cartagena in Colombia, and Veracruz in Mexico—was marked by its role in the defense and protection of Latin America riches, and trade with Spain leading the metropolitan power to invest resources and

deploy military engineers to build fortresses and walls to secure navigation and trade between the Americas and Europe. Spain held Puerto Rico until the end of the 19th century when it was annexed by the United States at the end of the Spanish War in 1898. In the early 20th century Puerto Rico had a military-occupation government that constructed military bases throughout the island and attracted American investors, who in a short period transformed the island into a huge sugarcane plantation under the control of a few large companies. Between the 20th Century World Wars, Puerto Rico modernized with infrastructure and services that improved quality of life including railways, tramways, roads, aqueducts, hospitals, schools, and cinemas.

The first half of the 20th Century saw efforts to obtain greater democratic rights from the United States, including the granting of USA citizenship to Puerto Ricans in 1917, the right to elect their own Governor in 1947, and the status of Estado Libre Asociado (Commonwealth) by the 1952 Constitution. In the second half of the 20th century, the U.S. government, together with the Puerto Rico Industrial Development Company (IDC), launched economic projects to develop Puerto Rico into an industrial high-income economy. To date, the main driver of Puerto Rico's economy is manufacturing attracted by tax exemptions (primarily pharmaceuticals, petrochemicals, and electronics), followed by the service industry, mostly tourism and hospitality that was fueled by the tropical climate, proximity to the USA mainland, the friendly nature of Puerto Ricans and their rich culture. These developments stimulated income growth allowing Puerto Ricans to aspire to an “American way of life,” which includes owning a house and living a modern lifestyle (mostly suburban and car-oriented) a change in tastes that led to rapid urban growth.

Developments in the first decades of the 21st century stressed the weak public financing structure of the Commonwealth that is full of tax exceptions that reduce the capacity of the government to provide services and

infrastructure. A noticeable example is the challenges faced by the Commonwealth Government to reconstruct infrastructure and restore services after natural disasters like the hurricanes, Irma and María in 2017, that seriously damaged the power grid, aqueducts, and roads. The growing government debt and failed economic development and austerity policies, compounded by recurrent natural disasters, led the Federal Government to impose on the Commonwealth an Oversight Control Board designated by the U.S. Congress. The restrictions imposed by the Board led to reduced public services and diminished employment opportunities that have fueled the outmigration of the more educated sectors of Puerto Rican society. It is estimated that between 2006 and 2016, over 500,000 Puerto Ricans left the island and since the hurricanes in 2017, at least 200,000 more did the same. The 2020 Census indicates that the population of Puerto Rico was just over 3.3 million a 11.8% reduction in a decade. Lately, a growing concern is caused by one of the consequences of the economic downfall, the purchasing of land by foreign investors, which is turning resident Puerto Ricans into cheap providers of labor to outsiders.

THE OLD SAN JUAN AND THE ISLET

The population of the Metropolitan Statistical Area that includes San Juan and the municipalities of Bayamón, Guaynabo, Cataño, Canóvanas, Caguas, Toa Alta, Toa Baja, Carolina, and Trujillo Alto, has 2.6 million inhabitants representing about 80% of the population of Puerto Rico. In 2020 the population of the municipality of San Juan was just over 320,000 or 10% of the total of the Commonwealth and experienced a reduction of almost 60,00 inhabitants, representing 16% of its population in relation to the results of the 2010 Census (US Census Bureau 2022).

The San Juan Islet (Isleta de San Juan) marked in red in Figure 3 is a 1-square-mile island in the San Juan Bay connected to the mainland by a causeway and bridges. It contains several heritage sites including the fortifications of La Fortaleza, Castillo San Felipe del Morro, Castillo San Cristóbal and San Juan de la Cruz (El Cañuelo)



Figure 3: San Juan urban area
Source: Google Maps

registered on UNESCO’s World Heritage List in 1983; the San Juan National Historic Site that includes the fortifications and Old San Juan, the newer neighborhood of Puerta de Tierra, and the locations of several government buildings.² The Islet contains the largest concentration of material heritage of Puerto Rico and is host to a variety of expressions of the intangible heritage. The urban structure of Old San Juan is strongly conditioned by geography, the islet being a little more than 2.6 miles long and 0.3 miles wide and with variations in height from almost a few feet above sea level in the port area to almost 100 feet at the Castillo de San Felipe del Morro. Adjusting to these conditions the city founders traced straight streets forming square and rectangular blocks around two squares containing the main public buildings. The fortification of the city in the 17th and 18th centuries restricted the horizontal expansion of the city to the East section of the Islet. The residential vernacular architecture adjusted to these conditions through the construction of row houses ventilating directly to the street through balconies and mid-doors, or to inner courtyards. The first developments outside the fortifications (“extra muri”) in the La Perla neighborhood are probably from the mid 18th century. The development of the West part of the Islet, the Puerta de Tierra is from the late 19th century and early 20th century, after the West section of the walls were demolished in 1897.

In the early 20th century several projects impacted the Islet, including the construction of commercial piers, the establishment of a new business district in the harbor side, and the construction of buildings related to the emerging political and economic structure (Casino de Puerto Rico, House of Spain, Puerto Rican Atheneum, Tropical Medicine School, US Weather Bureau, American Red Cross). Old San Juan suffered from overcrowding during this period, promoting urban development on the mainland that began in earnest in these years. The focus of urban development moved to the periphery, and Old San Juan underwent a process of change towards a center of services and lately (since the 1950s) as a tourist attraction. This is one of the explanations why Old San Juan and the Islet are losing population faster than the city. The 2022 population is estimated at just over 5,800 inhabitants (3,200 households), 1,200 fewer inhabitants than in 2010, a loss of over 17% that is part of a sustained over-20-year trend. (ZIP-CODES.com 2022).

RECENT TRENDS

Since the 1950s the government of Puerto Rico has considered Old San Juan an important resource for

2. Box 1 contains a summary of the UNESCO’s considerations in listing the fortifications in the World Heritage List

BOX 1:

UNESCO CRITERIA FOR LISTING LA FORTALEZA AND SAN JUAN NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE IN PUERTO RICO

Eduardo Rojas

THE UNIVERSAL VALUES OF THE WORLD HERITAGE SITE

Inscribed in the WHRL under Criterion (vi): “La Fortaleza and San Juan National Historic Site outstandingly illustrate the adaptation to the Caribbean context of European developments in military architecture from the 16th to 20th centuries. They represent the continuity of more than four centuries of architectural, engineering, military, and political history.

La Fortaleza, along with the later fortifications of Castillo San Felipe del Morro, Castillo San Cristóbal and San Juan de la Cruz (El Cañuelo), and a large portion of the original San Juan City Wall, were built between the 16th and 20th centuries to protect the city and the Bay of San Juan. They are characteristic examples of the historic methods of construction used in military architecture over this period, which adapted European designs and techniques to the special conditions of the Caribbean port cities. La Fortaleza has served as a fortress, an arsenal, a prison, and residence of the Governor-General, and today as the seat and residence of the Governor of Puerto Rico.

The fortifications, which retain the general appearance of advanced 18th-century defense technology, clearly illustrate both a transfer of technology from Europe to America over a long period and its adaptation to the topography of a strategically significant, yet complex coastal site. Reflecting Italian Renaissance, Baroque, and French Enlightenment designs, the defenses express successive techniques and technologies in fortification construction. The varied examples of military architecture from the 16th to 20th centuries in the fortifications of San Juan are evidence of the imperial struggles that defined the development of the Americas. As one of the first and one of the last of the numerous seats of power in Spain’s American empire, these structures are now potent symbols of the cultural ties that link the Hispanic world.

GOVERNANCE OF THE WORLD HERITAGE SITE

Formal agreements are in place for cooperative management of the property between the Government of Puerto Rico and the National Park Service. Guiding documents include a General Management Plan (1985), a Long-Range Interpretive Plan (2006), an Alternative Transportation Plan, and various interpre-



Figure 4: The Fortress
Source: Eduardo Rojas

tive plans for waysides and exhibits for the San Juan National Historic Site. The Commonwealth government has committed to compiling current practice into a formal management plan for La Fortaleza. A new visitor center established in 2002 at Castillo San Cristóbal allows for improved public access and there are plans to further enhance information for visitors and reduce traffic.

Sustaining the Outstanding Universal Value of the property over time will require completing, approving, and implementing a general management plan for La Fortaleza; continuing to apply appropriate conservation measures aimed at protecting vulnerable materials, including at the San Juan del la Cruz fort and Castillo San Cristóbal outworks; and managing urban encroachment near the City Wall.

Source: UNESCO <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/266/>



Figure 5: The Islet
Source: Google Maps

economic development and tourism. This development model has propelled a series of urban problems such as mass tourism, the displacement of residents out of the historic center, and the rapid deterioration of its historical infrastructure. In the early 2020s, the combined effect of the economic crisis and the high public debt that justify the strict austerity measures, added to the significant loss of infrastructure and houses after the passage of Hurricane Maria, continue to impair the development of Old San Juan. Because tourism is the most viable trade, its full exploitation contributes to the abuse and mismanagement of the cultural heritage of the historic city in the name of economic development.

For more than two decades the buildings and public spaces of Old San Juan have been feeling the pressure of tourism and related activities. Responding to the continuous growth of short-term visitors and day-visitors from cruise ships, profitable commercial establishments linked to the hospitality industry (restaurants, bars, entertainment establishments) displace local merchants and traders while also, profitable short term accommodations displace residents. Old San Juan today is the zone with the fourth most short-term rental properties in Puerto Rico. More than 1,000 properties operated under this format are occupying 24% of the available dwellings. Only Rincón, Miramar and Isla Verde beat OSJ in this respect (La Perla del Sur 2019). Tax incentives offered by the Federal Government under Law 60 (exception of capital gains taxes for new wealthy individuals) attract new residents to the island, many of whom acquire properties in the Old San Juan. Facilitating tourism ranks high in the government priorities in managing the historic center as is shown by the large proportion of public space devoted to cars and handling cruise ship passengers.

The intensive use of the public spaces, roads, and infrastructure is not matched by adequate expenditure in operation and maintenance contributing to its dete-



Figure 6: Old San Juan and the Islet
Source: Google Maps

rioration and decay. However, in Old San Juan it is not uncommon that heritage buildings remain abandoned or underutilized. Several factors are at play: growing maintenance costs, emigration and poor succession laws, the economic crisis affecting Puerto Rico for more than a decade; or speculative strategies of owners waiting for an economically convenient offer for the properties.

GOVERNANCE³

It can be argued that the above-described imbalances between use and carrying capacity in Old San Juan are in part the result of a disjointed structure of governance for the heritage area and the Islet. The governance structure also has not been able to take advantage of the opportunities that may emerge from a coordinated development plan or management of Old San Juan and the rest of the Islet. Administratively, the Isleta del Viejo San Juan is under the care of three entities that manage and have authority over the heritage of the city. These are the Territorial Government of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Autonomous Municipality of San Juan, and the U.S. National Park Service.

The built heritage of Old San Juan that includes the Historic Center, belongs to, and is managed mainly by the Territorial Government of the Commonwealth based on legislation dictated by the Legislative Assembly of Puerto Rico. The Autonomous Municipality of San Juan has jurisdiction over public spaces, important monumental buildings, and infrastructure but also shares responsibilities with entities of the Commonwealth including the Department of Transportation and Public Works, the Tourism Company, the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture, the Puerto Rico State Historic Preservation Office, the Ports Authority, Maritime Transport Authority, and the Land Authority, among others. Another part of the built heritage is managed by the San Juan National Historic

3. This section is based on the study by Flores, Ojeda and Berdecía-Hernández 2022.



Figures 7-8: Examples of domestic architecture
Photos: Eduardo Rojas



Figures 9-10: Examples of civic and religious architecture
Photos: Eduardo Rojas



Figures 11-12: Public space and part of the fortresses
Source: U.S. Department of the Interior

Site, a U.S. National Park Service unit managed by the U.S. Federal Government.⁴

REFERENCES

La Perla del Sur 2019 "Informe de Estudios Técnicos revela impacto de Airbnb en Puerto Rico"
<https://www.periodicolaperla.com/informe-de-estudios-tecnicos-revela-impacto-de-airbnb-en-puerto-rico/>

Flores Román, M.F; P. Ojeda O'Neill, and H.J.Berdecia 2022. Patrimonio y Desarrollo Sostenible de las Ciudades. Expositi'on de Caso: San Juan de Puerto

Rico. Taller Interacional 2021 Gestión, Gobernanza y Políticas Públicas.

Sánchez Celada, M. 2021 "Desarrollo Urbanístico del Viejo San Juan, Puerto Rico" San Juan, Boletín de la R.S.G., CLVI 173-201

ZIP-CODES.com 2022 "Census Demographics"
<https://www.zip-codes.com/zip-code/00901/zip-code-00901.asp>
last accessed, January 9, 2022.

US Census Bureau "2020 Census Results"
<https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/decade/2020/2020-census-results.html>

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service 1972 "Old San Juan Historic District", OMB No 1024-0018, NPS Form 10-900

4. The National Park Service jurisdiction is made up of the Fortifications of Old San Juan: Castillo San Felipe del Morro, Castillo San Cristóbal, Fort San Juan de la Cruz (El Cañuelo), and most of the wall belt that borders the Old Town of the City. The Palace of Santa Catalina or La Fortaleza and its section of Wall, and the Fort of San Jerónimo del Boquerón are excluded.

OVER TOURISM: A BLESSING AND A CURSE?

Paulina Safarian and Eduardo Rojas

Old San Juan's economy is increasingly based on tourism. The port of San Juan—a hub for large cruise ships operating in the Caribbean— attracts large numbers of tourists that visit the city while embarking or disembarking. The numbers are augmented by visitors that make short stays in the Historic Center while vacationing in Puerto Rico, attracted by the climate, beaches, and Puerto Rican culture. To date, the impact of tourism activities in Old San Juan is like that observable in other cities that underwent rapid tourism growth, a situation characterized as over-tourism.¹

“Over-tourism” affects numerous cities, many with historic centers included in UNESCO's World Heritage List. Notable examples are European cities like Dubrovnik (Croatia), Venice, Florence, and Rome (Italy), Prague (Czech Republic), Seville and Madrid (Spain) (Amore, Falk, and Addie 2020) and in other latitudes Bali (Indonesia), Cartagena (Colombia) and in the Caribbean, Old San Juan, the object of this analysis. Cruise ship tourism is particularly significant in Old San Juan as its port is a hub for cruise ships sailing the Caribbean.

OVER TOURISM, A MARKET FORCE LEADING TO DISPLACEMENT

The last decade witnessed rapid growth in activities that cater to tourists in Old San Juan. The city has numerous shops that specialize in souvenirs, duty-free, and luxury goods, and the number of restaurants and bars has grown significantly. The hospitality industry expanded the supply of hotel rooms and temporary accommodations that operate via apps (like Airbnb).² The growing interest of private entrepreneurs to invest in this sector of the economy was boosted by the tax incentives provided to new investors that have not resided in Puerto Rico in the last 10 years (Law 60).³ The resulting increases in the prices of properties displace traditional residents, neighborhood commerce, and services. The process accelerated the secular loss of population and

economic activities in the historic center initiated by the relocation of the cargo port to the Southside of the harbor. Port-related activities that used to operate along the bayside of the waterfront moved from the historic center while many other central functions that traditionally operated in the historic center (specialized shops, services, and trades) moved to new centralities in the rapidly expanding neighborhoods outside the islet of San Juan.

LACK OF DIVERSITY AND ISOLATION: THE MAIN OUTCOMES OF DISPLACEMENT

The fieldwork conducted by the authors from March 7 through 12, 2022 provided many opportunities to observe the main impacts of this displacement. The loss of diversity in the historic center took different forms including the disappearance of social and economic activities, diversity of residents, and users. Today the center is inhabited by what remains of the old inhabitants, and a few newcomers are attracted by the charms of the place. The economic activities today are dominated by commerce and services oriented to tourism with a constant decline in activities geared to serve residents like local services, retail, gyms, and co-working places, that influence household location decisions, particularly for younger higher-income households who may be considering moving into downtowns. Other services that are of use for inhabitants of the rest of the city, like health, education and government services are also becoming more scarce. There is also a reduction in the diversity of neighborhood social activities as the public spaces are constantly occupied by tourists and short-term visitors leaving little room for residents' gatherings and celebrations.

There are fewer artisans, artists, and creators regularly working in the historic center, a trend that diminishes the diversity of intangible heritage expressions present in Old San Juan. The continued reduction of non-tourism interested social actors diminishes the chances for these activities to recover and grow. There are also fewer cultural and artistic activities in the historic center as the bulk of the potential spectators and customers moved to reside in neighborhoods located on the periphery of the rapidly expanding San Juan Metropolitan Area. To date, it is observable that a reduced set of social actors dominates the activities in the Historic Center. The most numerous are tourists and merchants, entrepreneurs, and employees are catering to their needs.

In later years the effects of the fiscal and financial crisis that the Commonwealth faced exacerbated this trend

1. The United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) defines over tourism as “the impact of tourism on a destination, or parts thereof, that excessively influences perceived quality of life of citizens and/or quality of visitors experiences in a negative way.” (UNWTO 2018 page 4)

2. https://www.airbnb.com/?c=.pi0.pk36239956_25650614176&ghost=true&gclid=CjwKCAjws8yUBhA1EiwAi_tpER4Of0ACx5s20D7_SDGaMwtlBuOi-6072KrlSGBat4YInnNrQL20xoCO_MQAvD_BwE

3. <https://www.ddec.pr.gov/en/puerto-rico-incentives-code/>



Figure 13: Cruise ships berthing at Old San Juan Piers
Photo: Eduardo Rojas

with the loss of government jobs in institutions located in the San Juan islet both in the historic center and in Puerta de Tierra. Additionally, the government's capacity to support new cultural and educational activities that could attract new users and potential residents was reduced.

The described processes led to a reduction of the diversity of social actors directly and regularly using the historic center contributing to the growing isolation of Old San Juan from the rest of the city. As a result, the inhabitants of greater San Juan use the area less and less leading to a gradual but sustained economic and social disconnection of the Isleta from the rest of the city. This negative outcome could be worsened if future development of the empty or underutilized land in Puerta de Tierra follows the pattern of recent years, one that is dominated by the construction of large mono-functional complexes that occupy large blocks of land. This pattern is observable in the recent buildings erected in the East end of Puerta de Tierra, mono-functional real estate developments at the entrance of the Isleta de San Juan that are contributing to the visual and functional disconnect between Old San Juan and the Isleta from the rest of the city.

The loss of diversity is also observable in the economic values observed in the center. The narrow focus of investors and property owners on the highly profitable supply of short-term accommodations limits the diversity of eco-

nomie use values that materialize in the center, thus reducing the opportunities for using adaptive rehabilitation strategies to preserve material heritage. Furthermore, the rapid growth of short-term small apartment accommodations in later years reduces the diversity of building types that are preserved in the center and often endangers the conservation of the physical characteristics that confer their socio-cultural values. Many times, traditional colonial houses are converted into small apartments distorting their typological characteristics and pushing to the limit their carrying capacity. Moreover, the remote management mechanisms used for operating these accommodations do not ensure their proper maintenance. Late 19th-century and early 20th-century apartment buildings are also affected by this trend furthering the loss of diversity in the housing stock of the center. Other building types like early 20th-century department stores, large offices, and industrial buildings are also rapidly turning into small apartments, further contributing to the loss of diversity in the building typologies of the Historic Center and Puerta de Tierra.

A more subtle but no less significant source of loss of diversity is the prevailing narrative of the heritage value of the historic city. The most common narrative—dominated by the views of a few educational and cultural institutions—focuses on the military history of Old San Juan, and the aesthetics of the colonial architecture of

the city (Aponte-Parés, 2019). These values are also at the core of the symbolic value assigned by Puerto Ricans to the Old San Juan. Visits to the fortifications and promenading of the colonial streets dominate the activities of tourists and Puerto Rican visitors to Old San Juan. The reduced role of the social, ethnic, and political dimensions of the evolution of the Historic Center in the dominant narrative diminishes the attractiveness of the historic area for large portions of Puerto Rican society. This trend reinforces the growing perception in Puerto Rico that Old San Juan is a tourist enclave that is losing its authenticity thus holding only an indirect and sporadic interest in their daily lives.

OVER TOURISM, A GROWING CONCERN FOR THE SUSTAINABLE PRESERVATION OF URBAN HERITAGE

According to ECOBNB (2020), the World Tourism Organization predicts that by 2030 the international flow of tourists will exceed 2 billion, the result of a combination of factors. Increased disposable income fuels the demand for leisure travel and the influence of mass culture inclines people to choose destinations based on social media, influencers, television programs, and films. The growing supply of low-cost air flights and the availability of affordable cruise ship vacations allow consumers to choose destinations with greater flexibility. This results in a concentration of visits to highly visible places leading to over-tourism. The best-known case is Venice (Italy) which is visited by about 20 million people a year a number made mostly by day visitors from the mainland and cruise ship tourists.

The economic benefits of tourism are well documented and significant. Many studies reviewed by Rasool, Maqbool, and Tarique (2021) indicate that tourism increases foreign exchange earnings, encourages private investment (and competition may drive local firms toward greater efficiency), alleviates unemployment (tourism activities are labor-intensive), and promotes positive economies of scale, decreasing production costs for local businesses. Studies by the Cruise Lines International Association (CLIA) on the cruise industry's contribution argue that the main sources of direct economic impact on port destinations that are likely to be retained by the local economies include expenditures by cruise passengers on shore, crew-members shore spending, and cruise line purchases at local stores and services. The study also lists indirect impacts of cruise tourism related to the service and government sectors, including local tourism operators, wholesale trade, transport, lodging, restaurants and bars, manufacturing, retail trade, and port taxes, all impacting employment and revenue in port cities (CLIA, 2017).

Data compiled by the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC 2021) indicates that before the COVID pandemic, Travel & Tourism (including its direct, indirect, and induced impacts) accounted for 1 in 4 of all new jobs created across the world, 10.3% of all jobs (333 million), and 10.3% of global GDP (US\$9.6 trillion) and international visitor spending amounted to US\$1.8 trillion in 2019 (6.8% of total exports). The COVID pandemic brought a decrease in the activity of the industry, but recent figures show a growing contribution of tourism to the countries' economies. The data published by WTTC shows that "following a loss of almost US\$4.9 trillion in 2020 (-50.4% decline), Travel & Tourism's contribution to the economy increased by US\$1 trillion (+21.7% rise) in 2021.⁴ In 2020, 62 million jobs were lost, representing a drop of 18.6%, leaving just 271 million employed across the sector globally, compared to 333 million in 2019. 18.2 million jobs were recovered in 2021, representing an increase of 6.7%. Following a decrease of 47.4% in 2020, domestic visitor spending increased by 31.4% in 2021. Following a decrease of 69.7% in 2020, international visitor spending rose by 3.8% in 2021."⁵

According to this source, in 2019 travel and tourism contributed US\$5.17 billion to the economic activity in Puerto Rico, representing 5.0 percent of the island's gross domestic product (GDP). In 2020 (the year of the main impact of COVID-19) the contribution of the sector decreased 66.4 percent to \$1.74 billion during the 2020, pandemic, representing 1.8 percent of Puerto Rico's GDP. Employment numbers in the island's visitor economy also saw a big decrease from 99,700 jobs in 2019 to 85,900 in 2020. This represents a loss of 13.9 percent of jobs in the sector. These impacts were also felt in other Caribbean destinations. The fieldwork by the authors gathered anecdotal evidence of a growing tourism activity in Old San Juan fueled by the resurgence of the cruise industry and growing demand for short-term accommodations in the historic center that is promoting private investment in the adaptive rehabilitation of heritage properties for short term rental managed through platforms like Airbnb.

IMPACTS OF OVER-TOURISM ON THE HISTORIC FABRIC OF OLD SAN JUAN

The results of the observation of the impacts of tourism in Old San Juan undertaken by the authors during their

4. In 2019, the Travel & Tourism sector contributed 10.3% to global GDP; a share which decreased to 5.3% in 2020 due to ongoing restrictions on mobility. 2021 saw the share increasing to 6.1%. (WTTC 2021).

5. Ibid.



Figure 14: Traffic and pedestrian congestion in the narrow street of Old San Juan
 Photo: Eduardo Rojas

fieldwork coincide with observations conducted in other urban heritage areas around the world and synthesized by The Conservation (2018:3)

“The international cruise industry, for example, delivers thousands of passengers daily to destination ports. While comparatively little is returned to communities, cruise activity creates physical and visual pollution. City residents also bear the cost of tourism growth. As cities transform to cater to tourists, the global travel supply chain prospers. This coincides with increasing property speculation and rising costs of living for local communities. Airbnb, for example, has been accused of reducing housing affordability and displacing residents.” Congested streets and public spaces, deteriorating street pavements, and the absence of commerce and services catering to residents were evident. There are also numerous empty heritage buildings, some directly abandoned, a phenomenon that knowledgeable sources attribute to speculative behavior on the part of owners that are waiting for convenient offers for their properties from investors linked to the tourism or financial-related activities favored by the tax exemptions mentioned before.

The authors of this report did not find studies measuring the extent of the over-tourism problem in Old San Juan. It would be of interest to conduct an empirical analysis of the multiple dimensions of the phenomenon, possi-

ble with methodologies like those used by Amore et.al (2020) that measure four dimensions of the problem in “tourism precincts” defined as “a distinctive geographic area within a larger urban area, characterized by a concentration of tourist-related land uses, activities and visitations” (page 15). The dimensions are the total number of overnight stays per relevant tourist area in km²; the number of museum visitors per population of the tourism precinct; the average annual change in total nights for a given period and, foreign nights per population of the tourism precinct. The authors argue that “the number of overnight guests and the number of museum visitors ... measure the level of tourism pressure, while the growth rate of overnight stays reflects the dynamics” (page 16). Absent quantitative information about the extent and impacts of over-tourism in Old San Juan, the authors based their recommendations on the information and conclusions obtained by direct observation.

The intensive use of public spaces, roads, and infrastructure is not matched by adequate expenditure in operation and maintenance contributing to its deterioration and decay. In contrast with the intensive use of private buildings and public spaces, in Old San Juan it is not uncommon that heritage buildings remain abandoned or underutilized. Several factors are at play: growing maintenance costs, emigration and poor succession laws, the economic crisis affecting Puerto Rico for more than

a decade; or speculative strategies of owners waiting for an economically convenient offer for the properties.

It can be argued that the above-described imbalances between use and carrying capacity in Old San Juan are in part the result of a disjointed structure of governance of the heritage area and the Islet. The governance structure also has not been able to take advantage of the opportunities that may emerge from a coordinated development planning and management of Old San Juan and the rest of the Islet (Flores, Ojeda, and Berdecía-Hernández 2022).

A significant element of the analysis conducted in Old San Juan pertains to the current state and development trends in the Puerta de Tierra district of the Isleta. In addition to accommodating significant government institutions, parks, and sports facilities of metropolitan importance, the area still retains the remains of old industries and warehouses linked to the old commercial port with a significant proportion of the land and buildings abandoned or underutilized. The area represents a significant opportunity to address some of the urban development problems of Old San Juan, particularly its growing isolation from the rest of the metropolitan area. Recent developments in Puerta de Tierra appear to follow short-term views about the development of the area a trend that may jeopardize its future contribution to the sustainable development of Old San Juan and the Isleta.

REFERENCES

- Aponte-Parés, L. "The Imperial Gaze: Tourism and Puerto Rico-A Review Essay" *CENTRO JOURNAL* 31:1 103-141
<https://go.gale.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE%7CA589698002&sid=googleScholar&v=2.1&it=r&linkaccess=abs&issn=15386279&p=IFME&sw=w&userGroupName=anon%7Eb99c9efb>
- Amore, A., M. Falk, and B.A. Adie 2020 "One visitor too many: assessing the degree of over-tourism in established European urban destinations" *International Journal of Tourism Cities* 6:1 pp. 117-137
<https://doi.org/10.1108/IJTC-09-2019-0152>
- CLIA 2017 "Contribution of cruise tourism on the economies of Europe" Cruise Line International Association
- Flores Román, M.F; P. Ojeda O'Neill, and H.J.Berdecia 2022. *Patrimonio y Desarrollo Sostenible de las Ciudades. Expositi'on de Caso: San Juan de Puerto Rico. Taller Interacional 2021 Gestión, Gobernanza y Políticas Públicas.*
- Jamie M. Chen, James F. Petrick, Alexis Papatthanassis, Xinjian Li, 2019 "A meta-analysis of the direct economic impacts of cruise tourism on port communities" *Tourism Management Perspectives* 31 pp. 209-218
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tmp.2019.05.005>.
- ECOBNB, 2020 "Over tourism: Causes, Consequences, and Solutions" *Ecobnb.com*
<https://ecobnb.com/blog/2020/02/overtourism-causes-consequences-solutions/>
- Rasool, H., Maqbool, S. & Tarique, M. 2021 "The relationship between tourism and economic growth among BRICS countries: a panel cointegration analysis." *Future Business Journal* 7:1
<https://doi.org/10.1186/s43093-020-00048-3>

The Conversation 2018 "Over tourism: a growing global problem" *The Conversation*, electronic article published July 18, 2018
<https://theconversation.com/overtourism-a-growing-global-problem-100029>

UNWTO 2018 'Over tourism'? Understanding and Managing Urban Tourism Growth beyond Perceptions United Nations Madrid, World Trade Organization, Centre of Expertise Leisure, Tourism & Hospitality; NHTV Breda University of Applied Sciences; and NHL Stenden University of Applied Sciences
<https://www.e-unwto.org/doi/pdf/10.18111/9789284420070>

World Travel and Tourism Council 2021 Economic Impact Report
<https://wttc.org/Research/Economic-Impact>

2 DESIRABLE FUTURES FOR OLD SAN JUAN

BALANCING COLONIAL NOSTALGIA AND CHANGE: PRESERVATION CHALLENGES IN OLD SAN JUAN. A POLICY BRIEF

Alison Carolina Cavicchio and
Hillary Morales Robles

This section of the report, presented under the format of a “Policy Brief”, critically examines existing preservation challenges in Old San Juan’s historic urban center—particularly those emerging from the decentralization of the heritage management process among heritage management institutions. The proposals recognize that patchy conservation interventions have not fixed the problems generated by over-tourism that is having detrimental impacts on the physical and social fabric of the Islet. Siloed heritage management agencies have created disjointed policies and implementation programs in Old San Juan and the broader Islet. The brief argues for significant multi-dimensional changes in the governance process to ensure the sustainable conservation and regeneration of Old San Juan and areas outside of the Historic District, such as La Perla and Puerta de Tierra, that hold important components of the intangible and material heritage that can enrich the narratives and opportunities for development thus deserving attention as part of comprehensive preservation and development plan for the Islet. The policy brief advocates for a comprehensive inter-agency management plan, including expansion of the historical narrative and material conservation and design guidelines, which would support a cohesive approach that honors a broad range of values.

The revision of the available academic and practice-related literature and the results of the fieldwork conducted in Old San Juan led the authors to suggest the following recommendations.

EXPLOIT THE BENEFITS OF EXPANDING THE NARRATIVE OF PUERTO RICAN HERITAGE.

The narrative of Old San Juan is centered around its Spanish colonial military history. However, Old San Juan

hosts a unique and complex history dating back 500 years, yet the narrative to attract tourists, and conservation priorities, concentrate mostly on the military and colonial architecture components of the material heritage. This is, in part, the result of several governance issues addressed by this Policy Brief.

LIMITED COORDINATION BETWEEN HERITAGE MANAGEMENT INSTITUTIONS:

Old San Juan’s historic urban core is jointly managed by four major cultural and planning institutions: the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture (ICP), the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO/OECH), the National Park Service (NPS), and the Municipality of San Juan. Despite the overlap between these institutions, neither coordination nor a comprehensive heritage management plan addresses regulations, policies, conservation, future planning, and development proposals. All agencies must cooperate, collaborate, and communicate to create a clear vision for the present and future of Old San Juan.

FRAGMENTATION OF SIGNIFICANCE AND VALUES:

The focus on a single narrative results in the fragmentation of values and heritage site management. Diversifying historical narratives tied to the physical fabric and including intangible cultural heritage values is critical, including indigenous Taino, African, Spanish, and contemporary heritage from the Puerto Rican diaspora. The current values and conservation efforts are associated with a cultural elite representing a limited number of social actors. The diversification of narratives will catalyze the broadening of social values of heritage and the inclusion of more social actors essential in the meaning and character of a place. In addition, it acknowledges the presence of living communities in the historic urban core, which agencies must reckon with in redevelopment plans. The fragmentation of values is also evident in the division of the historic neighborhoods and districts. Old San Juan, La Perla, and Puerta de Tierra are linked to the larger narrative of the Islet. The division in their management and future development plans reflects the misalignment of what constitutes their significance. If the period of significance expands the narrative that includes the five centuries of history, it will guarantee the preservation of the Islet.

INTERCONNECTIONS BETWEEN INTERPRETATIVE SIGNAGE DESIGN ARE LACKING:

The disconnections among institutions and their management models are also reflected in the lack of coordinated interpretative planning. Interpretative signage design across Old San Juan is inconsistent and incomplete. The signage displays a general, reductive, and revisionist colonial history of the site that does not reflect the complex narratives of a place with 500 years of history. It misinforms and disengages foreign audiences, withholding opportunities for gaining a deeper appreciation for the unique character of the old city. Most of the signage is currently displayed in some plazas such as the Plaza Colón, monuments, the National Park Service Heritage Sites, and new projects by the SHPO in the Cuartel Ballajá. Overall, the lack of interpretive planning across institutions is a missed opportunity to serve as a cohesive wayfinding tool and marketing tool to broaden heritage destination sites.

REVENUE MODELS IN SUPPORT OF CONSERVATION WORK:

As a chain reaction, the revenue models supporting conservation practices are another missed opportunity of disconnected management. To extend the life and use of a heritage site, a conservation management plan is required. Historic buildings, landscapes, public spaces, and monuments' maintenance and repairs are expensive, which requires the exploration of economic revenue models for its sustainability. In Old San Juan, the National Park Service is one of the few institutions that has implemented a tourist entry fee of \$10 at El Castillo San Felipe del Morro and El Castillo San Cristóbal. Other sites, such as the Casa Blanca Museum, managed by the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture (ICP), have an entrance fee of \$3. Other buildings run by the ICP, such as the Cathedral of Old San Juan and the San José church, which is one of the oldest churches in the Western Hemisphere, have no entry fee. Heritage sites that receive a high percentage of visitors, who impact the deterioration of historic places, are not receiving revenue for their maintenance. These inconsistencies are detrimental to the sustainability and longevity of sites exposed to hyper-tourism, and the agencies must prioritize the implementation of revenue models for conservation efforts.

INDETERMINATE DESIGN GUIDELINES:

The only guidelines in use as a preservation and redevelopment management tool in Old San Juan are the Reglamento Conjunto 2020 (Joint Regulation 2020). These guidelines were created by the Planning Board of Puerto Rico and are addressed in chapter 10 as Con-

servation of Historic Resources.¹ Despite being a set of regulations, they are indeterminate and lead to open interpretation by private developers and homeowners. Some examples are indications of minimum height, massing, facade alterations, floor additions, paint colors, etc. In the case of new construction, some interventions differentiate from the original fabric. In other words, these regulations are not specific to the Old San Juan historic district nor the conservation of building typologies and historic material specificity and compatibility. The creation of specific design guidelines for the Old San Juan historic district would not only protect the physical fabric but retain its character and provide proper guidance in future interventions of the historic center.

PROTECTING AND RETAINING THE HISTORIC FABRIC

Analysis of material conservation on the islet is also a critical component of preservation management. The fieldwork focused on issues in three areas, including the Old San Juan Historic District, La Perla, and the fortifications. Puerta de Tierra is also an important part of the history of islet and is included in these recommendations though it was not a focus of the fieldwork reported in this section

FORTIFICATIONS:

The fortifications are the primary focus of conservation efforts on the islet. The National Park Service maintains the fortifications to preserve Old San Juan's history as a fortified military city and the largest Spanish fortification in the United States.² Maintenance includes using compatible materials for cleaning and repairs, lest the fortifications are repaired with incompatible materials which would ultimately compromise structural stability. The National Park Service is actively removing previous cement repairs and stabilizing and consolidating the fortified walls with lime mortar.³ While maintenance of the fortifications is important, the physical fabric in other parts of the city is suffering and neglected as the fortifications are prioritized.

OLD SAN JUAN HISTORIC DISTRICT:

One of the most striking observations in Old San Juan is the number of buildings whose original fabric is left ex-

1. Junta de Planificación, "Reglamento Conjunto 2020", https://www.municipiodebayamon.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/Reglamento-Conjunto2020-Vigencia-2-Enero2021_low-res.pdf.

2. U.S. Department of the Interior: National Park Service, Foundation Document Overview: San Juan National Historic Site, <http://npshistory.com/publications/foundation-documents/saju-fd-overview.pdf>

Pablo Ojeda O'Neill, Interview by Alison Cavicchio, March 9, 2022, Old San Juan, Puerto Rico.

3. Pablo Ojeda O'Neill, Interview by Alison Cavicchio, March 9, 2022, Old San Juan, Puerto Rico.



Figure 15: San Juan, Plaza de la Barandilla
Photo: Eduardo Rojas

posed. Additionally, the design guidelines allow for alterations and repairs to be done in cement, and setbacks are only required to be ten feet from the original facade.⁴ These allowances degrade the character of the city from all angles, including aerial and rooftop views. The design guidelines also do not guide colors, materials, or scale required for repairs, leading to a wide color palette, incompatible materials used in restoration efforts, and incompatible scale in new development. For example, repairs to original cobblestone are done with cement fill rather than new cobblestone or even brick. Additionally, there is no clear inventory of buildings or defined building typology throughout the city. Regarding traffic patterns, the City Planning office noted that there is a height and massing restriction on cars that are allowed to drive in Old San Juan and claimed that most drivers in the city are local. Yet in traversing the city during the field visit the streets are overrun with traffic via tourism, not residents, and oversized trucks and cars are allowed to drive on the narrow cobblestone streets.

La Perla is one of the earliest informal settlements in Puerto Rico, dating to the 18th century. It is located outside of the city walls, with a unique style and history. The built environment in La Perla is in varying states of disrepair and neglect, with the beach used as a dumping ground for construction projects. Additionally, locals still associate La Perla with a negative stigma as a dangerous, unwelcoming place. Despite this, La Perla is attracting tourists and unchecked new development

as is evident by the informal bars and signage along the waterfront, and the construction of the “Boxing Bullies” warehouse.⁵ Without any protections in place, there is a great risk that the built heritage and social history of La Perla will be eroded and ultimately lost to hyper-tourism and new development.

PUERTA DE TIERRA: Puerta de Tierra was nominated as a national register district in 2019.⁶ It sits adjacent to the Old San Juan Historic District yet is rarely mentioned in the context of history and development on the islet. Unchecked development demeans the area’s sense of place and the stories of local architects and residents who are an important part of Puerto Rico’s contemporary history.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE PROGRESS

The lack of an inclusive historical narrative and implementation of an appropriate and comprehensive preservation plan for the islet, including the Old San Juan Historic District, La Perla, and Puerta de Tierra, has had significant impacts on the social and physical fabric. The following recommendations are prioritized for action in an order that will most benefit the residents and visitors to the islet. The four main cultural and planning entities in Old San Juan, the Institute of Puerto Rican

4. Institute of Puerto Rican Culture, Interview Conducted by Alison Cavicchio and Hillary Morales Robles during ICP Tour of Old San Juan, March 9, 2022.

5. Payne, J., “Jake Paul to sell Logan Paul’s Rolex watch to renovate a gym built by his charity,” December 21, 2021, <https://www.sportskeeda.com/mma/news-ufc-news-jake-paul-sell-logan-paul-s-rolex-watch-noble-cause-plans-renovate-gym-built-charity>.

6. “El sector Puerta de Tierra es incluido en el Registro Nacional de Lugares Históricos,” <https://www.geoisla.com/2019/10/el-sector-puerta-de-tierra-es-incluido-en-el-registro-nacional-de-lugares-historicos/>.

Culture (ICP), the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO/OECH), the National Park Service (NPS), and the Municipality of San Juan, should prioritize inter-agency coordination to effect change. The identification of a range of values and social actors that inform significance, and the creation and implementation of a comprehensive preservation management plan, will expand the narratives of heritage and protect the social and physical aspects that influence placemaking.

DIVERSIFICATION OF NARRATIVES THROUGH THE INCLUSION OF INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE VALUES:

Diversifying the narratives of Puerto Rican heritage in San Juan can be enhanced by expanding and understanding the broader set of values that inform heritage. Values are the qualities represented by historic fabric and communicate the importance of a site in a social context. As values are inherently different for different people, a values exercise is a critical tool used by preservationists to identify economic, aesthetic, symbolic, spiritual, social, use, historic, and authenticity values that are associated with a site by a range of stakeholders. By doing this the city can serve a broader set of social actors and narratives outside of the elite, tourists, and colonial history. The Burra Charter Process, including understanding significance and values, developing policy, and management following policy, provides an excellent framework that can be adapted to many contexts.⁷

PREPARE A COMPREHENSIVE INTER-AGENCY PRESERVATION MANAGEMENT PLAN:

The development of a management plan is a critical tool. This can include defining priorities, resources, responsibilities, timelines, and implementation actions for the range of both institutional and community stakeholders involved.⁸ Ultimately the management plan will allow for coordination across the four heritage management agencies in Old San Juan, and coordination with community groups and other social actors.

PREPARE PRESCRIPTIVE CONSERVATION AND DESIGN GUIDELINES FOR OLD SAN JUAN, LA PERLA, AND PUERTA DE TIERRA:

Revisions to the existing guidelines should include specific parameters for rooftop design and appropriate materials for repairs and restoration. Additionally, regu-

lations for alterations and new construction are critical to protecting the unique architectural styles in all three districts. Respect for the existing fabric and repairs made with character-defining elements in mind is critical to maintaining the islet's built heritage. Including La Perla as a "contributing" resource of the Old San Juan Historic District and incorporating the historic district of Puerta de Tierra in the comprehensive preservation plan and associated design guidelines will protect the heritage of the broader islet.

IMPLEMENTATION OF INTERPRETIVE PLANNING IN HISTORIC AREAS:

A comprehensive interpretive plan that includes La Perla, Old San Juan, and Puerta de Tierra is an opportunity to unite the whole islet. Interpretive planning is a cohesive wayfinding tool that has the potential to direct masses to various heritage sites and decrease the high congestion in common tourist destination areas. It can also serve as an educational tool by having an inclusive interpretation of Puerto Rican heritage and intangible heritage values. Lastly, the development and implementation of a site-specific interpretive plan will be the foundation of a thematic framework that encompasses all the heritage values and actors of the historic center.

CHANGE REGULATIONS TO REQUIRE CONSULTATION AND INVOLVEMENT OF ARCHITECTURAL CONSERVATORS AND FIRMS, INDIVIDUALS THAT ARE SKILLED IN HISTORIC TRADES:

Enacting regulations that will create a need for conservation trades will help to address material degradation of Old San Juan, La Perla, and Puerta de Tierra. Refining related regulations and design guidelines are critical to effect change and protecting built heritage on the islet and will support the creation of a cohort of working craftsmen via formal opportunities for training in historic trades. Current regulations allow any development, alterations, and construction to take place in the historic center without consultation with a professional architectural conservator and skilled craftsmen. Training in historic trades based on the escuela taller (workshop-based school) model has been successful in other Latin American and Caribbean cities, and can lead to labor opportunities for informal communities, and ultimately will improve the physical and social fabric by creating meaningful community connections to heritage.⁹ Capacity building in historic trades serves to empower informal communities to participate in the reconstruction and conservation of their heritage. Yet, the escuela taller

7. "Practice Note – Understanding and assessing cultural significance," Burra Charter Practice Notes, 2013 <https://australia.icomos.org/publications/burra-charter-practice-notes/#uacs>.

8. Ibid.

9. Cavicchio, Alison, and Hillary Morales Robles, "Evaluating Capacity Building Models for Architectural Conservation and Historic Trades as a Means to Increase Labor Opportunities and Human Capital for Informal Communities," Unpublished manuscript, March 22, 2022.

model cannot be successfully implemented in Puerto Rico until there are regulations in place that create demand for these conservation trades.¹⁰

isolation. Comprehensive site management, interpretive planning, and other regulations must be in unison for WTP to be effective.

ENACT STRICT LIMITATIONS ON CARS IN THE HISTORIC CITY CENTER:

Uncontrolled levels of traffic in the old city are causing serious material and social issues. Streets crowded with cars and narrow sidewalks limit the space tourists, vendors and residents can occupy. Regarding materials, the original cobblestone on the streets suffers from conditions including sagging, displacement, and loss. Calle del Cristo has great significance in the city as the first street in the plan and is seriously deteriorating from the high volume of traffic. Immediate action to limit parking and traffic on streets throughout the historic district, but particularly on those streets with original cobblestone, to residents or business owners on that block would significantly reduce traffic and the associated social and physical problems it causes.

REVENUE THROUGH TOURISM FOR CONSERVATION EFFORTS:

The low-priced and free entry access to significant sites in Old San Juan requires an evaluation to implement economic revenue models for their conservation, maintenance, and sustainability. A potential source of revenue is Tourism User Fees (TUF).

TOURISM-BASED USER FEES AS A CONSERVATION ECONOMIC TOOL:

Since the old city experiences high congestion of tourists and visitors, TUFs are a viable revenue source. The fees will reflect the cost of supplying educational activities and the value of visitors' experience in a significant site. It is a strong economic incentive for site conservation. Some examples are tourism entrance fees where visitors will be charged at the entrance or tourism-based taxes which can be imposed at hotels, airports, and cruise ships.

EVALUATION OF SOCIAL VALUES THROUGH WILLINGNESS TO PAY (WTP) SURVEYS:

To determine the value assigned by visitors to the socio-cultural values of heritage, it is critical to measure if and how much tourists are willing to pay to have access to these values. Often this information is collected through experience-based surveys that document how much users are prepared to pay for an improved condition of the heritage (for instance, well conserved and sustainably managed). In other words, the implementation of WTP as part of cost-benefit analysis cannot be considered in

10. Héctor J. Berdecía-Hernández, Interview by Alison Cavicchio and Hillary Morales Robles, Old San Juan, March 2022.

CULTURAL INDUSTRIES: AN OPPORTUNITY TO RE-CONNECT OLD SAN JUAN WITH THE CITY

Yimin Hy and Linjing Wang

Population loss and aging are important issues afflicting Puerto Rico, especially the exodus of highly educated young people. There are many reasons for the economic downturn in Puerto Rico and the population exodus including the economic crisis, natural disasters, and inadequate government policies. From the perspective of economic development, Puerto Rico’s over-reliance on the service sector is also a long-standing problem, especially in Old San Juan, a drawback that has become more evident under the influence of the Covid-19 pandemic. However, Puerto Rico, and Old San Juan in particular, have an opportunity for future economic development in the global growth of creative industries that rely on the availability of a well-educated and creative labor force, a flexible work environment, and pleasant living conditions offered by a good climate, the presence of heritage urban areas, and the good connectivity services. The development of creative industries (commonly known as the “orange economy”) offers Old San Juan the opportunity to add a new and highly productive role in the San Juan Metropolitan Area in addition to its current role as a tourism hub. The orange economy can be used as an effective approach to deal with the obstacles that Old San Juan is facing—social and economic isolation from the rest of the city and the Island—and growing specialization in a few services industries with limited linkages to the social and economic development of Puerto Rico. The proposals advanced in this section are grounded in different perspectives, economic, artistic, architectural, and cooperative, whose development would benefit from support from various stakeholders. The comparative evidence indicates that as social, technological, and economic change continues to unfold, the orange economy will play a crucial part in Puerto Rico, especially in Old San Juan.

THE INDUSTRIAL STRUCTURE AND GDP DEVELOPMENT OF PUERTO RICO

Puerto Rico’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP) by economic sector shows that manufacturing, services, and tourism have become the pillars of the Puerto Rican economy. According to DDEC (Department of Economic Development and Commerce)’s Economic Development Plan, Puerto Rico’s priority-development industries are Life Sciences, Knowledge Services, Tourism, Small and

Medium Size Enterprises (SMEs), which correspond to the top three sectors of Puerto Rico’s GDP.¹ Real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) expanded from 2012 to 2014 before turning down in 2015 and continuing to decrease through 2018. The growth from 2012 to 2014 was mostly accounted for by exports. Exports of goods grew significantly in these years, especially pharmaceuticals, organic chemicals, medical and scientific equipment, and appliances. The largest decline in real GDP over the period was in 2017, reflecting the widespread impact of Hurricanes Irma and Maria on the export of goods, private inventory investment, and personal consumption expenditures (also referred to as consumer spending).² In a nutshell, Puerto Rico relies heavily on manufacturing, tourism, and services. Even though a significant quantity of life science and technology industries are concentrated in Puerto Rico, their role is mostly manufacturing centers with higher labor skills. Hence, there is a high developmental potential for the orange economy.

1. DDEC—ECONOMIC ROADMAP: The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico
 2. DDEC: Prototype Gross Domestic Product for Puerto Rico, 2012–2018, <https://www.ddec.pr.gov/en/enprototype-gross-domestic-product-for-puerto-rico-2012-2018>.

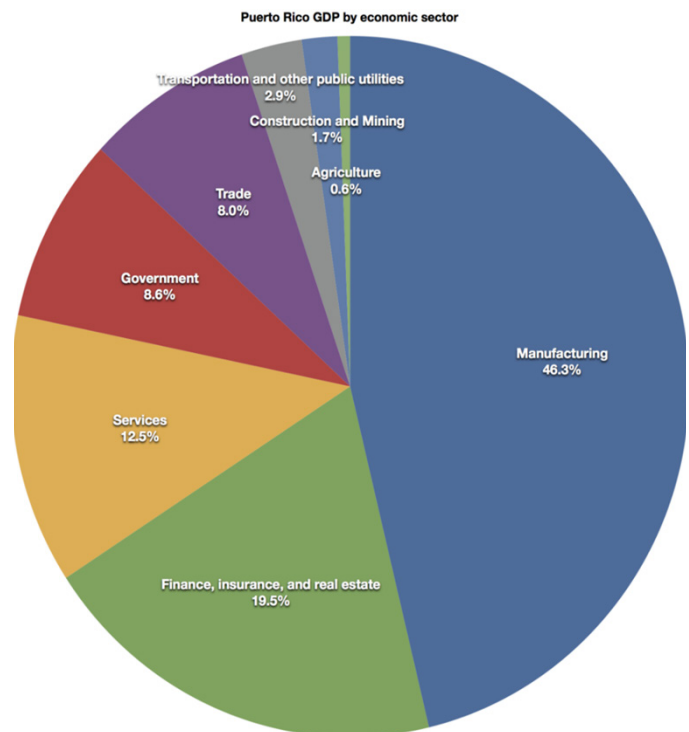


Figure 16: Puerto Rico’s gross domestic product (GDP) by economic sector
 Source: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Puerto-rico-gdp-by-sector.png>

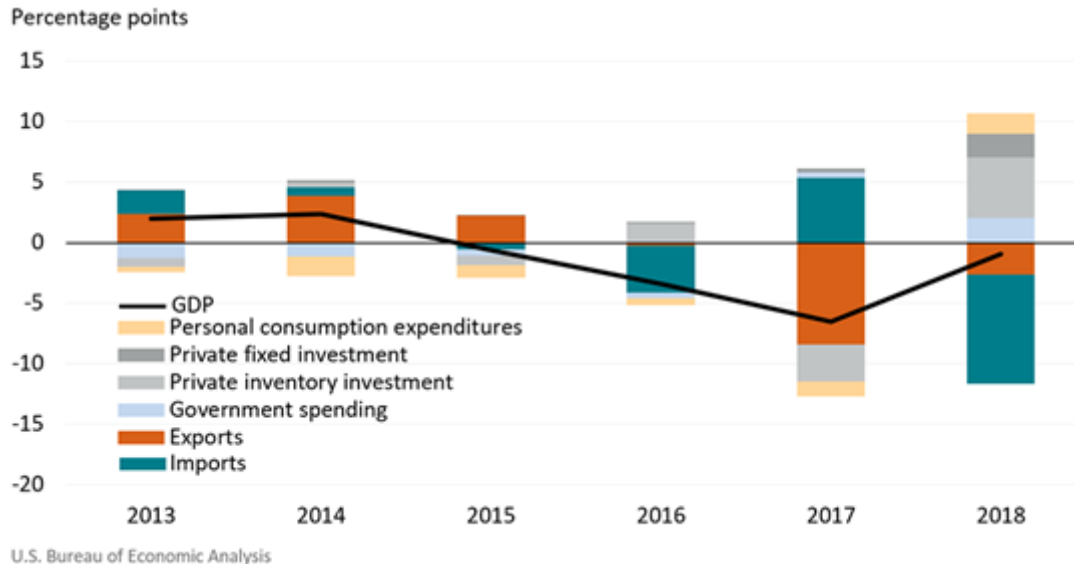


Figure 17: Puerto Rico: Contribution to Percent Change in Real GDP
 Source: DDEC: Prototype Gross Domestic Product for Puerto Rico, 2012–2018

THE POTENTIAL FOR DEVELOPING AN “ORANGE ECONOMY” IN OLD SAN JUAN

Puerto Rico is rich in its cultural heritage and history, stemming from a mix of Taino, Spanish, and African traditions. Aside from the tangible heritages that are much more familiar to tourists from home and abroad, the intangible heritage of Puerto Rico deserves equivalent attention and shall provide great opportunities for the development of creative entrepreneurship in the cultural economy. Examples of creative entrepreneurship include movable cultural heritage (paintings, sculptures, coins, manuscripts, etc.), immovable cultural heritage (historic buildings, monuments, archaeological sites, etc.), and underwater cultural heritage.³ The latter entails oral traditions, performing arts (music, dance, and drama), festivals, rituals/social practices, traditional craftsmanship, gastronomy, and so on. Of course, in their nature tangible and intangible heritages are inseparable – for instance, traditional craftsmanship is perhaps the most tangible manifestation of intangible cultural heritage.⁴ The memorial transmission of knowledge and skills involved in handicrafts is no doubt more valuable yet still reliant on the craft products themselves.

Music, painting, and dance are among the most essential and representative types of Puerto Rican culture.

Most dance steps are sync with a specific rhythm and genre, and the music usually shares the same name.⁵ Many different styles are still frequently performed nowadays, including Bomba, Plena, and Salsa. Festivity constitutes another important part of the traditional expression of the country’s culture and heritage. Almost every weekend, there is a festival celebrated around the island.⁶ Involving live performances, local foods, and large-scale parades, each festival is rooted in tradition. Festivals unique to the city of San Juan include Fiestas de la Calle San Sebastian, Festival de Teatro Puertorriqueño e Internacional, and Noche de San Juan. Finally, traditional crafts, such as Vejigante masks and carved figurines of Santos, as well as handicrafts of all kinds delivered by local artisans with personal innovation are all epitome of a combination of tangible and intangible heritages.

The orange economy, a Latin American and Caribbean reference to what is usually called the creative industry, is defined by John Hawkins as the groups of activities through which ideas are transformed into cultural and creative goods and services whose value is or could be protected by intellectual property rights (IPRs).⁷ According to Benavente and Grazzi (2013), these activities consist of three major categories. The first and most pertinent to this paper are traditional and artistic activ-

3. <https://prsciencetrust.org/chip/>

4. <https://ich.unesco.org/en/traditional-craftsmanship-00057#:~:text=Traditional%20craftsmanship%20is%20perhaps%20the,than%20the%20craft%20products%20themselves.>

5. <https://www.discoverpuertorico.com/island/music-dance>

6. <https://www.discoverpuertorico.com/article/annual-festivals-puerto-rico>

7. Public Policies for Creativity and Innovation: Promoting the orange economy in Latin America and the Caribbean, Benavente & Grazzi, 2013, pp7.

ities concerning preserving and transmitting the material and immaterial cultural heritage of a society. This category includes activities such as literature, visual arts, and performing arts. The second component is the creative industry which consists of artistic and functional creations: the former, together with traditional and artistic activities, forms the cultural economy, while the latter, such as video games, advertising, and fashion, is not necessarily closely related to culture. The third is the activities that may provide creative support to traditional industries, such as product/package design and marketing.

Key to the feasibility of the creative economy is the degree of the cultural value of a good or service relative to its economic value. Throsby's Concentric Circles Model clearly shows that traditional and artistic activities, as core creative art forms, are at the center, and the cultural content of which is judged to be relatively high when compared to potential economic value. As the layers extend outwards, in a sequence of creative industry (other core creative industries), functional creations (wider cultural industries), and activities of creative support (related industries), cultural content falls relative to economic value. The closer an industry is to the center, the less economic profit it may engender. Therefore, government intervention, either by regulation or financial support, is usually needed to operate the industries directly related to traditional and artistic activities. No wonder these industries are often judged as "unprofitable" for private corporations, which is untrue and short-sighted with such profit-oriented means of evaluation.

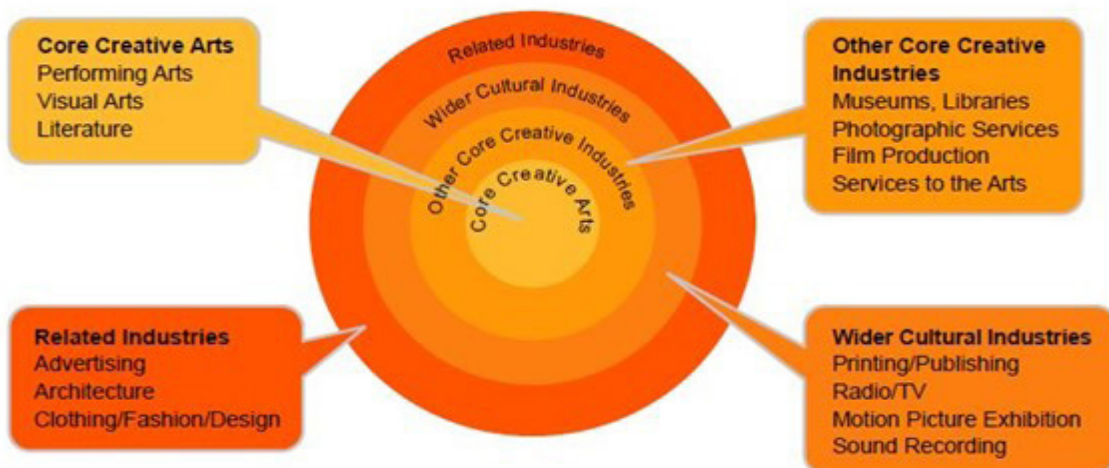
The Orange Economy is proposed to achieve a twofold goal of economically benefiting from the cultural heritage of Old San Juan while preserving, promoting, and

enriching the underlying cultural values of Puerto Rico, through strategies that progressively integrate all ranges of creative industries into the economy of Old San Juan. Several successful examples prove that the creative economy makes direct and indirect contributions to the economy of a country through employment, investment, and productivity growth.⁸ At the same time, as cultural and creative goods usually embody intangible contents in terms of ideas, knowledge, and skills that cannot be easily attained or mass-produced, the worth of the creative economy is much more when cultural value is added to economic gain. Its potential to support countries and regions with a need for transition in the economy and industrial structure to diversify production and exports makes the orange economy a great choice for Old San Juan to deliver more sustainable development from either an economic or social-cultural perspective. Below are the four major strategies we propose based on case studies worldwide.

SYNERGIES AMONG CULTURAL AND RELATED INDUSTRIES

As Throsby's Concentric Circles Model indicates, aside from traditional art forms, a variety of wider cultural industries and related industries that have higher economic potential relative to their cultural values, ranging from printing/publishing and radio/tv to advertising and architecture, can be incorporated to enrich the existing cultural industries while bringing desired economic benefits. The association of built heritage with a specific type of performing art is not uncommon as museums

8. For instance, in Indonesia, the creative economy contributes 7.4% to the nation's GDP and employs 14.3% of the country's workforce: from craft to gaming, fashion to furniture. In the UK, creative industries contribute £101.5 billion to the country's coffers in 2017, growing at nearly twice the rate of the economy since 2010 <https://unctad.org/news/creative-economy-have-its-year-sun-2021>.



Source: Based on Throsby (2008).

Figure 18: Throsby's Concentric Circles Model
Source: Public Policies for Creativity and Innovation: Promoting the orange economy in Latin America and the Caribbean, Benavente & Grazi, pp 27).

BOX 2:

BAIDAI XIAOLOU: THE “LITTLE RED HOUSE” IN SHANGHAI, CHINA

Yimin Hy and Linjing Wang



Figure 19: Baidai Xiaolou (La Villa Rouge), Shanghai, China

The Baidai Xiaolou popularly known as “La Villa Rouge” or “the Little Red House” in Shanghai, China, has been used for multiple purposes after being listed by the Shanghai municipal government as an Outstanding Historical Building in 2005. In 1921, the French EMI Company established the “Oriental EMI Records Company” and its first recording studio in Shanghai was built here. Initiating a history of Chinese record production, this three-story Dutch-style building of brick and wood construction has been home to a number of famous local musicians. “The March of the Volunteers”, later becoming the Chinese national anthem, was composed by Nie Er, written by Tian Han, and finally made into vinyl records there in the year 1935, encouraging all the people throughout the country to courageously fight against the invaders during the war periods. After its renovation in the 2010s and reopening in 2019, other than showcasing music scores and historical documentation alone, the villa put forward a more inclusive and dynamic strategy of the exhibition to seek a higher level of interaction with its audiences.

The first floor of the villa, along with a back garden connected to its colonnaded balcony, is rehabilitated into a Western restaurant with a deliberately designed interior and menu that tend to remind the guests of Colonial Shanghai in the 1920s, generating revenue for the free museum at the same time. Upper floors are divided into a series of studios and workshops where new digital media technologies such as AR (augmented reality) and VR (virtual



Figure 20: Vinyl Workshop, Baidai Xiaolou (La Villa Rouge), Shanghai, China. Vinyl records of all the songs and musical pieces produced here can be listened to and purchased.

reality), combined with theatrical design, are employed to create a highly immersive experience with audio, visual, and experiential effects.

and galleries are exactly the places where the history of the art can be exhibited. However, more innovative, and experiential ways of display combined with other related industries need to be further explored to perform the educational function of the cultural institutes in a more alluring way, thus attracting more audiences and making them fully immersed in both the historic building and the culture embedded in it.

Another important field that may assist the goal of communicating and promoting traditional cultures through cultural institutions, especially museums, is product/packaging design and marketing. Apart from several

international examples with early success such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Museum, the model of the Palace Museum, which is housed in the Forbidden City at the core of Beijing, China, can be the new epitome of museum marketing in this new age of information.

Though not all collaborations and cultural products with museum Internet Products (IP) are guaranteed to be successful, the listed strategies of innovative product design, IP production concerning native culture and history, and +collaboration with related industries can all be examples for existing cultural institutions in Old San

BOX 3: THE PALACE MUSEUM, BEIJING, CHINA

Yimin Hy and Linjing Wang

With an enormous collection of over a million rare and valuable works of art that vividly illustrate more than 4,000 years of traditional Chinese art and represent the identity of the country, the museum has thoroughly made its plan of international brand promotion and marketing through product design and new media since 2010. The marketing and design are key in order to reach a wider audience throughout the country, especially the younger generation who are destined to be the main consumer, while not undermining the sacred mission of the museum as the key national institute of cultural relics protection.¹

Since 2012, the Palace Museum has begun to employ the internet to provide tourists with virtual services. Quickly responding to the rise of social media, the museum established official accounts on digital networking tools such as Sina Weibo and WeChat to help popularize the history of the Forbidden City and the artworks within in an easy and intuitive way that shortens the distance between the institute and the general public. Concluding that the serious homogenization of existing cultural and creative products and the low proportion of originality would definitely hurt the seriousness and professionalism of the museum's image, the museum developed its own cultural and creative industry with the integration of IP development and e-commerce. The first strategy is to define its own "Museum IP" as "an intangible asset that includes all the intellectual property rights owned by the museum."² Cultural products of the museum in the past were focused on historical, intellectual, and artistic quality, thus lacking entertainment, practicality, and interactivity for the mass consumer, especially the younger ones. To solve these issues, in 2013, the museum first solicited product design ideas from

the public through an open design competition, which led to a cross-border linkage with almost all aspects of product design such as beauty and electronic products. Secondary art processing of the conventional "IPs" such as the cartoon images of the Qing emperors made a great hit and the launching of the online shop "Forbidden City Taobao" (Fig. 6) on Taobao.com, the Chinese online shopping platform, expanded the accessibility of the cultural products. In 2017 alone, the museum launched some 10,000 types of cultural and creative products, through a mixture of self-managed ventures, cooperative deals and brand licensing, earning revenues of more than 1 billion RMB (\$155 million).³ In 2016, upon the 600th anniversary of the Forbidden City, a documentary titled "Masters in the Forbidden City", that recorded how a group of conservation experts relentlessly work on the restoration of cultural relics throughout decades, was premiered on China Central Television channel and attracted widespread attention from the general public. After its huge success, the movie version was also released, further fostering the popularity of museum IPs throughout the country while making great economic profits.

1. <https://en.dpm.org.cn/>

2. <https://www.voguebusiness.com/fashion/how-china-has-turned-museum-relics-into-big-business>

3. <https://www.voguebusiness.com/fashion/how-china-has-turned-museum-relics-into-big-business>

Juan to learn from. Furthermore, it is the combination of urban infrastructure with restored heritage, new cultural provision, and creative industries development that forms the bedrock of successful projects.⁹

INFRASTRUCTURE AND AMENITIES

The basics of the physical and built environment—planning, vacant land reuse, amenities, housing, and utilities – still matter and the reasons are obvious. First, a better physical environment can leave visitors with a safer and more comfortable impression, improving their evaluation of a place. Second, it also means creating a better living space for residents so that the locals have more faith in their community and the city. Third, high-quality city space has a bigger attraction to potential investors, which is beneficial to long-term development. So, improving the physical environment is to deliver sufficient social, cultural, and community benefits for projects to be successful. This part will be elaborated on three aspects: the rehabilitation of vacant buildings, street and street furniture, and other convenient facilities.

Vacant buildings, which abound in Old San Juan, need to be reused gradually. On the one hand, myriad vacant houses tend to leave people with an impression of depression and lack of a promising future and are not conducive to attracting investors. On the other hand, a prolonged economic downturn exacerbates the process of de-population, which in turn leads to a rise in housing vacancy rates. It's a vicious cycle. Changing this situation requires the government and other social actors to give the region the first round of financial support to gradually utilize the vacant houses and reverse the negative development trend. There are several possibilities for adaptive reuse: culture-related industries, commercial sites, residences, and affordable housing. In some specific locations, such as street corners and houses facing squares, these sites can be transformed into cultural centers, with the ground floor combined with commerce or public space, which can easily create new visual focal points and vibrant gathering places, attracting the attention of tourists while enriching the artistic image of the city.

And in some neighborhoods with a high percentage of residences, the government should also consider introducing affordable housing programs to attract local artists, students who have just started their careers, and relatively poor residents. A higher percentage of permanent residents can effectively mitigate some of



Figure 21: Maboneng Precinct, Johannesburg, abandoned light industrial buildings (warehouses and office space) were purchased and converted into new cultural, commercial, and residential uses, which now become the active center of the community.

Source: Maboneng, Johannesburg Gauteng, South Africa. | © Adamina / Flickr

the community problems caused by short-term rentals, improve community stability and cohesion, and be more conducive to the development of the area. It must be considered that eventually, the adaptive reuse needs to follow the texture of the traditional neighborhood, respect the local culture and customs, and try to avoid gentrification.

It is also necessary to improve the street environment and add street amenities that will enhance the city's quality for both visitors and residents. The first step is to repair broken pavements and improve the pedestrian environment. In the old city area, some streets are more suitable for walking. In that situation, interventions can be introduced to separate pedestrians and vehicles, creating a comfortable and safe walking environment. In addition, the application of a CCTV security monitoring system, street lighting, street furniture replacement, and fiber optic network installation should be considered within the government's capacity.

Finally, to provide a convenient living environment for the residents of the community, the government and other social actors should be aware of the proper allocation of amenities such as hospitals, schools, supermarkets, and gas stations. This can be considered in conjunction with the utilization of vacant houses.

GOVERNANCE AND COOPERATION

The interests of governments and social groups are closely intertwined, seeking cooperation from all interested parties is a pressing need, and establishing

9. Creative and Cultural Industries in Urban Revitalization: A Practice-Based Handbook

a cooperation development platform will greatly promote the development of the orange economy. It also provides ways for different social groups to de-risk the creative and cultural economy through a combination of financing plans, investment channels, and social safety assurance. The advantage of cooperation is manifested in three areas.

The first is to establish a direct or indirect linkage between investors and the creative industries. Platforms to accomplish this objective have emerged in recent years, and they are called “new regional marketplaces.” New regional marketplaces for cultural products help creatives build livelihoods and countries build brands, sparking cultural exchange and integrating economies.¹⁰ These platforms provide people working in creative businesses with plenty of opportunities to showcase themselves through trade fairs and creative design events. Not just concentrating on the indigenous market, these events also open a flood of international opportunities for individual creatives, expanding the influence of the vernacular culture and increasing its international visibility. Similar platforms include Beijing Design Week and MICSUR (Mercado de Industrias Culturales del Sur). MICSUR is a bi-annual event that links South American creative businesses with regional and global buyers. It includes sessions designed to help South American businesses find new suppliers and partners, as well as workshops, talks, and showcases. The event allowed creatives to massively increase their reach, raise their profile, and expand their networks.¹¹ In this type of platform, governments and some associations should play important roles.

On the other hand, people in creative industries also need to communicate with each other and gain mutual support. Essentially, different creative industries have some commonalities, and these artists can better understand each other’s working modes and needs. Thus, establishing a cooperation platform between them is equivalent to creating a scientific and effective communication space for them. The popularity of these physical spaces has galvanized autonomous workers to explore novel ways to collaborate for mutual benefits. Through spreading risks, increasing access to capital, enabling resource sharing, and providing training and upskilling, these new cooperatives are helping diverse professionals with shared values to work in the creative and cultural economy.¹²

Smart and Enspiral are the representatives of this type of corporation. Enspiral is a New Zealand-based sup-

port network for individuals and organizations working on social impact. They collectively decide how to spend the money using facilitated Co-budgeting, nurture a culture of collaborative decision-making and transparent agreements, and share their handbook of processes and agreements with the members.¹³ Except for the help of governments and related association, this type of platform also needs support from some specific companies.

Most importantly, increasing employment opportunities for residents is a great concern to both the government and the community and another benefit of developing the Orange Economy. Rooted in local cultures, the Orange Economy’s best promoters are undoubtedly the local people who are familiar with these cultures, and a large part of the job requires the participation of local people. Providing job coaching and job training for residents is essential to the Orange Economy and a way to keep growing the development force. A centralized platform is needed to develop the relationship between industry and employment, to provide more job opportunities for local people while inheriting traditional culture. Italy, for example, established Guild based in Rome in 1946. The union provides services for the development and inheritance of traditional handicrafts in more than 60 industries, helping people to get a job. Although there are many problems in Guild, its original vision is still worth learning from. In addition, many enterprises or governments open training schools, which also provide opportunities for many people to make a living. Platform Corporatism has obvious advantages for developing the orange economy, but it’s not easy to build these markets, and we need common regional policies and more efforts from different stakeholders to drive them.

13. Enspiral’s website: <https://www.enspiral.com>.



Figure 22: In Sichuan, China, Women Flexible Employment Association offered many local people knitting craft jobs. Some participants said through this cooperation with the association, many women have strengthened their confidence and determination to engage in handicraft manufacturing and noticed that more people pay attention to the handicraft industry, helping them to achieve income growth.

Source: NEWSSC.ORG

10. Future Landscapes of the Orange Economy: Creative Pathways for Improving Lives in Latin America and the Caribbean, Finley, Maguire, Oppenheim & Skvirsky, 2017.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

EXAMINING TOURISM AS AN ECONOMIC AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY FROM NATIONAL, REGIONAL, AND LOCAL PERSPECTIVES

Trae Jordan and Tamani Simmons



Figure 23: National Park Service specialists restoring the exterior of the Castillo San Felipe del Morro
Photo: Tamani Jordan

Urban areas throughout the world have distinct cultures and heritage specific to their history and customs. Preserving and honoring this culture is critical to maintaining a connection between the residents and their past. Historic centers are also attractors of activities that generate wealth and socio-cultural benefits. This allows communities to uniquely use their historic centers as part of the larger socio-economic development plans. While confronting the urban landscape as a development tool has National and Regional repercussions, it is important to also discuss their impacts on a local scale, the main purpose of this chapter. This section of the report follows the format of a fact-finding report to support a policy proposal.

THE NATIONAL NARRATIVE

The fortifications of Old San Juan—Castillo San Cristobal and Castillo San Felipe del Morro—are a National Historic Site under the care of the United States National Park Service (NPS 2022). These sites are funded and managed by the National Park Service and have been since 1961. Tourism to these old military forts increased dramatically after they were declared part of a World Heritage Site by the United Nations in 1983. These forts stand as historical military installations dating back to

the Spanish colonial period in Puerto Rico. The history of the forts and the island largely revolves around the military presence of Spain, and eventually, the United States in World War II. The National Park Service has restored the historical architecture and created exhibits out of the forts, teaching visitors about the historical significance of the strategic location of the island and what made it so valuable to the world's military powers. The National Park Service has dedicated professionals, employees, volunteers, and federal funding to the preservation of these historical sites. These preservation efforts focused on both physical and heritage efforts. The physical preservation efforts included the architectural details of the forts such as the exterior limestone coating of the troop's quarters.¹ In addition to the physical preservation efforts of the National Park Service, the Federal Government also has dedicated resources to the heritage preservation of the historical sites. The National Park Service has also dedicated certain rooms and exhibits to display the efforts they are taking toward physical preservation. These rooms explain who is involved in the process, the importance of the materials, and how preservationist and architectural experts complete their activities.

However, heritage preservation still mainly focuses on the military aspect and the importance of the forts. This narrative is present in many monuments like the one dedicated to the successful fending off of a Dutch military attack against the Spanish in 1625 on San Juan. The townspeople of San Juan helped Spanish forces to fend off the Dutch, however, the Dutch burned the town down upon their retreat. Though this monument remembers and honors the contribution of the townspeople at the time, it misses the sacrifice they made and how they rebuilt after their homes were destroyed. The National Park Service also has several displays throughout the forts detailing other interactions with and of the local people including displays that briefly mention early con-

1. Visitors and tourists can access both forts for a 2-day admission fee of US\$10. Signage and exhibits are displayed in both Spanish and English, making them accessible to locals and tourists alike. There is an optional audio tour that visitors can take for the sum of US \$6.99.

flict between Spanish forces and the native Taino people of Puerto Rico. In the early 1500s, the Spanish fought and easily conquered the Taino people and then enslaved them. The Spanish also enslaved African natives and brought them to the island. These enslaved individuals did much of the hard labor of working in the stone quarries and constructing the forts. Over the centuries of Spanish rule as the population of Puerto Rico continued to grow, some Puerto Ricans began to seek their independence from Spain. In the 1800s there were revolutionary movements that did not make much headway against the Spanish military. The Spanish did not take these movements lightly and used the forts to imprison those fighting for their freedom. The National Park Service also has displays describing how life changed for Puerto Ricans after the Americans took control of the island in 1898 following the Spanish-American war. It talks about how life for local Puerto Ricans drastically improved and how the presence of the American military helped to bring this island into modern times. This bias shows how the federal government has worked to portray its presence in Puerto Rico as positive and helpful. Though this may not be the full story of what life under American rule was like.

The National Park Service has also instituted some measures to connect their physical and cultural heritage work with community involvement efforts. Through the San Juan National Historic Site, the Santa Elena Metal Conservation Workshop was created to encourage community participation through a volunteer program. The Service also is seeking to partner with local authorities, municipal, and commonwealth, to extend the Paseo del Morro, part of the historic site.

IN THE COMMONWEALTH, THE ACTIVITIES OF THE REGIONAL AND LOCAL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT

On the regional level, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico manages several historic sites including the Museo Casa Blanca (White House Museum), the Ateneo Puertorriqueno, and the ICP Corralon de San Jose. This observation is reinforced by the contents of the Museo de San Juan managed by the City of San Juan which focuses on Puerto Rican heritage and culture.² This included paintings by “Puerto Rico’s Most Famous Painter” Jose Campeche y Jordan. Other exhibitions included pieces from five centuries of artistic representation of San Juan. Given the hours of operation, locations, and lack of seemingly clear marketing efforts, these sites seem focused on teaching the heritage of

2. The Museum also has odd visiting hours, closed Monday and Tuesday and each afternoon for lunch.

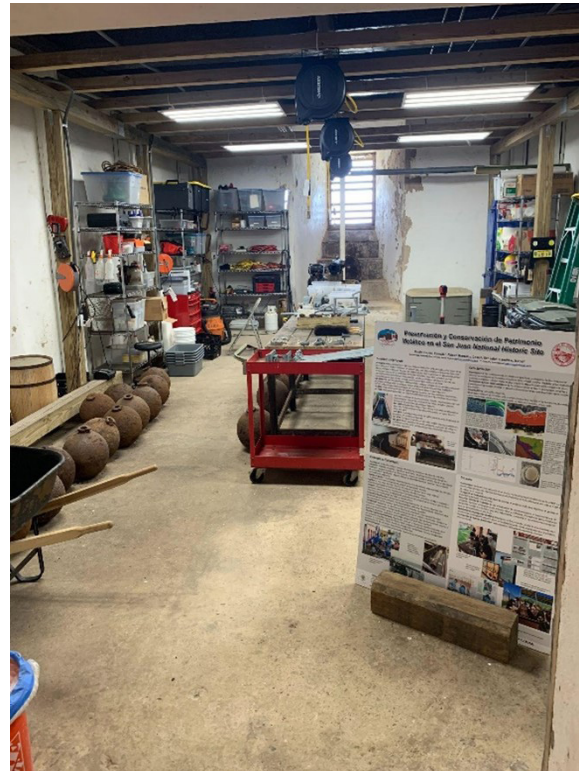


Figure 24: A dedicated room for preservation efforts
Photo: T. Jordan



Figure 25: The monument is dedicated to the successful fending off a Dutch military attack against the Spanish in 1625
Photo: T. Jordan

locals to people who live in the area and do not seem to serve well the tourists. Complementing the contribution that these museums make to the cultural development of residents and citizens of Puerto Rico, the museums can expand their curatorial activities and cultural activities and extend their hours of operation to add paying tourists to their regular visitors. The expansion of these activities could follow the path adopted by the National Park Services in its curatorial and cultural activities in the Fortifications (NPS 2022).

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR

The analysis of a few local privately managed experiences allowed the authors to gain an understanding of the community’s engagement in conserving, enlarging, and disseminating the city’s heritage. There are several tours offered by residents to explore Old San Juan’s architectural heritage by visiting historical buildings. The guides share with visitors the importance of heritage and educate the tourists about the historical environment.³ There are other forms of locals benefiting from the growing presence of tourists, including dance lessons organized by locals in places mostly used by residents. Many began by sharing knowledge and history of Puerto Rico, and the stresses the cultural importance of the dance. The organizers indicated that one of the purposes of hosting at a local place is to draw tourists out of the “touristy” areas, and support local businesses while also preserving the culture.

One aspect analyzed was the disruptions caused by the proliferation of Airbnb rentals in the historic center. Platforms such as Airbnb and related Internet sites have made it easier and more lucrative for landlords and property managers to offer units for short-term rentals reducing the availability of the usual long-term residential rentals required by residents of Old San Juan. The postures on this activity were diverse, some pointing to the loss of affordable housing but others emphasized that the interaction of the local owners with the tourists offers an opportunity to provide the tourists with knowledge about Old San Juan acquainting them with the heritage and history of the city prompting a greater appreciation for the place and its community (Wachsmuth and Weisler, 2018). Notwithstanding these benefits, authorities should establish regulations on the maximum number of units for short-term rental in Old San Juan to control the displacement of residents.

These opportunities are yet to be captured by the

3. The tour guide noted that he was also a student and full-time employee, and the tours provided an additional source of income.

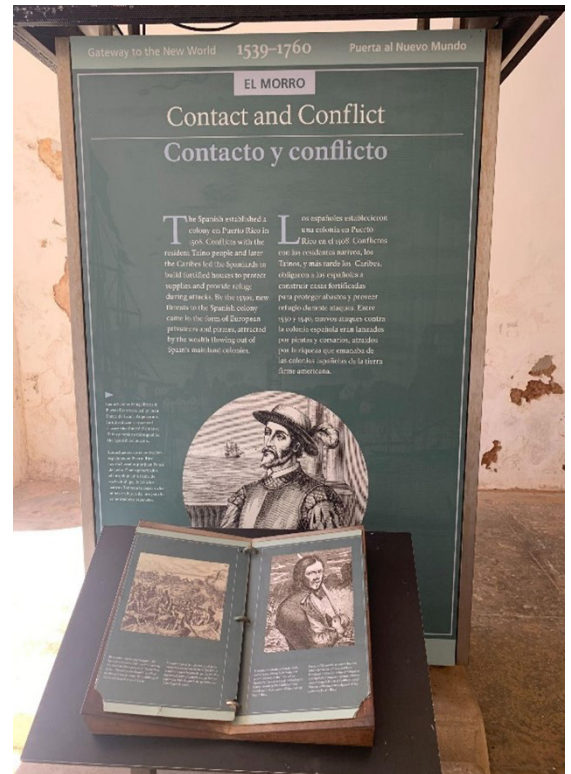


Figure 26: Plate motioning the early conflict between Spaniards and the Tainos of Borinquen (Puerto Rico)
Photo: T. Jordan

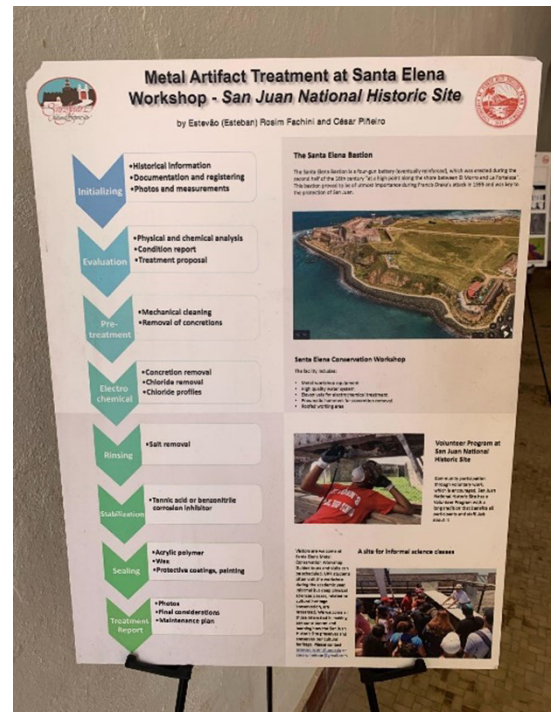


Figure 27: The plan is to extend the path along the north section of the islet and eventually connect it with Castillo San Cristobal
Photo: T. Jordan

government agencies like Puerto Rico Tourism (PRT), which charged with promoting the development of the sector. These activities can be complementary to the successful current efforts to promote open-air markets featuring local crafts and foods. Airbnb experiences can be tailored to promote Puerto Rico's heritage and culture. This can be accomplished by establishing policies that prioritize respect for cultural knowledge, recognize leaders of the community, manage and protect resources, and safeguard the relationship between elder and younger generations.

REFERENCES

D. Wachsmuth, A. Weisler, 2018 "Airbnb and the rent gap: Gentrification through the sharing economy." *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0308518X18778038>
Accessed April 26, 2022.

NPS 2022. San Juan Historic Site, National Park Service
<https://www.nps.gov/saju/index.htm>
(Last visited May 18, 2022)

VULNERABILITY AT HOME: ADDRESSING THE INVISIBLE AND PERVERSIVE VULNERABILITY AND INSECURITY ISSUES IN OLD SAN JUAN

Stephanie Rivera Fenniri and Paulina Alessandra Safarian

TASA DE PERSONAS SIN HOGAR POR MUNICIPIO



Nota: La base son las 2,535 personas sin hogar identificadas.

Figure 28: A map of the 2019 homeless census report that reflects the number of homeless people per 10,000 inhabitants across Puerto Rico's 78 municipalities.

Source: Department of the Family, Puerto Rico.

One of the ubiquitous little-discussed issues afflicting historic centers is the presence of people experiencing homelessness, often referred to as “the homeless.” This section of the report addresses this aspect of life in urban heritage areas and advances proposals structured under the format of a policy brief tailored for Old San Juan. The analysis focuses on the homeless and other populations experiencing chronic and episodic states of financial and housing insecurity and vulnerability stemming from pervasive physical and mental health instabilities. In the analysis, consideration is taken of the fact that the term “homelessness” is an extensive concept that defines various forms and stages of social vulnerability streaming from numerous social and economic factors. These considerations—in addition to the relative invisibility of homelessness and vulnerability in the discussions about Old San Juan—make this issue worth investigating.

The territory under the jurisdiction of the San Juan Municipality serves as the backdrop and living space for an estimated 2,300 individuals experiencing homelessness or 27 percent of the total estimated homeless popula-

tion in Puerto Rico (8,500 persons).¹ A closer look at the responses present in Old San Juan reveals a common pattern with other municipalities combating homelessness in a manner that fails to address the deeper systematic issues perpetuating this pervasive problem. The private sector—especially businesses relying on tourism for their profits—responds in both positive and negative ways when addressing homelessness. Often too large of an issue for the state to handle alone, there are instances in which some businesses take a more involved step to mitigate and solve problems of chronic homelessness in urban cores. In most cities, the non-profit sector is often the provider of services that the public sector cannot fully deliver. The proposals of this policy brief are grounded in the fact that homelessness is an omnipresent and covert social issue that does not exist in a silo, but instead affects urban spaces and how people experience historic centers and cities. The document, in addition to discussing the many dimensions

1. “Municipality of San Juan, San Juan Health Care for the Homeless Program | National Health Care for the Homeless Council.” Accessed April 11, 2022. <https://nhcc.org/municipality-of-san-juan-san-juan-health-care-for-the-homeless-program-2/>.

BOX 4: HOMELESSNESS: HISTORY AND DEFINITIONS

Stephanie Rivera Fenniri and Paulina Alessandra Safarian

Homelessness poses a persistent challenge throughout both the developing and developed worlds. Scholars have spent decades conducting extensive research to study the definitions, causes, and issues that face homelessness in cities. The categories typically discussed under the more extensive umbrella term “homelessness” include living on the streets or in shelters, living in dwellings that are considered inadequate housing, and patterns of housing insecurity such as overcrowding or excessive cost burden. To understand the contentious topic of homelessness, we first need to define terms and explore historical trends. According to the Oxford Encyclopedia of Social Work, homelessness is formally designated by the United States government as to when a person “lacks a fixed, regular, and adequate nighttime residence, and if they sleep in a shelter designated for temporary living accommodations or in places not designated for human habitation.”¹

Housing insecurity represents the much larger problem of hidden homelessness. The most recent global survey of countries estimates that more than 1.5 percent of the world’s population lacks basic shelter, while as many as one in five people experience housing insecurity.² Given the ongoing impact of climate change, war/civil unrest, and global economic uncertainty at this rate, numbers will continue to increase. Most of the statistics about homelessness come from Europe or Northern America, while in the developing world, less than a handful of countries track this part of the population. Because of this, there is a lack of statistical information about people without shelter that must be addressed and a lack of efficient data collection methods to estimate and categorize people experiencing homelessness.

The latest global survey by the United Nations estimated over 100 million homeless people in the world in 2005. Habitat for Humanity has shown that 1.6 billion people, more than 20 percent of the world’s population, lived in “inadequate shelter” in 2015.³ That same year, the Institute of Global Homelessness developed a Global Framework for Understanding Homelessness on a Global Scale. This Framework aims to define homelessness in a way that oscillates seamlessly between the Global North and South. The Framework consists of three areas of consideration to determine who may be understood as an individual who lacks access to inadequate housing. The first consideration is the “security domain,” which includes having the legal title to occupy housing, the practical likelihood of eviction, the power to exclude others from the space, and the ability to meet rent or mortgage costs. The second consideration is the “physical domain,” about quality questions like durability, weather protection, basic amenities, freedom from infestation and pollutants, safety, and overcrowding. The third consideration is the

“social domain” and refers to opportunities to enjoy social relations as culturally appropriate and the protection of oneself and possessions from other occupants. If any of these considerations or “domains” are violated, an individual may be considered as lacking access to inadequate housing.⁴ After understanding this conceptual model, the Framework then creates three broad categories of people who may be understood to be experiencing homelessness:

1. People without accommodation
2. People living in temporary or crisis accommodation
3. People living in severely inadequate and insecure housing⁵

Dr. Suzanne Speak, a professor of Architecture and Planning at Newcastle University, explains that “the main driver in the developing world is poverty, especially a failure of rural livelihoods and lack of rural services and opportunities, coupled with the opportunities offered by booming urban development. Poverty pushes many people to leave their rural homes, initially temporarily, to seek better economic and social opportunities in cities and towns to work send remittances home.”⁶ When thinking about homelessness and housing insecurity, we cannot turn a blind eye to the business of tourism and its impacts. Tourism is a crucial driver of economies for densely populated cities. These urban centers, often historic tourist attractions, take measures to ensure a pleasant travel experience and the presence of visible homelessness is not part of that narrative. With a tourism-focused city comes unaffordable housing, evictions, and economic uncertainty, leading to poverty

4. “IGH Announces the First Global Framework on Homelessness – Institute of Global Homelessness.” Accessed March 21, 2022. <https://ighomelessness.org/igh-announces-the-first-global-framework-on-homelessness/>.

5 “IGH Announces the First Global Framework on Homelessness – Institute of Global Homelessness.” Accessed March 21, 2022. <https://ighomelessness.org/igh-announces-the-first-global-framework-on-homelessness/>.

6. Speak, Dr Suzanne. “The State of Homelessness in Developing Countries Presented to the Expert Group Meeting on “Affordable housing and social protection systems for all to address homelessness” United Nations Office at Nairobi.” (2019).

1. Huffman, Brian. “LibGuides: The Law and Homelessness: Definition.” Accessed March 21, 2022. <https://law-hawaii.libguides.com/c.php?g=421172&p=2875672>.

2. Fowler, Patrick J., Peter S. Hovmand, Katherine E. Marcal, and Sanmay Das. “Solving Homelessness from a Complex Systems Perspective: Insights for Prevention Responses.” *Annual Review of Public Health* 40 (April 1, 2019): 465–86. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-publhealth-040617-013553>.

3. MAHB. “Yet Another Emerging Global Crisis- Homelessness,” September 13, 2019. <https://mahb.stanford.edu/library-item/yet-another-emerging-global-crisis-homelessness/>.

of the problem and likely solutions, identifies potential sources of financing in Puerto Rico and addresses the main barriers that may impede the effective deployment of the resources.

RESPONSES IN A HERITAGE AREA SUBJECT TO HIGH TOURISM PRESSURES

One of the theories why the insecure are not located in Old San Juan is that the historic center is economically declining. People experiencing homelessness typically converge in areas with a strong economy where they believe their panhandling efforts will be rewarded, and it is possible that the historic center of Old San Juan no longer operates as city's economic hub. When examining the current financial state in Old San Juan, most of the foot traffic originates from cruise ship passengers who follow a well-demarcated path to pharmacies and stores that sell travel memorabilia. Throughout the day, the other individuals who inhabit the historic center are government employees, artists, business owners, and individuals inhabiting leased units long-term. Considering that in 2020, the median household income was \$21,058, 31 percent lower than the overall median household income in the mainland U.S., which was \$67,521, the historic center of San Juan may be even less of an attractive place for peddlers.² One factor influencing the public reaction to homeless peoples in the assumed impact that they may have on the perception of insecurity in the center. In public spaces, the presence of individuals who appear unhoused can reduce resident's' and visitors' perception of public safety.³ The number of insecure individuals is generally understood to be undercounted or underestimated but does not exceed the national average. According to Terrazas and Bohannon (2020), "In the last homeless census on the island, just over 2,500 homeless people were recorded, though experts say those numbers don't reveal the true need. Providers estimate that the real number of homeless people on the island is three times the number recorded in official data". Additional key differences exist between the unhoused in Puerto Rico, and those in other parts of the U.S. "One major difference in the Puerto Rican population is that the homeless on the island are more likely to have children. Almost 65% of our homeless sample, like the other studies on the island, endorsed having children compared to 41% of

the homeless in the United States" (Torres, Garcia-Carrasquillo, Nogueras 2010, 542). However, the insecure in Puerto Rico are not receiving adequate social support from family and community members.

These considerations underline the importance to address this issue and provide services for the homeless and insecure without criminalizing them as they are also members of society. Cities relying heavily on tourism like San Juan, must navigate tensions between business owners interested in protecting their business interests, homeowners, long-term residents, and nonprofit professionals advocating for the homeless and insecure population's needs.

FOR-PROFIT PRIVATE SECTOR ATTITUDES

There are many different responses to homelessness from the private sector. Businesses, especially those relying on tourism for their profits, may take very different attitudes as they face chronic homelessness in urban cores. One proactive approach exist in Mexico City where about half of its 21 million inhabitants lives in informal dwellings, and about 15 to 30 thousand live on the streets. EcoDomum is a Mexican startup that offers reasonably priced housing for those in need by using excess plastic waste to make cheap but durable building materials. It takes the company about a week to make a house from recycled plastic materials, and one 430-square-foot unit costs around 5,000 pesos (around USD \$280) to build.⁴ This project helps lessen homelessness and housing insecurity by creating more affordable housing for people living in poverty and stimulates the local economy by working directly with trash collectors to pay higher wages in exchange for a constant supply of the raw materials for the EcoDomum plant.⁵

On the opposite end of the spectrum, harmful standard practices carried out by many Business Improvement Districts are used to further displace and disrupt homeless individuals by condemning them from public spaces. Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) are local entities funded by businesses through an assessment and provide services within a specific geographic area. The first major study of California's Business Improvement Districts shows that they increasingly target homeless individuals and exclude them from public spaces. The study found that BIDs use their power and resources to advocate for anti-homeless policies and engage in policing to drive homeless people out of their

2. "U.S. Census Bureau QuickFacts: Puerto Rico." Accessed March 13, 2022. <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/PR> ; Bureau, US Census. "Income and Poverty in the United States: 2020." Census.gov. Accessed March 13, 2022. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/2021/demo/p60-273.html>.

3. Torres, Aileen, Aida Garcia-Carrasquillo, and Juan Nogueras. "Sociodemographic Variables, Childhood Characteristics, and Family Risk Factors for Homelessness: A 'Puerto Rican Paradox?'" *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 32, no. 4 (November 2010): 532–48. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0739986310378235>.

4. Focusing Future. "The Fight against Homelessness," June 14, 2018. <http://www.focusingfuture.com/eco-city/the-fight-against-homelessness/>.

5. *Ibid.*

districts. This activity includes efforts to enact, preserve, and bolster laws that punish activities such as sitting, resting, and sleeping that homeless people need to do in public.⁶ These efforts are entirely supported by the local businesses who pay the BIDs to carry them out.⁷

In historic centers, as in other high-density areas, nonprofit organizations also referred to as community-based organizations or non-governmental organizations (NGOs), have historically provided services for the homeless and insecure in Puerto Rico at no cost. Most recently, and due to the COVID-19 pandemic, Puerto Rico became eligible for more than \$39 million as part of the Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and Economic Security Act “to help protect and shelter its homeless population” (Terrazas and Bohannon 2020). Unfortunately, nonprofit organizations in Puerto Rico experienced similar levels of reduced service provision due to the COVID-19 pandemic, and that this limitation coupled with the Commonwealth’s history of mismanaging federal funds earmarked for vulnerable populations means that numerous people have not received services in a timely manner.

In 2000, San Juan Health Care for the Homeless Program (SJHCHP) estimated 2,287 or almost one-third of the homeless population of the island living in San Juan, Puerto Rico.⁸ While this number does not reflect those living in Old San Juan, it is a significant social issue affecting a vulnerable population that should be considered part of the city’s comprehensive response to disaster relief, the COVID-19 pandemic, and planning for its future. These services include supplying food, water, clothing, medical supplies, and testing for individuals with limited resources. Some organizations are in historic centers, whereas others are outside historic centers adjacent to other NGOs and educational institutions. Located in Old San Juan, Hogar Padre Venard provides meals, such as breakfast and lunch, showers, weekly medical evaluations, and has 12 regular beds and room for 12 additional beds at their facility. Additionally, the organization also provides community outreach in the form of showering facilities and meals for homeless individuals living in La Perla.⁹ Outside of Old San Juan and in the Municipality of San Juan, SJHCHP provides preventative and primary health care services for people

experiencing homelessness as part of the continuity of care model. Solo Por Hoy, Inc is also located in San Juan and provides the homeless population with support services to promote housing stability.

THE POLICY ISSUE, FOCUSING ON VULNERABILITY

There are numerous reasons for considering Puerto Ricans’ increased vulnerability and risk for heightened levels of pervasive insecurity. For one “it has been noted that Puerto Ricans have a higher rate of several socio-demographic risk factors than the average non-Hispanic Whites in the United States...based on federal guidelines, close to half of the Puerto Ricans on the island (45%), a third of those residing in New York City (31%), and a quarter (25%) of Puerto Ricans on the U.S. mainland are living below poverty.”¹⁰ While few visibly homeless individuals occupy public spaces in Old San Juan, people experiencing various forms of vulnerability encompass low-income residents and students who elect to reside in informal settlements such as La Perla, a historic informal settlement located outside of the city walls. La Perla’s conditions are comparable to many low-income neighborhoods in the Global South, which may be a reason why San Juan’s residents dissuade non-residents and tourists from visiting the area due to its reputation as a hotbed for criminal activity. Upon closer inspection for clues to this reputation, the authors found that in 2022 La Perla has not fully recovered from the effects of Hurricane Maria in 2017 and that there are numerous homes still in disrepair and negligible condition. Nevertheless, despite its less-than-ideal housing conditions, longtime residents continue to inhabit La Perla.¹¹

There are three vulnerability-related dimensions that decision-makers should consider in Old San Juan: housing insecurity, social vulnerability, and income or employment insecurity. The policy brief discusses the main features of each, identifying interventions and potential sources of finance, and addressing barriers that may prevent the successful execution of the interventions.

Dimension 1: Housing Insecurity.

In the absence of government recovery support from Hurricanes Irma and Maria and the denial of assistance based on unsecured ownership, many households have

6. Berkeley Law. “Clinic Study Details How Business Districts Target Homeless People.” Accessed March 19, 2022. <https://www.law.berkeley.edu/article/clinic-study-details-how-business-districts-target-homeless-people/>.

7. Ibid.

8. “Municipality of San Juan, San Juan Health Care for the Homeless Program | National Health Care for the Homeless Council.” Accessed March 13, 2022. <https://nhchc.org/municipality-of-san-juan-san-juan-health-care-for-the-homeless-program-2/>.

9. Hogar Padre Venard. Accessed March 13, 2022. <http://hogarpadrevenard.org/index.htm>.

10. Torres, Aileen, Aida Garcia-Carrasquillo, and Juan Noguera. “Sociodemographic Variables, Childhood Characteristics, and Family Risk Factors for Homelessness: A ‘Puerto Rican Paradox?’” *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 32, no. 4 (November 2010): 532–48. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0739986310378235>.

11. In recent years, private developers have attempted to acquire land in La Perla to develop ocean-side properties; however, La Perla’s residents have resisted and have remained in their homes.



Figure 29: La Perla, an informal settlement at the foot of the Fortresses of Old San Juan, Puerto Rico
Photo: Stephanie Rivera Fenniri

had no choice but to start informal shelter reconstruction to combat homelessness. While informal reconstruction can provide a temporary solution toward recovery, the concerns of safety and stability surrounding informal dwellings exacerbate the invisibility of homelessness. Due to the undocumented nature of informal settlements, it is difficult for residents to prove their tenancy, resulting in a lack of urgency on behalf of the local government to ensure access to funding for the most vulnerable areas.

Funding Opportunities: There are several commitments from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) for homeless support, transitional housing, and rental assistance programs in Puerto Rico:

- \$1.5 million to Transitional Housing provided by “de Vuelta a la Vida, Sanación y Hogar” Program, operated by the Mental Health and Anti-Addiction Services Administration; and
- \$1.09 million to the Puerto Rico Housing Department’s Rental Assistance Program.
- \$14.3 million was provided by the US Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) to the Puerto Rico State Historic Preservation Office to restore the Cuartel de Ballajá in Old San Juan.¹²
- Puerto Rico Public Housing Administration receives \$554.25 million from FEMA to aid in the rebuilding

12. “FEMA Invests in the Recovery of Puerto Rico’s Cultural Heritage | FEMA. Gov.” Accessed April 17, 2022. <https://www.fema.gov/press-release/20210318/fema-invests-recovery-puerto-ricos-cultural-heritage>.

of thousands of its facilities damaged because of Hurricane María.¹³ This recovery budget intends to help the island plan its long-term recovery.

Potential Barriers to implementation include:

- Undocumented dwellings are not part of federal recovery assistance programs thereby increasing invisible homelessness.
- The lack of funding resources on the federal level makes it difficult for recovery.
- Invisible homeless populations need attention towards recovery and rebuilding to prevent a continuous cycle of vulnerability.

Dimension 2: Social Vulnerability.

While few visibly unhoused individuals occupy public spaces and historic spaces in Old San Juan, people experiencing insecurity extend to low-income residents and students who elect to reside in La Perla, a historic informal settlement located outside of the city walls. The number of socially vulnerable is generally understood to be undercounted or underestimated but does not exceed the national average. According to Terrazas and Bohannon, “in the last homeless census on the island, just over 2,500 homeless people were recorded, though

13. “FEMA Will Obligate \$554 Million to the Puerto Rico Public Housing Administration.” Accessed April 17, 2022. <https://www.fema.gov/press-release/20220124/fema-will-obligate-554-million-puerto-rico-public-housing-administration>.

experts say those numbers don't reveal the true need. Providers estimate that the real number of homeless people on the island is three times the number recorded in official data."¹⁴ Additional key differences exist between the unhoused in Puerto Rico, and those in other parts of the U.S., such as 65 percent of the homeless or socially vulnerable have children compared to 41 percent in the mainland U.S.¹⁵

Funding Opportunities: There are commitments from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) for homeless support, transitional housing, and rental assistance programs in Puerto Rico:

- \$20.7 million for homeless support programs.
- \$1.02 million to Continuum of Care at the Municipality of San Juan.¹⁶
-

Potential Barriers: to execution include:

- Lack of technical and administrative capacity to manage accounting requirements and applications from socially vulnerable individuals.
- A negligible amount of fund disbursement to individuals thereby perpetuating social vulnerability.

Dimension 3: Income and Employment Vulnerability.

According to the U.S. Census Bureau, in 2020, the median household income in Puerto Rico was \$21,058, which is 31 percent lower than the overall median household income in the mainland U.S., which was \$67,521. As a result, there are numerous individuals, including those living in and around Old San Juan, who experience income and/or economic vulnerability and are currently underemployed. Puerto Rico reports an unemployment rate of 7.2 percent, which equates to 52,500 persons and is twice the rate of the mainland U.S., 3.6 percent at the time of writing this report in the spring of 2022.¹⁷ The number of unemployed people living in Old San Juan is unknown. However, skills training and employment generation programs aimed at satis-

14. "Puerto Rico's Nonprofits Fear History Repeating Itself in Homeless Aid." Accessed March 13, 2022. <https://cronkitenews.azpbs.org/howardcenter/caring-for-covid-homeless/stories/homeless-funding-puerto-rico.html>.

15. Torres, Aileen, Aida Garcia-Carrasquillo, and Juan Noguera. "Sociodemographic Variables, Childhood Characteristics, and Family Risk Factors for Homelessness: A 'Puerto Rican Paradox?'" *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 32, no. 4 (November 2010): 532–48. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0739986310378235>.

16. Contributor. "HUD Renews \$20.7M in Funding to 63 Homeless Programs in Puerto Rico." *News Is My Business* (blog), February 4, 2021. <https://newsismy-business.com/hud-renews-20-7m-in-funding-to-63-homeless-programs-in-puerto-rico/>.

17. Bureau, US Census. "Income and Poverty in the United States: 2020." *Census.gov*. Accessed March 13, 2022. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/2021/demo/p60-273.html>; "San Juan-Caguas-Guaynabo, PR Economy at a Glance." Accessed April 15, 2022. https://www.bls.gov/eag/eag_pr_sanjuan_msa.htm.

fying the demand of the multiple businesses linked to tourism and the cultural activities in Old San Juan offer an opportunity to engage residents and turn the historic district—a vibrant, mixed-use, and multifunctional area—into a resource for integrating this population and reducing the multiple vulnerabilities that they suffer.

Funding Opportunities: There are sources of funding linked to the Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act that aims at creating local jobs.

- Puerto Rico expects to receive \$900 million to rebuild roads and highways and \$225 million for bridge replacement and repairs under the Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act over five years.
- Moreover, Puerto Rico also expects to receive \$13.6 million over five years to support the expansion of an electric vehicle charging network. Puerto Rico also can apply for the \$2.5 billion in grant funding dedicated to electric vehicle charging facilities included in the bill.¹⁸

Potential barriers to accessing these sources of funding include:

- The funds allocated in the Management of the Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act must be dispersed promptly and then they must be properly managed to create gainful employment for underemployed and unemployed individuals.
- Adequate, equitable, and inclusive training for people who do not have prior experience in the transportation and electric vehicle industries.

Whereas homelessness and various levels of vulnerability may be considered social inconveniences, there are existing frameworks for promoting more significant equity levels for residents in cities. The following recommendations are intended as a guide for future action:

- Introducing Universal Basic Income (UBI) ensures that vulnerable individuals experiencing homelessness and prolonged insecurity will have unconditional periodic funding to sustain themselves with basic food and shelter.
- Launching a pilot program focusing on providing affordable construction materials through upcycling plastic waste will promote an environmental cleanup and help alleviate invisible homelessness by providing durable materials for informal settlements.

18. "San Juan-Caguas-Guaynabo, PR Economy at a Glance." Accessed April 15, 2022. https://www.bls.gov/eag/eag_pr_sanjuan_msa.htm.

- Promoting initiatives towards documenting informal settlements to ensure federal disaster funding reaches vulnerable neighborhoods.
- Old San Juan does not have a highly visible wayfinding system for its visitors and could offer methods of reintegrating people experiencing homelessness into society in a productive and dignified manner through interactive wayfinding. With adequate support and training, these individuals can be engaged as human way finders, cultural promoters, and even historic tour guides.
- Increasing capacity and streamlining efficiencies to ensure government funding reaches those in need. Often, city leaders fail to recognize that the socially vulnerable are still municipality members. As all municipality members, their best interests must be considered and integrated into a city's comprehensive plan because all residents reflect its cultural fabric and future.

ness: A 'Puerto Rican Paradox?'" *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 32, no. 4 (November 2010): 532–48. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0739986310378235>.

Tour Old San Juan. "About Old San Juan." Accessed April 5, 2022. <https://www.touroidsanjuan.com/attractions/about-old-san-juan/>

REFERENCES

"FEMA Will Obligate \$554 Million to the Puerto Rico Public Housing Administration." Accessed April 17, 2022. <https://www.fema.gov/press-release/20220124/fema-will-obligate-554-million-puerto-rico-public-housing-administration>.

"FEMA Invests in the Recovery of Puerto Rico's Cultural Heritage | FEMA.Gov." Accessed April 17, 2022. <https://www.fema.gov/press-release/20210318/fema-invests-recovery-puerto-ricos-cultural-heritage>.

Municipality of San Juan, San Juan Health Care for the Homeless Program | National Health Care for the Homeless Council." Accessed April 11, 2022. <https://nhchc.org/municipality-of-san-juan-san-juan-health-care-for-the-homeless-program-2/>.

Old San Juan Historic District-American Latino Heritage: A Discover Our Shared Heritage Travel Itinerary." Accessed April 5, 2022. https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/american_latino_heritage/old_san_juan.html.

Puerto Rico's Nonprofits Fear History Repeating Itself in Homeless Aid." Accessed March 13, 2022. <https://cronkitenews.azpbs.org/howardcenter/caring-for-covid-homeless/stories/homeless-funding-puerto-rico.html>.

San Juan-Caguas-Guaynabo, PR Economy at a Glance." Accessed April 15, 2022. https://www.bls.gov/eag/eag.pr_sanjuan_msa.htm.

The Employment Situation - March 2022," n.d., 40.

Bureau, US Census. "Income and Poverty in the United States: 2020." Census.gov. Accessed March 13, 2022. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/2021/demo/p60-273.html>.

Contributor. "HUD Renews \$20.7M in Funding to 63 Homeless Programs in Puerto Rico." *News Is My Business* (blog), February 4, 2021. <https://newsismy-business.com/hud-renews-20-7m-in-funding-to-63-homeless-programs-in-puerto-rico/>.

Reuters. "Special Report: In Puerto Rico, a Housing Crisis U.S. Storm Aid Won't Solve," February 6, 2018, sec. Business News. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-puertorico-housing-specialreport-idUSKBN1FQ211>.

Talbot, Jessica, Cristina Poleacovschi, and Sara Hamideh. "Socioeconomic Vulnerabilities and Housing Reconstruction in Puerto Rico After Hurricanes Irma and Maria." *Natural Hazards* 110, no. 3 (February 1, 2022): 2113–40. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11069-021-05027-7>.

Torres, Aileen, Aida Garcia-Carrasquillo, and Juan Nogueras. "Sociodemographic Variables, Childhood Characteristics, and Family Risk Factors for Homeless-

BOX 5:

POLICY RESPONSES IN TOURISM AREAS: THE CASES OF HAWAII AND PUERTO RICO

Stephanie Rivera Fenniri and Paulina Alessandra Safarian

Both Hawaii and Puerto Rico rely heavily on tourism to stimulate their economy. Native residents experiencing homelessness and housing insecurity and the local government's plan to fill the city centers with tourists have ethical and moral dilemmas they must navigate. They are summarily described in the case study.

HAWAII

Evidence in the literature shows that the criminalization of homelessness fails to address homelessness adequately and exacerbates the issue even further. The United States National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty (NLCHP) wrote in their 2014 report that, "Criminalization strategies not only cost cities millions in wasted resources, but they fail to address the root causes of homelessness. Arrests, incarceration, fines, and convictions prolong homelessness by creating new, sometimes nearly insurmountable barriers to obtaining employment and stable housing."¹ Hawaii enacted legislation, or "quality of life" laws, that essentially criminalizes homelessness, which seems to be their way of pushing the issue out of sight. Some examples of rules in place are bans on sitting/laying on public sidewalks, bans on begging or panhandling, prohibition of the use of blankets, chairs, tents, etc., in public places, and bans on sharing food with homeless people in public parks.² Honolulu even took it a step further and updated their 311 app that now allows the option to report "homeless concerns anonymously." The app will enable pictures to be taken and locations to be identified.³

Honolulu's war on homelessness included nightly sweeps because street sleeping is banned in the most tourist-heavy parts of town. Increasing numbers of anti-homeless ordinances forced homeless individuals to constantly relocate. Resource centers were opened far from the touristic city center to lure homeless individuals away.⁴ The economy is so reliant on tourism dollars that the local government and tourism board are strict about complaints about the homeless activity. Often, tourists complain about feeling unsafe or uncomfortable when in the presence of homeless individuals, which negatively impacts tourism dollars, which is enough incentive for the localities to take prompt action. The city no longer removes homeless people via sweeps of camps but continues to remove their possessions. With the election of the new mayor of Honolulu, the city's new Crisis

Outreach Response and Engagement program aims to create a symbiotic relationship between city officials and the unhoused. The program plans to eliminate the use of Honolulu police officers and instead rely on social service and health care workers to respond to non-violent complaints.⁵

PUERTO RICO

Puerto Rico has faced many homelessness and housing insecurity challenges over the past decade. Climate-related impacts have exacerbated the issue beyond measure. The aftermath of Hurricane Maria in September 2017 left 10,000 people in shelters all across Puerto Rico. An earthquake struck the island not too long after early 2020, leaving about 5,000 native residents in homeless shelters. Most of Puerto Rico did not have power, and at least \$110 million worth of damage was caused.⁶ The island is still combating the effects these natural disasters had, and thousands of people who became homeless because of them are still experiencing homelessness.

Tourism is vital to recovering the economy and reducing the rate of homelessness by way of access to more tax funding for housing programs. Ricardo Rossello and his administration attempted to encourage visitors to continue to come to the island and show their support. One of the hotel owners in Rincon said that "the potential economic crisis that would ensue from the disruption in tourism would be far greater than the damage done by the quake itself. Puerto Rico is open for tourism," said Brad Dean, CEO of Discover Puerto Rico, noting that power is restored in almost all parts of the island and that airports and major hotels are all running as usual. We must keep tourism strong as it fuels local communities."⁷ Both Puerto Rico and Hawaii seem to be focusing on keeping the tourist economy operating rather than resolving the root of homelessness and housing insecurity.

Local municipalities contend with a series of factors affecting their ability to address homelessness. Some of the individuals who experience chronic insecurity in Old San Juan are people who have been flown from the mainland U.S., such as New York City, to Old San Juan to escape the winter. The United States Interagency Council on Homelessness (USICH) reports that "as of January 2020, Puerto Rico had an estimated 2,451 [people] experiencing homelessness

1. National Law Center on Homelessness & Poverty. 2014. "No Safe Place: The Criminalization of Homelessness in UNITED STATES Cities." National Law Center on Homelessness & Poverty. July 16. https://homelesslaw.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/No_Safe_Place.pdf.

2. National Coalition for the Homeless. "How Are Tourism and Homelessness Related?" July 15, 2014. <https://nationalhomeless.org/tourism-homelessness-related/>.

3. Housing and Homelessness: An Update." Honolulu Mayor's Office of Housing, July 15, 2019. <https://www.honolulu.gov/rep/site/ohou/Update-190712.pdf>.

4. National Coalition for the Homeless. "How Are Tourism and Homelessness Related?" July 15, 2014. <https://nationalhomeless.org/tourism-homelessness-related/>.

5. Mizuo, Ashley. "Honolulu's New Homeless Program Modified before Launch." Honolulu Star-Advertiser, July 11, 2021. <https://www.staradvertiser.com/2021/07/11/hawaii-news/citys-new-homeless-program-modified-before-launch/>.

6. The Borgen Project. "Earthquakes and Homelessness in Puerto Rico," April 28, 2020. <https://borgenproject.org/homelessness-in-puerto-rico/>.

7. HuffPost. "Puerto Rico Has Power Back, But Thousands Remain Homeless After Earthquakes," January 13, 2020. https://www.huffpost.com/entry/puerto-rico-earthquakes-homeless-tourism_n_5e1cf697c5b6640ec3d98b17.

DISTRIBUCIÓN GEOGRÁFICA DE LAS PERSONAS SIN HOGAR IDENTIFICADAS



Nota: La base son las 2,535 personas sin hogar identificadas.

Figure 30: Geographic distribution of homeless in Puerto Rico
Source: U.S. 2019 Census

on any given day...Of that, 62 were family households, 88 were Veterans, 46 were unaccompanied young adults (aged 18-24), and 668 were individuals experiencing chronic homelessness.” Overall, Old San Juan does not have a large visible population of people experiencing homelessness, and interestingly, the highest number of people experiencing homelessness are students.

Moreover, in the 2018-2019 school year, the U.S. Department of Education reported that “an estimated 4,717 public school students experienced homelessness over the course of the year. Of that total, 439 students were unsheltered, 1,016 were in shelters, seven were in hotels/motels, and 3,255 were doubled up.” While homeless students may not inhabit Old San Juan, there is a large population of un-housed students outside the University of Puerto Rico – Río Piedras Campus. Additionally, numerous individuals cannot achieve financial stability due to Hurricanes Irma and Maria in 2017 and the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic from 2020 to the present.

CAPACITY BUILDING MODELS FOR ARCHITECTURAL CONSERVATION AND HISTORIC TRADES

Alison Carolina Cavicchio and Hillary Morales Robles

FIGURE 9: LATIN AMERICA (13 COUNTRIES): PERCENTAGE OF INFORMAL NON-AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT BY SEX AND AGE FROM 2005 TO 2011 (IN PERCENTAGES)

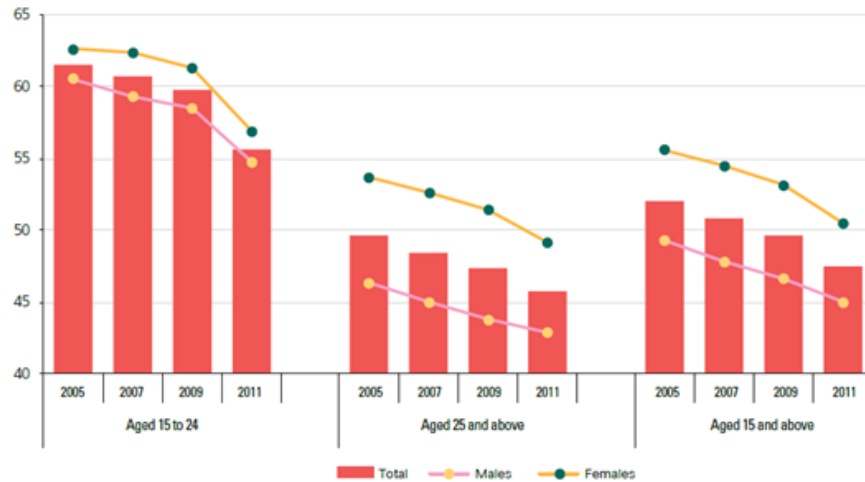


Figure 31: Informal labor and vulnerable groups. Percentage of Informal Employment by gender and age. Source: Habitat III: Regional Report, Latin America and the Caribbean: Sustainable Cities with Equality. United Nations, 2016.

The integration of informal communities into formal economic and social activities is an ongoing global issue that practitioners are grappling with. Identifying sustainable livelihoods for informal communities is critical to achieving an enhanced quality of life. Utilizing training models in historic trades as an economic development and labor revitalization tool to directly support informal communities can increase their human capital to participate in economic activities centered around historic preservation and heritage. These programs integrate the local communities into conservation efforts and the social fabric of the larger community, making long-term conservation widespread and sustainable. This analysis aims to evaluate approaches toward capacity building in conservation trades as a mechanism for economic development and labor revitalization in informal communities.

INFORMAL LABOR AND VULNERABLE GROUPS IN URBAN HERITAGE AREAS

The concept of informality is broad and impacts a variety of social actors among them vulnerable women and the youth. In recent studies by the United Nations, women are globally overrepresented in the informal sector as

their primary source of employment. Women constitute sixty-three percent of these workers and receive lower wages than men.¹ This is an issue that grows in alarming numbers across Latin America and the Caribbean as women age. In the case of younger populations, they receive adverse impacts from informal employment and job insecurity related to lack of education, employment, and training opportunities. The statistics reveal direct connections between the informal economy, employment, age, and gender inequality.² In addition to these gaps, poor working conditions are worsened by discrimination, sexism, racism, and xenophobia. It is crucial to address these aggravating factors in long-term strategic planning to provide formal employment opportunities for existing vulnerable groups within informality.

There are two sustainable redevelopment models associated with the informal economy in urban heritage areas to achieve a transformation from informal to formal economy. First are the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The SDGs are part of a global call of action part of the 2030 Sustainable

1. "Women in Informal Economy." UN Women. Accessed February 19, 2022.
2. United Nations. Habitat III: Regional Report, Latin America and the Caribbean: Sustainable Cities with Equality. United Nations, 2016.

BOX 6: INFORMALITY

Alison Carolina Cavicchio and Hillary Morales Robles

The concept of informality is broad, and for that reason, it is essential to define the terms within the context of the informal labor sector. Informal workers produce economic, social, and environmental value for cities, so it is critical to examine the role of informal work in urban heritage areas and avenues for its transformation into sustainable formal labor. The three associative terms commonly cited in the literature are:

Informal Economy: irregular economy, the subterranean economy, the underground economy, the black economy, the shadow economy, and the informal economy

Informal Sector: “very small units of production” trading with “low capital levels, skills, access to organized markets and technology, low and unstable incomes, and poor working conditions.”

Human Capital: includes the ability to set goals for financial prospects, health, and well-being, education, and skills, employment opportunities, the opportunity to keep learning, and the development of skills that make it easier for informal sectors to pursue different livelihoods strategies and achieve their livelihoods goals.

REFERENCE

Smith, R.A. and Henderson, J.C. (2008), “Integrated beach resorts, informal tourism commerce and the 2004 tsunami: Laguna Phuket in Thailand”. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 10: 271-282. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jtr.659>

Development Agenda to combat global inequalities and imbalances in all developed and developing nations. The SDGs relevant objectives related to the informal economy are agreements 8.3 to promote policies to support job creation and growing enterprise, and agreement 10.2 to promote universal social, economic, and political inclusion.³ The second sustainable redevelopment model that addresses urban heritage areas and the informal sector is called the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework. It proposes a model that benefits the creation of shared values in an urban context by: “inducing informal sector skills through providing formal and informal education in government-level policies implemented by government

3. “Relevant SDG Targets Related to Informal Economy.” Relevant SDG Targets related to Informal Economy, June 6, 2017. https://www.ilo.org/global/topics/dw4sd/themes/informal-economy/WCMS_558574/lang--en/index.htm.

bodies, non-governmental organizations, and legal enterprises.”⁴ The shared values to achieve this approach include: (1) transparency at the governmental level to make available higher standards of well-being, (2) generating new ways of the ecosystem for citizen engagement in the co-design and co-creation of processes and services, (3) the usage of technology to deliver directness of processes and services, (4) safeguarding effect with the leadership as a service tool, (5) structuring a people-centered approach, and (6) empower the people to be part of the urban problem solution.⁵ While the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals and the Sustainable Livelihood Approach offer guiding principles to safeguard and advocate for informal populations, it is still necessary to evaluate the effectiveness of these models in the context of hyper-tourism in urban heritage areas. The following section categorizes and reviews the approaches and programs that seek to develop formal labor opportunities through education and training.

HISTORIC TRADES AND APPROACHES TOWARD CONSERVATION CAPACITY BUILDING

Utilizing training in historic trades and craftsmanship serves to shift informal labor to formal human capital by creating legitimate avenues of income and providing vulnerable communities with opportunities for social integration into society. Additionally, the revitalization of heritage in historic areas is known to catalyze local development linked to the rehabilitation of economic, social, natural, and cultural fabric, all of which enhance the quality of life for the entire community.⁶ This analysis focuses on the labor component aspect of this approach, but it is important to note that training in historic trades is also a critical social justice opportunity that can reconnect communities to their heritage as over-tourism and “Disney-fication” of sites dilute cohesive community networks and connections to heritage. Physical displacement and lack of opportunities outside of the tourism industry have other negative effects on the tangible and intangible heritage. Crafts or trades that would have been passed down between community or family members, such as stone masonry or wood-working, become lost unless there is an active effort within the public or private sector to maintain them. In the face of natural disasters and climate change, focus-

4. Prabowo, Bintang & Salaj, Alenka. (2021). Identifying Overtourism Impacts on the Informal Sector's Livelihoods in Urban Heritage Area. IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/351217369_Identifying_Overtourism_Impacts_on_the_Informal_Sector%27s_Livelihoods_in_Urban_Heritage_Area

5. Ibid.

6. Historic Cities Programme: Overview,” Aga Khan Trust for Culture, updated 2020, <https://www.akdn.org/our-agencies/aga-khan-trust-culture/aga-khan-historic-cities-programme/historic-cities-overview>



Figure 32: United Nations, Women in Informal Employment
Source: www.unwomen.org

ing on historic trades is also a chance for communities to take charge of their reconstruction and rehabilitation. The context of this narrative focuses on diversifying labor opportunities beyond mass tourism-focused jobs that demean heritage in urban areas. There are several approaches toward capacity building in heritage and conservation trades, which will be discussed in detail below. In reviewing the literature and organizational documentation, three primary models of training have been identified, each with its own unique set of actors and beneficiaries.

The first model, master-apprentice training, is geared toward master craftsmen and professional programs focused on building the skills of existing or new professionals; this model is the primary focus of capacity-building work in conservation trades. The primary actors involved in this model are the private sector, universities, and trade associations, and the beneficiaries are professionals. The literature on conservation trades focuses primarily on this model, which is essentially formal programs to train and work alongside experts. Most of these programs are either master’s degree programs such as at the University of Pennsylvania, or they are training geared toward entry or mid-level professionals who are already working in their craft or at a site. One example is The International Masonry Training and Education Foundation in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania which provides training, certifications, and continuing education programs to the members of the International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftworkers.⁷ These programs begin with pre-job training and training for apprentices and continue throughout a craftworker’s career in brick

7. “The International Masonry Training and Education Foundation (IMTEF),” The International Masonry Institute, <https://imtef.org>

Model	Actors	Beneficiaries
Master-Apprentice Training	Private Sector, Universities, Trade Associations	Professionals
Preserving Skills	Non-Profits, Government	Professionals and Local Craftsmen/Communities
Building Human Capital	Escuelas Taller run by Governments, some overlap with Non-profits	Non-professional, marginalized communities

Figure 33: The chart on Conservation Training Models, Actors, and Beneficiaries
Source: Author’s elaboration

or stone. The Getty Conservation Institute also hosts conservation skill-building training all over the world for active practitioners and provides online resources as well.⁸ The Schools of Traditional Arts established by the Prince of Wales Foundation in and outside the U.K. is another example. Focused primarily on Islamic architectural art, the study of geometrical design principles is at the heart of the schools’ curriculums. Additionally, the Schools of Traditional Arts host a Building Craft Program which aligns master craftsmen with an early-career craftsmen and works to revive traditional skills such as woodworking, stonemasonry, blacksmithing, brickwork, roof thatching, as well as traditional approaches to architecture.⁹

The second model, related to the traditional craft training mentioned above, is the preservation of local skills and knowledge, which is focused on ensuring that learned historic trades are maintained in communities and applied to the built heritage to promote authenticity and placemaking. Here, the actors are primarily non-profit organizations and government organizations whose beneficiaries are typically professionals and local craftsmen or community members who are aware of and invested in local heritage. In many communities, outmigration, for example in post-hurricane Puerto Rico, contributes to a loss of skilled workers and the loss of knowledge about historic trades. There is some overlap with the master-apprentice professional model, but the

8. “Teaching and Learning Resources,” The Getty Conservation Institute, https://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/teaching/

9. Oppenheimer, Todd. “Prince Charles Redefines Originality,” *Craftsmanship Quarterly*, Summer 2020, <https://craftsmanship.net/the-prince-of-wales-redefines-originality/>

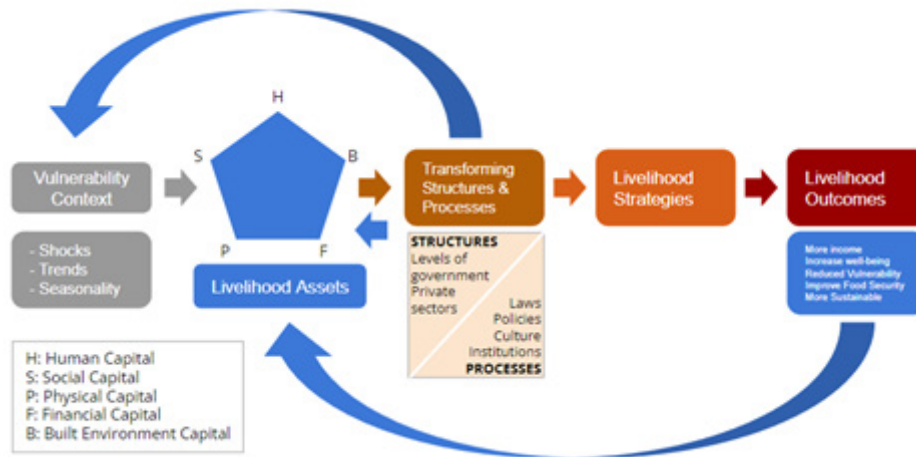


Figure 34: Sustainable Livelihood Framework Diagram
 Source: Sustainable Livelihood Framework. Source: Identifying Overtourism Impacts on the Informal Sector's Livelihoods in Urban Heritage Area (2021).

emphasis in this second model is on identifying and supporting previously trained craftsmen to enable them to practice their craft and contribute to socio-economic activities via government or non-profit organizations. Additionally, it focuses on preserving the knowledge of these skills in the broader community and ensuring that the original form of craftsmanship and associated materials aren't lost. Examples of this are seen in the Aga Khan Trust for Culture's glazed tile training in Lahore, Pakistan, and other regions, which emphasizes the traditional craft of Mughal era glazed tile, and appropriate conservation measures to preserve remaining tiles.¹⁰ In Japan, traditional techniques are designated by the Japanese Government as "Selected Conservation Techniques." Organizations that possess these techniques are recognized as "Holders of Selected Conservation Techniques" and receive aid to train new crafts persons.¹¹ In the United States, the National Park Service (NPS) Traditional Trades Advancement Program straddles the line between preserving local knowledge and building human capital through youth training programs.¹²

The final model is the approach this analysis seeks to broaden the literature on building human capital. This model is run by government agencies and has some overlap with the second model via the involvement of non-profit organizations. Yet, the beneficiaries in this

model are exclusively non-professional actors and, in many cases, are from marginalized or informal communities. This approach is ideal for informal communities in urban areas that need novice labor opportunities that focus on building human capital and support the integration of these communities into the existing physical and social fabric. The premier example of this model is the *escuela taller* approach, or *Aprender Haciendo*, which means "Learning by Doing."¹³ This approach is surprisingly limited outside of Latin America, and the Caribbean, where *escuela taller* are often government-funded. The concept of *escuela taller* was proposed in Spain in 1985 when large numbers of unemployed young people with no job training had few professional opportunities. *Escuela taller* produces a specialized labor force that restores objects with historic value, including structures, murals, ironwork, plaster, and stained-glass decorative elements. Funding via *escuela taller* provides opportunities for young people and recovers historic trades and associated heritage, all with the same funding.¹⁴

Students who attend *escuela taller* are generally viewed as marginalized youth who lack education, training, and/or job opportunities. The *escuela taller* program's broad aim is twofold: to offer training and employment opportunities to young people with limited economic resources and to allow for the preservation of cultural heritage. This approach is critical in addressing the dilution and reduction of heritage

10. The Aga Khan Trust for Culture, "Mughal Tilework: A Craft Revival," (Mapin Publishing, 2022).
 11. "Traditional Techniques for Conservation," The Japanese Association for the Conservation of Architectural Monuments, <https://www.bunkenkyo.or.jp/en/traditional.html>
 12. "Traditional Trades Advancement Program," National Park Service, https://www.nps.gov/orgs/1098/traditional-trades-apprenticeship-program.htm?fbclid=IwAR0HMH_aFaVev-6xttdamOOYcCbVpNV-jD4DXvWKF-0QY3--NYbhM-Fa718

13. Cooperación Española, Programa de Escuelas Taller- Aprender Haciendo, 2016, <https://www.aecid.es/Centro-Documentacion/Documentos/Divulgación/ESCUELASTALLER%20ONLINE.pdf>
 14. Elizabeth A. Gilblom, "These are our beans": Learning by Doing, Innovation and Resilience in Old Havana's Escuela Taller," *International Journal of Cuban Studies* 11.2 (2019): 247, <https://www.proquest.com/docview/2371583234>

to souvenirs and handicrafts produced for the tourism market. David Mason, a World Bank consultant and escuela taller instructor in the Philippines, noted, “Carpentry, masonry, and other building crafts embody systems of learning that inculcate both skills and values essential to the vital future of cultural heritage places. They must be safeguarded and steered towards genuine economic development and social opportunity. In the built heritage sector, training courses for conservation professionals far outweigh the number of accredited programs for building craftworkers.”¹⁵ This statement sums up the critical need for expanded literature and implementation of the escuela taller model as a solution to increasing opportunities for building craftworkers outside of professional training programs as demonstrated by the experiences of the escuelas in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Morocco.

ESCUELAS TALLER AS SOCIALLY INCLUSIVE EXPERIENCES

While the escuela taller model is largely successful as demonstrated through various case studies, some issues must be addressed to ensure the approach is truly supporting those most in need. Women and youth are typically the most marginalized members of informal communities and lack schooling or labor opportunities. As noted earlier in the report, United Nations Women figures show that women make up sixty-three percent of the informal labor force in Latin America and the Caribbean.¹⁶ Escuela taller is meant to be a response to informal labor, yet women and girls are largely excluded, likely because of existing societal norms, including childcare and household responsibilities that disproportionately fall on women. Escuela taller enrollment remains predominantly male as the figure below demonstrates, an issue that future programs must consider as part of their planning and implementation in community outreach and engagement with informal communities.

Ultimately the following summary of recommendations can support the effectiveness of the escuela taller model to create formal labor opportunities and promote social integration into broader society for informal groups. The first and raised recommendation is to connect informal communities with formal labor opportunities in preservation trades by utilizing the Escuela Taller model, which explicitly focuses on marginalized communities. Within that, ensure that research and implementation

are focused on vulnerable groups (women, youth) as there is a demonstrated need in those groups specifically. The second recommendation is to establish labor regulations that reinforce specialization requirements for heritage conservation to perform construction industry jobs associated with historic preservation, such as heritage tradesmen and conservation-related discipline professionals. This involves establishing protection as a formal job required in heritage conservation and regulating labor opportunities based on expertise.

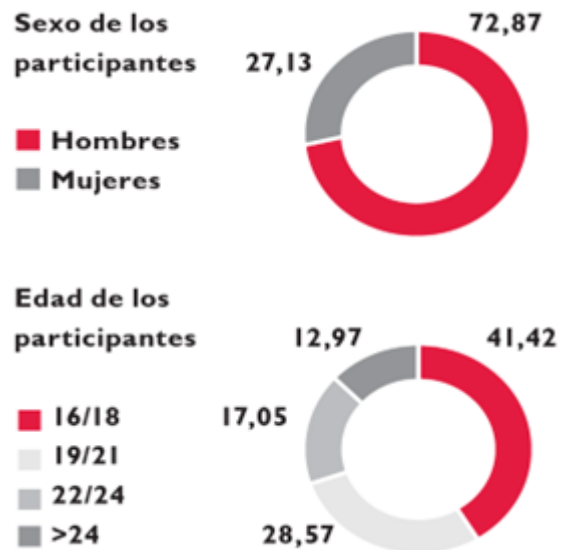


Figure 35: Demographics and representation of women in Escuela Taller, Source: Cooperación Española, Programa de Escuelas Taller- Aprender Haciendo, 2016, <https://www.aecid.es/Centro-Documentacion/Documentos/Divulgación/ESCUELASTALLER%20ONLINE.pdf>

15. David Mason, “Escuela Taller: A Trainer’s Perspective,” ICOMOS, 2011, https://openarchive.icomos.org/id/eprint/1157/1/1-1-Article2_Mason.pdf

16. “Women in Informal Economy.” UN Women. Accessed February 19, 2022. <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/in-focus/csw61/women-in-informal-economy>

BOX 7:

CASE STUDIES OF THE ESCUELA TALLER MODEL: CUBA, PUERTO RICO, AND MOROCCO

Alison Carolina Cavicchio and Hillary Morales Robles

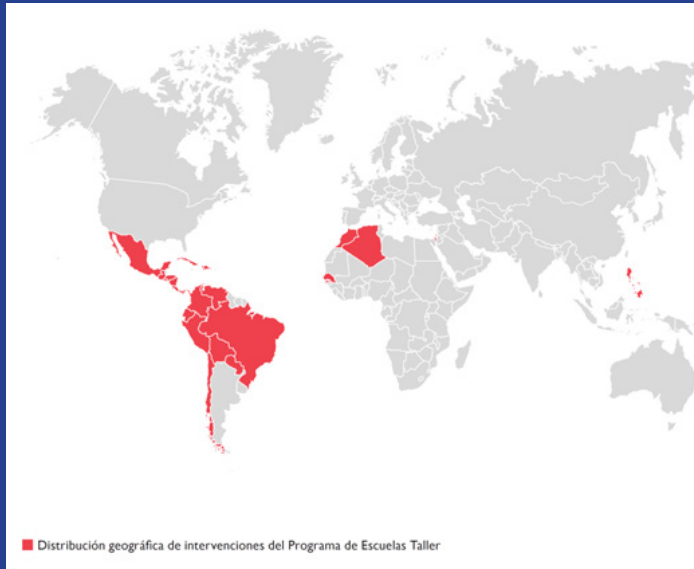


Figure 36: Map and Charts of Escuela Taller Locations

Source: Cooperación Española, Programa de Escuelas Taller- Aprender Haciendo, 2016, <https://www.aecid.es/Centro-Documentacion/Documentos/Divulgación/ESCUELASTALLER%20ONLINE.pdf>

Escuela taller (workshop-based school) as an approach to capacity building and sustainable livelihoods for informal and marginalized communities is widespread throughout Latin America and the Caribbean and has made its way into parts of North and West Africa, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia. The map below provides a visual of the model's widespread use in these regions. The analysis will discuss three experiences: Cuba, Puerto Rico and Morocco.

CUBA

In Cuba, the escuela taller in Havana coordinates with the government conservation office to estimate the number of skilled workers needed each year. This limits the number of students entering the program to ensure that each student will be guaranteed a job after graduation.¹ Gilblom's study on escuela taller in Cuba, (one of few thorough case studies on the program available in English) found that students in the program talked not only about their newfound skills in conservation but about other areas of social development. Such areas included resilience and learning to work with existing resources, problem-solving and learning to make mistakes, and pride not only in the craft but in themselves. They also noted that the program provided them with a sense of community that they were otherwise lacking. An instructor interviewed noted that "Escuela taller creates

1. Elizabeth A. Gilblom, "These are our beans": Learning by Doing, Innovation and Resilience in Old Havana's Escuela Taller," *International Journal of Cuban Studies* 11.2 (2019): 247, <https://www.proquest.com/docview/2371583234>

a worker who becomes passionate about restoration work. This love for restoration goes straight to their veins."² The 2019 study in Cuba recommends escuela taller as a model for underserved communities in the United States, suggesting that it could very well be applied to informal communities in Puerto Rico and beyond.

PUERTO RICO

In Puerto Rico, the escuela taller model is making headway through organizations such as the Fundación Rafael Hernández Colón (FRH-C)'s Escuela Taller de las Artes de la Construcción de Ponce y sur de Puerto Rico. FRH-C's program work seeks to integrate marginalized youth in the rehabilitation of urban centers and conservation of historic buildings by training them in historic trades.³ In 2020, the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture (ICP) introduced an escuela taller-based approach to training and capacity building for the art of the built environment.⁴ The program, to be hosted by the newly established Escuela Taller de Conservación y Restauración del Patrimonio Histórico de Puerto Rico, grew out of a need on the island to train professionals in building trades. In Puerto Rico, the dearth of training programs leaves many with the only option but to study conservation in the United States. Pablo Ojeda O'Neill, former Director of ICP's Built Heritage Program, conservation architect, and founder of the School noted that this new vocational and professional institution "will serve as a center for training, research and multidisciplinary study in the applied arts and traditional crafts in Puerto Rico."⁵ Currently, the program's website is not operational, and it remains to be seen if the approach will garner municipal funding and collaboration to support students from informal communities who cannot attend a paid program. In conversations with the Director-General of the Centro de Conservación y Restauración de Puerto Rico (CENCOR), a non-profit organization, in San Juan in March 2022, it was noted that challenges remain in Puerto Rico to attract even unemployed or underemployed community members to conservation and building trades. At present, even contractors without conservation specialties can work on historic buildings, resulting in a limited pipeline of jobs for those with training in historic building crafts.⁶ Regulatory changes in Puerto Rico are likely required before the escuela taller model will be able to effectively support informal communities. Changes are required at the local level to create demand for these trades and to ensure jobs are available for escuela taller attendees, similar to the Cuba escuela taller model.

2. *Ibid.*

3. "Escuela-Taller De Las Artes De La Construcción De Ponce y Sur De Puerto Rico," Fundación RHC, December 13, 2021, <https://rafaelhernandezcolon.org/index.php/escuela-taller-de-las-artes-de-la-construccion-de-ponce-y-sur-de-puerto-rico/>.

4. "Escuela Taller Established in Puerto Rico," INTBAU, December 11, 2020, <https://www.intbau.org/escuela-taller-established-in-puerto-rico/>.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Héctor J. Berdecía-Hernández, Interview by Alison Cavicchio and Hillary Morales Robles, Old San Juan, March 2022.



Figure 37: Photo of Students at Gaspar de Melchor de Jovellanos ET in Habana Vieja, Cuba] Source: Alliance for the Restoration of Cultural Heritage, Havana, Cuba, <https://www.archinternational.org/projects/cuba/>



Figure 38: Escuela Taller Students in Puerto Rico Source: INTERNATIONAL NETWORK FOR TRADITIONAL BUILDING, ARCHITECTURE & URBANISM, "Escuela Taller Established in Puerto Rico," December 11, 2020, <https://www.intbau.org/escuela-taller-established-in-puerto-rico/>

MOROCCO

In Morocco, formerly Spanish-controlled cities such as Tetouan and Chefchaouen have begun to benefit from escuela taller programming through the Government of Spain's Cooperación Española which implements the traditional escuela taller model targeting at-risk and out of school youth. In this context, the program offers a range of construction and heritage-related skills training with support from the Government of Spain and local non-governmental organizations.⁷ In 2020, Chefchaouen, and two southern Moroccan cities, Layoune and Benguerir, joined UNESCO's Global Network of Learning Cities (GNLC). GNLC is another escuela taller-like model that aims to make inclusive education a part of global development. In Layoune, the city is prioritizing strong infrastructure and is implementing several learning-focused projects to make education accessible to all.⁸ This includes a training center for traditional crafts and trades. The spread of the escuela taller model in Morocco is just one example of the program's reach outside of Latin America and the Caribbean.



Figure 39: Images of Morocco's UNESCO Global Network of Learning Cities Source: Morocco's Benguerir, Chefchaouen, and Laayoune, members of UNESCO Global Network of Learning Cities (GNLC).

7. Management Systems International, "Independent Midterm Evaluation of Combating Child Labor Through Education in Morocco (Project Dima-Adros)," Funded by United State Department of Labor, 2009, https://www.dol.gov/sites/dolgov/files/ILAB/evaluation_type/midterm_evaluation/Morocco_DIMAADROS_meval_0.pdf

8. Morgan Hekking, "Morocco's Benguerir, Chefchaouen, Laayoune Join UNESCO Network," Morocco World News, September 23, 2020, <https://www.moroccoworldnews.com/2020/09/320523/morocco-benguerir-chefchaouen-laayoune-join-unesco-network>

3 OPPORTUNITIES FOR MATERIALIZING DESIRED FUTURES

A NEW CULTURAL CORRIDOR, BRIDGING OLD SAN JUAN CULTURES WITH PEOPLE

Yimin Hu and Linjing Wang

Based on the existing theory and practice of the creative economy, also known as the orange economy—which includes all sectors whose goods and services are based on the creation of intellectual property—this section of the report makes planning recommendations and hypothetical design proposals to provide both the theoretical basis and physical space for the introduction of the creative economy into Old San Juan. Founded on an analysis of the existing urban fabric, and the underlying urban issues, the section proposes a range of strategies to promote cultural products industries and improve city infrastructure and amenities to facilitate their development and promote a cooperative platform to link the conservation of Old San Juan heritage (tangible and intangible), with the satisfaction of contemporary needs of the area’s economy and urban development. The proposals center on the area surrounding Calle de San Francisco and Calle de la Luna and aim at establishing a “cultural corridor” that would function as a buffer zone between the residential and commercial areas, can connect public spaces, and integrate existing cultural institutions. The proposal aims at attaining a dual goal of diversifying the social and economic activities of Old San Juan based on its rich and diverse heritage and diversifying the set of social actors for whom the historic center represents a source of employment and development.

FIELDWORK FINDINGS:

Field observations indicate that: Old San Juan City, although the cultural core of Puerto Rico is losing local artisans due to several reasons that include higher housing and shop rents and living expenses compared

to other parts of the city, irregularity of the flow of visitors and potential customers that is highly dependent of cruise ships in the harbors, and a lack of physical space and support for long-term personal development. There is also greater competition with street vendors and souvenir shops where mass-produced and thus cheaper products are sold. Existing cultural institutions, including museums, galleries, and local art schools, are neither fully utilized by residents nor fully explored by visitors from the outside. Physically, the institutions are not closely related to the rest of the city through the connection to the city’s public spaces and efficient guiding tools are also absent. Public urban spaces and city infrastructure are poorly planned. Very limited pedestrian spaces and noise from unlimited traffic throughout the historic center are surely generating negative impacts on the quality of life of residents. The lack of city infrastructure, services for residents, and insufficient signage system, along with a high vacancy rate among the existing structures, either historic or vernacular, are further exacerbating the phenomenon of population loss.

CULTURAL PRODUCT DEVELOPMENT

As mentioned above, existing cultural institutions in Old San Juan are not fully utilized and not attractive enough to be fully explored by visitors. The following strategies are proposed to fully explore the potential of local museums, galleries, and any other cultural institutions.

1. A collaboration with wider cultural industries and related industries, such as film production and fashion design, are highly encouraged. Through an interplay with pop culture and popular products that have practical



Figure 40: There are few local craft persons and producers in Old San Juan
Photos: Yimin Hu



Figure 41: The facilities of many public cultural institutions look underutilized
Photos: Yimin Hu



use value, cultural institutions can attain both economic benefits and greater popularity among not only tourists but also residents.

2. There is a need to encourage the establishment of a museum displaying intellectual property or “Museum IP” based on the common and distinguishing features of local cultures with the support of museums as the most powerful form of cultural institution in the region. The integration of the museum IP with product design shall also seek “entertainment, practicality and interactivity” besides the serious functions of exhibition, preservation, and education of a typical museum. Originality and innovation need to be emphasized to balance mass production and thus homogenization of cultural and creative products. Local artists, artisans, art school students, and even the general public can be engaged through public competition or solicitation for design ideas, which is also beneficial for fostering a stronger sense of belonging and community engagement.

3. Marketing and advertising strategies shall also be

involved. Social image re-branding of the museum can be achieved through social media, with a greater level of user interaction to enhance the sense of participation among an even wider audience. Collaboration with online shopping platforms through regular promotional events and product updates is also key to the continuous development of the industries.

IMPROVED INFRASTRUCTURE AND URBAN AMENITIES

After analyzing the urban functional area of Old San Juan, the team focused on the area surrounding Calle de San Francisco and Calle de la Luna, located at the intersection of residential and commercial areas, and suitable as a buffer zone between the two areas, with cultural-related industries embedded as a medium of transition.¹ The analysis of the potential of this neighborhood included a detailed survey of the functions of the buildings on both sides of the streets. On the first

1. BSA Design Awards (2015) “Isleta of San Juan - The Walkable City” Boston Society for Architecture, Boston, <http://designawards.architects.org/projects/campus-and-urban-planning/isleta-of-san-juan-the-walkable-city/>

BOX 8: CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS IN OLD SAN JUAN

Yimin Hy and Linjing Wang

Most of Puerto Rico's cultural institutions, including its major universities and libraries, are concentrated in the San Juan area. One of the most influential cultural institutions of Puerto Rico in the area is the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture (Spanish: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña). ICP, for short, is the institution of the Government of Puerto Rico responsible for the establishment of the cultural policies required to study, preserve, promote, enrich, and diffuse the cultural values of Puerto Rico.¹ With its headquarter located at the site of the colonial Spanish Welfare House in Old San Juan, ICP aims to promote all aspects of Puerto Rican Culture, either tangible or intangible, which includes arts, archeology, museums, parks, monuments, historic zones, music, theater, dance, and the Archives and the National Library of Puerto Rico. It extends its responsibilities throughout all the municipalities of Puerto Rico through autonomous local cultural centers. Until now the institute has managed to perform a variety of tasks including sponsoring programs in visual arts, popular arts/handcrafts, theatrical arts, and musical arts, managing several museums and parks, and restoring the historic buildings throughout the country as part of its historic zones and monuments program.²

Another important cultural institution within the Old San

Juan area is the Puerto Rican Athenaeum (Spanish: Ateneo Puertorriqueño). Founded on April 30, 1876, the Athenaeum now serves multiple purposes as a museum, school, library, and performance hall.³ A host to several contests, conferences, and exhibitions each year, the Athenaeum embraces a broad spectrum of Puerto Rico's cultural communities. Its mission includes promoting literature, art, and music to the community and offering educational opportunities. Though since 1937 the use of the spaces of the Athenaeum has been limited to activities it sponsors, the variety and novelty of the activities are still irreplaceable.⁴ The Theatre Festival with theatrical productions that are free and open to the public, is held annually and a Cinema and Video Chair was created in 1985 to encourage the development of the production of film in Puerto Rico.

3. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ateneo_Puertorrique%C3%B1o

4. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ateneo_Puertorrique%C3%B1o

1. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Institute_of_Puerto_Rican_Culture

2. <https://www.icp.pr.gov/en/>

floor, the stores on Calle de San Francisco are mainly restaurants and retail, while the northern side of Calle de la Luna is mainly residential, with some cultural facilities inserted on the southern side. Calle de San Francisco is more crowded whereas Calle de la Luna has fewer tourists and visitors. The second and upper floors are predominantly residential, but a significant number of them are being used for Airbnb, with a low percentage of local residences. In addition, there are many vacant spaces on both the first and upper floors along the two streets, many of which are located at highly visible street corners, thus providing great opportunities for urban intervention.

The proposed "Cultural Corridor" fits in the existing urban fabric and intends to attract cruise ship visitors for in-depth tours of the historic city connecting significant public spaces and cultural facilities in Old San Juan and adding new cultural-related industries and spaces to bring a new experience to both visitors and residents. The improvement of the physical environ-

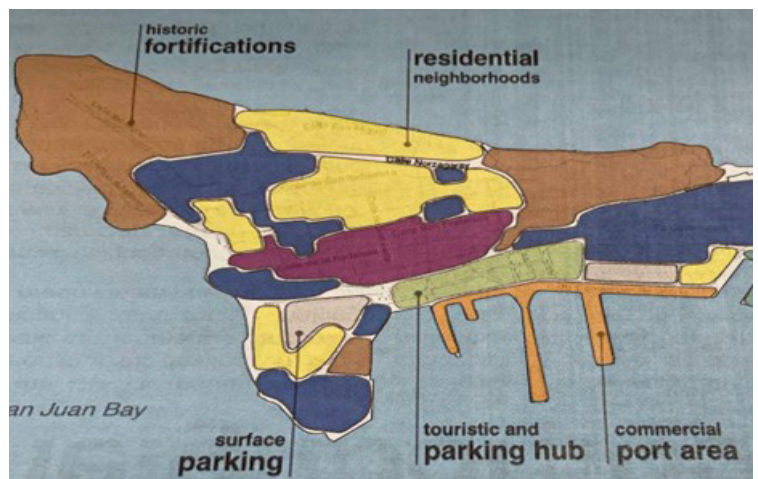


Figure 42: Key land uses in Old San Juan and the location of de la Luna and San Francisco Street
Source: Authors

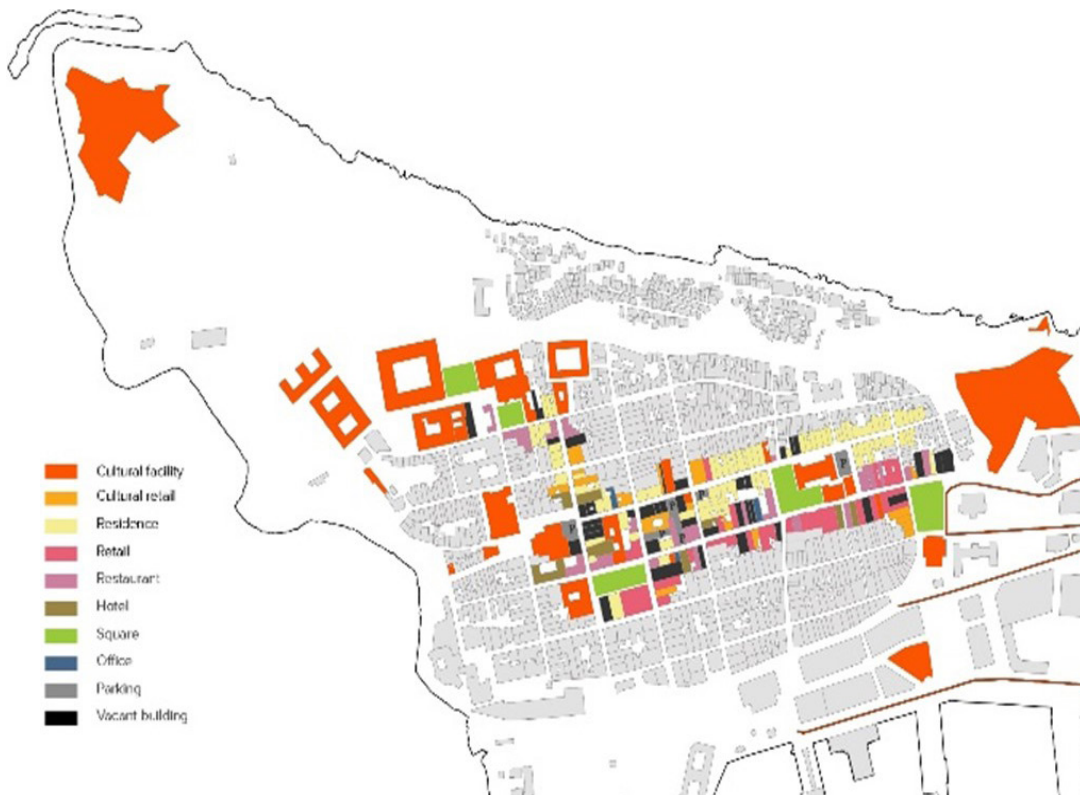


Figure 43: Current building uses, street level
Source: Authors



Figure 44: Current building uses, upper levels
Source: Authors

ment of the neighborhood is necessary before any other means of intervention take place. First and foremost is to repair any insufficient public facilities and add new street furniture in public places. Secondly, the cluttered electrical wires are highly distracting with potential danger and could be considered for gradual replacement with underground fiber optic cables. Finally, some of the pedestrian pavement is broken or the pavement blocks are missing, all requiring repair. A well-improved neighborhood can provide a safe and comfortable environment for pedestrians. After further analysis of local traffic conditions from transportation specialists, the establishment of a pedestrian zone along the corridor is highly recommended. The management of the pedestrian zone can follow international good practices like those of the historic town of Cesky Crumlov, Czech Republic or Florence, Italy where vehicles can enter the designated pedestrian zone with a special time-limited permit issued by city authorities.

To make residents and visitors fully aware of all the information mentioned above, a signage system needs to be in place to inform people in different ways. First, existing cultural facilities, such as theaters, churches, and museums can become signs of the cultural corridor since they are also important destinations for tourists. Secondly, plazas as the main public places where people gather and rest can also be an important part of the



Figure 46: Reconnected public space through the corridor
Source: Authors

signage system. Thirdly, through the previous analysis, we can see that there are many vacant corner buildings. By inserting cultural-related functions and activities and applying attractive facades, these buildings can be restored as new pivot points of view, reinforcing the concept of the cultural corridor. Finally, the map is the most intuitive tool to show the cultural corridor, and we have chosen several locations to place our designed maps to guide people to explore it.



Figure 45: Plan of the Cultural Corridor in the existing urban structure
Source: Authors



Figure 47: Abandoned building at number 53 Calle San Jose, San Juan, 00901, Puerto Rico
Source: Authors

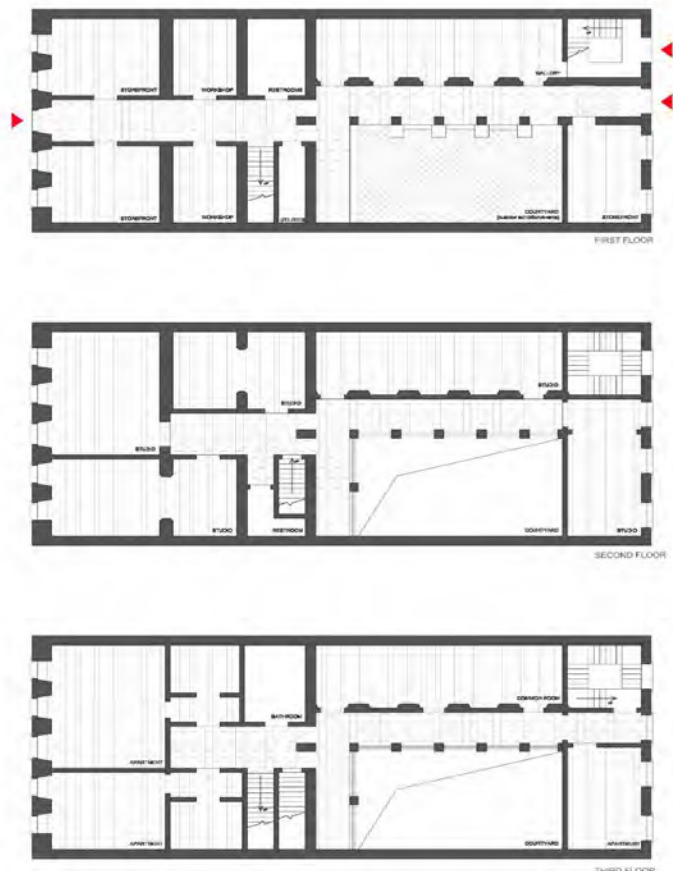


Figure 48: Tentative adaptive reuse programming for "A Home for Artisans,"
Source: Authors



Figure 49: Street section
Source: Authors



Figure 50: Multisector cooperation for implementation
Source: Authors

Vertically, the vacant building can be restored in a variety of ways. A tentative design proposal based on the vacant, deteriorated house of 53 Calle de San Jose is used to exemplify possible strategies. The ground floor shall function as a completely public space, reconnecting the interior to the rest of the city through commercial uses such as cultural retails or galleries. Reopening the courtyard will give more opportunities to connect with the streets, thus providing direct and quicker access to outdoor cultural events such as performing art events in major plazas. The second and upper floors will be the semi-public zone, where artist studios (depending on whether the artisans are willing to work in an interactive atmosphere) or offices for cultural associations and any other businesses. The uppermost floor will be completely private with residential uses and separate access, and also where government funding can be introduced to provide affordable housing programs for local artists or students to start up their careers in Old San Juan, adding to the cultural diversity while retaining local artists. Finally, fully utilizing the rooftops can beautify the city's fifth façade while creating different activity spaces, responding to the increasing need for sustainable development.

A GOVERNANCE PLATFORM FOR COOPERATION

Implementing a culture-based urban heritage conservation and development project as complex as the Cultural Corridor requires cooperation among a diversity of social actors to coordinate their contributions of knowledge, capital, physical space, and incentives. Different platforms, including governments, cultural institutions, schools, enterprises, and private individuals need to work together in these four dimensions. The platforms

share knowledge and physical space with each other and provide financial support to each other so that more social actors can benefit from this partnership, which is the purpose of the cooperation. To this end, we propose the following recommendations, which are also centered on these four areas.

1. INVESTMENT & OPPORTUNITY:

The first is to establish a direct or indirect linkage between investors and the creative industries. Some similar platforms have emerged in recent years, and they are called new regional marketplaces. New regional marketplaces for cultural products help creatives build livelihoods and countries build brands, sparking cultural exchange and integrating economies. These platforms provide people working in creative businesses with plenty of opportunities to showcase themselves through trade fairs and creative design events. Not just concentrated on the indigenous market, these events also open a flood of international opportunities for individual creatives, expanding the influence of the vernacular culture and increasing its international visibility. Similar platforms include Beijing Design Week and MICSUR (Mercado de Industrias Culturales del Sur). MICSUR is a bi-annual event that links South American creative businesses with regional and global buyers. It includes sessions designed to help South American businesses find new suppliers and partners, as well as workshops, talks, and showcases. The event allows creatives to massively increase their reach, raise their profile, and expand their networks. In this type of platform, governments and NGOs should play active roles.

2. SUPPORT & MANAGEMENT

On the other hand, people in creative industries also need to communicate with each other and gain mutual support. Essentially, different creative industries have some commonalities, and these artists can better understand each other's working modes and needs. Thus, establishing a cooperation platform between them is equivalent to creating a scientific and effective communication space for them. The popularity of these physical spaces has galvanized autonomous workers to explore novel ways to collaborate for mutual benefits. Through spreading risks, increasing access to capital, enabling resource sharing, and providing training and upskilling, these new cooperatives are helping diverse professionals with shared values to work in the creative and cultural economy.²

2. Future Landscapes of the Orange Economy: Creative Pathways for Improving Lives in Latin America and the Caribbean, Finley, Maguire, Oppenheim & Skvirsky, 2017

Smart and Enspiral are the representatives of this type of corporation. Enspiral is a New Zealand-based support network for individuals and organizations working on social impact. They collectively decide how to spend the money using facilitated Co-budgeting, nurture a culture of collaborative decision-making and transparent agreements, and share their handbook of processes and agreements with the members. Except for the help of governments and related association, this type of platform also needs support from some specific companies.³

3. EMPLOYMENT

Most importantly, increasing employment is a great concern to both the government and residents and another benefit of developing the Orange Economy should be reflected in this aspect. Rooted in local cultures, the Orange Economy's best promoters are undoubtedly local people who are familiar with native cultures, and a large part of the job requires the participation of residents. Providing job coaching and job training for residents is essential to the Orange Economy and a way to keep growing the development force.

A centralized platform is needed to develop the relationship between industry and employment, to provide more job opportunities for local people while inheriting traditional culture. Italy, for example, established Guild based in Rome in 1946. The union provides services for the development and inheritance of traditional handicrafts in more than 60 industries, helping people to get a job. Although there are many problems in Guild, its original vision is still worth learning from. In addition, many enterprises or governments open training schools, which also provide opportunities for many people to make a living. For example, in Sichuan, China, the Women Flexible Employment Association offered many local people knitting craft jobs. Some participants said through this cooperation with the association, many women have strengthened their confidence and determination to engage in handicraft manufacturing and noticed that more people pay attention to the handicraft industry, helping them to achieve income growth.

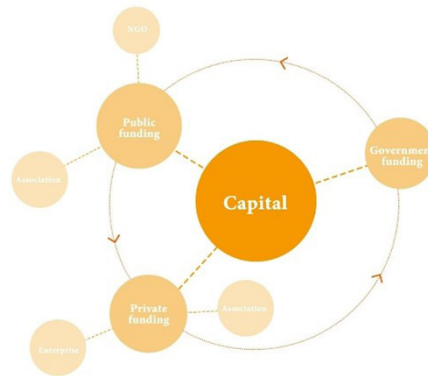
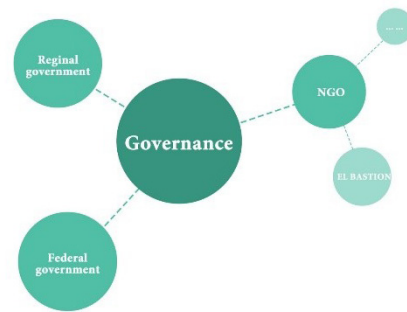


Figure 51: Governance and capital interactions
Source: Authors

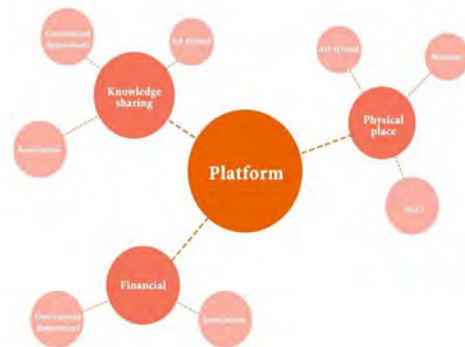


Figure 52: Platform Interactions
Source: Authors

3. Enspiral's website: <https://www.enspiral.com>

MANAGING SOUND IN PUBLIC SPACES

Celine Apollon and Calvin Nguyen

Old San Juan has gone through many changes in the past half-century which raise concern for its sustainability as a livable historic center. These challenges include a rapid decrease in population, the increase in foreigners, and local property owners devoting residential properties to short-term rental schemes, (AirBnB and others) and the intermittent but intensive occupation of the public spaces by cruise ship passengers.¹ The economic vitality of Old San Juan increasingly relies on the influx of tourists displacing residents and offering little incentives for Puerto Ricans who may want to reside in Old San Juan, given the deficiency of services and infrastructure.

Public spaces play a critical role in the residents' and visitors' experience of an urban heritage area. These are the spaces where different identities and groups interact, commune, and find a place for leisure. They are especially important in dense urban areas such as Old San Juan where many public spaces suffer from either underutilization or overutilization, connected to issues of tourism, community attachment for these spaces, and private uses (ranging from open spaces for restaurants to parking for automobiles). A sustainable historic city center requires public spaces that allow for a diverse range of uses — by different groups, of different scales,

and at different times of the day. By ensuring that a diversity of social actors in the historic center feel welcome and deem the space usable, the cultural, use, aesthetic, and historic values of these public spaces can be greatly improved and contribute to the vitality of the historic city center.

The present section of the report focuses on the historic center's public open spaces and four case studies — Plaza Colon, Plaza de Armas, Plaza de San Jose, and Calle del Recinto Sur. The study focused primarily on sounds and noise pollution and uses the results of the field study to ground recommendations to improve the quality of these spaces and the experience of their users. Vehicular traffic was noted as a dominant sound that limited and reduced the use of the public spaces, specifically at Plaza Colon and Plaza de Armas. Another sound that interfered with a variety of uses was amplified music from nearby private restaurants and bars, which was the case with Plaza de San Jose; here, a public ordinance that sets stricter limits on amplified sound would create a more serene public space, particularly in the daytime.

METHOD OF ANALYSIS

As already stated, the fieldwork looked at four public spaces in Old San Juan— Plaza Colon, Plaza de Armas, Plaza de San Jose, and Calle del Recinto Sur— each

1. Direct observations and conversations with specialists during tours conducted by officials of the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture. Old San Juan, March 2022.



Figure 53: Location of the public spaces analyzed
Source: Authors

situated at different points of the historic city center, and each presenting different types of public spaces. These case studies provide information for rethinking how public spaces should be configured in the city, for whom, and through which means. The analysis used sound as the main research variable inquiring; how does sound affect how the public space is perceived, experienced, and utilized? The sound was chosen as an important proxy for understanding these public spaces because of its ability to capture the many fluctuations in the built environment throughout a given day, as well as capturing the diversity of actors that contribute to its production and ultimately receive its impacts.

The fieldwork observed the “soundscape” — defined as the amalgamation of all-natural, human, industrial, musical, cultural, and other sounds in an environment — of these public spaces and recorded audio clips on different days at different times.² Another important aspect was quantifying the sounds present at the site; this was done in 10-15 second decibel (dB) recordings that measured the average and peak decibels of that recording, which were done in several different spots in a given public space, at different times of the day and on different days. Staying in these public spaces, the authors closely observed and identified different sources of sound, the activities associated with them, and how these sounds changed, appeared or disappeared throughout the day.

RESULTS

The results of the fieldwork are recorded on an online interactive map that displays our photographs, observations, and audio recordings specific to each site to give a better sense of the experience of these public spaces, the various users present, and the various narratives that are played out in the public spaces.

From the recordings, Plaza de Armas had the highest average decibel measurement, 5 dB higher than Plaza Colon, which was second in average dB, and almost 10 dB higher than Plaza de San Jose, which was lowest in average dB. Calle del Recinto Sur had the second-lowest average dB measurement, at around 62 dB. The average peak dB measurement, which indicated the loudest noise captured during the 10-15 second recordings, follows similar trends. The one notable exception is Plaza de San Jose, which has a higher peak dB than Calle del Recinto Sur, their places switched from the average dB to the average peak dB.

To better situate this data, the United States Department of Interior defines a decibel level of 50 as a typical urban

residence, a decibel of 60 as a normal conversation from three feet away, and a decibel of 70 as what you would hear in a classroom during loud chatter.³ To make these public spaces hospitable for leisurely conversation, keeping the ambient decibel at or around 60 would be optimal. Going off this metric, Plaza de Armas and Plaza Colon, surrounded on all four sides by automobile traffic, present significant impediments to occupants carrying a conversation, and thus limit a variety of activities — locals meeting together, playing dominoes, reading a book, etc. While the average decibel of Plaza de San Jose sits around this acceptable 60 dB mark, it also has a higher peak dB rating than expected — at 93 dB, attributed to the amplified music from nearby restaurants and bars. Thus, this too should be considered an imposition to an otherwise relatively quiet plaza. The following section describes in more detail the character of each of these public spaces and the design recommendations emerging from the field observations of these decibel ratings. Only proposals for Plaza Colon, Plaza de Armas, and Plaza San Jose are included in this report. The role of Calle del Recinto Sur is more connected with tourism orientation than public spaces.

3. United States Department of Labor. “Occupational Noise Exposure.” Occupational Safety and Health Administration. <https://www.osha.gov/noise>

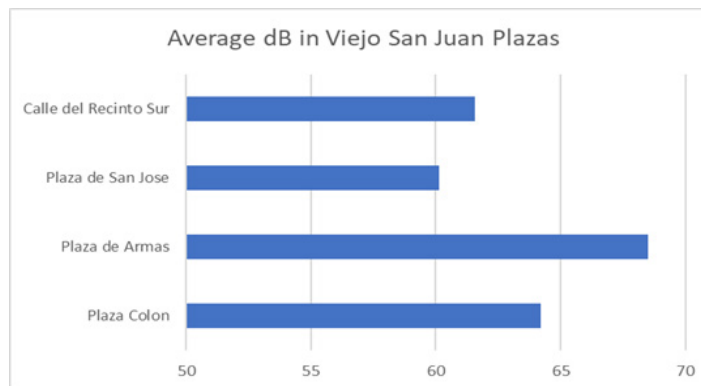


Figure 54: Average dB in Old San Juan across four case studies
Source: Authors

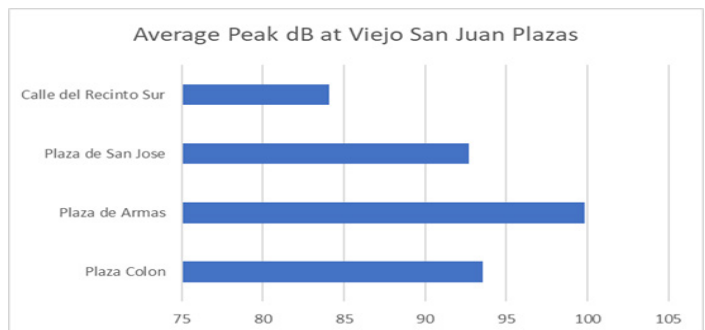


Figure 55: Average Peak dB in Old San Juan across four case studies
Source: Authors

2. Schafer, R.M. *Our Sonic Environment and Tuning the World: The Soundscape*. Destiny Books Rochester, 1977.

BOX 9:

A POLYPHONY OF CHANGE: MANAGING SOUND IN PUBLIC SPACES OF HISTORIC CITY CENTERS

Celine Apollon and Calvin Nguyen

Sound has an important role in how public spaces are perceived and used. Sound in public space presents a complex way to look at the diverse actors, systems, and processes at play in public spaces. Moreover, sound plays a major role when considering public spaces in historic city centers; sound can serve to complement the heritage of a site, hinder its use and significance, or be the subject of heritage itself. Managing sound in urban heritage areas is gaining preeminence as over-tourism is bringing large numbers of visitors, many times, looking for entertainment. The cases of Quito in Ecuador and Merida in Mexico provide a window into the complex issue posed by tourism-oriented activities that relish loud sounds. The analysis must distinguish between noise and sound. Whereas noise is commonly referred to as a type of sound with a negative connotation, often associated with and causing discomfort, the sound is understood as a component of culture and an individual's sensory experience in cities. Studies use the concept of "soundscape" to talk about the total sonic experience of a certain public space or landscape. Popularized by R.M. Schafer in the 1970s, the term soundscape plays with the word landscape, and is meant to include all sounds in an environment — natural, human, industrial, musical, cultural, and all other sounds.¹ These concepts and the related measurement and regulation tools are gaining in relevance as tourism has encroached on the local livelihoods in historic centers to the point where residents are demanding change. As tourist industries are increasingly prioritized by city governments, the priorities of the residents are becoming overshadowed, causing the natural soundscapes of cities to be inundated with noise pollution. When the noise from tourism is left unregulated, residents experience temporary and permanent physiological disturbances.²

QUITO, ECUADOR

Recently, Ecuador declared tourism a national priority, bringing outside public and private investment, and thus outside sounds to the city. When a study was conducted by Oquendo and Santos about the

noise pollution tourists experienced during tours of Quito, the results found that although most tourists found the tour noisy, the noise did not impact their view of the various public centers. 92% of the tourists agreed that they would recommend the tour or choose to participate in it again, despite the noise pollution.³ Meanwhile, residents are directly impacted by the negative externalities of the new sounds of construction, traffic, and vendors. The noise levels obtained from the study reveal that the daily noise levels exceed the permissible limits according to World Health Organization (WHO) and the federal regulations in Ecuador, causing residents to experience "acoustic contamination" daily.⁴ The general public in Quito is unaware of these federal regulations, causing noise limitations to be less enforced and residents to have less agency over historic city sounds.

MERIDA, MEXICO

In the areas of Merida and Mazatlán in Mexico, noise from newcomers has disrupted the livelihoods and impacted the health of residents. The impact of the problem can be gauged by the fact that from August to October in 2021, residents in Merida have filed 25 complaints to the city government, forcing the Urban Development Planning Department to impose stricter noise guidelines for the city.⁵ The abundance of noise pollution in Mazatlan forced residents to demand to test the noise levels in the city. Field experts found that the noise levels are higher than the levels permitted under city noise guidelines, and these levels are impacting the health of the local population. Residents agree that "a human right is being violated," as new problems in the community are developing including sleep deprivation, chronic degenerative problems amongst the elderly, and increased accounts of stress, depression, and anxiety.⁶

3. Oquendo, V.J., Santos, M.R. "Noise Pollution and Its Incidence in the Experience of Foreign Tourists During the Operation of a City Tour in the Historic Center of Quito." 2020. vol 1110. Springer, Cham.

4. Ibid.

5. "Living in Merida's historic center continues to be a problem with noise." The Yucatan Post. 2021.

6. "Collective lawsuit for noise pollution is prepared in Mazatlán, sign up today." The Mazatlan Post. 2021.

1. Schafer, R.M. *Our Sonic Environment and Tuning the World: The Soundscape*. Destiny Books Rochester, 1977.

2. Sari, Deniz, Nesimi Ozkurt, Samet Feyyaz Hamamci, Mustafa Ece, Ali Akdağ and Neşe Yüğürk Akdağ. "Assessment of noise pollution sourced from entertainment places in Antalya, Turkey." 2014

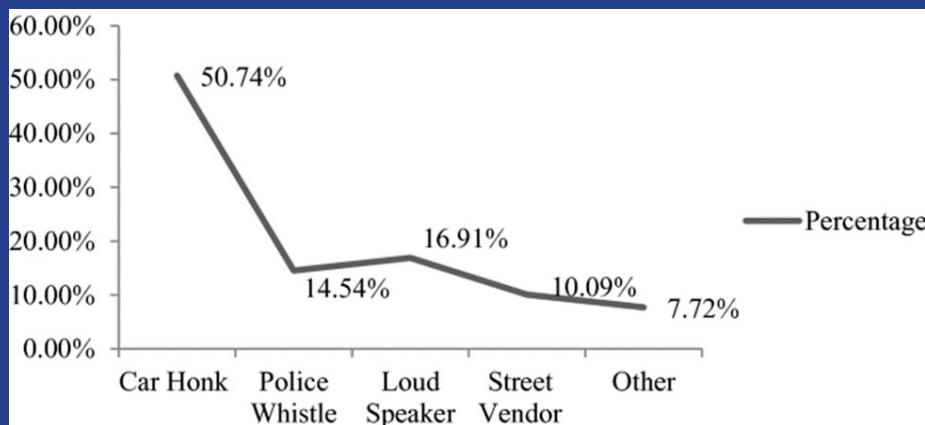


Figure 56: Tourists' accounts of the most prominent noises in Quito.

Source: Oquendo, V.J., Santos, M.R. "Noise Pollution and Its Incidence in the Experience of Foreign Tourists During the Operation of a City Tour in the Historic Center of Quito." 2020. vol 1110. Springer, Cham.

PROPOSALS

PLAZA COLON

The Plaza sits at the eastern border of the Old San Juan district, a major gateway to and from the rest of the San Juan islet. The plaza is rectangular, with circular enclaves at each of its corners that serve as seating. The center of the square is occupied by a Christopher Columbus monument facing north, a statue of his likeness raised on a column and octagonal pedestal. On the northern side of Plaza Colon, there are two food kiosks — selling items from mofongo to juice smoothies — with their area of movable seating. On its eastern perimeter, there's a three-paneled sign that has a map of Old San Juan and a description of the “Rum Route” of Puerto Rico. Throughout the week, there's an artisan's market of about fifteen merchants that set up inside Plaza Colon, selling anything from pottery to jewelry. The artisan market's setup is contingent on when cruise ship tourists are scheduled to arrive at the island, catering mainly to foreign tourists. While the sound created by the artisan market often fills up the plaza, the dominant sound at Plaza Colon is the automobile traffic. Bordered by four streets — Calle de San Francisco on the north, Calle de la Fortaleza on the south, Av. Luis Munoz Rivera on the east, and Calle de O'Donnell on the west — car traffic is the most significant noise at Plaza Colon. A significant contribution to this noise is the tour buses that load and unload tourists along the side of Av. Luis Munoz Rivera. Cars, traveling at high speeds into the historic city center from the islet, also contribute to the traffic noise.

Given that cars contribute to much of the noise pollution at Plaza Colon, the study suggests the convenience of partially pedestrianizing Calle de San Francisco and Calle de la Fortaleza, while fully pedestrianizing the section of Av. Luis Munoz Rivera that borders Plaza Colon. Fully pedestrianizing Av. Luis Munoz Rivera, a wide street that tends to welcome faster traffic, will greatly reduce the noise pollution coming from faster vehicles from the east, as well as tour buses dropping off tourists on this side. This will effectively move the tour bus drop-off location further away from Plaza Colon, lessening the negative impact of sudden rushes of tourists and their tour bus as a concentrated form of noise. The partial pedestrianization of Calle de San Francisco and Calle de la Fortaleza reduces the noise pollution at certain hours of the day.



Figure 57: Signage on the eastern perimeter of Plaza Colon
Source: Apollon and Nguyen

There is precedent for this tactic of partial pedestrianization in historic centers such as Bologna, where entire streets are closed for weekend events.⁴ Recognizing that a complete pedestrianization of these streets could negatively impact the economic and personal lives of those in Old San Juan, only partial pedestrianizing is recommended, taking effect during non-peak traffic hours of the day.⁵ This lessens the frustrations of a partially pedestrianized street from a driver's standpoint, while also creating ample windows of time for a quieter Plaza Colon that can facilitate a larger pool of activities and a more serene setting for the surrounding community. At the same time this reduces noise pollution, it increases the overall space of Plaza Colon, opening it up to more possible programming; for example, the adjacent Teatro Tapia, an important cultural institution in the city, can hold promotional and community events in Plaza Colon, and better engage with the public space during the pedestrianized hours of Calle de la Fortaleza. Because Plaza Colon acts as a central gateway into the historic center, fully and partially pedestrianizing these streets also funnel the traffic to the perimeter of Old San Juan, having a domino effect of decreasing the traffic and noise pollution that occurs further west.

4. Bonfantini, G. Bertrando. "Historic Urban Scapes for Tomorrow, Two Italian Cases: Genoa and Bologna." *European Spatial Research and Policy*, Vol. 22, No. 2. 2015.

5. Given the scope of our fieldwork, the exact hours in which these roads should be partially pedestrianized should require further fieldwork and community outreach.

PLAZA COLON



Figure 58: Signage on the eastern perimeter of Plaza Colon and Existing conditions (top) recommended changes (bottom) to Plaza Colon. Partially pedestrianized streets are hatched, while fully pedestrianized streets are in blue. Source: Apollon and Nguyen. (All base maps come from openstreetmap.org, edited by the authors).

PLAZA DE ARMAS



Figure 59: Existing conditions (top) recommended changes (bottom) to Plaza de Armas. Partially pedestrianized streets are hatched, while fully pedestrianized streets are in blue
Source: Apollon and Nguyen. (All base maps come from openstreetmap.org, edited by the authors).

PLAZA DE ARMAS

This plaza is considered the heart of Old San Juan; centrally located, this plaza looks out at City Hall on the north side and architecturally significant commercial buildings that showcase Chicago School-style high rises to the south. Shaped like an oblong rectangle, the plaza is fitted with a fountain on its western side and two outdoor cafe kiosks — one on the northwest corner, and the other in the middle of the southern perimeter. Because of its centrality, cruise ship tourists often meet up with tour guides at Plaza de Armas and walking tours frequently pass through. Furthermore, it suffers from the same traffic noise pollution as Plaza Colon, surrounded on all four sides by streets. There is ample seating along the north and south edges of Plaza de Armas.

Considering the same limitations and benefits as with Plaza Colon, the study recommends a similar planning intervention with Plaza de Armas: partially pedestrianize Calle de San Francisco (north) and Calle Rafael Cordero (south). Again, this will significantly reduce the noise pollution that reaches Plaza de Armas, while also providing a connection to the city hall and the commercial buildings. Moreover, the benches that are situated along the perimeter of Plaza de Armas will be alleviated of constant traffic in front of them and create seating more hospitable for conversation.

Furthermore, because of its oblong shape, it is advisable to add spaces like the northwest cafe kiosk — Cafe Cuatro Estaciones. The seating here is surrounded by plantings, which muffle some of the noise created by automobiles and the rest of the plaza — the nearby fountain, the passing tour guides, etc. By adding one or two more of these types of spaces around the plaza, the plaza can host pockets of tranquility — where residents can play dominoes, enjoy the outdoor weather, and the like — that combat the dominance of one sound or activity in the plaza.

Plaza de San Jose

The Plaza (formerly Plaza de Santo Domingo) is the adjoining plaza to San Jose Church (formerly Santo Domingo Church), a historic sixteenth-century Catholic church. The plaza is bordered by two streets, Calle de San Sebastian on the south and Calle del Cristo on the west, as well as Casa de Los Contrafuertes, a cultural center, and artist workspace.⁶ The plaza features a

central monument to Juan Ponce de Leon, erected in 1983. Nine benches line the perimeter of the plaza. In an otherwise quiet space, the amplified music of restaurants and bars along Calle de San Sebastian and Calle del Cristo can be easily heard in Plaza de San Jose; moreover, movable seating for the restaurants has been placed inside the plaza.

In this relatively quiet plaza (due to its location) the greatest source of noise pollution comes from restaurants and bars. Since the Plaza is situated in the northern part of the historic center, where the more residential streets reside, mitigating the impact of amplified sound for a more serene and hospitable environment for conversation would help turn Plaza de San Jose into a space frequented by locals, and place of respite. Currently, there are minimal restrictions for amplified sounds from these restaurants and bars, with a curfew of 2:00 am.⁷ An ordinance that limits amplified sound from private properties to the evening — often the peak hours for these restaurants and bars — would create ample windows of time during the day and afternoon for a quieter plaza. Furthermore, stopping the encroachment of private restaurants and bars on the plaza opens it up for diverse uses; for example, Casa de Los Contrafuertes could make use of the space for temporary art installations or performances, creating a more community and public-oriented atmosphere without the requirement of consumption.

6. "La Casa de Los Contrafuertes." Discover Puerto Rico. <https://www.discoverpuertorico.com/profile/la-casa-de-los-contrafuertes/9306>.

7. Héctor J. Berdecía-Hernández, Interview by Calvin Nguyen, Old San Juan, March 2022

REDEVELOPING UNDERUSED AND DECAYING WATERFRONT, FROM LA PUNTILLA TO CANAL SAN ANTONIO: THE OPPORTUNITY FOR RE-CONNECTING OLD SAN JUAN TO THE CITY.

Veronica Rosado, Nilo Cobau

This section of the report focuses on the western edge of the Isleta, from La Puntilla to the eastern waterfront that stretches along with the Canal San Antonio to the San Antonio bridge. This piece of the Isleta contains invaluable resources for the sustainable conservation of Old San Juan. It offers the opportunity to functionally re-connect Old San Juan with the Metropolitan area and attract new Porto Rican residents to the Isleta and counteract the secular loss of permanent residents and economic and government activities that is turning Old San Juan into a tourism hyper-specialized corner of San Juan.

The report describes the state of disinvestment and unbalanced use of the study area. It discusses in detail the number of vacant lots, parking lots, and parking facilities that dominate much of the portside waterfront. Following the history of failed and unimplemented revitalization plans, and their shortcomings, the authors propose the basis to create a plan that addresses the latter within a vision that considers its historic value and heritage.

Recommendations go into detail as to how to ensure the revitalization creates a connected set of pedestrian neighborhoods avoiding the pitfalls and failures of the massive fortress-like hotels in the northeast of the Isleta. Included in the proposals are mechanisms to redirect various negative development pressures (excessive short-term stays, hotel monoculture) off the current heavily touristed Old City to adjacent areas of the city. It additionally discusses the need to provide adequate mass transit facilities to ensure Old San Juan can remain well connected to the rest of Puerto Rico while balancing the pressure from car traffic in the most vulnerable and older areas. Finally, the report discusses financial mechanisms that could help fund this revitalization program and regulate the area for the benefit of residents and tourists, mitigating the negative effects of the hyper touristification of Old San Juan, and spreading out tourism pressures and development demand throughout the entirety of the Isleta.

EXISTING CONDITIONS AND OPPORTUNITIES IN LA ISLETA DE SAN JUAN

The waterfront of Old San Juan has been in a constant

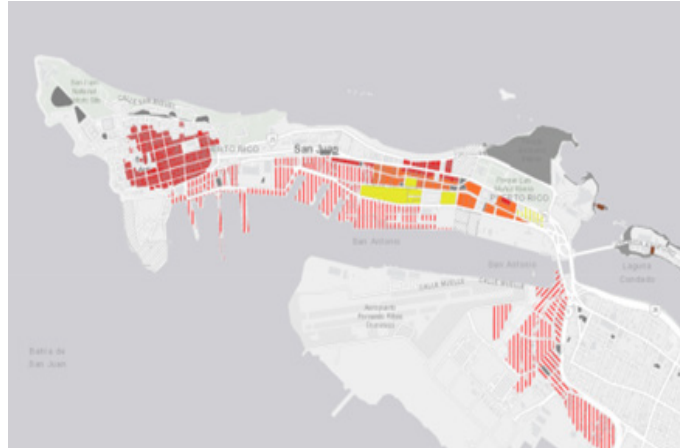


Figure 60: Old San Juan and the Isleta
Source: Map of the Puerto Rico Planning Commission (2016)

transition process since the relocation of the commercial port activities to the other side of the bay. Aside from the intensive tourism port-related activities that take place in the old port—operating now as a hub for Caribbean-bound cruise ship tours—the area is still in search of a sustainable future. Several attempts to redevelop the area failed and today, the area is being subject to a patchy decision-making process that assigns underused land and buildings to different short-term uses without a long-term view of the role this highly valuable area of the Islet can play in the future development of Old San Juan.

Currently, Puerta de Tierra and the waterfront piers along the bayside are designated as commercial zones. As in the historic center, a lack of inclusive zoning is a huge threat to the balanced development of heritage assets. Highly commercialized zoning has resulted in displacement, decay, and a lack of cultural cohesion in the historic center. Similar patterns could be seen in San Agustín Street and the Waterfront. An open dialogue between the conservation and sustainable development professionals needs to happen to make these two agendas work for each other. This is probably the hardest challenge for a government like the Puerto Rican one, which encounters significant barriers to achieving a long-term vision for the Islet, preventing it from effectively implementing the four pillars for sustainable development (social, economic, environmental, and cultural).

Another impending issue in Puerto Rico’s redevelopment efforts is the lack of policies for managing vacant lots and public nuisance. The government of Puerto Rico legislated in 2018 for municipalities to be able to acquire public nuisances and abandoned structures commonly known as “estorbos públicos”, for investment and resell to incentivize development.¹ An example of this legislation is the creation of Universal Properties Realty Government Services, an LLC in charge of reselling some of these structures. Now the problem with this agency is the lack of data and specificity in the inventory. Most of the listed properties were beach houses, vacant coastal land, and abandoned coastal buildings in low-density towns like Aguadilla, Rincon, Isabela, and Quebradillas, which are recently trending due to a wave of short-term rentals and vacation rentals in the rural areas of Puerto Rico.²



Figure 61: Master Plan for “San Juan, The Walkable City” Overall Map (2010)
Source: Master Plan for “San Juan, The Walkable City”

While the government of the Commonwealth has not demonstrated the capacity to sustainably protect and develop the Isleta, several Majors and municipal administrations proposed master plans to build up a comprehensive vision for the city and its future. None of them were successfully implemented or granted continuity by the administration due to political incompetence and quarreling ideologies. In 2020 under the administration of Jorge Santini, a master plan for making San Juan “the walkable city” drew a comprehensive vision rebranding the identity of the Isleta as a catalyst for urban growth and a prototypical city of the future for the Caribbean.³ While the vision included the objective of introducing a transformative transportation system, pedestrianizing major streets, and preserving the cultural values of the city, it still wanted to consolidate the Isleta as a primary touristic destination, which does not fully correspond to the socio-economic needs of Puerta de Tierra and the San Antonio Channel, and cancels the city’s heritage values before the colonial and imperialist control.⁴

Diagnostics on issues and opportunities for this plan are similar to the findings from the fieldwork documentation done in Puerto Rico by the authors. Underutilized land, decaying buildings, and an undeserving transportation system are still impending problems in the sustainable

redevelopment of Isleta. While Santini’s plan documented these issues back in 2010, the images below show how this is still ongoing in 2022. Puerta de Tierra is an essential connector between the Isleta and the rest of the metropolitan area. Its role as an extension of the historic center must be strongly defined in both a strategic and cultural way within any redevelopment and balancing effort of the Isleta.

The details of these master plan proposals underscore a major problem, the lack of more specific design guidelines for balancing new development and heritage redevelopment of Puerta de Tierra as an extension of the historic center and as a significant historic neighborhood itself. This pertains to specific construction, building codes, and preservation restrictions to ensure both the accommodation of the new and the protection of the old. Visualizations included in these master plans consistently show a superficial vision for the Isleta without a toolkit for how to socially- and financially sustain such a scenario in the context of Puerto Rico. To create such an ambitious plan for Puerta de Tierra would require a robust long-term and incremental investment plan that enacts revitalization and redevelopment in small phases supported by public-private partnerships that ideally do not require over 2-5M upfront costs. Examples of waterfront redevelopments across the United States and internationally, show that this long-term incremental approach is more successful than a top-down holistic intervention in a short period as these plans proposed.

1. Government website for the documentation, description, and definition of public nuisances in Puerto Rico. <https://estorbospublicos.com/> (latest update in 2019).
2. Sisson, Patrick. “Puerto Rico faces uneven and underfunded recovery”. 2019 <https://archive.curbed.com/2019>
3. DiMambro & Associates, San Juan, A Walkable City. 2010
4. “Six objectives of the master plan: 1) Introduce a transformative transportation system, 2) Consolidate the Isleta as a primary touristic destination, 3) Strategically address global changes, 4) Protect and celebrate the Isleta’s vibrant culture and relevant history, 5) Provide a state-of-the-art pedestrian experience, and 6) Foster dense, diverse and vibrant communities.” DiMambro & Associates, San Juan, A Walkable City. 2010 ; Gonzalez, Luis., Flores, Milagros., Sepulveda, Anibal., et al. San Juan, The City that Grew Beyond its Walls. 2005

BOX 10:

FINANCIAL TOOLS AVAILABLE FOR FINANCING WATERFRONT REDEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

Veronica Rosado, Nilo Cobau

Several financial tools were investigated for redevelopment plans. Among the ones most likely to succeed in this scenario are the creation of a Public Trust Fund and the use of value capture tools that will be listed and described below.

A Public Doctrine Trust Fund should ensure that the waterfront and selected parcels of vacant land along the edge stay public and accessible to every resident and visitor of Puerto Rico (physically, visually, and psychologically).¹

Financing Upfront Capital Costs: A challenging part of any redevelopment project is how to pay for the upfront capital costs before any revenues, either taxes or user fees, can be collected. The traditional methodology in the United States is for local governments to issue bonds against future revenues. This presents some uniquely challenging issues in the case of Puerto Rico which has had major debt payment issues over the past decade. We propose then for the Waterfront Redevelopment corporation to issue bonds directly against the land values it seeks to improve, and for those bonds to be secured against future revenues from the redevelopment. In the medium- and long-term things thankfully are somewhat simpler. When the revenue stream from the increased land values comes online any margin over and above the initial margin used to issue the bonds can be used for financing additional capital work. Additionally, if more revenues are needed modest fees can be levied on the development within the bounds of the redevelopment district, for example, a special sales tax on goods and services sold within the development.

Tax Increment Financing represents a valuable way to acquire immediate financing for capital projects related to the waterfront redevelopment. Tax increment financing has a relatively simple method of operation. To start, the land value adjacent to a project is assessed at its pre-project condition. That value is then “locked in” and all future assessed increases in land value are then taxed at a separate higher rate to fund the project. Generally, a third step, in which future land value increases are estimated to issue bonds against future revenues is also needed to help acquire capital for the construction of the project.

Tradable Development Rights and Tradable Sharing Rights are among the most powerful sets of tools for both the revitalization of historic cores as well as rebalancing the demands of tourism away from small concentrated old cities are tradable rights. These come in two types: transferable development rights, and tradable sharing rights. The transferable Development Rights (TDRs) are better

known. For historic preservation though its usage is simple and well understood. In exchange for preserving a building, the owner of said building gains the right to sell the excess and unused development rights on the open market to nearby plots of land which can thus be developed more intensely. The latter, tradable sharing rights, is a newer concept and appears to have yet been implemented but proposes a new and exciting way to regulate short-term rentals for the benefit of an entire area, not just those property owners who convert their rental apartments into quasi-hotels.² Tradable sharing rights (TSRs) work similarly to tradable development rights. The way they work is straightforward, each year the government issues each unit with a set amount of TSRs that can be redeemed for so many days of short-term stay within the TSR area during that calendar year. These rights can then be sold or transferred to other units within the area allowing for even full-time residents to financially benefit from the touristic desirability of the area. TSRs present complications that TDRs lack. TSRs are more difficult to manage as they reset yearly and the management of TSRs must be integrated with the management of hotels. Hotel rooms and short-term rentals are substitute goods in economic parlance with a dearth of one driving up demand for the other. Thankfully since TSRs reset annually these issues that come from a lack of real-world experience with the financial mechanism can be managed empirically and iteratively.

2. Stephen R. Miller, “Transferable Sharing Rights: A Theoretical Model for Regulating Airbnb and the Short-Term Rental Market,” SSRN Electronic Journal, 2014, <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2514178>; Rana Amirtahmasebi, Mariana Orloff, and Sameh Wahba, “Urban Regeneration,” International Development Institution, World Bank (blog), 2015, https://urban-regeneration.worldbank.org/Buenos_Aires.

1. <https://hudsonriverpark.org/about-us/hudson-river-park-trust/>



Figure 62: Puerta de Tierra and the Waterfront states of underutilization and decay in 2022
 Source: Veronica Rosado and Nilo Cobau

Mobility in San Juan, like much of the United States, is highly automobile-dependent largely due to the incentives of federal policy reinforcing cultural preferences linked to the “American way of life” model. Yet, Puerto Rico has a significantly lower income per capita than most of the mainland, leading to a substantial auto-induced financial burden. This leads to Puerto Rico combining many of the bad traits of auto culture, overuse of cars by the affluent like driving tours of congested historic areas such as old San Juan (known colloquially as the tour of the idiot) with limited mobility and opportunity for many people on the island.⁵ This creates a broad system of automobile dependence and precarity that isolates many people and places from the general life of San Juan.

Old San Juan existing at the tip of the Isleta is perhaps the starkest physical manifestation of this disconnectedness as to reach it a person must travel three miles over totally automobile-oriented streets from the main island. Thus, the only connection between it and much of the metropole and therefore the island, is via automobile.

The Mass transit system in San Juan at large and on the Isleta, in particular, is in dire shape due to a severe lack of funding. The singular metro line stops short of the oldest developed areas in the city due to a failure to finish the initial metro plan, and bus service is grossly inadequate. The San Juan metropolitan area currently has far fewer buses per capita than comparable cities in the

United States, despite a fairly high density of land use. Currently, the two bus operators have between them 107 buses, in comparison, the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA) has 1,185 buses. This translates to SEPTA having a bus for every 2,892 people in its service area, while San Juan’s transit agencies have a bus for every 11,000 people. A difference of almost a factor of four between the two areas. Crucially, no one would claim that Philadelphia has a world-leading transit service, which helps emphasize just how underserved the transit ridership market is in San Juan.

Two major entities were responsible for the evolution and historical growth of Puerta de Tierra, the Puerto Rico Department of Public Works (DTOP), and the US Corps of Engineers.⁶ These two bodies’ contrasting views led to the neighborhood’s organization and urban identity, still very present today in the overall character of Puerta de Tierra. While DTOP may have had the intention of originally following the “ensanches” (Spanish for planned city extensions) happening in Spain’s major cities, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers agenda was to increase military security through regulated building heights and further fortification development along the bay towards the east of the Isleta.

A map drawn by Manuel Walls in 1867 shows an important framework for understanding urban growth and land parcels in Puerta de Tierra.⁷ Before 1867, this area was majority a military zone extending east to the

5. One example is the custom of driving sight-seeing tours of congested historic areas such as old San Juan (known colloquially as the tour of the idiot).

6. Gonzalez, Luis, et al. San Juan, the City that Grew Beyond its Walls. National Parks Service. 2005 p 79-80
 7. Ibid.

Fortín of San Gerónimos, a zone that historians refer to as the “zona polémica” (controversial zone). Historically, purchasing rights and land use shifts in this area have been a slow and multi-layered process dominated by multiple parties of contrasting interests. Furthermore, an imposed organized scheme by the US Corps of Engineers also defined land ownership and the character of Puerta de Tierra under what historical references cite as “Proyectos de Reformas de Defensas” (Proposals for Improvement of Defenses), and eventually branded as the first “barrio extramural” of the Islet of San Juan.

Despite these tumultuous conditions, San Juan got its first legislation on regulated urban expansion and nomenclature during this time, and its effects today are fundamental for understanding how to move forward. The Isleta’s waterfront encounters a historically based multi-actor problem of the variety of landowners and managers in charge of the lands from La puntilla to the entry of the Isleta. At the federal level, the Coast Guard and the Army Corps of Engineers have managed the eastern half of la Puntilla since 1898 and have performed as military monitoring agencies of the site for over 100 years. At the state level, the Ports Authority owns most of the piers along with San Antonio, while the Convention Center Authority and the Tourism Company are designated as managing agencies in charge of their redevelopment and maintenance. The Treasury Department also owns lots near the port and the Bahía Urbana area; these are mostly vacant or occupied with parking lots. This inherited structure leads to the fragmented vision for this waterfront and Puerta de Tierra, which parallels the common planning problem throughout the entire city of San Juan and is the root of failed redevelopment plans that treat the city like a theme park rather than a vital source of social, cultural, and economic cohesion.

OPPORTUNITIES AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PUERTA DE TIERRA AND THE WATERFRONT

The vision for the preservation and revitalization of the Isleta must promote a new development under an urban heritage management framework as has been mentioned already in this report. Historic urban areas play a fundamental role in the formation and conservation of local identity as places of memory, tradition, and social values and as magnets for economic and creative activities.⁸ In the case of Puerto Rico, the entire Isleta of San Juan carries an important historic chapter of the Caribbean’s evolution from its pre-Columbian to colo-

nial times, with traces of two strong imperialist forces: the Spanish and the Americans. This is something that has no official recognition under any official legislation or institution, influencing the planning tools currently available for the redevelopment of Puerta de Tierra as an extension of the historic center.

An additional limiting factor in Puerta de Tierra and the Isleta’s waterfront has been the lack of its recognition as a non-renewable asset of the city. Puerto Ricans in general suffer from constant unregulated development that erases important cultural heritage under the pressures of a highly consumerist agenda, thus contributing to a lack of social cohesion and the loss of cultural identity and local creativity. A product of Americanism undeniably, and a result of the incompetent governance models that have been stuck in time for over 50 years. The management of the valuable heritage of Old San Juan and the efficient use of the urban development opportunities in the Isleta can be modeled on the successful case of Bordeaux that approached heritage conservation as a fundamental tool for sustainable development, rather than a “museification” of the heritage sites catered to a small percent of groups in the tourism or preservation sector. Bordeaux’s urban heritage management plan designates historic monuments and monument buffer zones, which protect specific buildings from demolition as well as the views of the urban landscape of the city as a right to its residents and visitors. While doing the fieldwork along with the Canal San Antonio, it was noticed that visibility of the rest of San Juan’s Bay and the Isleta from the rest of the city is non-existent, a factor that must be considered in the waterfront revitalization efforts given visual access is as important as physical access.

Plans for the Isleta should not repeat the mistakes of the “Theatrical Planning” “approaches of the past that relied on creating scenarios for American-style entertainment venues. Past urban planning proposals envision a massive super block style development that completely dismisses the urban heritage values of Puerta de Tierra, further encouraging the displacement of current populations. They are an example of what not to repeat in the future and to identify what are the missing pieces that need to be reinforced, which primarily are the planning and heritage conservation toolkits.

One big concern throughout this fieldwork research is that the Convention Center District Authority is the current entity in charge of the management and development of the ports but looking at the Convention Center District we can see how their approach to redevelopment has no recognition of heritage or consideration

8. Bandarin, F. & Van Oers, R. 2012. *The historic urban landscape: managing heritage in an urban century*, Oxford, John Wiley & Sons.

BOX 11: BUENOS AIRES: PUERTO MADERO

Veronica Rosado, Nilo Cobau

Puerto Madero in Buenos Aires—built in 1889 in front of the country’s federal administrative center (Plaza de Mayo) and the President’s residence (Casa Rosada)—was at the time of the inauguration, Argentina’s most important commercial port. Shortly after completion, the port facilities were outdated by rapid changes in international shipping technology and the growing demands from the country’s international trade. The closing of the port facilities sent the area into a decline for the rest of the 20th century. Multiple central and local governments envisioned uses for this area given its value and location, but the project got traction after the transfer of the lands to the Puerto Madero Corporation (PMC) in 1989.

Puerto Madero was one of Latin America’s first urban brownfield renewal projects of this scale and complexity. The project was conceived as part of a wider strategy for city-center development that also included changes in land use regulations, building renovations, and social housing in heritage areas. Its location is a valuable one as it is in the heart of the Buenos Aires independent district, which operates on its own since the decree of 1994.¹ Puerto Madero was abandoned as a commercial port at the beginning of the 20th century when operations transferred to Puerto Nuevo given increasing demands. By the late 1980s, the old port had suffered several decades of neglect and underutilization.

The planning situation in Puerto Madero required a comprehensive vision for the area. What helped Puerto Madero redevelop was its vision as the pilot site for Argentina’s state reform plan. In the redevelopment of decaying areas, location and feasibility studies are essential for determining future outcomes. The government was clear that this plan had to set the stage for how the city would be seen in the following decades. The Center for Transatlantic Sailings, the General Ports Administration (AGP), and the University of Buenos Aires (UBA) were all actors involved in the feasibility studies of Puerto Madero. The UBA study included ecological viability studies, tenancy reviews, and heritage buildings inventory. It provided the preliminary ideas and paradigmatic patterns for land development.² To simplify the inter-jurisdictional governance process, a public limited corporation was formed, the Old Puerto Madero Corporation, SA (Corporación Antiguo Puerto Madero SA, CAPMSA) with shares divided equally between the national and city governments. CAMPSA developed a Master Plan building on previous initiatives for the area.

Overall, the redevelopment plan has both achievements and unresolved issues. Market trends and economic activity increases aligned with what the proposal forecasted. Over \$250 million worth of property was sold under the CAMPSA and \$100 million was invested in public infrastructure. A great part of the plan enacted the protection of 58 hectares of green space and valuable water

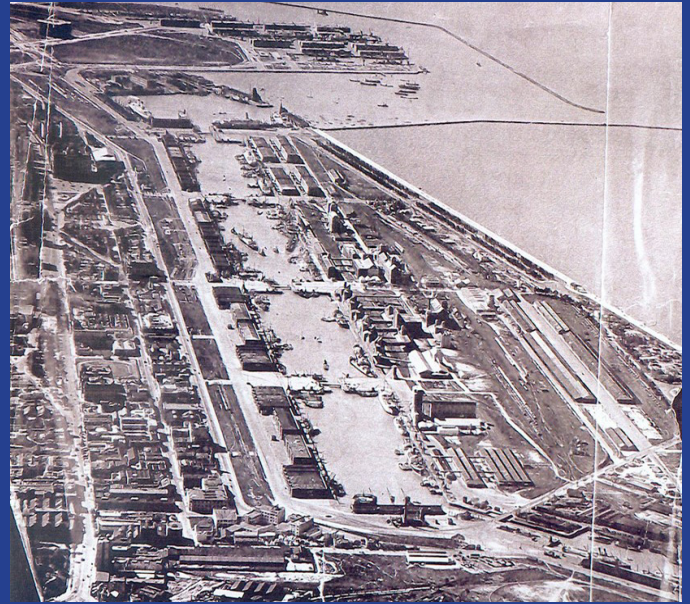


Figure 63: Puerto Madero in the early 20th Century
Source: Corporación Puerto Madero SA

bodies. Job growth and high earnings from corporate taxes also were big achievements. On the downside, the social outcomes did not supersede the economic outcomes. The fast land sales and the lack of code or guidelines for development led the area to become a high-rise tower-dominated esplanade. The scale of the plan was not calibrated well, and it excluded small and medium-size businesses from becoming prospective buyers and investors. Lastly, the rehabilitation component and affordable housing were overshadowed by the economic development objectives.

If Puerto Madero becomes a precedent for the redevelopment of industrial ports in a heritage context, two fundamental things would have to be at the forefront of the plan. First is a vision that prioritizes the historic identity of the place, highlighting its heritage value over any economic agenda. The second is ensuring the continuity of policy and design regulation as one that clearly articulates multiple social profiles as actors within the redevelopment plan. This is needed not only to secure the historic buildings and assets of the site but also to ensure that the people that have played an important role in the neighborhood on a long-term basis benefit from the redevelopment agenda. A redevelopment plan for underutilized land also needs to find the right threshold between the larger scale and the more localized interventions. Continuity of policies should ensure that localized efforts do not fall short against big and private sector investments.

1. Amirtahmasebi, R., M. Orloff, and S. Wahba. 2015 *Urban Regeneration*. Washington D.C., The World Bank.

2. Ibid.



Figure 64: Waterfront Redevelopment Past Proposals
 Source: Di Mambro + Associates (left) and CBT Architects (right).

of this area as an important connector to the overall accessibility of the waterfront. Figure 64 shows the type of development this entity engages with, and how their latest project, “Distrito T-Mobile” completely turns its back to the waterfront and the bay, and neutralizes the area’s cultural values into another Americanized encapsulated entertainment mall. It is a fragmented patchwork of massive scale that perpetuates car-oriented movement in isolation from the rest of the city. Something the government keeps considering as the right approach in place of not engaging in more strict guidelines and control measures for the redevelopment of public and private spaces.

The Puerto Madero case study is a redevelopment example that in a way also encouraged new development without the consideration of strict urban heritage guidelines like Bordeaux did. As an economic precedent, they did a great job managing the area under a unified PLC, but the overall vision for the industrial port did not do much for cultural preservation allowing glass towers that fitted with private development interests. While in underutilized land, you would want to increase land value, Puerta de Tierra needs more than that and could be the city’s last opportunity site to implement a cohesive master plan that provides the citizens with the public amenities and inherited cultural values that do not exist anywhere else in San Juan. Therefore a dual heritage and sustainable development agenda need to be designed for the Isleta of San Juan, prioritizing the

elements diagrammed in the map below, aiming for densification similar to the one in the historic center as seen on the left satellite map and allowing for pedestrianization and new development as indicated preliminarily in the map on the right.

One last case study evaluated as a precedent for waterfront preservation and rebalancing is the case of Ortygia, the historic core of the Italian city of Syracuse presents a good set of lessons on revitalization and preservation for San Juan. Much like San Juan the core of Syracuse is very old, parts of it dating back to the Classical Greek period when it was one of the largest cities in the Magna Grecia. Also, much like Old San Juan and the Isleta, Ortygia accounts for a disproportionate share of the Syracuse region’s hotels and overnight accommodations with over 50 hotels or bed and breakfasts along with a panoply of bars, restaurants, and shops aimed at tourists. But this revitalization has left multiple important issues unaddressed. Although the revitalization has helped fund physical preservation efforts throughout the island, poor transportation links and lack of suitable housing mean that many locals prefer to live in the suburbs where day-to-day shopping and transportation remain much easier.

BOX 12:

THE URBAN REGENERATION OF ORTYGIA, SYRACUSE, ITALY

Eduardo Rojas

Ortygia is an island and historic core of Syracuse, which for centuries during antiquity was among the largest cities in the greater Mediterranean, and features a robust layering of Greco-Roman, Arab, Norman, Renaissance, and Baroque architecture. The post-World War II era meanwhile brought all the typical maladies suffered by developing world urban cores to Syracuse. There was an enormous boom of suburbanization (haphazard due to the extant legal and political regime in Sicily at the time) disinvestment in the island, pollution, and neglect as the wealthier portions of the population moved outward from the historic core of the city and into the newly built suburbs outside of it. The jobs and retail soon followed, and Ortygia found itself in severe physical and economic decline by the early 1990s. It had lost almost 75 percent of its population, suffered from a severe lack of public space, and had seen tremendous decline and decay in the quality of both the public and private realm.

Since the approval of a comprehensive island-wide site plan, the Detailed Plan for Ortygia (Piano Particolareggiato per Ortygia, PPO) the Island has seen a radical revitalization.¹

Significant investments in touristic and educational projects improved its infrastructure and brought back social and economic activities to the island. Ortygia now accounts for a disproportionate share of the Syracuse region's hotels and overnight accommodations with over 50 hotels or bed and breakfasts along with a panoply of bars, restaurants, and shops aimed at tourists. In addition, the island now hosts over 2,500 university students creating a robust daytime population of both short- and long-term visitors.

Notwithstanding these accomplishments, the plan has shortcomings. Due to the PPO's overconcern for preserving and rejuvenating the extant built environment, there has been no real focus on the creation of new housing, which has led to the population of the Island remaining far below its historic peak and even its population during the 1970s or 1980s. Additionally, the city has yet to figure out how to deal with transportation on Ortygia which is problematic due to the limited number of bridges and poor overall quality of the local bus system. This has led to frequent residential complaints of both poor access to jobs, as well as shopping and other daily necessities.² Thus the suburbs of Syracuse often remain more attractive for those who wish to have a more simplified day-to-day living situation with good access to important amenities like daily shopping and jobs. Many of the non-transportation-related issues could be ameliorated through the creation of market mechanisms for things like tradable development rights and tradable sharing rights to further incentivize private investment in the extant physical fabric, as well as finance local benefits from the extensive amount of tourism Ortygia now attracts.



Figure 65 : Ortygia, Syracuse, Italy.
Photo: Eduardo Rojas

Overall, the revitalization program through the organ of the PPO has effectively renovated and reinvigorated Ortygia helped preserve its richly layered historical context, and brought new uses and vitality to the island. Much remains to be done, but the strategic planning and management of extant strengths allow for a future where the island remains integral and central to life in Syracuse.

1. Rojas, E., and F. Lanzafame, 2011. City Development Experiences in the Preservation of Ten World Heritage Sites, Washington, D.C. Inter-American Development Bank.

2. Ibid.



Figure 66: Puerta de Tierra view of new constructions from the Fortaleza
Photo Eduardo Rojas



Figure 67: Old San Juan Urban fabric satellite image (left) and Proposed Redevelopment Strategies for the study area (right)
Source: Google Earth and Veronica Rosado, 2022

WELL MANAGED URBAN DEVELOPMENT FOR THE ISLETA

The Isleta of San Juan, particularly the Puerta de Tierra sector and the waterfront area, presents an invaluable opportunity for balancing heritage conservation and sustainable development. It is among the few portions of the urban fabric left to implement actions to promote social and cultural cohesion in the metropolitan area of San Juan. Puerta de Tierra is an important neighborhood that can work as a buffer for the historic center. The Waterfront is an essential connector site that could rebalance congestion and the overall multimodal circulation in and out of the Isleta. The information and expert opinion gathered in the fieldwork highlight the urgent need for using integrated governance and planning tools to materialize this vision.

As Old San Juan moves forward to identifying and implementing the opportunities and recommendations made for Puerta de Tierra and the Waterfront, an important step is to organize the actions of the different social actors to enhance cooperation and take advantage of the synergies that exist in the territory. The international

experience suggests that the establishment of a Waterfront Redevelopment Corporation with the involvement of all social actors with influence in the area can better ensure continuity in the implementation of the proposed vision through a plan that will have the concurrence of all actors. This institutional arrangement can sustain the long-term development goals for the area regardless of political inconsistencies or private-public sector disagreements. This was the case of Puerto Madero, which created a public corporation (Corporación Antiguo Puerto Madero CAPM) that managed the lands owned by the Federal Government on the waterfront of Buenos Aires according to a plan agreed with the City of Buenos Aires. The Corporation was able to enact the plan and implement redevelopment interventions with the involvement of public and private social actors.⁹ An addition to the model outlined below is that in the case of San Juan, a strong heritage preservation agenda needs to be a priority alongside the sustainable redevelopment plan.

The following list identifies planning and urban manage-

9. Garay, Alfredo, et al. Puerto Madero: A Critique. 2013.



Figure 68: Diagram of the recommended structure for the Waterfront Redevelopment Corporation
Source: Veronica Rosado, 2022

ment measures that can be priorities for the proposed Waterfront Redevelopment Corporation.

1. An amendment of the zoning regulations: a switch to mix-use is a fundamental starting point for the revitalization of Puerta de Tierra and the Waterfront.
2. An Integrated Scheme (with design guidelines for the preservation and sustainable development of the Isleta) includes public promenades along with Puerta de Tierra from the entry to Plaza Colon.
3. A mass transit system should be integrated into the promenades. Functioning as the main source of access to visitors of Old San Juan, using Mass Transit (currently a dedicated busway) to bring more people towards old San Juan and in the future as financial capacity permits, expanding the Tren Urbano along that route
4. Efficient use of perpendicular and parallel streets in the Puerta de Tierra area to create attractive walkability and reduce the function of most streets as “highways” that serve to allow people to drive as fast as possible to Old San Juan.

The authors believe that the presented cases: Puerto Madero, Buenos Aires; Ortigia, Siracusa; and the Bordeaux Waterfront provide valuable insights and examples into how to execute and accomplish the above strategies for overall revitalization combined with preservation and that those mechanisms coupled with some innovations in demand control and redistribution (via tradable sharing and development rights) can provide a strong set of tools and references for future balanced redevelopment.

REFERENCES

- “About Us: Hudson River Park Trust,” Not For Profit, Hudson River Park (blog), 2022, <https://hudsonriverpark.org/about-us/hudson-river-park-trust/>; Carter B. Horsely, “Air Rights Bought at Grand Central,” *New York Times*, November 26, 1983, National edition, sec. 1, <https://www.nytimes.com/1983/11/26/nyregion/air-rights-bought-at-grand-central.html>;
- Federica Appendino, “Balancing Heritage Conservation and Sustainable Development – The Case of Bordeaux,” *IOP Conference Series: Materials Science and Engineering* 245 (October 2017): 062002, <https://doi.org/10.1088/1757-899X/245/6/062002>;
- Julie Kim, “CePACs and Their Value Capture Viability in the U.S. for Infrastructure Funding,” n.d., 54;
- Eduardo Rojas and Francesco Lanzafame, eds., “City Development Experiences in the Preservation of Ten World Heritage Sites” (*Interamerican Development Bank*, December 2011), <https://publications.iadb.org/en/publication/city-development-experiences-preservation-ten-world-heritage-sites>;
- ‘Ley Para Incentivar el Traslado de Individuos Inversionistas a Puerto Rico’ [Ley 22-2012, según enmendada] (2021);
- “Ley Para Insertar Un Nuevo Artículo 10.1, y Renumerar Los Actuales Artículos 10(a) y 10.1 Como Artículos 10.2 y 10.3 Respectivamente de La Ley 31-2012, Según Enmendad, Conocida, Como ‘Ley Para Viabilizar La Restauración de Las Comunidades de Puerto Rico’, Con El Propósito de Ampliar Las Facultades de Los Municipios En Lo Relacionado a La Disposición de Propiedades Declaradas ‘Estorbo Público’, y Para Otros Fines.” (2020);
- Dennis Merrill, “Negotiating Cold War Paradise,” *Diplomatic History* 25, no. 2 (April 2001): 179–214, <https://doi.org/10.1111/0145-2096.00259>;
- Saeid Abbasian, Gustaf Onn, and Denis Arnautovic, “Overtourism in Dubrovnik in the Eyes of Local Tourism Employees: A Qualitative Study,” ed. Juan Ignacio Pulido-Fernández, *Cogent Social Sciences* 6, no. 1 (January 1, 2020): 1775944, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2020.1775944>;
- Vanessa Muler Gonzalez, Lluís Coromina, and Nuria Galí, “Overtourism: Residents’ Perceptions of Tourism Impact as an Indicator of Resident Social Carrying Capacity - Case Study of a Spanish Heritage Town,” *Tourism Review* 73, no. 3 (August 20, 2018): 277–96, <https://doi.org/10.1108/TR-08-2017-0138>;
- John Glasson, “Oxford: A Heritage City under Pressure,” *Tourism Management* 15, no. 2 (April 1994): 137–44, [https://doi.org/10.1016/0261-5177\(94\)90007-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/0261-5177(94)90007-8);
- Alfredo Garay et al., “Puerto Madero: A Critique,” *Lincoln Institute of Land Policy*, n.d., 6;
- Patrick Sisson, “Puerto Rico Faces Uneven and Underfunded Recovery,” *News Media, Curbed: Property Lines* (blog), December 3, 2019, <https://archive.curbed.com/2019/12/3/20984347/real-estate-puerto-rico-tourism-airbnb>;

Luis E. González Vales, Milagros Flores Román, and Anibal Sepúlveda Rivera, eds., *San Juan la ciudad que rebasó sus murallas: = San Juan the city that grew beyond its walls* (Old San Juan, Puerto Rico: National Park Service [u.a.], 2005);

Maurizio Carta and Daniele Ronsivalle, eds., *The Fluid City Paradigm* (New York, NY: Springer Berlin Heidelberg, 2016);

Francesco Bandarin and Ron van Oers, *The Historic Urban Landscape: Managing Heritage in an Urban Century*. (John Wiley & Sons, 2014);

Dario Bertocchi and Francesco Visentin, “‘The Overwhelmed City’: Physical and Social Over-Capacities of Global Tourism in Venice,” *Sustainability* 11, no. 24 (December 5, 2019): 6937, <https://doi.org/10.3390/su11246937>;

Antonio DiMambro & Associates, Inc., “The Walkable City: San Juan” (San Juan, Puerto Rico: Municipality of San Juan, 2010), https://issuu.com/sanjuannews/docs/finalreportsummary_walkablecity_july3-final;

Stephen R. Miller, “Transferable Sharing Rights: A Theoretical Model for Regulating Airbnb and the Short-Term Rental Market,” *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2014, <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2514178>;

Rana Amirtahmasebi, Mariana Orloff, and Sameh Wahba, “Urban Regeneration,” *International Development Institution, World Bank* (blog), 2015, https://urban-regeneration.worldbank.org/Buenos_Aires.

4 A SIMILAR CASE

THE HISTORIC CENTERS OF SAN JUAN AND CARTAGENA: A COMPARISON OF THEIR PRESENT SITUATIONS



Figure 69: San Juan, Plaza de la Barandilla
Photo: Eduardo Rojas



Figure 70: Cartagena, Plaza del Ayuntamiento
Photo: Eduardo Rojas

Isabela Restrepo
Executive Director
Fundación Centro Histórico de Cartagena de Indias Colombia

Rodrigo Arteaga Ruiz
Associate Professor
Universidad Jorge Tadeo Lozano, Seccional del Caribe
Cartagena de Indias, Colombia

In 2020, the Topic Seminar-Studio on Urban Regeneration in the Americas of the Stuart Weitzman School of Design of the University of Pennsylvania held field work in Cartagena. On that occasion, the Jorge Tadeo Lozano University (UTAEDO) and the Fundación Centro Histórico de Cartagena (FCHC) were part of a group of local social actors consulted by the students in their research into the issues confronted by the historic center of the city that is included in the UNESCO World Heritage list. To continue the effort to generate knowledge from the exchange of methodologies and practices emerging from organizations of the civil society, UTAEDO and FCHC joined the 2022 seminar studio accompanying the fieldwork undertaken by the students of in the historic center of San Juan, Puerto Rico (the Old San Juan). Participation in this exercise allowed the authors to make useful comparisons between the urban dynamics and heritage management arrangements in both historic centers. The comparison of cases or situations is an important tool of the social sciences not only because allows researchers to identify complex issues but also provides inputs for the design and implementation of the management of the territory and the design of public policies. In this work, the authors are interested in studying differences and similarities among the cases that can inspire effective interventions that can be applied in Cartagena.

The history of San Juan and Cartagena runs in parallel from their Caribbean origin to the later Spanish Conquista when these settlements evolved into important cities of the Spanish Empire acquiring fortifications, churches, and countless institutional, residential, and commercial buildings. Both historic centers were declared Cultural Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO—San Juan in 1983 and Cartagena in 1984—culminating in valorization and management processes begun by local actions implemented in the 1950s and 60s that were the starting points for the conservation programs and tourism exploitation processes of today. Currently, the histories of the cities run in parallel to the extent that both seek to preserve their heritage and at the same time use it as a source of economic benefits. In both cases, many of the ideals of that heritage traditionally verbalized “as what is ours “ is lost in the face of the challenges that historic centers present today, conceived, protected, and managed as tourist destinations, where the cultural values of heritage appear accessories.

TOURISM AND HERITAGE: AN UNCOMFORTABLE RELATIONSHIP

The historic centers of Latin America and the Caribbean are facing urban development challenges that are

common to those of other latitudes including the loss of historical, architectural, urban, and intangible heritage values. This is palpable in the trivialization of cultural heritage, inadequate interventions on heritage properties, the displacement of traditional inhabitants, social and economic activities, and gentrification. Many of these problems are the product of the lack of or mismanagement of urban heritage regulations, the absence of effective public policies, and governance practices complacent to the impact of the tourism market.

Faced with the present condition of historic centers discussed in this document, it is useful to take a critical look at different aspects such as the policies of mass consumption of recreational services installed by tourism; the discourses of cultural heritage that only refer to the material component and does not include other social and cultural manifestations; and the increasingly complacent actions of experts from institutions and officials in the face of tourism demands that promote the trivialization of heritage. As stated by González-Varas (2014), “Cultural heritage itself has suffered from massive tourism and many historic cities have been invaded by this noisy crowd that consumes these destinations indiscriminately and turns them into uninhabitable places for the local population.” (González-Varas. Page 173)¹ It cannot be overlooked that tourism has been reinvented as cultural tourism or responsible tourism. However, for any form of tourism, heritage becomes a resource, and while for many this approach to tourism can be chaotic, for residents it can be a nuisance while for others a source of income. But what many agree on is that the policies, plans, and often regulations are not enough protection for their interests, and therefore the fight of the resident populations for retaining their ways of living will always be for the right to their city.

In the historic centers of the world, the tourism impact balance is tilting more and more towards the negative side than the positive. The main reasons are the displacement of the inhabitants from their homes, the loss of neighborhood life, their identity and traditions, their idiosyncrasy and their essence, and the relinquishing of their public spaces to tourism and tourists. In other words, the most important asset of the cities, their inhabitants, and their “character” are being displaced turning the historic centers into scenarios of consumption without identity. The tilt of this balance is largely a consequence of the crisis of the model of representative government that has been experienced worldwide since the last century. Even in countries where this short-

1. Ignacio González Varas Ibáñez Las Ruinas de la Memoria Ideas y conceptos para una (im)posible teoría del patrimonio cultural México, Siglo XXI y Colegio de Sinaloa

coming was replaced by a participatory governance model, it has not been enough to guide market forces and mitigate their negative impacts. In the cases of the Caribbean, the participatory government model has not yet been implemented, therefore, the communities still have few tools to defend their fundamental rights.

SHARED CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES: VISION, PLANNING, AND MANAGEMENT

In San Juan and Cartagena depopulation, loss of authenticity, and the loss of original social dynamics are notorious. The challenge of reestablishing equilibrium between development and conservation in these historic centers is permanent as is the fact that their constant transformation suggests that stable solutions and finished models do not exist. This perspective guides the following analysis that contrast the challenges and opportunities faced by Old San Juan with that of the Historic Center of Cartagena de Indias.

The central question is from which perspective and for whom are both historic centers imagined and managed? The authors believe that the vision from which the authorities start is characterized by:

- I. Being predominantly based on monumentality: giving priority to the material aspect of heritage (the 'stone') over the intangible human manifestations, especially those associated with the life and relationships among their residents.
- II. Does not represent the interests of all the social actors, excluding largely the residents (the most visible result has been depopulation).
- III. Prioritizes economic interest over the social welfare of residents: allowing practices such as short-term tourist rentals over affordable housing, and in the case of Cartagena, the development of high-impact recreational economic activities that violate the fundamental rights of residents by generating noise pollution, prostitution, sexual exploitation, and micro-trafficking of drugs.
- IV. Current development is viewed from and for tourism: the most visible result is the loss of authenticity due to Disneyfication; San Juan becomes a theme park for cruise ships and self-consumption, Cartagena into one for liquor, prostitution, and the consumption of drugs.
- V. This vision is the result of planning and development management process:
- VI. Without citizen participation.

VII. Where relevant decisions are made not "at the historic center", but by "outside" cultural or city institutions; "from a distant desk" that regularly ignores the social dynamics of the territory and proves incapable of solving its needs.

VIII. This leads to decisions that give priority to the needs of tourists and not of citizens.

On the other hand, neither of the two centers has a territorially dedicated forms of government, despite their complexity, heritage values, identity, and urban centrality. Both are regulated by municipalities that control large and complex cities without a governance structure that provides for an effective democratic representation of the specific interests of the historic heritage area. This problem is compounded by the fact that the management of the heritage is divided into several territorial jurisdictions that in the two cases are not well articulated: the national or federal level exercising authority over the fortified systems, and the municipal level over the walled urban enclave. Fragmentation also occurs in the sociopolitical dimension and is made evident by the long dispute (rooted in the Hispanic heritage) over municipal autonomy over the central government and is expressed in the (almost) permanent rejection of national authority by the inhabitants of the municipalities. Consequently, the governance and management of the historic centers are a puzzle of institutional jurisdictions resulting in divided territorial concerns: on the one hand, the city, and on the other, the heritage areas.

However, at the municipal level it is of interest to note that Old San Juan has an advantage over Cartagena in having a single institution in charge, the Office of the Historic Center (OCH), which is part of the Municipal Planning Secretariat and is linked to the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture (ICP). Although the OCH would still benefit from more human resources, technical and operational capacities, and a larger budget, its existence makes a difference with Cartagena showing a willingness to protect and manage the historic center as a special and complex territory, from urban planning with a patrimonial. This type of commitment is still missing in Cartagena.

Representation of community interests (as well as those of other social actors) in municipal government institutions varies for both cities. The heritage perspective that privileges the material heritage has skewed representation to a small group of social actors limiting the emergence of other more comprehensive views. The challenge for both cities is to build a vision that:

- I. Represents a consensual long-term agreement about the future of the heritage area.
- II. Is based on the needs of the historic center, without fragmentation between city and heritage area, and in the cases analyzed between fortifications and urban enclave.
- III. Be in tune with current thinking about the integrity and multidimensionality of heritage, which includes residents and their quality of life, the population of the rest of the city, and its traditions.
- IV. Turns tourism into a compatible and complementary activity to other central activities integrating it into a factor for collective well-being.

Territorial planning must start from this vision.

FOR A REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

Another shared challenge is to have a representative local government ideally headed by local (resident) democratically elected officials whose decisions benefit from the advice of a locally-based board where the different actors in the management of a city are represented—national, federal, and municipal government, public entities, residents, civil society institutions and the different entrepreneurs—leading to the design of comprehensive and unified public policies.

Regarding public policy, the most important challenge is to encourage and strengthen the permanence in the historic centers of residents, local services, and institutional uses. This policy can take many forms: in the case of Old San Juan, overcoming the distortions arising from the tax exemptions granted to foreign companies, in Cartagena, the renewal of the land tax exemption for residents with a simplified procedure. An advantage that San Juan has over Cartagena is the “public calm code”, which protects residential uses from incompatible economic activities and establishes prohibitions and sanctions related to the consumption of alcoholic beverages, noise, and unruly behavior in public spaces, among others. Cartagena lacks similar standards. Repopulation is another necessity and badly needed policy in both historic centers. Although there are signs of progress (like the affordable housing building recently built in Old San Juan, and a 200-unit project for Getsemaní in Cartagena) these actions must be multiplied and extended to turn them into permanent institutional practices.

TOURISM YES, BUT NOT LIKE THIS

In the historic centers of San Juan and Cartagena tourism is the dominant economic activity (practically the only one), and heritage is seen as a purely eco-

nomie resource. As in so many other heritage enclaves in the world, the profitability of tourism turns it into a “single production activity” that displaces other activities, especially those related to local services and trade and the development of new (riskier) advanced production structures. In sum, tourism’s high profitability easily turns it into a dominant economic activity. A shift towards an inclusive model of urban development is required for tourism to be a tool for the conservation and safeguarding of urban heritage and to become a source of collective well-being and wealth. That means, moving from the vision of historic centers as architectural settings for mass tourism into one that values human beings as “the most important heritage. Because this is the one who gives meaning to the material.”² Tourism that values inhabited urban centers and their intangible heritage, their vital content, and their essence, that connects with people’s lives, “that generates benefits for residents and helps them stay in the territory.”³ Tourism with the residents and not against the residents would be a complementary economic activity compatible with life in society.

“Theme Park” tourism promotes activities that often violate the rights of residents and city dwellers. The case of Cartagena is dramatic. For about 6 years the phenomenon of “excess night tourism” has grown exponentially.⁴ The phenomena develop in real estate markets whose commercial value has become so high that it seems that the only activity that can pay the rents is that of nightly excesses and illegality that spill into public space.⁵ San Juan is not exempt from this growing problem of weekend tourism, parties, and excesses, without limits, where visitors can do what their countries of origin do not allow them.

There are also other negative impacts associated with contemporary tourism running all the way from “excess tourism” (overtourism) to forms of mobility that privilege motor vehicles for tourism over pedestrians. For instance, San Juan has an advantage with its civic culture of drivers giving priority to pedestrians and the little occupation of public space by businesses. In Cartagena drivers rarely take pedestrians into account, and

2. Rosa Díaz de Paniagua, sociologist and a leader of the getsemanicense movement, insists that material heritage is embedded in the people and that they provide meaning to the material heritage.

3. Javier Pimienta, a leader of the “Rebuilding Getsemani Movement” works on the project “La Resistencia de Getsemani”. Cartagena (Cartagena’s, Getsemani Resistance Project).

4. The Collective of 3 resident communities in the historic center, Centro, San Diego y Getsemaní, called— “Somos Centro Histórico”, (We are History)—sent note 001 of August 18, 2020, requesting compliance with the rights of the residents and enforcement of the “no tourism noise rights of residents” asking for the enforcement of the resident’s rights to avoid “night tourism excesses”.

5. Octubre de 2021: <https://www.rcnradio.com/colombia/caribe/chilena-en-cartagena-le-ofrecieron-dinero-por-la-virginidad-de-su-hijo>

the platforms are occupied by traffic and by formal and informal traders which forces them to use the street and constantly be at risk of being run over. In addition, in Cartagena there is an unregulated supply of other types of recreational transportation for tourism which compete with motor vehicles and make it even more difficult for pedestrians, especially children, and older adults.⁶

The first challenge in these situations is to recognize that not all tourist activities fit in historic areas whose essence is to be inhabited and that the rights of their citizens must come first. Only those activities that are compatible and complementary with residential and institutional uses should be allowed, and for this reason, zoning is required. In San Juan and Cartagena there are areas close to the historic centers (within walking distance) that are underused and can accommodate the mobility and parking facilities required by the center. Likewise, short-term tourism rentals—which would be limited as much as necessary to retain an adequate supply of affordable housing—can be allowed in these areas. Zoning and determining “capacity” are planning tools that would help to attain this equilibrium.

Another shared challenge is to promote a tourist economy that contributes to the maintenance and management of historic centers. The pandemic allowed neighbors to value the state of the infrastructure of squares and parks in the Historic Center of Cartagena. However, the balance was disappointing, the residents reacted with banners asking where are the profits from tourism going?

The question in figure A.1 refers to a central problem of tourism in this type of historic center which—as Eduardo Rojas states—is a model of “extractive tourism” where costs are socialized, and profits are privatized. As an example, it is worth drawing attention to the overloading of the infrastructures, public spaces, and services for tourist use that have not been recognized or least financed by the economic activities causing the overloading (examples abound, Venice, Dubrovnik, Amsterdam, Barcelona—just to mention a few).

In San Juan and Cartagena, tax revenues from tourism are allocated to the conservation of fortifications and the promotion of the destination (in the best of cases), but not to the conservation and maintenance of urban spaces. In these historic centers, public services are deficient, even causing public health problems due to events like overflowing sewage systems in heavy storms. It should be noted that in both cities the public space occupied by formal commerce is deteriorat-



Figure 71: Where are the tourism profits going?
Source: Fundación Centro Histórico de Cartagena de Indias

ed and dirty. However, differences are noticeable. In Cartagena, the formal and informal businesses occupy public spaces with tables and chairs selling liquor and food without paying much to the municipality, while in San Juan this is not the case, there are very few informal sales and rare economic uses of the public space by formal businesses. The economy of tourism in the historic centers should be a net contributor to the quality of the place and the well-being of its residents, the income should be taxed to invest in the maintenance and management of the heritage site and contribute to pay for the costs of the use that tourism makes of the public infrastructure including its cleaning and care. On the other hand, the use of public space must be limited, it cannot displace the social dynamics of the residents.

THE CHALLENGE FOR CIVIL SOCIETY

The biggest challenge is for civil society, especially residents.⁷ At a global level, from 2014, residents’ activism emerged in historic centers that experience the pressure of uncontrolled tourism. One example is the Old San Juan Neighborhood Association (AVISAJ) which stopped the opening of a Mac Donald’s in Plaza Colón. There is still a long way to go to strengthen this nascent civil society trying to counterweight governments’

6. Horse-driven carriages, sideboards, bicycles, and electric motor boards.

7. Civic society refers to the late XXth Century concept of a “third sector”, different from the State and the market. See: Eguzki Urteaga, “La sociedad civil en cuestión”, BARATARIA. Revista Castellano-Manchega de Ciencias Sociales, N.9, Toledo, 2008, page 173.

preference for business interests and fight for a positive balance between the two sides: “We do not want to end tourism, what we do not want is for tourism to end us.”⁸ With different definitions, neighborhood movements ask for sustainable, responsible, respectful, coherent, and community tourism.

There is a long way to go for this nascent civil society’s awareness to become a guardian of collective well-being in historic centers. Although their claims are an important step to demystify the belief that tourism that desecrates and annihilates the essence of historic centers, and that displaces their inhabitants, is justified; they need to move from subjective to objective action, as Barcelona did use quantifiable information to support tourism-restrain oriented policies. The information would be a key pillar for civil society to influence government decision-making and ensure that the balance tips towards tourism that generates collective social well-being.

8. Pablo Gañán, Asociación Víctimas del Turismo de Sevilla, entrevista en PTV Sevilla, 11 de junio de 2022 8



Figure 72: No a McDonald's
Source: Asociación de Vecinos Viejo San Juan (AVISAJ)

This page is intentionally left blank.

