

**Tourism in an Andean Community: Negotiating Inequality, Gender, and Change**

by

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B.A., Vancouver Island University, 2000

M.A., University of Calgary, 2004

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the  
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## Abstract

Tourism is one of the largest industries worldwide. Alternatively described as beneficial development or a force of cultural destruction, its effects are complex and its benefits rarely distributed evenly. This dissertation provides a case study of tourism in Ollantaytambo, a rapidly growing travel destination located between Cusco and Machu Picchu in the Southern Peruvian Andes. Based on 10 months of ethnographic research, this work examines the experiences of local people, tourism brokers, and predominantly Western tourists, focussing on the ways in which gender roles and power relations are performed, negotiated, and challenged.

Local people generally welcome tourism for the work it provides. Small, flexible business opportunities prove to be particularly beneficial for women, as they provide access to paid work that can be combined with traditional gendered tasks, like childcare. Alongside acts of solidarity between hosts and visitors, interactions are affected by the material inequalities. Many tourists discursively sideline their own privilege by framing local people as taking advantage of them or, alternatively, as being spiritually advanced and content despite apparent material poverty. Trying to succeed in the tourism business, locals increasingly find themselves in competition with foreign residents; this, combined with the growing disparities of wealth within the community, has contributed to social tensions. These are expressed in both indirect, veiled ways and as open aggression, which includes the practice of rituals intended to cause harm to those who set themselves apart by their success.

Two specific dimensions of tourism, spirituality and romance, are also considered. In the Cusco area, a blend of global New Age tropes and Andean beliefs and practices are marketed to visitors. Drawing on these themes, many local men fashion identities in order to appeal to Western women and establish relationships with them. Both spiritual and romance tourism involve commodification and a selling-out to foreign demands; however, these arenas of tourism also afford local people opportunities to renegotiate and challenge their roles. By considering how power can shift in these encounters, this research adds to a more nuanced understanding of tourism development. While on the one hand tourism perpetuates and exacerbates structural global and gendered inequalities, it also provides distinct avenues in which these can be contested.

Last, this research contributes to visual methodology. For a photovoice project, local people took photos to illustrate their perspectives of tourism. In order to fit with the cultural context, the method was adjusted from a group-based to a one-on-one approach, demonstrating the flexibility and potential of photovoice as an ethnographic tool. In addition, the researcher's own pen and ink drawings illustrate this dissertation. Drawing after the completion of fieldwork facilitated the processing and condensation of information, and the resulting images reflect an understanding gained over time. The sketch-like nature of this artistic approach also serves to foreground the dynamic, subjective, and approximate nature of ethnographic knowledge.

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## CHAPTER 1: Introduction

Ollantaytambo, a small Peruvian town located between the city of Cusco and the famous Inca site Machu Picchu, has in recent years developed into a major stop on the tourist circuit. One morning on my way to the town's produce market, I passed by the guesthouse of Naida, a local woman of about 40 years of age. We chatted for a while in the bright morning sun, as she swept her courtyard full of potted plants and framed by Inca walls. After a few minutes, a group of tourists approached through the narrow street, cameras in hand. An elderly man with a large sun hat peeked into the doorway, and asked: "Photo? Photo?" Naida waved him in, and we stepped aside to allow the group to snap photos of her picturesque courtyard. After they departed shouting "*gracias, gracias* (thank you)," I asked Naida what she thought of the tourists. She responded: "Oh, they are good; they bring money."

Tourism is now one of the largest industries worldwide and employs one in ten people globally (WTTC 2017). In Peru, the most visited Andean country, the number of international visitors has increased about sevenfold since 1995 (Mincetur 2018). Tourism usually brings together people of different cultural backgrounds and with different expectations; while many travellers look for experiences different from home, the people living in tourist destinations might be more interested in the material benefits of the industry. Tourism can create work opportunities and has been promoted as a means of fighting poverty and gender inequality; however, the costs and benefits of this rapidly growing industry are not distributed equally. My dissertation consists of an analysis of tourism development in the town of Ollantaytambo in the Southern Peruvian Andes. Tourism research has tended to focus either on tourists or on local people, but for a broader understanding of actual host-guest interactions both sides of the encounter are needed (Abbink 2010; Stronza 2001; Tucker 2003). Therefore, I holistically examine the experiences of locals, brokers, and tourists, paying particular attention to the nature of their interactions and the ways in which gender roles and power relations are performed, negotiated, and challenged.

This chapter begins with a brief description of Peru and the development of tourism in this country, followed by an introduction of the research site Ollantaytambo and an overview of racial and ethnic relations in the Andes. While most of the relevant literature is discussed in the respective chapters, I include a short overview here in order to highlight key issues in theorizing about tourism, particularly with regards to gender. I close with a description of my research focus and the organization of the dissertation.

## Peru and Tourism

Tourism to Peru, particularly to Cusco<sup>1</sup> and Machu Picchu, started to grow between the 1950s and 1970s but, beginning in 1980, declined rapidly due to the activity of the leftist guerrilla group *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path). Following an extreme Maoist doctrine, the group was responsible for many assassinations and prompted strong counter-attacks from the Peruvian military (Babb 2011:68). Many indigenous people were caught in the cross-fire of these violent conflicts, and according to Peru's Truth and Reconciliation Commission close to 70, 000 people were killed in the period between 1980 and 2000, especially in the Ayacucho region in southern Peru. After the capture of Abimael Guzmán, the leader of the *Sendero Luminoso*, in 1992, the conflicts died down (United States Institute of Peace 2018). However, parts of the movement reportedly continue to be active in certain areas and have become involved in the international cocaine trade (BBC 2012).



Figure 1. Map of Peru with Cusco in the Southeast (Wikimedia Commons 2018)

<sup>1</sup> There are now three main ways of spelling the city's name: Cuzco, Cusco, and Qosqo. The first is the traditional Spanish version used fairly consistently since the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Proponents of the *incanismo* movement, discussed below, proposed a turn away from what was considered more Spanish spelling and so Cusco and Qosqo have been used since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century as well. In this dissertation, I am using the spelling Cusco. This version has been made official by the Cusco Provincial Council and the central government (van den Berghe and Flores Ochoa 2000:13), and it is also the one I encountered most often during my fieldwork.

Like many other Latin American countries, during the 1980 and 1990s Peru moved increasingly towards a neoliberal model including financial deregulation, privatization and trade liberalization. The goal was to stimulate economic development through increased trade and foreign investment, and tourism and mining became two of the main industries supported (Steel 2013:237-238). While many men from rural Andean areas migrated to find work in the cities and lowlands, many rural communities have in turn become more urbanized (Zoomers 2008:975). In the 1990s, President Alberto Fujimori began driving these developments, which were continued by his successor Alejandro Toledo (Hill 2007:437). Between 2005 and 2012 Peru experienced an economic boom with an average growth rate of about 6.5 % (Oxfam 2017); in 2011 the country reportedly had one of the fastest-growing economies in the world (BBC 2012). The World Bank reports that poverty rates have fallen steadily over the past decade: while in 2004 almost 50 % of Peru's population lived on less than 5.5 US dollars per day, by 2015 this had decreased to only 22 % (World Bank 2017). However, rural areas have remained disproportionately affected by poverty. According to national statistics, in 2014 15.3 % of the urban population lived in poverty compared to 46 % in rural areas. Out of the country's three main geographical zones - coast, jungle, and highlands - the latter is the most affected with up to 50.4 % of people living in poverty in rural highland areas (INEI 2016:33-34).

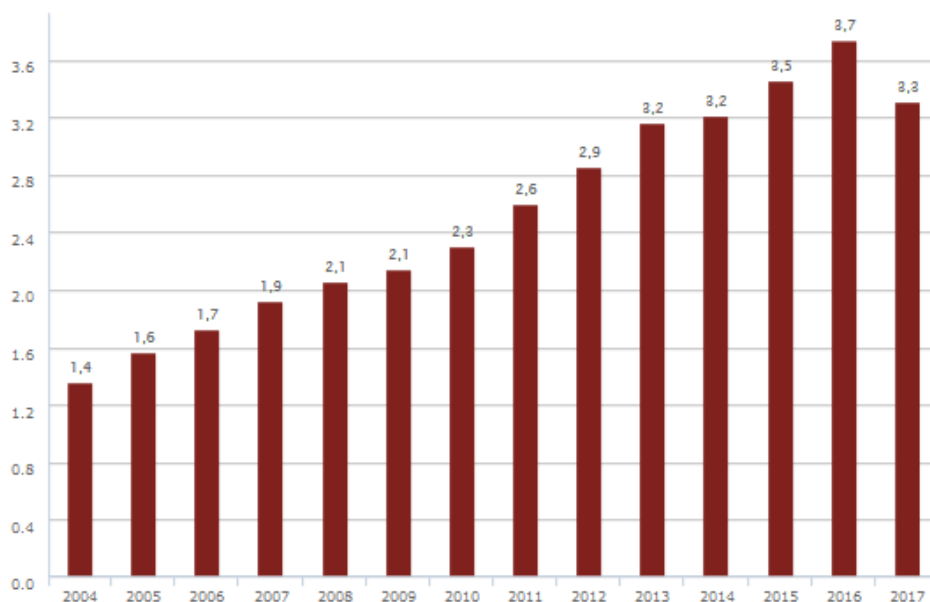


Figure 2. Arrival of International Tourists in Peru, in millions (Mincetur 2018)

Since the 1990s, tourism has strongly increased. In 1995, Peru received just under 500 000 international tourists, reaching 800 000 in 1999 and passing one million in 2002 (Index Mundi 2018). Figure 2 above shows a steady increase up to 3 700 000 in 2016 (Mincetur 2018). About 80 % of tourists coming to Peru visit Cusco (Babb 2011:72). The dip in 2010 is commonly explained by the effects of the international economic crisis. In 2007, Machu Picchu was included as one of the “New Seven Wonders of the World” which has contributed to attracting visitors to the site.

Tourism infrastructure has expanded accordingly. The Department of Cusco offered 662 tourist accommodations in 2003; this increased to 1165 by 2010 and 1979 by 2016 (Mincetur 2018). While in 1995 international visitors spent about 500 million US dollars in the country, by 2014 this number had risen to 3831 million (Index Mundi 2018). In 2016, the tourism industry’s total contribution to the country’s GDP was 10.1%, the equivalent of US 19.6 billion dollars, which put Peru above average for Latin American countries. In the same year tourism contributed 8.2 % of all employment, or 1 332 000 jobs; this number includes work that is directly and indirectly supported by the industry (WTTC 2017). Though tourism is overall predicted to continue its growth (WTTC 2017), 2017 saw a clear downturn which has been explained by the widespread general strikes and political instability related to controversial President Kuczynski. It is a reminder that tourism is an inherently unstable industry. In the Cusco region, which lacks major industries, tourism has been a major source of income (van den Berghe and Flores Ochoa 2000:9), so people there will likely feel a strong impact of this downturn.

### **Ollantaytambo, “the living Inca town”**

Ollantaytambo lies at an altitude of about 2800 metres and 72 km northeast of the city of Cusco. Most tourists arrive by train or bus from Cusco and then continue to the famous Inca site of Machu Picchu. After climbing out of the valley of Cusco and leaving the marginalized hillside neighbourhoods behind, the road leads over a high plateau through small towns and villages. The town of Chinchero is currently undergoing heavy construction due to plans for a new international airport nearby, and farmers have been resettled to clear space on the wide plain adjacent to town. In recent years, several tourist stops have been built along the road, where tourists can take photos of the surrounding peaks and vendors sell Andean crafts.

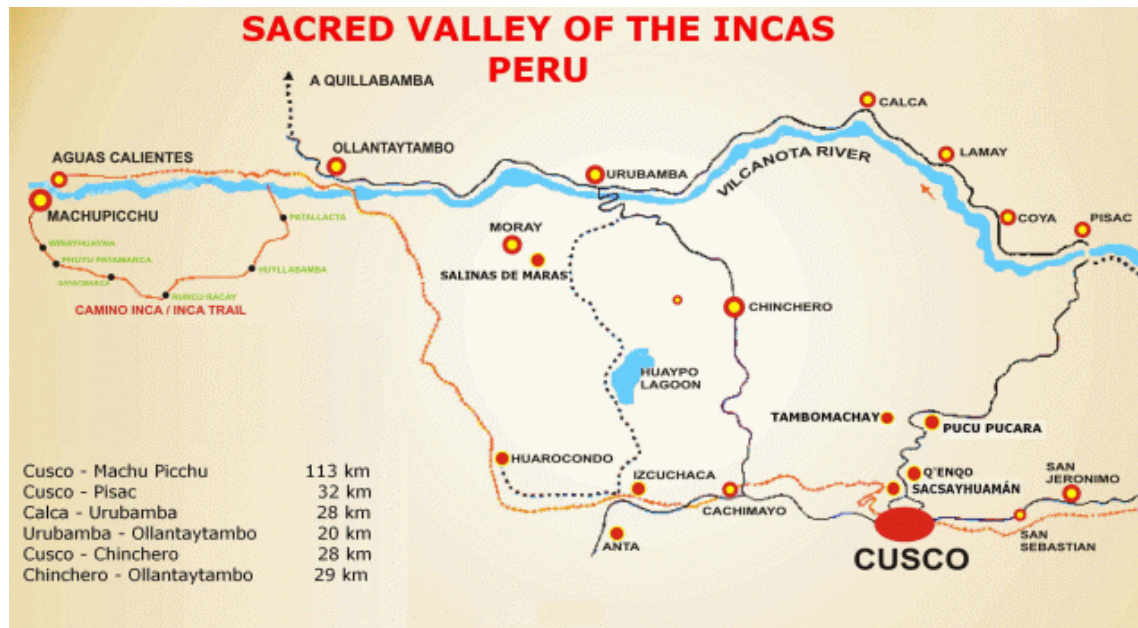


Figure 3. Map of Main Locations in the Sacred Valley (National Parks worldwide 2018)

After almost an hour's drive the road descends into what is called the Urubamba Valley or Sacred Valley of the Incas. Tight switchbacks lead down to Urubamba, the valley's largest town with about 12000 inhabitants. Here the bus crosses the river and follows it northwest along a meandering road through fields, eucalyptus trees, and small settlements of adobe and cement construction. There also are an increasing number of large up-scale restaurants that attract tour groups. The mountain sides are steep, and occasionally Inca terracing becomes visible. As the valley narrows and drops slightly, the first houses of Ollantaytambo come into view. The road now turns from asphalt to cobble stones and is often congested with traffic. Most tour buses will cross the main plaza and drop tourists off below the Inca site in the second smaller plaza. The old part of town consists of a grid of narrow lanes; the four parallel main streets have small water canals running through, which have long provided water and constant background sound to the village. The town and large ceremonial centre were built by Inca emperor Pachacuti (or Patchacutec) in the 15<sup>th</sup> century; it was the residence of Inca nobility and served as civil, religious, and military quarters. Several other sites in the area are of pre-Inca origin, attesting to human occupation at least as far back as 700 AD (Olazabal Castillo 2010:5-6). Ollantaytambo lies near the confluence of the Patacancha and Urubamba (or Vilcanota) Rivers. The valley's warmer climate and fertile soil, as well as its proximity to the jungle, made the area an important resource center for the Inca empire (Hubbard 1990:16).



View of Ollantaytambo, by Karoline Guelke

In 1537 the town was the site of a major battle in which Inca ruler Manco Inca defeated the Spanish led by Hernando Pizarro. Manco Inca ordered the plain to be flooded with water from the Urubamba River, making it almost impossible for the Spanish to maneuver their horses while Inca archers attacked from the fortification above. However, the victory was short-lived, and under Spanish rule most of the land in and around Ollantaytambo was converted to Spanish-owned haciendas (Olazabal Castillo 2010:7). According to the Peruvian census, in 2014 Ollantaytambo had just over 11 000 inhabitants (INEI 2014); this includes the surrounding communities. Many people speak Quechua in their homes, but due to the complexities of racial definitions in the Andes, addressed below, the majority of people in town do not self-identify as indigenous.

An American traveller who spent several months living in Ollantaytambo in the late 1980s reports that there were just three small guesthouses, and he paid one dollar per day for room and board with a local family (Hubbard 1990:38). Tourism infrastructure has increased drastically since then. In 2011, there were 47 establishments of accommodation, the majority small guesthouses with under 11 rooms (Sariego López and Moreno Melgarejo 2011:25-26). From my informal observations, I estimate that by 2015 the number of guesthouses had increased to 70 or 80, but apart from three larger developments, these new accommodations

were still mostly small and locally owned. In 2011, 43 restaurants were registered, again with small establishments prevailing. Most hotels and restaurants are locally owned and clustered around the two plazas and the old part of town (Sariego López and Moreno Melgarejo 2011:26-27). Recent new developments include several large restaurants along the main road through the valley, and larger tour groups increasingly stop there, which takes business away from smaller establishments in the valley towns.

The tourist map from the municipal office shows 18 sites of tourist interest in the area, including the main Inca ruins, various smaller Inca and pre-Inca sites, natural attractions and indigenous communities nearby. The map also provides information about the town's traditional festivities, gastronomical highlights like the large white corn and roasted guinea pig, crafts and woven textiles. A strong emphasis on Inca heritage is reflected in Ollantaytambo's official title "*la ciudad Inca viviente*" (the living Inca town). However, for most visitors, Ollantaytambo is only a stop-over on the way to Machu Picchu. The majority of visitors spend only a few hours to visit the main Inca site; they may have a coffee or a quick meal before boarding the train to Machu Picchu, while others continue on to the Inca trail, the famous four-day-trek along Inca roads. Out of the 400 000 tourists who visited Ollantaytambo's Inca site in 2007, only 10% spent the night in town; the municipal government has identified this as a major problem and is seeking to attract more long-term stays (Sariego López and Moreno Melgarejo 2011:35).

## **Race and Ethnicity in the Andes**

Tourists are attracted to the Peruvian Andes largely based on mountain scenery, Inca heritage, and indigenous culture. However, due to their involvement in the violent conflicts associated with the *Sendero Luminoso*, indigenous people were sidelined in tourism promotion for fear that negative associations would frighten visitors. Thus, cultural tourism only emerged as a driving force again in the late 1990s (Babb 2011:70), and now images of indigenous people<sup>2</sup> and cultural events are ubiquitous in tourism advertising.

However, an examination of racial constructs in the Andes reveals a complex picture. Based on their colonial history, populations across the Andes are characterized by a

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<sup>2</sup> In North America it has become common to capitalize Indigenous Peoples in order to emphasize the political dimension and diversity. In Peru, unlike in other South American countries, there has not been a strong political movement based on indigenous identity, and few people self-identify as such (Glidden 2011). Therefore, I follow other writers about the Andean region who use the term indigenous not capitalized (i.e. Babb 2011; Canessa 2005; de la Cadena 2000; Weismantel 2001; Zorn 2004).

heterogeneous mix of Spanish and indigenous ancestry. Some have argued that the region's social stratification is primarily based on economic class, while notions of "race" are insignificant (van den Berghe and Primov 1977). Others contend that, while the concept of "race" as a clear physical distinction is fundamentally fictitious, it remains a powerful social fact that fuels different forms of discrimination (Colloredo-Mansfeld 1999; Orlove 1998; Weismantel 1988, 2001). Many ethnic and racial terms exist in the Andes, but people are usually divided into three broad categories: White; *mestizo*, referring to a person of both European and indigenous origin; and "Indian" or indigenous.<sup>3</sup> A further distinction, *cholo*, can describe a person whose ethnic characteristics fall somewhere between *mestizo* and indigenous (Mitchell 2006:50-53; Weismantel 1988:34). In general, White and *mestizo* groups occupy the urban centres, while the indigenous population lives in small, rural communities; however, their population in urban centres is also increasing due to labour migration.

What is important to note is that these categories are highly variable and situational; definitions vary not only from region to region but also between different parts of the population and even individuals (Canessa 2005; de la Cadena 2003; Weismantel 1988, 2001). The distinctions are based less on phenotypic differences, which are not very prominent, than on cultural and socio-economic markers like education, occupation, and clothing and, thus, map closely onto social class (Colloredo-Mansfeld 1998, 1999; Mitchell 2006:53; Weismantel 1988, 2001). This means that, for example, a woman who lives as a subsistence farmer in a rural community, speaks mainly Quechua, and wears home-spun clothing will be regarded as indigenous, yet, if she moves into a larger town, learns Spanish, and wears mainly store-bought clothes, she is likely to be thought of as a *chola* or *mestiza*.<sup>4</sup> Thus, instead of saying that most of the urban population is *mestizo*, according to the Andean view, the very acts of living in town, speaking Spanish, and being part of the cash economy confer *mestizo* identity; "'race' is regionalized and regions racialized" (Radcliffe and Westwood 1996:111-12).

For the Cusco region, de la Cadena describes beliefs in "infinite degrees of fluid Indianness or *mestizness*... In this alternative and relational view, Indians and *mestizos* emerge from interaction and not from evolution," which can simultaneously perpetuate and challenge racist and essentialist views (2003:6). As elsewhere, racist attitudes in Peru are

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<sup>3</sup> Using the concepts black and white in reference to humans can falsely naturalize these categories; by capitalizing the term White I intend to indicate that, just like Black, it is a culturally constructed category and not based on physical reality.

<sup>4</sup> I am following the Spanish rule of using the terms *chola* and *mestiza* when referring to women and *cholo* or *mestizo* when referring to men or the population as a whole.

based on the “belief in the unquestionable intellectual and moral superiority of one group of Peruvians over the rest” (de la Cadena 2003:4). People use the terms *indio* (Indian) and *cholo* as insults for others regarded as lower on the social scale, and rarely does anyone self-identify as *indio* (de la Cadena 1995). In neighbouring Ecuador indigenous groups have organized themselves to advocate for their rights based on indigenous identity; in Peru there has been no equivalent movement (Glidden 2011), though political organization of indigenous-identified women is increasing (Rousseau and Morales Hudon 2017).

Due to negative associations, racial terminology is continuously shifting. In many Quechua communities, *runa* replaces *indio* to denote greater pride in Quechua culture (Allen 1988), and the terms *indigena* (indigenous) as well as *campesino* (peasant) are used to avoid the derogatory *indio* (Colloredo-Mansfeld 1998:193; Weismantel 2001:xxxiv). During his military regime between 1968 and 1975, General Velasco enacted a far reaching land reform and banished the use of the term *indio* in favour of *campesino*; the goal was to clearly mark the change in political regime and integrate indigenous people while denying their ethnic distinctiveness (de la Cadena 1995:339). In the highland communities in central Peru studied by Bourque and Warren, people refer to themselves as *serranos* (highland people), thereby avoiding any explicit ethnic or racial definition (1981:4). However, while designations and markers may change, the social separations and inequalities have remained the same (de la Cadena 2003, 1995; Weismantel 2001).

Running counter to this, we also find a different process. In many parts of the Andes that were formerly part of the Inca state, the identification with the Inca past is strong; this is especially true for Cusco, the former Inca capital, and surrounding area. Peruvian *indigenismo*, sometimes termed *incanismo*, developed in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries as a protest against Spanish domination. The movement focuses on the glories of the Inca past and depicts the Inca state as a benevolent, non-exploitative model empire that took good care of its citizens; coercion, violence, and tyranny, on the other hand, are attributed exclusively to the Spanish conquerors (Arellano 2004; Barrig 2006; van den Berghe and Flores Ochoa 2000). The Inca, more so than any other pre-Columbian group, are used for nation building and political campaigning, as “the postcolonial and postmodern trope of the Inca Empire projects supraregional power, political autonomy, economic self-sufficiency, and social beneficence in contemporary Peru” (Silverman 2002:882-883). Many of the concerns of *incanismo*, such as the preservation of Inca architecture and the promotion of indigenous culture, converge with the interests of tourists and have been turned into marketable commodities. Yet it is important to note that *incanismo* has been primarily directed by urban middle and upper class members of

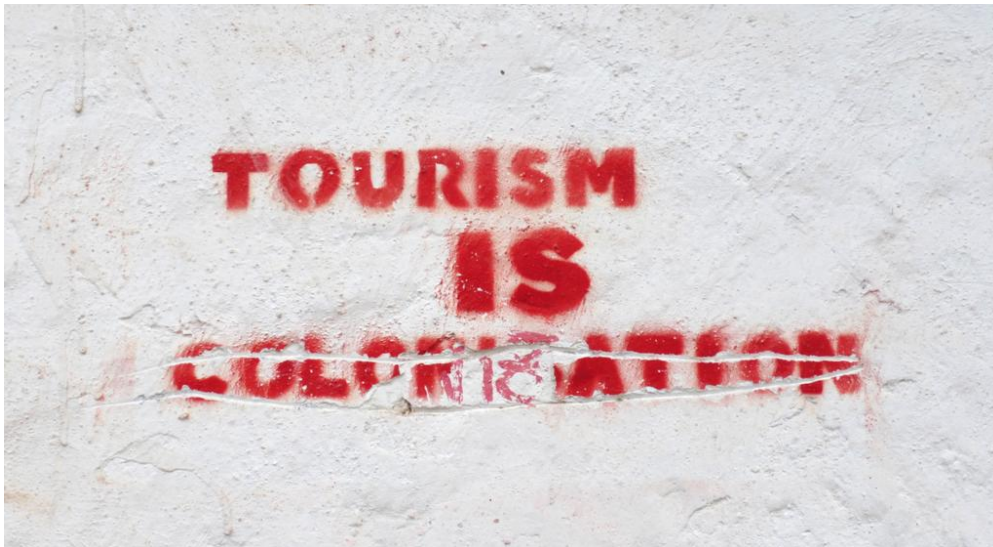
society (de la Cadena 2003; Silverman 2002:898). While they consider themselves legitimate heirs to the Inca, they often distance themselves from contemporary indigenous people whom they view as “degenerate, ignorant, [and] backward” (van den Berghe and Flores Ochoa 2000:12). The Quechua people, the actual descendents of the Inca, hardly benefit from the movement, while the “official ideology masks the harsh socioeconomic disparities in the contemporary city” and beyond (Silverman 2002:891). As urban mestizos and foreigners appropriate and market key aspects of Inca culture, Andean indigenous people become “de-Indianized” in the process (de la Cadena 2003). During his presidential campaign Alejandro Toledo drew heavily on Inca motifs, presenting himself in traditional Quechua clothing and drew parallels between himself and the Inca emperors. Despite lip-service to Inca history and indigenous culture, however, he continued neoliberal policies, and while tourism increased substantially, material poverty has remained a reality for a large part of the population (Hill 2007:437-438).

### **Anthropology and Tourism**

Anthropology and tourism share a common history and an ongoing uneasy relationship (Errington and Gewertz 1989). Early anthropologists benefitted from the accounts of colonialists, explorers, missionaries and travellers, and have worked hard to differentiate themselves. Just as in the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century anthropologists often excluded references to colonial impacts from their ethnographic accounts, more recently they have tended to omit the presence of tourists in their study sites (Bruner 2005:8). Like tourists, anthropologists have objectified the people they observe (Fabian 1983). Van den Berge suggests that anthropology is “the ultimate form of ethnic tourism, the endless quest for self-understanding through the exotic other” (1994:32). Yet while anthropology has questioned its methods of studying and representing other people, Bruner points out that tourism is in many ways still “chasing anthropology’s discarded discourse, presenting cultures as functionally integrated homogenous entities outside of time, space, and history” (2005:4).

With its emphasis on play and leisure, tourism was not considered a serious topic and only became established as a subject of academic study after the advent of mass tourism in the 1970s (Gmelch 2010:6-7). The photo below was taken in San Blas, one of the central neighbourhoods of Cusco which is rapidly turning into a busy tourist district with growing numbers of hotels, restaurants and shops. The controversy about tourism is clearly etched into

the wall: one can see how part of the original message “Tourism is colonization” was crossed out and subsequently rewritten.<sup>5</sup>



Graffiti seen in the centre of Cusco, by Karoline Guelke

The debate on the Cusco wall echoes theoretical interpretations in the 1970s and 80s, when researchers viewed tourism as neocolonialism and emphasized the problems with commoditization, exploitation, and cultural loss (i.e. Greenwood 1989; Nash 1989). Crick described tourism as “leisure imperialism” (1989:322). Drawing on Said’s analysis of representations of the Orient (1978), tourism was criticized for objectifying and exoticizing other people and places (i.e. Desmond 1999; MacCannell 1976; Rojek and Urry 1997). The tropes established in colonial times recur in contemporary representations, such as travel literature, which has been fundamental in producing ‘the Other’ (Pratt 1992). Heron defines Othering as the process whereby “the ‘Other,’ or difference from the unmarked norm, is conceptualized as produced through discourses that establish opposition, hierarchy, and exclusion” (2007:2). This has also been identified in the common practice of sightseeing, which is not a neutral act. Drawing on Foucault’s analysis of surveillance, Urry argues that the “tourist gaze” involves the exertion of power and can alter and discipline the behaviour of those it is directed at (1990). However, paralleling broader theoretical debates about globalization as a heterogeneous process (i.e. Appadurai 1996, 1990), this was followed by a greater consideration of local agency and the various ways in which people respond to tourism development (i.e. Babb 2011;

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<sup>5</sup> In 2015, graffiti also appeared on some larger hotels and construction sites in Ollantaytambo which was attributed to the *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path). While the origin was not confirmed, the strong sentiment against new developments was clearly evident.

Cheong and Miller 2004; Tucker 2003). As described in the opening anecdote, Naida was not a passive recipient of the tour group but actively invited them in. Maoz refers to a “mutual gaze” through which both visitors and locals view and affect each other. This gaze not only implies the act of looking but more broadly considers “the ways guests and hosts view, grasp, conceptualize, understand, imagine, and construct each other” (2006:222).

Furthermore, early theorizing about tourism was generally characterized by structural binaries such as hosts versus guests, authentic versus staged, and everyday versus extraordinary experiences (i.e. Cohen 1988; Graburn 1998). MacCannell, for example, described how cultural materials and practices become rearranged and presented to tourists in a form of “staged authenticity” (1976). Tourism has also been analyzed as a rite of passage, emphasizing how the journey temporarily moves people into a liminal place where many cultural norms from home are suspended (Graburn 1989, 2004). Tourists were generally seen as turning away from the everyday in search of more authentic, sacred, and extraordinary experiences. While these approaches successfully illuminate certain aspects of tourism, they have been criticized for taking many phenomena as pre-existing rather than examining how exactly they are constructed and negotiated (Bærenholdt et al. 2004; Franklin 2004). This critique has resulted in the so-called performance turn in tourism studies. Drawing from actor-network-theory (i.e. Latour 2005; Law 1992), this theoretical development understands tourist practices and relations as emerging through performance and negotiation (Bærenholdt et al. 2004; Uriely 2005; Urry and Larsen 2011). Thus, a tourist destination has to be understood as “a place that is performed for and by tourists” (Bærenholdt 2012:116-117). Taking the approach of the “mutual gaze” (Maoz 2006), I examine how locals, visitors, and tourism brokers are negotiating their roles together. I also consider the impact of gender, outlined in the next section.

## **Gender and Tourism**

For both local people and visitors, the experience of tourism is gendered. Gender norms of both host and guest societies impact if and how people can benefit from tourism, and a better understanding of these processes is needed in order to advance gender equity in tourism development (Ferguson 2010b; Uriely 2005; Wilson and Ateljevic 2008). Based on nearly all measurements of human rights and human development, globally women still fare worse than men (Parisi 2013:439; Rai 2011a:20), and tourism has been promoted as one strategy of fostering economic development and greater equality (Ferguson 2010a; WTTC 2017). However,

rather than relying on generalized models of universal subordination, it is necessary to investigate the processes that bring about women's subordination in a specific context (Mohanty 1997:84-85). Parisi calls for a more "relational, fluid and dynamic approach to gender analysis" to counter the static binary of male and female (2013:449). These approaches reflect Butler's emphasis on gender as performative rather than given (1990) and parallel tourism studies' turn away from static categories, addressed above. In addition, it is important to consider how gender intersects with factors such as class and ethnicity (McCall 2005; Shields 2008) and how it is shaped by colonial history (i.e. Lugones 2010).

In terms of gender and status, research of women's roles has shown that women can maintain traditional power and increase their status if, first, they have control over productive resources, such as land or animals, or the opportunity to earn wages and control their income, and, second, existing gender ideologies allow or even support women's participation in production and decision-making (Friedl 1991; Lockwood 2009:517). Existing gender roles affect what types of tourism work are accessible to women and men, while in turn the impact of tourism changes how these roles are defined (Kinnard and Hall 1996). In the development discourse, equal access to work opportunities has widely been regarded as a good strategy for improving women's lives (Chambers 2010; Kinnard and Hall 1996). However, often women's work in tourism is limited to an extension of their previous roles, such as domestic chores like cleaning and cooking (i.e. Ferguson 2010b; Sinclair 1997). Tourist expectations contribute further to locking people into traditional roles; in the Andes, for example, visitors are looking for "Indians leading 'traditional' lives, not savvy women bargaining with buyers in the market" (Babb 2012:42). Also, economic growth alone does not automatically bring about greater gender equality and can affect women negatively (McIlwaine and Datta 2003:370; Rathgeber 1990:494), and there is the danger that greater involvement in the cash economy results in a devaluation of domestic work since it does not generate money (Lockwood 2009:513).

The travel experience is gendered as well. For example, tourism has been shaped by a masculine adventure narrative emphasizing movement, strength, bravery, and self-reliance (Dubois 1995; Elsrud 2006; Enloe 2000; Nash 1989). Travel can be an empowering experience for women, who often experience more restrictions at home (Maoz 2008; Pruitt and LaFont 2004), yet they tend to face more judgement and risk for this than men (Frohlick 2010; Jordan and Aitchison 2008).

## Research Focus and Organization of the Dissertation

The rapidly growing tourism industry brings promise of new experiences and access to wealth. However, people's participation and possible benefits are impacted by an intersection of ethnicity, class and gender. Based on 10 months of ethnographic research, my dissertation examines how inequalities and solidarities are negotiated in day-to-day interactions. How does working in the tourist economy fit with or challenge traditional gender roles, and how do Peruvian women and men negotiate these changing roles? How do male and female tourists enact gender roles in a different cultural context? While I consider both men and women, my focus is slightly skewed towards the latter, since generally women have held more restricted and disadvantaged roles than men. Similar to Butler's view of gender norms as resulting from active performance rather than pre-given entities (1990), I do not treat gender roles and power relations as causal factors but explore the underlying processes through which these are created, negotiated, and challenged. In a world where contact between people from different cultural backgrounds is increasingly common, understanding interactions in the context of tourism can also provide insights into cross-cultural encounters more broadly.

The focus of my dissertation is on interaction and "the mutual gaze" (Maoz 2006), so tourists and locals are discussed together in the context of different topics. Chapter 2 will provide an overview of my research methods as well as engagement with the community and research participants. This includes a description of the main groups of participants: local people, tourists, volunteers, and foreign long-term residents. Particular emphasis is given to the two visual methods, photovoice and pen and ink drawing. For the photovoice project, local people took photos, which formed the basis of further interviews. The drawings allowed me to reflect on and condense key issues visually. Selected photovoice images and drawings are included throughout this work. Next, in chapter 3, I set the scene and outline common encounters between locals and visitors. I analyze some of the ways in which Ollantaytambo is represented in the tourist discourse and explore common views that hosts and guests have of each other. Tourists have often been portrayed as seeking experiences of objective authenticity, but their expectations and experiences are more complex and are met by local people in different ways.

Tourism frequently brings together people of very different economic, cultural and social capital. In chapter 4, I describe how locals and visitors perceive and negotiate these differences through both discourse and practice. Tourists may romanticize local people or construct them as exploitative, while locals generally voice appreciation but also acknowledge the immense

emotional labour required. It is evident that tourism perpetuates and exacerbates certain forms of inequality, yet this is often mediated by solidarity and cooperation. In chapter 5, I consider the ways in which tourism experiences are gendered and intersect with ethnicity. While aspects of indigenous culture have become major tourist attractions, indigenous people themselves are often objectified and marginalized. In Ollantaytambo, the increase of small-scale business opportunities appears to benefit women, and there are signs that traditional gender roles are shifting in a way that benefits women. Also discussed are the gendered ways in which foreign tourists negotiate their travel experiences. In chapter 6 I return to the issue of economic inequalities and how these can result in more overt forms of conflict and aggression, including supernatural practices such as the 'evil eye' and rituals performed with the intent of causing harm. I discuss means of veiled and open resistance and explore how these are expressed among community members as well as towards tourists and foreign residents.

Chapter 7 focusses on the commodification of spiritual beliefs and practices. In the Andes, we find a blending of global New Age themes with distinct local traditions, which are successfully marketed to tourists. On the one hand, this constitutes a selling out to foreign demands, but on the other, the discourses produced can also serve as a strategy of resistance and allow local people to challenge unequal power relations, at least temporarily. In chapter 8 I explore the phenomenon of the so-called *bricheros*, local men who seek relationships with predominantly Western women. Drawing on facets of Inca heritage and New Age discourse, they fashion a persona that is appealing to foreigners. This form of romance tourism has different implications for the men and women involved, and I explore how it both perpetuates, but also allows people to challenge, some structural power inequalities. Last, chapter 9 sums up the main points of analysis and draws some broader conclusions regarding issues of gender and inequality. I also provide an evaluation of some of the main patterns of tourism development observed and give recommendations about how it could be managed in a more equitable manner.

## **CHAPTER 2: Research Methods**

In this chapter I provide an overview of my research methods, including descriptions of my living arrangements, participants, logistics of data collection, and my role in the community. In order to provide context for specific findings, I will return to these issues at different points throughout this work. During my ten months in Ollantaytambo (September 2014 to June 2015), I stayed at eight different locations: one home-stay, three hotels, and four small guesthouses. These different accommodations afforded me different perspectives on tourism in the community. The family I lived with during my first two months in the village was engaged in tourism in different ways, including working for a large hotel chain, renting rooms to volunteers, and running a small café. The hotels allowed observation of different types of tourist accommodation and interactions, but generally I found it easier to establish contact with staff and tourists at the four smaller guesthouses where I spent most of my time. In three of them I often shared meals and other events with the owners, so in effect it was a blended home-stay/hostel situation. This was ideal for establishing a good relationship with local people, hearing their perspectives, and observing the logistics of running a guesthouse first-hand.

### **Participants**

In Ollantaytambo and the broader Cusco region, many different people are involved in tourism. As outlined in chapter 1, my goal was to learn about the experiences of both locals and visitors, yet these categories are very heterogeneous. For the purpose of this study, I decided to distinguish groups of participants as local people, tourists, volunteers, and foreign long-term residents. Table 1 provides an overview of participants and the different levels of engagement. As most tourists were only in town for one or two days, contact was naturally more limited than with members of the other groups. In all categories, except for the volunteers, the gender ratio is slightly skewed towards women.

Table 1. Categories of Participants and Levels of Research Engagement (numbers in brackets show male/female ratio)

<b>Participants</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>1 interview, some participant observation</b>	<b>2 – 4 interviews, participant observation</b>	<b>over 4 interviews, extensive participant observation</b>
<b>Locals</b>	<b>65</b> (28 m/37 f)	<b>15</b> (7 m/8 f)	<b>24</b> (11 m/13 f)	<b>26</b> (10 m /16 f)
<b>Tourists</b>	<b>62</b> (28 m/33 f)	<b>41</b> (20 m/21 f)	<b>21</b> (8 m/13 f)	-
<b>Volunteers</b>	<b>12</b> (6 m/6 f)	<b>5</b> (2 m/3 f)	<b>7</b> (4 m/3 f)	-
<b>Expats</b>	<b>11</b> (4 m/7 f)	<b>2</b> (1 m/1 f)	<b>4</b> (1 m/3 f)	<b>5</b> (2 m/3 f)

The category of local people refers to those who have lived in Ollantaytambo for most of their lives and who may have long family histories there. It also includes other Peruvians who were working in the town’s tourism sector at the time: four from Cusco or other parts of the Sacred Valley, two from Lima, and six from Peru’s northern or coastal regions. Since I did not ask everyone about their place of origin, I suspect that the number of people who have relocated recently is higher than that. Making contact with locals was largely accomplished through snowball sampling. Generally, I found it quite easy to start a conversation with locals working in tourism since they initially perceived me as another tourist and felt eager to talk with me in order to sell something or entice me to enter a restaurant.

Likewise, visitors or tourists are a very heterogeneous category. According to Smith, “a tourist is a temporarily leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change” (1989:1). Tourists have been categorized in different ways (i.e. Cohen 1972; Smith 1989), yet they are also united by shared behaviours and frequent interactions with each other, so that through their tourist roles they acquire “quasi-ethnic attributes” (van den Berghe 1994:16). I use the terms travel and tourism interchangeably. Even though many people reject being labelled as tourists, distinctions are difficult to draw and often prove meaningless to the inhabitants of host communities (Chambers 2010:5). The majority of tourists now visit Ollantaytambo on prearranged tours, a point I will discuss later<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup> In 2016, 25% of international tourists arranged their Peru vacation as a package tour from outside the country (PromPeru 2016:21). However, many more arrange guided tours in Cusco in order to visit the Sacred Valley.

My focus, however, was on independent travellers who spent at least one night in town. Since they did not follow strict pre-arranged itineraries, I could learn more about their choices of travel activities in the location, and, as opposed to tourists travelling in groups, they had more time available for me. Following Cohen's categorization of tourists, these were not "mass tourists" but mostly "explorers," who arranged their trips independently, associated with local people to some extent, and frequently stepped out of their own "environmental bubble" (1972:168). Since I was interested in examining how gender and tourism are negotiated in a cross-cultural context, my focus was largely on independent White North American and European travellers rather than visitors from other Latin American countries. Based on my own German-Canadian background, this selection also meant that the tourists and I shared a Western cultural background in the broadest sense.<sup>7</sup> There are some notable exceptions, such as an Indonesian couple, a Malaysian family, and several Peruvian and other Latin American tourists. Van den Berghe and Flores Ochoa highlight a number of reasons why foreign visitors have a greater impact on the Cusco area: they stand out more visually, they spend more money, and they rely more heavily on tourist services like restaurants, hotels, and organized tours. Many Peruvian visitors combine their trips with visiting relatives, celebrating family events, and/or conducting business (2000:17). This selection seems to be in line with local views of White Westerners as the typical tourists. In the photovoice project, described below, a tour guide shared images of a ceremony he conducted for a group of tourists from Barbados. He commented: "It was funny; they looked like us. They were brown, too."

Time constraints proved to be the greatest challenges in finding tourist participants. The few times that I approached tourists in the street, they either declined due to time pressure or agreed to very brief (5 to 10 minute) interviews only. I found that the best way to establish contact with tourists was at a hotel or guest house where I could approach during a time when people did not appear to be busy, or at least free to chat, as when sitting in a lobby, resting on a terrace, or preparing food in a communal kitchen. Two local hotel owners, who became friends

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<sup>7</sup> When referring to themselves, tourists from Canada, the US, and Europe often used the term Western or "from the West," while local Peruvians generally called them *gringos* (see chapter 3). In many disciplines the terms Global North and Global South are used to replace First World and Third World or developing versus developed countries. The goal is to "provide a more open definition of global difference, one based in social relations and cultural definitions *and* political and economic disparity" (del Casino 2009:26). Others, however, have argued that these terms just perpetuate problematic generalizations and that more nuanced categories are needed (Eriksen 2015). By using the term Western, I follow the self-identification of many tourists. The term is not meant to imply cultural or economic homogeneity but highlight similarities expressed in the context of tourist encounters.

of mine, often called me to ask for help with translation. Those situations were ideal for mutually beneficial trades: After helping with translation and giving information about the town and interesting sites, I felt comfortable asking for an interview, and most tourists agreed. In some cases, I offered to accompany visitors to different places, ranging from a five-minute walk to the plaza, walking around town or sharing meals, to multi-hour hikes to nearby archaeological sites. Participant observation in tourist sites allows for better understanding of visitors' and locals' interactions (Fetterman 2010; van den Berghe 1994). Sometimes I met tourists on multiple days, which allowed for more extended interviewing and (participant) observation.

The numbers of volunteers and foreign long-term residents in Ollantaytambo was higher than anticipated, so I decided to include some of them in my study as well. The distinction between long-term visitor, volunteer and resident is somewhat arbitrary; for the purpose of this study I drew the line at six months, defining people who had stayed longer as residents. The volunteers I spoke with spent between two weeks and six months in Ollantaytambo; they experienced tourism as travellers but many also worked in the tourism industry. Five volunteers I interviewed worked for the Choco Museo, part of an expanding chain that includes a small chocolate museum, a store with organic, fair-trade goods, and a workshop space. Awamaki, a prominent local NGO, aims to support traditional weaving practices and empower indigenous women. Its volunteers were involved in leading tour-groups to nearby highland communities and selling various products in the store. Every foreign resident I spoke to had originally come as a tourist or volunteer and then decided to stay; this decision was usually related to a relationship with a local person and/or taking the opportunity to start a tourism business. Most of my contact with foreign residents developed in the last three months of my stay when I lived in the guesthouse run by an expat couple who provided many introductions. Since they had stayed in town longer and were often involved in tourism through both work and travel, volunteers and residents added very useful perspectives to my study. Except for an Indonesian couple, all of the volunteers and residents I spoke with were European or North American.

Research participants were compensated in different ways. With local people I frequently helped with translations, assisted with computer issues and online bookings, and sometimes welcomed and dealt with guests when owners were away on errands. I retyped the menu for a small restaurant, painted a sign for a café, and taught English and German, which involved informal tutoring for two tour guides and more formal lessons in a small hospitality institute in town. I also gave gifts and occasionally invited people for meals. Compensations for visitors varied; in general this was easy to handle because tourists were not aware of any precedents. In some cases, answering questions about local sites was all I offered or I thanked

people with small chocolates. If someone agreed to a longer interview, I usually invited them for a coffee, drink, or a meal. This allowed me to compensate them, conduct an interview, and also observe their interactions with local people.

## **Visual Methods**

In addition to formal and informal interviews, as well as observations and participant observation, I also used two visual methods: photovoice and pen and ink drawing. Anthropology has long emphasized verbal representation, while visual methods have only been gaining popularity in recent decades (i.e. Collier and Collier 1986; Matteucci 2012; MacDougall 1998; Pink 2007, 2004). As ethnographic studies are increasingly addressing the role of the body, the senses, and the more subjective and emotional dimensions of experience, visual methods are well-situated to access these kinds of data (MacDougall 1998; Scarles 2010; Pink 2007, 2004). Methods that engage visual perception can generate different responses and effectively complement data from other methods (Pink 2007:21; Zainuddin 2009:10). Film and photography have been the most common visual approaches, but the methodological tool kit is expanding (Banks 2005:9-10; Pink 2007). This section provides an overview of the two specific visual methods used, photovoice and pen and ink drawing. I discuss how I adapted them to my specific research location and how they can enhance ethnographic research and representation.

### ***Photovoice***

Photovoice is a form of photo elicitation that actively involves participants; usually a researcher provides individuals with cameras, instructs them on photography practice and ethical considerations, and asks them to take photos of scenes that reflect their views on a certain topic. This is often followed by group discussions about the images and sometimes a public exhibit (Beh et al. 2013; PhotoVoice 2014; Wang and Redwood-Jones 2001). Photovoice projects about tourism include Cahyanto et al.'s study of communities in Indonesia (2013) and Kerstetter and Bricker's work on Fiji (2009). In both cases the photos taken by local people helped provide community input on tourism development. Most photovoice researchers work with pre-existing groups as research participants. This has the advantage that people know each other and presumably are more comfortable sharing information in a group setting. While this had been my original plan as well, I found that this strategy needed to be adjusted significantly to fit with the local cultural context. The results illustrate that photovoice can also be very effective with a more individualized approach.

After several weeks of teaching English at a small institute providing hospitality training, I thought I had found the perfect group. All students were from Ollantaytambo or nearby communities and had previous experience working in the tourism industry. However, after I returned from some time away, I found that the institute had encountered problems and classes were suspended. Instead, I decided to draw on informants with whom I had already conducted interviews and felt good rapport. Two of them, Ronald and Rosa, had been students at the institute before, and some of their images reflect their experiences there. I asked 12 people and in the end received photos from seven of them. All participants were community members between 20 and 30 years of age, and, though not a cohesive group, a few of them knew each other. I described the project verbally to potential participants and also provided a brief written description in Spanish (see Appendix 1). The instructions included using verbal consent when taking photos of other people. Table 2 provides a brief overview of the participants and the range of photos they provided.

Table 2. Overview of Photovoice Participants and Images

<b>Participants</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Photos total</b>	<b>Photos included</b>
<b>Edy</b>	runs hostel with his brother, (early 20s)	7	0
<b>Ronald</b>	cleans and attends at hotel, works in restaurant, (early 20s)	12	1
<b>Johnny</b>	paints and sells water colour paintings, on the street and in store, (30)	22	2
<b>Daniela</b>	runs hotel with partner, also sells in adjacent craft store, (about 30)	36	3
<b>Diego</b>	tour guide, also helps out in restaurant his wife runs (early 30s)	37	1
<b>Alberto</b>	tour guide, Diego's brother (late 20s)	42	5
<b>Rosa</b>	Cleans and attends at a hotel, (late 20s)	70	3
<b>Total</b>		<b>226</b>	<b>15</b>

With the exception of Edy and Ronald, these participants are also key contacts that will be cited extensively throughout this study. It is worth noting that Edy and Ronald were the two participants I knew the least. Those I had worked with for months were also the ones who shared the largest number of images and provided more in-depth information in the follow-up interviews. Two participants used cameras, while the others took photos with their cell phones;

at our follow-up meeting they passed them to my computer, so we could view them on a larger screen.

Even though I asked for between 10 and 20 photos, as the table above shows, I received a highly uneven number of images. Thus, identifying which percentage of someone's images captured what theme was meaningless; however, the project still generated very useful information. Also, since I had observational and interview data from all participants beforehand, I could triangulate the data and consider it in a broader context. This also helped in choosing which photos to include and gave me greater certainty that the selection reflects key themes that are relevant to participants. Two people, Rosa and Alberto, provided me with the largest number of photos. As they were searching the images on their cell phones, they also commented on other tourism-related pictures and asked if I was interested. Because people had taken these photos for themselves and not for the project, they provided interesting information as well. One such example is the image Rosa took of meals she had prepared at the institute a few weeks prior.



Meals prepared at the hospitality institute, photo by Rosa

Apart from that example, 13 photovoice images are used throughout the following chapters in the context of their corresponding topics. In addition, sometimes I discuss the

content of images that are not included. The photovoice images shown generally reflect themes that emerged as important from other methods as well. Many of the images, like Rosa's photo above, reflect positive attitudes about tourism and the pride people took in their work. Other images highlight the problems with tourism, focussing on increased garbage and traffic as well as disrespectful behaviour of tourists.

Since not all participants knew each other and everyone had busy schedules, we did not meet as a group; rather, I met with each one individually and asked them to tell me about the photos they captured. What became obvious in these conversations was that the images helped access more emotional and embodied experiences. When Edy and Ronald showed me photos of rooms and meals they had prepared, their pride about their work was evident, adding another dimension to our interaction. Both Rosa and Alberto spoke emphatically about the changes in their community and their worries about unrestricted new growth. As in Zainuddin's study of tourists' experiences, I found that this process elicited "unexpected insights into the personal emotions of respondents" (2009:14). In addition, though depicting "a moment in time," the photos led to conversations about broader long-term changes (Kerstetter and Bricker 2009). Looking at her pictures of the main square, Daniela reflected on how different the place had looked a few years before and how she hoped it would develop. A feminist approach should consider culture as dynamic and emergent and include people's aspirations for the future (Walter 1995:279). Images seem successful at expanding the temporal dimension by triggering memories from the past and prompting thoughts about the future (Beh et al. 2013; Harper 2002).

In conclusion, photovoice has proven to be an effective method for eliciting information and complementing more traditional ethnographic approaches. Many researchers have emphasized the aspect of empowerment, arguing that photovoice can help marginalized people gain new skills, provide a means of expression and participation in decision-making (i.e. Beh et al. 2013; Lykes 2006; Wang and Redwood-Jones 2001). I want to be careful with claims like these. Though disadvantaged in material terms, my participants were not marginalized members of the community. Some clearly enjoyed speaking about the images and sharing their views with me, but I do not believe this provided an exceptional avenue of expression for them. However, the project successfully highlighted relevant issues and facilitated in-depth conversations. Importantly, it can be adapted to fit different contexts; while working with a group can be beneficial, in my case a more individualized approach proved far more appropriate. In fact, I believe that the one-on-one interviews created a more comfortable space for participants

to share information than would have been the case in a group setting. Also, I found a clear correlation between the levels of previous rapport with participants and the number of images and length of explanations they shared. Photovoice can be most effective when used flexibly and in a manner that is suited to a specific cultural environment and participants.

### ***Pen and Ink Drawing***

In recent years, a number of anthropologists have made the case that artistic approaches can provide an important addition to ethnographic methods (i.e. Bray 2015; Causey 2017; Pink 2007; Taussig 2011). Ingold calls for a “graphic anthropology” (2011), and Boudreault-Fournier speaks about “the role of the anthropologist as a creative agent and producer” (2012). Anthropological writing has always drawn on metaphors and vivid imagery, and visual illustrations can extend and complement this (Ramos 2004). I chose to include drawings in my work, and I follow Hendrickson by defining those broadly as “lines and colours and other marks that sit on a page” (2008:123). I begin by outlining some of the main arguments made for drawing as ethnographic method and then explain the approach I took with my pen and ink work.

The main arguments made for drawing in the field consider the artistic merit of the product as secondary and emphasize instead how the process can enhance perception and writing, help consolidate information, and facilitate social interaction. Sitting down to reproduce a scene artistically forces us to look at our surroundings more closely. Paraphrasing John Berger, Taussig writes that “a line drawn is important not for what it records so much as for what it leads you on to see” (2011:22). The task of anthropological fieldwork involves “seeing from the inside as well as from the outside and translating between” (Taussig 2011:133), and drawing can be an effective tool to connect observation and description (Ingold 2011:2).

Colloredo-Mansfeld describes drawing not simply as a copying of reality but as a selecting of important elements. As opposed to a photograph, the drawing can focus the viewer’s attention on the aspects the artist chooses and thus complement a written description more effectively (Colloredo-Mansfeld 1993:101). We know that from photography’s beginning in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, images have been manipulated (i.e. Winston 2005); however, even a “truthful” photograph is limited in what it can express. Photographs have “too much excess meaning and... too many unintended sites of connotation” (MacDougall 1998:68). Arguably in this regard, a drawing can be more precise than a photograph. For example, while a single photo can never adequately capture an average kitchen or roof structure, Colloredo-Mansfeld’s drawings allow

him to synthesize his observations and thus produce an image of an average setting (1993:103). This parallels written description, in which we select from a wealth of information and choose what to highlight and what to leave out. MacDougall writes that “anthropology ‘makes sense’ partly through elimination...in a sense, translation is always to anthropology’s advantage for it channels data through the keyhole of language, producing a condensation of meaning and leaving most of the data behind” (1998:68). A drawing can allow us to “channel data through the keyhole” in a similar way that a written text can, but a photograph cannot. Another important point about the process of drawing is its social aspect. The camera often creates distance between people, and photography can be an aggressive act (i.e. Abbink 2010; Turton 2004). Drawing or sketching in a public place, however, can be a non-threatening, indirect way to initiate interaction (Colloredo-Mansfeld 1993:91; Ramos 2004:149). Hendrickson speaks about the “participatory dimension” of her sketching work which helped start many interactions (2008:119).

Most of my drawings have been done after the end of fieldwork, working from photographs and memory. Hendrickson emphasizes how combining and alternating between written and visual recording can aid thinking through complex issues (2008:122). While her images are produced during fieldwork, I argue that drawings done *after* fieldwork can serve a similar purpose. Causey refers to this process as “visual consolidation” (2017:134). Rather than snap-shots of particular moments, the resulting images thus reflect the deeper understanding gained over time. I took many photographs during fieldwork which formed the basis of some of my drawings. The first example is an image of one of the street vendors in town. Over the course of my stay I saw her often, walking around loaded with hats, scarves and mittens for sale. She often looked tired. I have a couple of photos of her, but I wanted a simpler image, something that was simultaneously more personal and more general. The drawing process helped me condense information visually and parallels written description in which we select from a wealth of information and choose what to highlight and what to leave out. The artistic rendition also allows for the protection of people’s identity which photographs often cannot.



Street vendor selling hats and mittens, by Karoline Guelke

The drawings done completely from memory were often of situations in which I did not have my camera with me or where it would have been inappropriate to take a photo. In cases like these, Causey advises to take a “mental snapshot” by focussing on the important detail (2017:135-137). In one instance, I witnessed two tourists taking a photo of a drunken man lying in the street. Taking a “mental snapshot” allowed me to sketch the scene a little later in the day, which became the basis of a more detailed pen and ink drawing completed more than a year after. A description of this event and the drawing are included in chapter 4.

While the quick sketch was done largely as a visual recording, the later piece was part of a more complex process. At this point I had completed my fieldwork and was engaged in the process of data analysis and writing. I found that returning to this scene and drawing it in more detail brought back related memories as well as emotional dimensions of the experience, an

effect Causey reports as well (2017:139). During my stay, I had witnessed countless instances of visitors taking photos in what I considered an invasive manner, and I had passed the same drunken man in the street many times. Thus, rather than approaching the scene as a single instance, it became emblematic. Revisiting this experience by drawing it again many months later also brought into focus the complex emotional dimensions of the encounter, my disapproval regarding the tourists' behaviour, combined with the awkward feeling of being implicated as well. I was writing critically about power differentials and the "tourist gaze" (Urry 1990), but what about the anthropologist's gaze? They were taking a photo; I am drawing a picture. Long after fieldwork, this visual engagement functioned as what Hendrickson calls a "generative, iterative, reflective process" (2008:129); it raised issues of power, authenticity, the shared history of tourism and anthropology as well as my own role as a researcher and helped me articulate these in my writing.

Some of my pieces are based neither on memory nor photos but are depictions of what I heard. One example is the image of a man walking in the dark, holding a candle and ringing a little bell, included in chapter 6. This is based on two people describing this scene to me and saying that the man had been walking around the block three times, putting a curse on an American who had recently opened a guesthouse. I will discuss this issue in the context of conflict and witchcraft in chapter 6. Causey states that "the value of a deeply experienced event is not always derived from physical perception with the eyes" but that "expanding the notion of what 'seeing' means... may open crucial doors for understanding unfamiliar cultural worlds" (2017:148). Writing about the drawings in his field notes from Colombia, Taussig finds that "they capture something invisible and auratic that makes the thing depicted worth depicting" (2011:13). With this drawing I cannot claim that "I swear I saw this," as Taussig titles his book (2011), but I can offer a tentative interpretation of what I heard, which is part of the process in ethnographic work.

I also want to address the value of specific media, the combination of pen and ink with watercolour. My work consists of clear black ink lines and loose and sketch-like watercolours that often transgress and bleed across these lines. Parts of the image remain uncoloured. We recognize that ethnographic writing can only ever give us a partial view and that what we know is always embedded in unknown and ever-changing aspects of culture. Geertz has stated that "cultural analysis is intrinsically incomplete. And, worse than that, the more deeply it goes the less complete it is" (1973:29). Writing about the use of cartoons in ethnography, Theodossopoulos has argued that "incompleteness depicts more accurately the fluidity of social reality" (2017). The combination of pen and watercolour can effectively provide concrete detail

while at the same time remaining inherently fluid and open-ended. Unlike many historical illustrations, this approach makes no claim to completeness and clearly positions the researcher/artist as part of knowledge construction. I consider pen and ink particularly well-suited to reflect the open-ended process of meaning making or ethnographic approximation. However, it is problematic if we expect art to speak for itself, as we so commonly hear, and I concur with Pink that visual methods should always be used together with other approaches (2007:21).

There are three types of images included in this work. Wherever possible, I chose photovoice pictures by local people; with 15 these make up the largest category of illustrations. Second, I include seven of my drawings, and last, five of my own photographs and one taken by my supervisor Dr. Margot Wilson.

### **Position in the Community**

Many feminist researchers have emphasized the importance of reflecting on and clearly describing our own position related to factors like gender, age, nationality, and affiliation (i.e. Davalos 2008). Haraway has called for clearly “situated and embodied knowledges and against various forms of unlocatable, and so irresponsible, knowledge claims” (1991:191), and Downe writes that “we must question ourselves, our work, and our categories at the same time as we question ‘others’” (1999:141). This extends to writing openly about our own vulnerabilities and challenges during fieldwork (Behar 1996). As a tall White German-Canadian I stood out in the community, and upon meeting me, local people naturally assumed that I was a tourist or volunteer. I explained that I was an anthropologist conducting a study of tourism development in their community. Based on previous fieldwork and visits in 2000, 2002, and 2009, I knew two local families who provided helpful introductions to other community members. However, the first round of interviews yielded only short and superficial answers. It was only after I had established rapport over a period of several weeks that local people began to share more personal and critical views. While previous contacts in the community greatly facilitated my research, associations with specific families likely also affected the kind of information people shared with me. Changing my accommodation, remaining neutral on discussions of animosities and the extended length of my stay helped to counter-act these problems. Furthermore, as a 40-year-old divorced and childless woman, I was an anomaly in a community where women my age typically have multiple children, if not grandchildren. This issue became especially relevant in the context of understanding gender roles and growing conflicts. In order to provide context

for my findings and clarify my particular standpoint, I will add comments about my role throughout my discussion of different subjects.

### **Approaches to Description**

Ollantaytambo is a small community where most people know each other. In order to protect people's anonymity, I used a number of strategies. Based on consultation with participants, the names I give are pseudonyms; two exceptions are the local tour guide Alberto Huillca Rios and American architect Graham Hannegan, who requested that I use their real names. In a few cases I created composite characters by combining the traits and voices of two or more people, and in a few cases I did the opposite and attributed one person's comments to two separate people. While this serves to hide people's identity, the situations and comments I describe are true in the sense that they are typical; they happened, just not always to the people indicated. Each chapter begins with a short vignette that highlights a key issue or situation related to the chapter's topic and generally involves key characters who appear throughout the different chapters. These characters and their stories constitute a condensation of traits and situations I have witnessed repeatedly. Causey chooses a narrative format to portray the interactions of locals and tourists in Sumatra and argues that this approach more effectively portrays people's lived experience (2003:23-24); I will do the same. This approach is also meant to provide some continuity for the reader: just as I came to know people over the course of my fieldwork, I hope the reader gains familiarity and understanding as we revisit these key figures in the context of different issues and themes. This process of distilling observations and information also parallels my use of pen and ink drawing, discussed above.

Last, writing in the "ethnographic present" has been criticized for implying an ahistoric view and suggesting a false image of cultural stability and continuity (i.e. Bruner 2005:8; Wolcott 2008). However, considering the thorough critique of anthropological representation and our understanding of ethnography as time-bound, Pina-Cabral argues that writing in the present does not necessarily carry these connotations and that we can foreground cultural changes in different ways (2000). I attempt to strike a balance. The specific events and encounters I witnessed are always described in the past tense, but some of the more stable environmental and cultural characteristics as well as my own thoughts are written in the present. The different tenses are meant to set apart empirical data from analysis and broader interpretations, while the presence and impact of cultural changes are addressed throughout my work.

### CHAPTER 3: Tourist Encounters and Perceptions

*María had grown up in Ollantaytambo; she was about 40 years old with a friendly smile and a thick, long braid down her back. I first met her through a mutual friend and later moved into her guesthouse in the old part of town. A wooden door opens into a small courtyard full of potted flowers and cacti, and an extended Inca building houses her family and offers three guest rooms for tourists and volunteers. During one of our many conversations in the kitchen, María told me: “You know, we used to be afraid of gringos.<sup>8</sup> When I was little my mother would say: Don’t go out alone or the gringo will snatch you away in his backpack.” However, usually she spoke very positively about tourists: “They are good; most of them are really nice people. I like having them around, and my kids can learn from them. This business has been very good for me and my family.”*

*During my three-month-stay with her, María repeatedly changed and expanded her place. The small reception area was moved; the living room was converted into an additional guest room; the storage room became the new sitting area, and the adobe walls were painted white and later yellow. I joked that I never knew how I would find her place after a few days’ absence. By the time I left, María had doubled the number of beds for rent and had moved her family into a second home outside of town.*

*Lisa and Jonathan, two young backpackers from London, spent a month volunteering at Ollantaytambo’s fair-trade chocolate store. Speaking about how much she liked the town, Lisa said: “During the day everywhere you look there are tourists, but around 6 o’clock you’re like: Ah, thank God! And it’s back to a sleepy little town... everybody leaves and it’s back to the sleepy little Andean town it always was. I like that, you know, just selfishly. I don’t want them to stay.”*

Ollantaytambo is rapidly developing as a tourism destination, and in many ways the changes in María’s house reflect those in the village as a whole. Houses are rearranged to make space for tourist accommodation and restaurants; some local people move outside the village to make space in their homes, while outsiders move in to benefit from the growing business opportunities. Improved street lighting and garbage removal are discussed with tourist needs in mind. The community is responding to the tourist gaze (Urry 1990). The majority of tourists only stay for a couple of hours, visiting the main Inca site and then carrying on to Machu Picchu, while others spend a day or two exploring the town and surrounding attractions. In both brief and longer encounters, locals and visitors view and perceive each other through a “mutual gaze” (Maoz 2006). Like Lisa quoted above, many visitors are seeking the experience of an

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<sup>8</sup> Across Latin America, the term *gringo* is used for foreigners, especially Americans and Europeans. It originated in Spain and often carries a disparaging connotation (Merriam-Webster dictionary 2018). I have also heard it used to refer to light-skinned South Americans. Following Spanish grammatical rules, the female form is *gringa*, while the plural forms are *gringos* and *gringas* for males and females respectively.

authentic Inca village, whereas local people are busy adapting their village to tourism development. In this chapter, I outline how Ollantaytambo is represented in tourism discourse and discuss some of the main ways in which locals and visitors experience each other. I address how different concepts of authenticity can help differentiate our understanding of tourists' expectations as well as of the strategies locals use to meet their visitors' needs. This chapter serves to set the scene and to convey a sense of place and typical tourist encounters. I also introduce some of the main characters that we will revisit throughout this work.

### **Ollantaytambo: Representations and Issues of Authenticity**

The Moon Handbook (Wehner and del Gaudio 2011:43) describes the town as follows:

Ollantaytambo is the last town in the Sacred Valley before the Río Urubamba plunges through steep gorges toward Machu Picchu. It is the best-preserved Inca village in Peru, with its narrow alleys, street water canals, and trapezoidal doorways. The Inca temple and fortress above town is second in beauty only to Machu Picchu. In the terraced fields above town, men still use foot plows, or *chaquitacllas*, to till fields and plant potatoes. There are endless things to do in and around Ollantaytambo, which is framed by snowcapped Verónica mountain and surrounded on all sides by Inca ruins, highways, and terraces. Whisking through Ollantaytambo, as most travelers do, is a great shame. Stay and get to know the place.

The writers strongly focus on the town's natural surroundings and its historical features. Mentioning the foot plow, which the large majority of tourists will never see, serves to exoticize the place and locate it in the past. The Lonely Planet guide (McCarthy et al. 2013:242) takes a similar approach:

Dominated by two massive Inca ruins, the quaint village of Ollantaytambo (known to locals and visitors alike as Ollanta) is the best surviving example of Inca city planning, with narrow cobblestone streets that have been continuously inhabited since the 13<sup>th</sup> century. After the hordes passing through on their way to Machu Picchu die down around late morning, Ollanta is a lovely place to be. It's perfect for wandering the mazy, narrow byways, past stone buildings and babbling irrigation channels, pretending you've stepped back in time.

The presentation of destinations as part of the past, usually aimed at urban Western travellers, is common in tourism marketing (i.e. Bruner 2005; Edwards 1996). Appadurai has pointed out that, echoing modernization theory, tourists often see their own imagined past in the people they encounter, while assuming the others' future will look like their own present (Appadurai 1996:31). This also parallels what Fabian has criticized about anthropology; by describing other people as living in the past, anthropologists have often conflated time and space and denied coevalness to people studied (1983). For Lisa, the British volunteer quoted at

the beginning of this chapter, the departure of the majority of tourists in the early evening meant a return to the status quo, to “the sleepy little Andean town it always was.” Reflected in this statement is the assumption that Andean culture has been static, if not stagnant, and has only been altered recently through tourism development.

Also noteworthy is the description of groups of tourists passing through as “hordes.” Though written for tourists, the guidebook employs a clear distinction between those addressed, presumably the more independent backpackers, and the “others,” or mass tourists. Even though in other parts of our interview Lisa referred to herself and her partner as travellers or tourists, in her statement quoted above tourists are clearly “the others,” the ones she does not want to stay. This is a common theme in tourist discourse; people often criticize other tourists while rejecting the label for themselves (i.e. Cheong and Miller 2004:372). One early evening I was chatting with Joaquin, a man from Lima who ran a popular local bar. He had just opened up for the night and was wiping the large wooden counter as the first guests arrived. Paul, a jovial Brit in his 60s, ordered a large beer and started a conversation with us: “Yeah, it’s a very pleasant place. I could stay for a few more days, but it’s too bad with all the tourists here.” He chuckled and added: “We want to travel but we don’t want to see tourists, right?” Ironically this conversation took place at a bar predominantly catering to tourists, and later Joaquin told me that Paul had spent the past three evenings there as well. Again this reflects a major paradox of travelling: on the one hand people want to avoid other tourists, and on the other hand they seek out familiar environments and company.

By referring to Ollantaytambo as “the sleepy little Andean town it always was,” Lisa implies the notion of a traditional and authentic culture. In the context of tourism, we commonly find a “museum-linked usage” of the concept of authenticity, referring to whether products and events are produced in what is considered a traditional way; this can be specified as objective authenticity (Wang 1999:351). MacCannell’s concept of “staged authenticity” (1976) implies this usage, since for something to be staged, the original must be clearly distinguishable. Wang further differentiates “constructive authenticity,” which results when tourists experience something as being authentic based on their own beliefs and perspectives. Regardless of the nature of the object or event, the perception of authenticity is socially constructed (1999:351-352). Last, Wang proposes the concept of “existential authenticity”, defined as “a special state of Being in which one is true to oneself,” whether in opposition or in alignment with cultural norms (1999:358). Bruner has argued that researchers have been far more concerned with issues of authenticity than tourists themselves (1991:241). However, I found that tourists regularly referred to their hope for finding authenticity or “the real thing,” while many also

questioned this concept and, like Paul mentioned above, recognize the irony of being implicated.

Related to this, a clear dichotomy between traditional and modern – the old and the new - was also evident. Jessica, an American in her late 20s who spent three weeks volunteering at a local hotel, commented:

As I'm taking pictures, all of them have like signs saying pizza, and all those things that are very Western, you know, in the background of this like beautiful fabric weaving market. And then it's like pizza, Visa accepted here, and these funny things, that take away from the authentic experience. Yeah, it's an odd combination of old and new. I think that's what's weird: it's seeing the new, the commercial stuff, and then seeing like the rustic, old buildings and the water canals. Those two things just don't fit together in some way.

Likely Jessica's expectations had been shaped by descriptions such as those in the guide books quoted above. Her comment implies a clear distinction between the old, traditional and authentic, which she wanted to photograph and the new and inauthentic which she felt was in the way. This has been referred to as a hermeneutic cycle of representation: existing information and images affect what tourists seek out, while in turn tourists reproduce these themes and motifs in their photographs (Albers and James 1988; Urry 1990). But based on Jessica's expectations, the elements appear incongruous; old buildings, water canals, and, interestingly, the craft market, catering specifically to tourists, are considered authentic, whereas pizza and visa signs strike her as "funny things." The same view was reflected in the comments of an American backpacker in her 30s, travelling with her partner:

We were talking about authenticity... what we wanted to experience here in Peru: the authentic culture of people who live without all that stuff, technology and that. So it's disappointing when you come into town and you see all those pizza places in the plaza and the bank machine and, well (laughs), but then again, we do like a good internet connection!

While obviously aware of the irony of her searching, she still uses the same dichotomy. This view was not just expressed by foreigners but also by travellers from other parts of Peru. For example, Luz Marina, a middle-aged dance teacher from Lima, said: "When I was here years ago, it was much quieter, more indigenous and independent... Now everything is for tourism. I think the produce market is now the most authentic part of town; all the rest is for tourists." While the two Americans gauged their experiences against their expectations, Luz Marina could cite past visits for comparison. Yet she, too, employed a dualistic view using the concept of objective authenticity. Implied in all these statements is also a longing for what is considered a more pristine and original state. Rosaldo's much-quoted concept of "imperialist nostalgia" describes the mourning colonial agents often experienced about the people and places they fundamentally altered or destroyed (1989). While we value innovation and change in our own culture, we seek the stability of tradition in other places. Rosaldo adds that

“imperialist nostalgia uses a pose of ‘innocent yearning’ both to capture people’s imaginations and to conceal its complicity with often brutal domination” (1989:108). In the context of tourism, this “innocent yearning” sidelines the fact that visitors are implicated in the changes they lament, whether superficially by consuming the tourist services or more fundamentally in perpetuating structural inequalities, a point I will examine more in the next chapter.

## **Local Perceptions**

Whereas tourists can pretend they are stepping back in time, as the Lonely Planet guide invites them to do, local people living in this rapidly developing tourist town cannot, and likely have no interest in, staying locked in the past. Like María quoted at the beginning of this chapter, locals almost always described tourism as positive, emphasizing how the income from working in restaurants, guesthouses and craft sales had benefitted them and their families. Women in particular mentioned that their income had allowed them to be more financially independent and provide better for their children. Gendered impacts like these will be discussed in detail in chapter 5. My standard questions of locals included inquiring about positive and negative experiences they have had with tourists and tourism, and the most common answer referring to problems was: “There aren’t enough tourists.” The photovoice project indicated that many local people took pride in their work. The image Rosa took of dishes she prepared, included in the previous chapter, is an example of this, as are some of her other photos, showing the hotel garden in which she worked and a breakfast buffet she prepared. Ronald, about 18 years old and from a nearby community, included a photo of a kitchen. He worked long hours both in a restaurant and in housekeeping at a hotel and spoke with pride about how he had cleaned the kitchen to the satisfaction of his boss. He told me he enjoyed the work and hoped to complete his training to become a cook.



Hotel kitchen after cleaning, by Ronald

Like María, some locals also mentioned that they valued what they learned from tourists. Alberto and Diego, two brothers who had been working as tour guides for years, recently started their own tour agency. Two images Alberto contributed, not pictured here, show tourists carrying plastic bottles. He commented: “Tourists are collecting garbage here; that’s really good. We didn’t learn that from our parents; here many people just toss garbage everywhere... I have really learned something from tourists, and I am now teaching my son the same thing.”

Not all opinions locals voiced were positive. María had mentioned being afraid of foreigners as a child, and the fear of White strangers in rural areas of the Andes has been documented elsewhere (i.e. Weismantel 2001). In Ollantaytambo, however, this fear seems to be an issue of the past, and local people mainly criticize the visitors’ lack of respect. For the photovoice project, Ronald had included an image of garbage left in a hotel room, and so did

Daniela, a woman of about 30 who was running one of the larger hotels right in the main square. Scrolling through several images that showed garbage left on the floor, she shook her head and said: “It’s disrespectful. There are garbage cans; why don’t they use them?”



Garbage left by tourists, by Daniela

Alberto shared a photo of the town’s main tourist attraction, the Inca fortress or temple. He commented: “The Inca site... it’s full of tourists. We are proud that so many people come and show an interest in our culture, in our ancestors. But sometimes they are disrespectful, too. They climb on top of the walls and do damage. Some write their names on the stones; that’s very bad.”



Ollantaytambo's main Inca site, by Alberto

In some instances, local people also voiced concern over the fast changes in town. María described the physical changes in the landscape brought about by tourism and other economic developments: “There used to be just fields and trees, and river used to be wider, but they just keep building houses now and making it narrower. It used to be just an open swampy area, wide and beautiful.” Mauricio, a tour guide of about 30, criticized the many new buildings in the old part of town. “Yeah, it’s changing very fast,” he said, “we are losing our culture, and people don’t even notice.” In addition to its romanticizing introduction, the Moon Handbook also addresses contemporary issues (Wehner and del Gaudio 2011:43):

Ollantaytambo is also in the throes of a tremendous struggle to save its way of life against the mass forces of tourism and development. Trinket sellers have crowded the areas in front of the Inca temple and the train station. Nondescript pizzerias are creeping onto the main square, which is continually shaken by the passing of massive trucks bound for the Camisea pipeline in the jungle around Quillabamba.

For the first part of my stay I witnessed the major traffic jams that, especially in the afternoons, often brought traffic to a stand-still. In early 2015 the controversial bypass along the river, which had involved the destruction of some Inca terracing, was completed. This has somewhat alleviated the traffic problems, though many trucks still followed the route through

town, and tour bus traffic continued unabated. Many afternoons I witnessed the plaza completely filled with vehicles. In the context of the photovoice project, six months after the bypass was opened, traffic issues still emerged as a major concern. Daniela, the hotel manager mentioned above, commented on the dangers of being hit by a car in the narrow streets. Rosa, a woman in her 20s who had moved to Ollantaytambo from a nearby community and was working in housekeeping at a local hotel, shared the photo below, saying that she felt that buses and cars should not park on the plaza at all.



Partial view of main plaza, by Rosa

Despite these points of criticism, the general sentiment of locals towards tourism was positive. Interestingly, I heard very different opinions from people in Cusco. A local friend had invited me to her birthday party, and the conversation turned to tourism. Most people present were members of the middle class or elite, including an architect and an internationally renowned musician. The general consensus was that tourism development was destructive, and people reminisced about the times 20 or 30 years ago when, as they said, they had Cusco to themselves. This view contrasts strongly with the opinions of people who are directly engaged in tourism work in Ollantaytambo.

As outlined above, locals and visitors view each other through a “mutual gaze” (Maoz 2006). But local people may also start looking at their own surroundings through the lens of the tourist gaze. This is distinct from what Maoz refers to as the “local gaze” which is directed back at tourists (2006) and more reminiscent of how people internalize and adopt the gaze of the powerful (Foucault 1978). While it can be expected that people working in tourism will consider how visitors perceive their town, I was still surprised how frequently local people expressed a view of their town that was more based on tourists’ concerns than on their own. There are several examples from the photovoice project that also illustrate this. Rosa, introduced above, contributed a photo showing the view up to a smaller Inca site.



Electric cables in front of Inca site Pinkuylluna, by Rosa

“Those cable are ugly”, she commented, “and they are in the way when you want to take photos of the Inca sites.” Rosa has lived in town for over five years and is not likely to take photos of the Inca sites regularly, yet her comment reflects a touristic concern with a view of the old, “authentic” village unaffected by modernity. This may also account for her opinion, cited above, that cars should not park in the main plaza. Alberto’s photo of one of the common bicycle carts illustrates the same.



Bicycle cart for transporting goods, by Alberto

He commented that “people shouldn’t just leave the carts there; tourists complain that it spoils the view. They want to take photos of just the streets.” When I asked how people are supposed to transport their things in the narrow lanes that cars cannot enter, Alberto shifted perspective: “Well, yes, it’s true; we do need those carts sometimes.” Another of his photos, which I chose not to include, shows two local men stumbling in the street. Alberto commented: “There were these drunken men; they were really loud and didn’t walk straight. That’s not good, especially when the tourists see it.” High alcohol consumption is a problem in Ollantaytambo, but here it is viewed and judged largely based on a tourist gaze – or what locals assume tourists want. As the town changes, so does the way in which local people view their home.

## Emotional Work, Alienation and Expectations

Tourism encounters involve emotional dimensions as well; many tourists hope for some form of emotional connection with the people they meet, and hosts have to perform significant emotional work to satisfy these demands and succeed in their business. During the many hours spent sitting on benches in the plaza, I could often observe Johnny, the artist selling drawings and watercolours, and his colleagues at work. One of Johnny's strategies was to say: "Hello, my name is Picasso! Would you like to see my paintings?" This often elicited a smile from the tourists and caused them to stop for a moment, but many also walked past with stony faces. Two of the photos Johnny shared with me for the photovoice project capture the often alienating work of selling to tourists. The images were taken by a friend of his and show him selling his paintings near one of the large new tourist restaurants outside of town.



Johnny selling his art work, photo by unknown friend

When I asked him about the difficulties of this work, he responded: "It's okay, you get used to it." Yet on another occasion he voiced a different opinion. After the birthday celebration described earlier, he took me to the house of relatives. Sitting in the large yard, chickens around our feet, we were looking at the impressive mountains surrounding the town. Johnny said: "This is what I like; it's so quiet here and beautiful. I just like to sit here and paint." When I asked what

he liked to paint, he answered: “The landscape, the patterns and forms I see in it. I’m so sick and tired of selling. I don’t want to have to worry about money so much; money isn’t everything. But I have to pay the bills.” It seemed that the combined challenge of material worries and the alienating aspects of selling were taking their toll.

Naida’s and her husband Víctor had been running a small hostel for a few years, and one afternoon Víctor recounted different problematic experiences with guests. In one instance, a wealthy Indo-Canadian family had arrived with seven suitcases and insisted Víctor help them carry these up from the plaza. They claimed they had booked a room with private bathroom, while the online reservation showed a shared bathroom. Víctor was visibly upset when he told me about this case; he said the couple had blamed him for the misunderstanding and treated him very rudely. Víctor had offered to find them another place and they eventually agreed. “I just knew they’d write a bad review if they stayed,” he added. “These online reservations sites are a mixed blessing. If you get a couple of bad reviews you have to lower your prices and build up from there again. Sometimes I just look at some guests and know they are trouble, so it’s better to let them go elsewhere.” His wife Naida added: “It’s exhausting; we have to be here all the time in case guests arrive. And then you have to always be friendly and smile.” Naida also recounted the story of an American guest who had accused her of having stolen his credit card. In fact, he had left it at a restaurant in Cusco the previous day, and on one of his errands there Víctor picked it up for him. “He invited us for dinner”, Naida said, “but he never apologized for accusing us for no reason. I was really upset.”

While one might expect differences and conflict to be highest between Western visitors and local people, what I heard consistently is that the most disliked tourists were Peruvians from the coast and other Latin Americans. Valentina’s husband told me that a group of visiting Peruvian students had defaced one of the large sacred rocks in Ollantaytambo’s Inca site by writing their names on it. “People from Lima are terrible,” he commented, “they have no respect.” María said: “Yes, our Peruvian friends... I’m sorry to say, but they are the worst. They treat us badly... Many think we are just dirty Indians up here in the highlands.” The lack of respect many local people felt emerged as a major issue. This sentiment was echoed by Ade and David, an Indonesian couple in their 30s who spent three months volunteering at the chocolate museum and store. They stayed at Maria’s guesthouse while I lived there, and we often chatted on the porch. Due to their light brown skin and dark hair, many tourists mistook them for locals, so they experienced first-hand some of the racist and classist attitudes common in Peru and other Latin American countries. Ade explained:

Over time, I like foreigners better than Peruvians... because when they come from the city, they see us here and they think we are village people, you know, uneducated people, dirty people. Even how they call us, you know, to order - it's so rude to us. Compared to foreigners. Especially people from Chile, Colombia, or Ecuador, especially when they are White. Because in South America they always think that the White people are better, upper class, than the indigenous people... If they think that we are local, they treat us badly. Once we explain that we are not from here, that we are from Asia and working here, that we are helping local people, then they are like "ohhh" and treat us better.

Despite the lack of respect certain tourists show, many also expect some level of emotional connection with locals as part of their travel experience. In the context of development workers, Heron has criticized the assumption that locals are always available and interested in forming friendships (2007:66-67), and, despite the far shorter time periods spent in one place, similar expectations are common among tourists. Apparently often short encounters can satisfy this need. One American backpacker in her 40s told me about the local woman and child she had met at the bus stop, and even though she hardly spoke any Spanish, she told me that they had a "good conversation" and she felt glad for "the opportunity to connect with local people." Conversely, many visitors voiced disappointment about what they perceived as lacking emotional connection with locals, a theme Hill also found among tourists in Cusco (2008:270-271). Northern development workers in Africa frequently frame their friendships with locals as connections between equals which can serve to sideline larger issues of inequality. Defining local people's "cultural insularity" as the main barrier locates the problem of connection with them and serves to differentiate Northerners as more open and aware global citizens (Heron 2007:71-72). Similarly, several of the tourists I encountered stated that while they had sought out more connection, local people had not reciprocated. Placing the responsibility for failed connection on these individuals again omits the issues of larger inequalities, which preserves the narrative of being a good tourist and moral being. Tom, an American volunteer in his 20s, said:

I can't tell often, I mean, when I talk to people it's in restaurants or stores....and they are always trying to sell you something, right? I mean, the guy in the bar was very friendly, but I know he is trying to sell something. No one seems to talk to you just for the sake of a conversation; there's usually some ulterior motive.

The frustration of people wanting to sell is a common theme I will return to in the next chapter. Jonathan, the partner of Lisa quoted above, summarized the difficulties of forming lasting friendships as follows:

As a *gringo* travelling you wanna make friends, ... but it's hard to meet people that are willing to invest in a friendship when they know it's gonna be transient, you know? Because we'll go back

to our life back at home, which is... we have our own network and friends, and it's a long, long way away, and the possibility of coming back to Peru is slight. And unfortunately the possibility of Peruvians coming to London is very small as well, because it's unaffordable. So, what is that friendship? That friendship you have to take for what it is, a point in time, an experience for a month.

While Jonathan and Lisa were seeking connection with locals, they also acknowledged the factors that made this difficult. Other visitors did not show this awareness. A Dutch volunteer in her 20s spoke about her work with women in a nearby highland community: "I'd worked with this woman; I'd stayed at her home for almost a week, and I thought we had a relationship, a friendship. But then on the last day she pulls out all her weavings and wants me to buy something, just like a tourist. That made me feel bad." I had had a similar experience. Soledad was one of the craft vendors I came to know well. We were about the same age and talked frequently; during one of the many fiestas she had saved me a seat outside her store where we spent most of the evening chatting, sharing beers, and watching the celebration. I had frequently bought small gifts at her store, and at the end of my stay I visited her again to purchase a few more items and to say good-bye. "Oh, come back soon," she said. "And bring all your friends so they can buy things at my store." Like the volunteer quoted above, I felt taken aback since this overt focus on money did not fit with what I considered a friendship. Western cultures generally have taboos against talking about money, considered "bad taste" or impolite. Sharing material resources happens almost exclusively within families, but far less so between friends. Both the volunteers' and my own reactions reveal a certain blindness toward our own privilege and different cultural norms. Tucker describes a similar situation in Göreme, Turkey, where tourists feel put off when a local woman invites them to see her house and then asks for money. While for the tourists economic exchange and friendship are generally seen as irreconcilable, for the villagers this dichotomy does not exist as close personal connections and economic transactions commonly go together (2003:123-124).

This was also evident in other interactions I witnessed. For a few months, I gave German lessons to a tour guide called Diego, and sometimes his brother Alberto joined. We often met at a restaurant run by the brothers' aunt and uncle. One afternoon I watched Diego enter and direct a group of six Canadians to one of the tables. They joked loudly, and a man in his 50s slapped Diego on the shoulder and repeatedly told him: "Thank you, *amigo*." He then proceeded to pin a small Canadian flag to Diego's shirt, saying "Canada, Canada." They joked back and forth for a while before Diego said good-bye and came over to my table. He told me that he had been their tour guide that day and they had just returned from a trip to three nearby Inca sites. Watching the scene, I had felt somewhat uncomfortable; to me the tourists' behaviour

had seemed patronizing and the use of the term *amigo* contrived. After we finished the German lesson and the Canadians had left, I asked Diego about this. To my surprise he said that they had been a good group and *buenos amigos* (good friends). Like the tourists, he used the term *amigo* for people he had met that day through a commercial exchange of tourist services.

Some researchers have highlighted the alienating aspects of tourism work, arguing, for example, that “tourism forces the objectification of human relations” (Bunten 2008:384) and that inequality, intolerance and exploitation are commonplace, while successful interactions may simply be “working misunderstandings” (van den Berghe and Flores Ochoa 2000:7). However, as we have seen, both hosts and guests are often motivated to frame their encounters in a different way. MacCannell argues that many interactions between tourists and locals involve “a certain mutual complicity... a shared Utopian vision of profit without exploitation” (1992:28). After the commercial interaction the Canadian gives a cheap gift, and the Peruvian leads his customers to a family business. Both make friendly gestures and seem to experience genuine positive sentiments about the encounter. Here it is useful to return to the concept of existential authenticity, which is independent of toured objects or events; rather, it is a feeling of being true to oneself, which can arise in response to various tourist experiences. This can be differentiated further into intra-personal and inter-personal authenticity (Wang 1999). In the case above, both Diego and his Canadian customer seem to have experienced a moment of inter-personal existential authenticity. And, as I addressed above, for Diego the combination of economic exchange and friendliness/friendship may have been a much more familiar one than for the Canadian.

### **Knowledge, Power and Tourism Brokers**

As some of the examples above have already illustrated, local people can return the gaze and can exercise power in different ways. MacCannell refers to a “balancing mechanism” between wealthier tourists and local people in developing countries; while visitors usually have limited knowledge of a site and its people, locals working in tourism develop a keen understanding of tourists and become expert judges of their appearances and behaviours (1992:31). Power and knowledge are closely intertwined (Foucault 1980). This was expressed by many of the tourism workers I spoke with who commented that they had learned to judge visitors and adjust their behaviour accordingly. The tour guide Diego spoke about the expertise that he and his brother Alberto had developed:

We know the different types of tourists; some are problematic, some are fun, some ask a lot of questions. We can tell quite quickly which type they are, and then we just go with that... We grew up doing this. For example, if it's a serious person, you don't make many jokes. If it's a fun person that you like, well, then you try to make them laugh. And there are people who are a bit special, right? No this, no that. As a good person with experience you have to accommodate them and always be polite. I can tell quite well, just by looking at them. And I know who is German, American, Dutch, Japanese, or Canadian - just by looking.

Knowing how to judge people allows local tourism workers to relate better to their customers and potentially to make more money. When I confronted a taxi driver who had overcharged me, he laughed and said he usually asked a bit more from tourists. "I can usually tell if people can give a little more," he said. Judging tourists can also be useful in other ways. Several times, as I was sitting with Naida at her guesthouse, I witnessed her send away people asking for rooms, claiming that she was fully booked. Usually the people turned away were "hippie type" travelling vendors and Latin Americans. When I asked Naida about this, she replied that she could tell when guests were trouble and that she preferred to leave rooms empty to keep the peace. Local people use different strategies of resistance, which will be discussed more in chapter 6.

It is important to recognize that tourism does not just involve hosts and guests but agents, guides and other tourism brokers who affect and direct tourist encounters. As Cheong and Miller argue, the tourist gaze is in part constructed guides and brokers, who direct what is seen and what is not, resulting in more complex flows of power (2004:383). David, one of the two Indonesian men introduced above, observed how strictly tourists can be controlled by their tour guides.

Sometimes we get tourists in the shop, and I ask them: Have you explored the old houses up there? ... I always try to promote that because they are such beautiful houses. It's amazing to me, but most people just go see the ruins... In the bus you just see a little bit, and the guides yell: *Vamos, vamos* (let's go, let's go). You know, like the animals: *vamos, vamos, vamos*. They pay so much for the guides, and then they miss a lot... Sometimes the guides drop the tourists in the train station, and their train leaves like three hours later, but they just spend the time there doing nothing. The guides just hurry them on; I've seen it many times. Why *vamos, vamos* when there is time. Well, it must be that: Oh, my responsibility is done; I've dropped you off safely, bye bye. That must be it.

Anja was a German long-term resident in her mid-twenties. One morning we were standing in the street chatting when a tour group passed by us. The guide briefly stopped to point out the trapezoidal Inca door way and then urged the group to move on. "Like sheep," Anja commented. "And they never get to see how beautiful it is just a little ways up the valley."

Directing the gaze also affects who gains in economic terms. Lisa commented on her observations from work at the chocolate store:

It gets a bit demoralizing sometimes, because people are rushing; they literally have to get on the bus right away, and I think the guides have a lot of power. Because if they have a sort of relationship with a business, and they take the tourists there... like one day one guy did come in and yeah, we made so much money. He brought a group of like 15 people. And the guide was talking it up a bit, you know, like 'guys, this is the organic chocolate shop.' And so we made a lot of money. Yeah, the guides hold a lot of power.

Tour groups usually stop in the craft market below the main Inca site; sometimes tour guides will direct their customers to different stalls and tell them where to buy. This can make a crucial difference for vendors. One woman has an arrangement with a guide and will guard his group's bags while they visit the ruins; in exchange she receives an endorsement for her wares, which usually translates into good sales. One of the local women sells crafts and weavings out of her courtyard and invites people in to see her Inca home, which is decorated quite theatrically with corn cobs, Inca tools, and a stuffed condor. The many guinea pigs roaming about add tourist appeal. When I asked her how this work was going for her, she complained that not many tourists find her place. "But it's much better now that the guides started bringing in groups." She added that she often had to rely on the guides to translate because she only spoke a few words of English. The lack of English skills, common among most vendors I spoke with, is an important factor that puts local people at a disadvantage. Several local people also complained that tour guides give false information. Adriana, a local woman in her late 20s, said: "Often they just make stuff up as they like, but it's not true. I've heard a guide say that the parts that stick out of the rocks... that the Inca used to hang their hats on them - their hats! They didn't have hats like we did!"

As addressed in the introductory chapter, tourists are a highly heterogeneous group. Some backpackers fund their trips by selling self-made goods like jewellery; thus they occupy an interesting position in tourist interactions in that they often sell their goods to other tourists, thereby taking the role of, and sometimes competing with, local people. To avoid competition, some of them produce work that is sufficiently different, such as a Spaniard selling small wood carvings and a Chilean making wallets out of unusual materials like milk cartons and Jehovah's Witnesses' brochures. Cohen would have categorized them as "drifters" (1972:168). Local people were usually very critical of travelling vendors and associated them with drug use. Both María and Naida cautioned me about spending time with them.

Studies indicate that backpackers tend to spread money into more remote areas and support more small-scale local businesses (Cohen 1982; Maoz 2006:223). However, despite

trying to differentiate themselves from tourists, they often share many attitudes with them. Sabrina and Rafael were travelling vendors from Brazil and Chile respectively. When I met them they had just returned from a three-day-trek and were planning on spending a few more days in Ollanta. One afternoon I spent an hour sitting on the pavement of the plaza with them. They told me that the police had not allowed them to sell in the middle of the square, so they had moved to the outside sitting on the pavement near the stores. Their brass jewellery was laid out on a small cloth in front of them, and while working on other pieces and sharing a bottle of beer, they called out to passers-by. Rafael told me about the trek they had done, crossing the highlands on the way to the town of Lares:

It was amazingly beautiful, the mountains all green and white with the snow, and once in a while the local people dressed in bright red. They seem to have a simpler and more spiritual life. We came across these four women, sitting just way up there in the mountains, all dressed in their hand-woven clothes and with those hats ... and they just sat there and, I don't know, contemplated things.

In his analysis of images in tourist brochures, Dann labelled one of his main categories “natives as scenery.” These are photos that show major landmarks or attractive landscapes and include local people in traditional dress. He argues that this serves mainly “to add a touch of colour”, while the “subjects are not perceived as human beings. Instead, they are displayed as stage extras, artists’ models, objects which have replaced people, to be gazed at with impunity” (1999:69-70). Similarly, Rafael’s comment reflects a view of locals as part of the landscape; among the green and white mountain scenery, the natives are reduced to providing colourful elements of red. As opposed to the hikers, they are seen as passive: “they just sat there.” Also, the reference to their lives as “simpler and more spiritual” is a common theme, which I will explore when discussing New Age tourism and discourse in chapter 7.

But Sabrina and Rafael had also had very different interactions with local people. Earlier that day, I had observed two young women in the traditional dress of the nearby highland communities stop and examine the couple’s jewellery. I watched as Rafael held up different pieces, laughed and exchanged a few words with the vendors before moving on. I was struck by the image that in many ways was a reversal of the standard tourist encounter between the “colourful locals” and foreign visitors. Rather than local people offering goods or posing for the tourist gaze, in this interaction they had become potential customers. I did not photograph this brief interaction but chose to draw it later. The fact that this struck me as so unusual made me recognize the degree to which I had become accustomed to seeing foreigners consuming the local, rather than vice versa.



Chilean travelling vendor selling to local indigenous women, by Karoline Guelke

When I later asked about this interaction, Rafael said that they had learned a few Quechua phrases and tried to use them as much as possible. Pointing to the intricately woven belt he was wearing, he added: “We also barter a lot. This here - I got this from a woman up in the highlands, and I traded her for a bracelet.” Like other backpackers I spoke with, they had made an effort to connect more with local people, yet at the same time displayed some of the general stereotypes foreign visitors often hold.

The power of outsiders was further illustrated by another case which also brings us back to the issue of authenticity. During the time of my stay, I often saw a man in full Inca costume standing by the entrance of the main Inca site; I refer to him here as “the Inca”, which was the term local people commonly used for him. Usually I would see him joking with tourists and inviting them to take a photo in exchange for money. His regalia as well as his behaviour were theatrical - simply an example of badly “staged authenticity” (MacCannell 1976)?



“The Inca” posing with me near the entrance to the main Inca site, by Dr. Margot Wilson

During an interview “the Inca” told me that he was from Peru’s north coast but had come to the highlands because of the opportunities in tourism work. He mentioned that sometimes, referring to the Inca site, he greeted tourists with: “Welcome to my friggin’ house.” With a big grin he added: “It works; I’m making good money.” Tourists I spoke with mentioned him frequently. While a few rolled their eyes and called him “fake,” most of them laughed and made comments such as: “he’s just great” or “that crazy guy was a lot of fun.” Cohen refers to “postmodern tourists” as those who are not striving for experiences of objective authenticity but find enjoyment in a variety of touristic events and experiences, including those that could be considered inauthentic (1995). This is what “the Inca” caters to. He presents himself to the tourist gaze, but by clearly signalling that his performance is a parody, he produces a light-hearted mockery of the quest for authenticity, which often succeeds in delighting tourists and putting them at ease. He is not staging authenticity but playing with it, and the entertaining and jovial interaction he provides often results in an experience of “existential authenticity” for tourists (Wang 1999). This can also be seen as a form of self-commodification, which, according to Bunten, is an expression of personal agency and can help people avoid some of the alienation so commonly felt when serving tourists (2008:381).

However, while some local people expressed mild amusement, most did not respond favourably to “the Inca’s” approach. “He isn’t even from here; he is not Inca,” several locals pointed out, with one adding that she felt ashamed because this was not what the Inca were like. An experienced tour guide from Cusco also addressed this point: “He is basically begging for money. The Incas were our ancestors; they were rich and noble. They were not beggars. I don’t agree with what he is doing; he is presenting a false image.” As addressed in the introductory chapter, Inca culture and identity are important features of the Cusco region and constitute prominent tourist attractions. However, as the case of “the Inca” shows, an outsider can quite easily appropriate this heritage and present and market it effectively, even in ways that contradict local views.

From a strategic Inca stronghold to an international tourist destination, Ollantaytambo was never simply a “sleepy little Andean town,” but there is no doubt that it is now in the midst of rapid economic development and cultural change. The community has become a site onto which visitors project their longings; some may be disappointed in their search for objective authenticity but find experiences of playfully staged and existential authenticity instead. Tourists tend to be more concerned with their own experiences than with the effects of their presence on locals (i.e. Noy 2004). Like María rearranging her house, the community adjusts in order to benefit from the growing tourism business. Many local people expressed pride in their work and spoke positively about tourism and the opportunities it brings; however, there is also a concern for a lack of respect seen in some tourist behaviour. Guides, often from outside the community, hold substantial power in representing the town and directing the tourist gaze. The daily encounters between locals, tourists, and brokers indicate that the gaze is mutual and that power can flow in complex ways. However, material inequalities divide most locals and visitors, which is the topic I turn to in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 4: Negotiating Inequalities and Solidarities

*I met Markus and Karina, a Swiss couple in their early 30s, over breakfast at a small guesthouse. While we were sharing fried eggs, bread and jam, Markus told me that the two of them were backpacking around the world for about one year. A close friend had died suddenly from an aggressive form of cancer, and so he and his partner had decided not to postpone what they really wanted to do. They agreed to an interview, and the following evening we met for more in-depth conversation. Karina commented on the stress of travelling and her frustrations with feeling overcharged: "It's exhausting to be ripped off; I mean, it's not about the money, but after a while you start feeling really bad. Do they think we are stupid and don't notice?"*

*Yet, the couple also recounted an experience that reflects a different attitude. The previous day the two had shared a taxi with an older American couple to visit the Inca site Moray about a half hour's drive away. The American man had haggled relentlessly with the driver, even after Karina and Markus felt they had reached a fair price. Markus said: "For that money no taxi driver in Switzerland would even start his engine. I really don't understand this American guy; it was so awkward. We ended up giving the driver a bit more money on the side. I mean, he was wearing... he looked like he could really use some money."*

*Karina and Markus stayed for another day and then continued their trip to Bolivia. On Facebook, I could follow their journey and see their stunning photos from other parts of South America, Australia and South East Asia. After returning to Switzerland, they posted reflections about their trip, saying that they had realized that most of the people they met when travelling would never be able to leave their own countries and that they now appreciated their own opportunities and privilege much more than before.*

Tourism often involves unequal relationships, and in Peru the most obvious material inequalities exist between local people and foreign visitors and residents. Hall and Tucker write that "tourism... both reinforces and is embedded in postcolonial relationships" (2004:2). Pratt speaks of "contact zones" defined as "social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination – like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths" (1992:4). One of these is tourism, which consistently brings together people of different cultural and social backgrounds. Yet despite these structural differences, power is dispersed in different domains of social life (Foucault 1980), so it is important to analyze how aspects of power and inequality are created, reproduced and challenged in day-to-day tourist encounters. As outlined in the first chapter, despite economic growth over 20% of Peruvians are still struggling with severe poverty, the Andean highlands being disproportionately affected with about 50% of rural inhabitants still living in poverty in 2015 (INEI 2016). In Ollantaytambo, some inequalities between foreigners and

locals are obvious: the European tourist with the large camera around her neck ordering a meal in an up-scale restaurant, while a farmer in well-worn clothes and rubber sandals passes by on his way back from the fields. Other inequalities are more hidden. My focus in this chapter is on the ways in which tourists and locals perceive and negotiate some of the main inequalities; in chapter 6, I will return to this issue and examine conflicts with foreign long-term residents and among community members themselves. My findings indicate that tourism perpetuates and exacerbates certain forms of inequality, yet these are often mediated by practices of solidarity and cooperation. Understanding what kinds of situations and conditions facilitate the latter can help guide tourism development in more equitable ways. As feminist scholars remind us, it is important to acknowledge the intersectionality of different aspects of identity, such as class, gender, and ethnicity (i.e. McCall 2005; Shields 2008). While my emphasis in this chapter is directed specifically towards material inequalities, in the next chapter I will examine the intersections with gender and ethnicity in more detail.

### **Conceptualizing Inequalities**

The inequalities I focus on in this chapter refer to the general gap in material wealth between locals and visitors and, contingent on this, the power differential people experience in everyday situations. While acknowledging the broader material inequalities, I also draw on a Foucauldian understanding of power as fluid and continuously enacted and challenged (1980b; 1978). One of the main ways through which power relations are produced and exercised is through discourse. The ways in which people consistently speak about a certain topic develops into commonly accepted views of how things actually are; thus, discourse can be seen as a way of constructing the truth (1972). In the context of tourism, Bruner argues that the discourse about specific destinations in developing countries is generally dominated by Westerners; “the powerful are able to decide what stories will be told, by whom, in what discursive space, so that others in the system... have to base their actions on what is essentially someone else’s story” (1991:241).

In addition, Bourdieu’s three different types of capital help to conceptualize the different intersecting inequalities: Economic capital refers to access to material resources, while social capital describes a person’s group memberships and institutionalised networks. Cultural capital consists of skills and knowledge gained through education, but also includes aspects like language and dress. These kinds of capital are strongly correlated and affect a person’s social mobility (1984). Bourdieu developed his categories in the context of the stratified but culturally

relatively homogeneous French society of the 1960s and 70s, but when applied to cross-cultural encounters, the picture becomes more complex. Fifty dollars translates into very different buying power in rural Peru versus, say, the US, yet economic capital can still be compared relatively easily. The dimensions of social and cultural capital, however, are very much culturally constructed; what types of social connections and skills are available and valued vary strongly between cultural contexts. Therefore we cannot simply conclude that one person has more than another but need to consider the different characteristics as well, a point I will return to below and in further chapters.

Following Bourdieu's categories, we can say that the majority of tourists visiting Ollantaytambo have more economic, social and cultural capital than residents do. In terms of economic capital, some of the travelling vendors may constitute an exception, though usually only temporarily. Travellers who fund their trips by selling self-made jewellery and other goods usually get by on a very low budget. This is also noted by local people. Valentina once commented to me that she felt sorry for the "poor travellers," some of whom she had seen sleeping under tarps in the plaza. "They really don't have much," she said. Although these travellers may certainly hit hard times financially, they generally have social and cultural capital that allows them to negotiate these potential difficulties. A young Chilean man I spoke with had a Masters degree in philosophy. As we talked he switched from Spanish to fluent English and later threw in a few phrases in German. His pants had large holes in them; his hair was long and tangled, and he looked like he had not washed in days. While sitting on the dusty steps of the plaza offering his jewellery, he called out to passers-by in different languages and drew them in with intriguing stories about the meaning and healing power of the stones. He had been travelling through South America for almost a year and was considering heading to Asia or Europe next. "Or I could go home and get a job," he laughed, "but not yet." While he may have been temporarily low on money and in some ways looked similar to the Andean farmer passing by, in terms of social and cultural capital he clearly had much larger resources at his disposal. In addition, being White afforded him other privileges as well.

Material poverty is a hard reality for many people in Ollantaytambo and the Sacred Valley. As I came to know local people better, I heard many of them referring to their past in terms of struggle. Diego, who recently started a tour agency with his brother Alberto, described their childhood as follows:

When we were growing up, there was a lot of poverty. We were eight brothers, and often there was not enough to eat. We had herb tea for breakfast and a piece of bread; that was it. Lunch was a soup, sometimes with a little meat, but usually without, and we only had a real main course

about once a month... So we kids had to help with making money. My brother and I would go to the ruins and play flutes and sing, dressed in our ponchos. We started doing that when we were seven, eight years old; we basically grew up in the ruins. We've been working in tourism ever since.

For many people, the challenges are ongoing. Johnny, the street vendor, lives in the nearby town of Calca, and on most days spends an hour on the bus to come to Ollantaytambo to sell his art. After I had come to know him over the course of a few weeks, he invited me to the birthday party of his girlfriend Catalina's son. Before we joined the celebrations in kindergarten, we walked through Calca's market to pick up a few bottles of soft drinks. Johnny pointed to a shoe shine boy no more than eight years old and said: "That's what I used to do when I was little. I would come back from school and then work until evening." After the celebration, Johnny and Catalina took me to their home. We entered a muddy courtyard, flanked on the right by a rough concrete wall and on the left by a long two-storey building with about twelve separate rooms; one outhouse and water faucet is shared by everyone. The second storey is accessed through wooden ladders, and as Catalina climbed up in her high heels in front of me, she turned around and said apologetically: "This is where I live - unfortunately." I followed her into the room which she shares with Johnny and her son Luciano; there's one bed in the corner, a wooden table with four chairs, clothes stored on a shelf and in various plastic bags, and a couple of toy trucks on the floor. An uncle of theirs soon joined us and we sat down for a generous meal of fried duck, potatoes and pasta. After we climbed down again, Johnny and Catalina stopped to talk with an old woman sitting in the doorway of one of the dark rooms downstairs, weaving on a back-strap loom. I bent down to admire the intricate design of the wide belt she was working on and caught a glimpse of her small room with nothing but a mattress on the floor and a few large plastic bags with personal belongings hanging from the ceiling. The three were conversing in Quechua, and later Johnny told me that a middleman will likely pay her only 30 soles (about 8 dollars) for this piece which takes at least three days to complete. Tourists in the Cusco area will witness certain expressions of poverty but most of them are unlikely to get a glimpse of, or imagine, what daily living conditions are like for many of the people with whom they interact.

## **Tourist Discourse**

Cusco's centre has changed drastically in recent years as more expensive stores, restaurants and hotels catering to the more upscale tourist market have displaced smaller businesses. In any other of Cusco's neighbourhoods, however, social inequalities are immediately obvious to a visitor. Whether by train, bus, or taxi, the trip from Cusco to the Sacred

Valley leads through the fast-expanding marginalized neighbourhoods on the hillsides above the city. Many residents have recently migrated from rural areas; construction is booming while infrastructure is clearly lacking. The material poverty is most visible in the unfinished houses and large amounts of garbage in the streets. Many precariously constructed dwellings cling to the hillsides, connected by meandering foot paths (even though in recent years new concrete staircases have replaced many of these). Many people sell food and other goods from small, makeshift roadside stalls, and one can see both adults and children with damaged and dirty clothing.

On my frequent bus trips through this area I repeatedly witnessed reactions from tourists as they encountered these sights. Usually they had worried expressions as they looked out the window, expressing sentiments such as: “Wow, this looks pretty grim” or “Geez, sure wouldn’t wanna live here.” I also noticed that many tourists quickly turned their attention away, pulling out cell phones and guide books or engaging in conversations with each other. The tourist gaze becomes unsettled in places like this. These are not the images foreigners recognize from tourist brochures but a sudden and unsettling confrontation with material poverty more familiar from “World Vision” brochures. Unlike in official slum tourism (i.e. Frenzel and Koens 2012), where a guide directs, and thereby justifies, the tourist gaze, there is no clear script of where to look. Interestingly, the sight that usually elicited the greatest response was a large pile of garbage frequented by dogs digging around for something edible; generally several tourists readied their cameras or cell phones to quickly take a photo. Conscious or not, focussing on animals instead of humans can serve as a strategy to distract oneself from the impact of witnessing poverty, a point I will return to below.



Tourist looking out from the bus

Aside from pity and a certain fascination, passing through this location also elicited fear reactions from visitors. For a couple of months traffic often slowed to a crawl due to a major construction project to widen the road. As we were inching along one morning, a street vendor with a baby on her back approached the bus to sell food through the window. A middle-aged man loudly advised his three travel companions: “Hold on to your cameras! Let’s hope we don’t get stuck *here!*” As the bus winds its way down into the valley and on to Ollantaytambo, cameras and cell phones come out again, this time to document the farm houses surrounded by fields and eucalyptus trees, framed by mountains rising steeply on either side. As on the outskirts of Cusco, there are people showing signs of material poverty, but tourists’ comments here almost invariably focus on the landscape: “Wow, beautiful” or “look at those mountains - amazing.” Even though rural areas suffer disproportionately from poverty, this may be less obvious to a foreigner because it is embedded in bucolic landscapes and impressive mountain

scenery; it seems more “natural” here. The same process may be in effect in Ollantaytambo which, despite undergoing rapid tourism development, still preserves a more rural and quiet atmosphere that contrasts sharply with the city of Cusco.

One of my standard questions for tourists was about the differences they noticed between themselves and local people, usually followed by a more specific question about their experiences encountering poverty, if any. Some comments indicated that tourists were not fully perceiving or acknowledging the material inequalities. A Dutch man in his 50s commented that “they seem to be poor, but everybody has their smart phone as well”, indicating doubt that the poverty witnessed was real. On different occasions, tourists showed an inability to imagine different life circumstances and poverty. I had joined a tour guided by the brothers Diego and Alberto, and after visiting two Inca sites we stopped for lunch. The two spoke about how as children they had sometimes gone hungry and had to make money by singing and dancing for tourists. Debbie, an American in her 60s travelling with a friend, exclaimed: “Oh, how cute! I would love to see your baby photos.” Even though Diego had mentioned their material struggles explicitly, Debbie did not recognize these hardships and, likely based on Western middle-class norms, assumed that the family had the resources (and interest) to record their children’s lives.

In some cases, tourists seemed to focus solely on how poverty of locals affected them, rather than considering what the disparity may have meant for the locals. On one of my bus trips between the valley and Cusco I spoke with a German couple in their 50s who travelled around Peru by themselves. The woman recounted several positive experiences and referred to Peru as “such a beautiful country.” When asked about her experiences with poverty, she responded by saying that she felt “worn out” by seeing it, but that it was not as bad as the begging they had experienced in the Caribbean. “One can’t give to everyone, so right now we don’t really give anything. Yesterday a woman approached me when I was sitting on a bench in the plaza and asked for money, but I said ‘no’ and looked the other way.” The issue of poverty was translated into begging, which is the aspect that affected her. She also recounted a time she and her husband had visited the San Pedro market in Cusco. Apart from a few souvenir stalls, the market caters largely to local customers, selling anything from household goods to clothing and ritual and medicinal items. The material poverty of the neighbourhood and many of the vendors, some of whom sit right in the street with a few items for sale in front of them, is obvious. Yet, the German’s comments reflect a different experience: “We went to the San Pedro market; that was pretty good, but the streets below, now that was something. Very funny all the different things they sell. And there was this woman with a little child on her back, and the child was chewing on a chicken foot! In Europe they’d call child protection services!” It is interesting that, even though

I had asked specifically about her experiences with poverty, she emphasized the “funny” aspects of the experience and the chicken foot, certainly an unfamiliar food to a German but common locally and not a reason for concern. Focussing on a minor issue such as that can be a way of avoiding the larger problems of inequality and suffering.

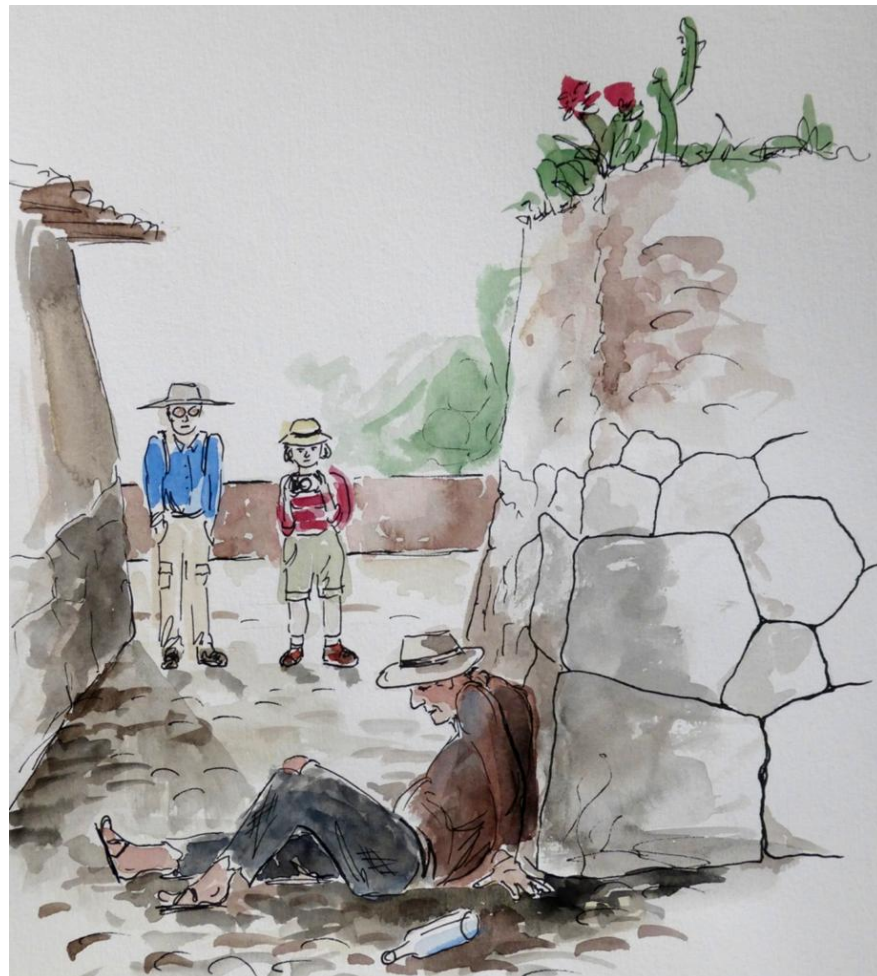
Most tourists recognize material inequalities but may still justify or distance themselves from these somehow. In their analysis of tourist postcards in Cusco, one of the common themes Sinervo and Hill identify in the depiction of rural children is “poor but happy” (2011), a view that also emerged strongly when I asked tourists about their perceptions of local people in Ollantaytambo and the Cusco region more broadly. Lisa, a young British volunteer, spoke enthusiastically about locals, saying that “they are so nice, so happy, even though they don’t have much.” Similarly, the Dutch man quoted above told me:

They seem quite poor. But people are extremely friendly, and they are making something of their lives, though it’s not much. When you come from a Western country, then you realize: this is a really different life. But people seem to be rather happy with their lives. I don’t know why, but they seem rather cheerful and friendly. I’m really impressed by their attitude and way of living.

While these comments reflect admiration for local people, they also indicate an emotional distancing. If people are happy, then the poverty witnessed may not be as severe, so tourists need not worry about being implicated and can simply learn something about finding happiness. Hill interprets this view as “an emotional accommodation and rationalization for class and race hegemony, using notions of affective adaptation to mitigate structural inequality” (2008:265). The tour guide Diego was well aware of the common impression of locals as happy; however, he told me: “Yes, people look pretty happy, but you don’t know what happens inside their homes. Life here can be quite sad. Sometimes the man is a drunk and spends all the money on alcohol, and when the family needs to buy food or clothes, there’s no money.” Other comments combined the “poor, but happy” theme with calls for intervention. An American man in his 60s, travelling around Peru and Bolivia with his own guide, commented: “People look content to me. It’s definitely a much simpler lifestyle, but people seem to enjoy their lives and their families...They seem to be getting by okay but definitely need help in some areas.” Despite their happiness, he considered people unable to manage their own lives and in need of outside assistance, presumably from the Western world. Rosaldo writes that “imperialist nostalgia occurs alongside a peculiar sense of mission, the white man’s burden” (1989:108). The phrase “they need some help” was used by a number of other tourists I spoke with, though many volunteers also reflected more critically on this and questioned some of the local aid projects.

Heron points out that the concern for helping the subjugated is not just a remnant of colonialism but a process whereby Northerners construct their identities as moral and good people (2007:9).

Poverty is not just ignored, dismissed, or pitied but also romanticized, which achieves a similar emotional distancing as the “poor, but happy” attitude. Poverty can make for captivating photos. One morning I was standing in the doorway of María’s guesthouse, when a few metres away I saw an older man lying in the street. His back was propped up against the stone wall, and there was a large empty bottle beside him. A moment later two tourists came around the corner; they stopped for a moment, the woman lifted her camera to take a photo of the man, and then the two quickly continued on their way. All this took no more than ten seconds. I was struck by this brief encounter and decided to paint it later.



Tourists photographing local man, by Karoline Guelke

How had the tourists perceived this man? Leaning against the ancient Inca wall, dressed in drab old-fashioned looking clothing, he in many ways embodied the image of the poor, drunken Andean man. The scene was reminiscent of photos taken by Martín Chambi, the Peruvian photographer, who became famous through his portraits of indigenous people in the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and whose images are still found on every post card rack today. For most tourists familiar with these ubiquitous images, the scene would have had a familiar and timeless quality. Tourism often produces images of local people as living in the past (i.e. Edwards 1997; 1996), and tourists feel compelled to reproduce these images (Albers and James 1988; Urry 1990). Pruitt and LaFont describe how middle-class Americans tend to stay away from poorer areas in their home towns, yet as tourists in the Caribbean they find the local beach shacks quaint and appealing. Poverty and struggle become exoticized and subsumed in a romanticizing gaze (2004). Sontag has stated that “to photograph people is to violate them, by seeing them as they never see themselves, by having knowledge of them they can never have; it turns people into objects that can be symbolically possessed” (1977:14). Does my drawing run the same risk? I, too, depicted the man in a vulnerable position, and this points to the parallels between the tourist and the ethnographic gaze, addressed in the introductory chapter. However, I believe that the power differential is minimized through the artistic method: by foregrounding the interpretations of the anthropologist and the incompleteness of the scene, the image can reflect ethnographic information without claiming the same authority or power as a photo.

Hill speaks about tourists experiencing “First World Guilt” about their positions of privilege (2008:261). An Australian woman in her early 30s, travelling around the world with her boyfriend, commented that sometimes she hid her camera not so much because of safety concerns, but because openly displaying her wealth made her feel uncomfortable: “I’ve got this big camera and a tripod. It’s so flashy, like, look at all my money, you know? So I prefer to carry it in my backpack.” A similar sentiment was echoed by a Dutch woman in her 50s, who said she did not feel like wearing much jewellery, not because she felt particularly threatened, but because she did not want “to show off.” I had acted similarly as well. During an earlier period of fieldwork in 2002 I had fallen and ripped my favourite pants which resulted in a fairly large tear just below the knee. Since the pants were fully functional, I continued wearing them; somehow I also thought that it made me look more similar to local people, who often wore well-worn or damaged clothing. However, the local woman I was staying with at the time, a former school teacher in her 60s, admonished me harshly and told me that it was inappropriate for me “in my position” to go out and be seen with this visible tear. It was, of course, rather naive of me to

think that a tear in my pants would somehow bring me closer to locals and magically erase the more fundamental material inequalities between us.

As mentioned above, when confronted with views of poverty, I noticed that tourists on the bus often directed their attention to animals, which can be seen as another strategy of emotional distancing. Animals were also a common theme in conversations with tourists, volunteers and expats, many of whom voiced concern about specific dogs and cats and in some cases adopted them. Walking around the village one frequently encounters dogs. In most cases, these are not street dogs; they have owners that allow them to roam free during the day. Peggy, an American resident in her 60s, had taken in an elderly dog and walked him regularly on a leash, something commented on as unusual and funny by several locals, one of whom referred to the dog as “her boyfriend.” For the photovoice project, Daniela took two photos of tourists interacting with dogs (not included here) and commented that “sometimes tourists seem more interested in the dogs than in the people here.” One evening over dinner I was talking with María and her husband Ernesto. María mentioned that foreign volunteers staying with them had adopted two of their kittens and taken them abroad, and a friend of hers had given one of her dogs to an English guest. “These animals see more of the world than we do,” joked Ernesto.

In the anecdote that opened this chapter, Karina said that it was “exhausting to be ripped off.” I frequently heard travellers complain about people trying to sell to them, and in general matters of price, getting good deals, and avoiding “getting ripped off” were central themes. Jessica, an American volunteer spending three weeks working at a local hotel, told me:

I didn't expect that people constantly want to sell me things. I've been here for two weeks now, and the same people are still trying to sell me stuff. Oh my God, it's so frustrating. Or walking past a restaurant: I walked by five minutes before and said “no”, and I come back and they're still trying to get me in, handing me the menu, and I'm like “no.” So that's very odd; I didn't expect that to be all over town. It's a little jarring, but I guess it's no different from how it is in Cusco or the other tourist cities. So I'm trying to get used to it again: right, whenever you are travelling, when you are a White person in a foreign country, that's sort of the experience.

Jessica's comment shows frustration but also indicates some awareness of her position of privilege. But many tourists are simply fixated on getting the best deal. Kelly, a Canadian in her 60s, regularly spent the winters travelling on her own. We had met at María's guest house and I had offered to take her on a hike to Pumamarca, a site of pre-Inca and Inca origins located about two hours by foot up the valley. Before heading out, we stopped in the produce market to buy some snacks, and I watched as Kelly walked back and forth between stands to inquire about the prices of bananas and avocados. The main produce vendors did not budge, but after several minutes Kelly found a vendor outside, a woman in torn clothing selling some fruit spread

out on a cloth in front of her, who agreed to sell for less. Five minutes of bargaining had saved Kelly the equivalent of about 50 cents, and she had benefitted from a person who was clearly materially worse off than her. During our walk to Pumamarca, I mentioned that there was no official entry fee to the site but that a caretaker sometimes asked for a donation; I had given him three soles (about one dollar) in the past and suggested we do the same. "Well," Kelly responded, "I'll just give him one sol; you can give him more, if you want." While Kelly was a more extreme example of tourist stinginess, the strong focus on getting something for as little as possible was common. Jacquie, an American in her early 40s, had been running a hostel with her local partner for a couple of years. She described experiences at her guesthouse as follows:

What pains me to see with tourists is when they don't have a sense of how to be generous. I wonder how much of that is affecting the local people in terms of becoming more greedy. So many of the tourists I've seen, they have plenty of money. Maybe in their country they are middle class, not really rich, but they can travel, and then you have a local person asking for a tip for a photo, and they don't give anything. Also, at breakfast - when I was talking to guests, finding out what people needed that day: almost 90% of the conversations focussed on money: where they went and how much they paid for this or that, just money money money. It's such a prevalent part of their conversations; it's just amazing. So I would tell my guests: think of the universe, or God or whatever, giving you an opportunity to be generous!

There is an interesting emotional aspect to this as well. Several tourists commented on feeling stupid for being overcharged. As quoted above, Karina said that "after a while you start feeling really bad. Do they think we are stupid and don't notice?" Lisa, the British volunteer introduced in the previous chapter, commented: "It makes you warm less to people, you know, because you think: Is he gonna rip me off? Sometimes I wait for the vendor to say the price to another Peruvian, so that I know. I really try not to be like a dumbo, you know?" I have watched tourists bargain hard for little gain, as in the case of Kelly mentioned above. One afternoon I sat on a balcony of one of the new restaurants, drinking juice while watching tourists below. A large tour bus rolled in and people got out and headed into the craft market. A man his 50s, large camera around his neck, turned around and shouted to the tour guide: "Can we bargain here?" The guide confirmed. Hill suggests that "bargaining may be a fun, exotic game that conjures up a more 'primitive' and less alienating exchange system far removed from the impersonal and unyielding price tags of commodities in Western stores" (2008:264). In addition, for many travellers successful bargaining is part of the tourist performance. Jacquie offered a good interpretation of this, saying "taking it personally - it's all about ego, because in our capitalist system it says you are a good person if you get a good deal; you are a stupid person if you are generous." On the other hand, bargaining over prices is also customary in Peru and functions as

a form of social interaction. As addressed earlier, many tourists are seeking some connection with local people, and haggling over prices can be one way to engage in conversation.

It is also evident that many local people do charge tourists higher prices. During one of my first bus rides between Ollantaytambo and Urubamba, the largest town in the valley, the young bus driver told me a price three times higher than the regular fare. When friends of mine were visiting, we took a taxi to a nearby Inca site, and after we arrived the driver insisted on a price that was significantly higher than what we had agreed on earlier. Nevertheless, the time and effort many tourists invest in getting good deals seem out of proportion with the economic and other forms of capital most of them have available. In her description of development workers in Africa, Heron points out that, whether consciously or unconsciously, the strong discursive emphasis on feeling targeted and treated unfairly serves to distract from the power position based on Whiteness (2007:98).

Travelling on the cheap can also serve purposes other than saving money. Giulia, a German-Italian backpacker of about 40, told me that she always tried to connect with local and travelling street vendors: "They usually know a place well and can tell you where it's cheap to stay and to eat. And normally they are good guys; yeah, some drink a lot and smoke, but some know how to save their money and manage well. And they are fun." Giulia's strategy was clearly not just about money but also about social contacts, which I will explore in more detail in chapter 8. Tucker makes an interesting point about this, observing that travelling independently and outside of organized tours increases the opportunities for chance encounters and experiences, such as meeting people on a local bus. Thus, travelling on a shoe string is not always merely a strategy for saving money or a sign of stinginess but can be used to increase opportunities for serendipity (2003). Giulia's comments, as well as the experiences of other travellers who highlighted chance experiences based on "roughing it," support this point. In a study conducted in Cusco, tourists also tended to judge their travel experience as more authentic if it involved difficulties and challenges typical of low-budget travel (Hill 2008:265). This is also in line with Graburn's model of travel as a rite of passage or inversion: for middle-class tourists, temporarily giving up their familiar comforts becomes an important aspect of the trip (2004; 1998). Stories of challenges also form a significant part of cultural capital for tourists; the greater the challenges the more admiration one can obtain from one's peers, a point I will explore more in the context of travel photography in chapter 5. However, Wilson and Ateljevic remind us that this aspect may be overestimated; their research indicates that many female British backpackers felt that friends at home did not show much interest in their travel experiences (2008).

## Local Views of Inequality

As Maoz reminds us, the tourist gaze is not a one-way street; local people gaze back and form their own views of tourists (2006). Jason, a blond, blue-eyed and cheerful American in his late 20s, was a long-term resident of Ollantaytambo and worked as an adventure guide. I had seen him often with his large backpack when leaving for or returning from multi-day hikes and later met him when I stayed in the guesthouse owned by one of his friends. One evening we met in the old Inca house he rented. After he had cleared away empty beer bottles from the table, we settled down for the interview. Commenting on locals' perceptions of foreigners, he said:

We have to remember that everyone who makes it here comes from a socio-economic level to afford the ticket, getting at least two weeks off work; they can travel. So it's very interesting, sometimes my local friends will ask me: Are all buildings in the US really tall? Does everyone have a car? Well, many people have cars, yes, but we also have people standing in line to get free food at the soup kitchen... It's interesting talking to friends of mine from here who have gone to the States, and they come back and they are like: Dude, you were right. You're not all tall and rich and blond-haired, and people sleep in your streets, too!

While some Peruvians have the opportunity to see that poverty also exists in the US and other countries, the fact remains that in material terms most Westerners who visit Peru are far better off than they are. It is also worth noting that definitions of poverty vary cross-culturally. Zoomers writes that in the Andes poverty has traditionally been defined as a lack of land and familial and community connections rather than a lack of money or other possessions. In the southern Peruvian Andes this view began to shift only in 1990 when NGOs introduced the concept (2008:976-978).

Encounters with tourists certainly illustrate a significant wealth gap to local people. Travellers frequently compare how many countries they have visited, and high numbers can translate into cultural capital among peers, but local Peruvians also often asked me which countries I had visited. My list includes 22 countries, and this answer usually elicited surprise and astonishment and made me feel acutely aware of my privilege and relative wealth. I was also painfully reminded of O'Rourke's classic film *Cannibal Tours* which shows encounters between Western tourists and locals in New Guinea (1988). Near the beginning of the film a German tourist clad in safari gear recounts the long list of countries he has visited. Speaking with an air of arrogance and self-satisfaction, he immediately establishes himself as the unlikable "ugly tourist." Since I did not want to be seen like this, I began to reduce my list of countries when people asked me. While this naive strategy helped ease my own discomfort temporarily, obviously it did nothing to alter the underlying inequalities that separated us. In one

instance I was called out on this explicitly. I was walking around the community of Patacancha in the highlands above Ollantaytambo, looking after the young daughter of a friend who was spending the day working there. As we stopped to pet a cat, an older man stepped out of his small adobe house and shouted a greeting at us. He then asked me where I was from and which countries I had visited. I mentioned about six and he slowly repeated the names. Then he said emphatically: “You are lucky. I would like to travel, too, but I’m poor!” In *Cannibal Tours* the European and American tourists cruising up the Sepik River express a number of different theories about what they perceive as the backwardness of local New Guineans, whether viewing them as happy primitives in a state of nature or as representing a lower evolutionary level and in need of help. In contrast, local people clearly recognize the decisive factor that separates them from the visitors: economic resources. In one scene an elderly woman says angrily: “White men got money; you got all the money” while in another an old man states: “If I had money, I could travel on that boat, too.”

### **Solidarity, Consideration, and Reflexivity**

Not all tourists are out to get the best deal at all times; many expressed concern for local people and tried to be generous in different ways. Jane, a British nurse in her sixties, commented: “Sometimes we just paid a bit more. One time a woman in a small village charged us 15 soles for three coffees. That was too much, but whatever; we paid it. It’s still cheap for us. I mean, who would you rather be ripped off by: a poor Peruvian or a bloody big company?” A similar understanding was expressed by Jonathan, who with his partner Lisa volunteered at the chocolate store:

You know, I don’t mind it so much. They are like entrepreneurs, trying to make some money. It’s not like Europe where if you don’t work you get support; if you don’t work here, you starve to death. So they’re kind of doing what they can... And I kind of try and have that in my mind when I’m walking along and people are pestering me. They are trying and making a living, you know.

Giulia, the German-Italian backpacker, partially funded her travels by selling macramé jewellery which was very similar to the work of local Peruvians. When I asked her about this, she said: “Yes, I was thinking about selling some of it here in Peru. But why compete with the locals? I’m not rich, but these guys need the money more than I do.” Similar to Jane and Jonathan, she indicates a greater awareness of the underlying inequalities, and her comment also reveals that she has back-up funds and/or other means of making money. Hill describes how tourists in Cusco are motivated to purchase goods based on the “First World guilt” they

feel; shopping thus becomes framed as a way of helping local people (2008:262). Hill points out the irony of this, but, according to what most local people told me, this is exactly what they wish tourists would do more of. One of the most common complaints about visitors was that they are “just passing through” and “they take a look, but they don’t buy anything.”

Sometimes tourists give support in more direct ways. Jacquie has encouraged this; she told me: “Tourists have asked me if locals are offended if you offer them money, and I say *never* is a Peruvian offended if you offer them something; that’s what their whole culture is based on. You go to a highland community; they have five potatoes left, and they’ll give you all of them.” Jacquie refers to Andean customs of reciprocity and sees tourists as potentially fitting into this system. However, simply giving out money can clearly be problematic. Kate, a British expat who is running a successful hotel, said:

There’s one example of this guy who literally had a fistful of dollars and was giving it out to the children. And I’m like, hey, what are you doing? And he said: I’m giving it out; these people don’t have any money; I’m giving them money. And so, you know, it was really hard to explain to him that this wasn’t a good thing, that this was really setting them up as beggars.

Jason also commented that giving out money perpetuates the stereotype that every foreigner is wealthy and can afford to give. However, Kate’s example also illustrates the helplessness some visitors may feel when confronted with poverty. Others choose to give money with strings attached. Debbie, the American quoted earlier, recounted how on a recent three-day-trek she and her group had passed through small highland communities and met an old woman who was walking barefoot. Their guides Diego and Alberto had told them that she lived alone and did not even have money for shoes. Debbie decided to give the woman 10 soles (about three dollars) but asked the guide to tell the woman that she had to use the money to buy shoes. Even though she did not know anything about the person, Debbie assumed she knew best what was needed and did not grant the elderly woman the agency to make her own decision about the money given.

While some tourists seem unaware of their own privilege, many also expressed awareness and gratitude. In their Facebook post, Markus and Karina had talked about how, after their travels, they came to appreciate their own opportunities and privilege much more. Hill has also identified the theme of tourists feeling “blessed and fortunate” about the wealth and comfort in their own lives; however, he also points out that they rarely recognize how they and their home countries might be implicated in these structural inequalities (2008:264). Karen, a German back-packer in her 30s, showed some awareness of this. She said:

I travel very slowly, and I visit many places that are not so touristy, but still I ask myself: I'm a tourist, too, no? When I travel to less touristy places, then tourism grows there as well. And sometimes it seems like the second... like the Spanish, we are like the Spanish, no? First they came and now the tourists. It brings a lot of changes and many problems.

Her comment indicates a broader historical and post-colonial reflection; she does not simply individualize her experiences. Like Hill (2008), however, I found this to be the exception; while many tourists expressed concern for local people and reflected on their own privilege, I seldom encountered an awareness of larger global and historical connections.

Wilson and Ateljevic argue that the dichotomy between tourists and hosts may be overemphasized and that many international travellers establish deeper connections and even long-term friendships with local people (2008). We can see some examples of that in Ollantaytambo as well. Naida told me repeatedly that her positive experiences with guests outweighed the bad. She told me that when she and her husband first opened their hostel, they had no internet presence. Several of their first guests convinced them of the need for this and helped them get set up on Tripadvisor and Booking.com. Later an American told them they needed better photos online; he then took pictures of their rooms and lobby and posted them. Naida also mentioned that they started with no computer knowledge but often guests helped them out. "There was this French guy; he worked for over three hours one afternoon to set up the wifi connection for us. After that we still had problems, but then an American woman figured it out. She helped us a lot and became a friend; we are still in contact." One German guest had brought them three more guests the next day by recommending their hostel. On several occasions the brothers Diego and Alberto emphasized "Tourism is good for us." While they had grown up with the constraints of material poverty, their children are now attending school and are well taken care of.

Local people also expressed concerns over tourists being overcharged. One craft vendor told me: "I don't like how some people take advantage of tourists. I know that not all tourists have lots of money, but many local people think they do." A young woman from a nearby community, the only woman among the otherwise male street vendors of paintings, said that she thought the entry to the Inca site was overly expensive for foreigners and that "they should be more lenient with students. Sometimes they forget their student cards, but they don't have much money." Daniela, who with her partner manages one of the larger hotels in the plaza, made the following comment in reference to one of the photos she took for the photovoice project (not shown here): "There was this Colombian woman who needed to go to the train station, and the taxi driver was asking 20 soles (about seven dollars). That's way too much! I told her she could just take a bike-taxi down for one sol. Some people really try and take

advantage of tourists.” Daniela did not just show sympathy for the visitor but actually intervened on her behalf. This was also expressed through another image she took for the photovoice project.



Old woman and tour buses, by Daniela

Daniela commented:

This is the oldest woman in town. She doesn't know how old she is, but she must be in her 80s. She still sells food on the corner there in front of our hotel. She does have family, but she wants to contribute; she still wants to work...The tourists in the back there - the traffic congestion was so bad, they had to get out and walk down to the train station to catch the train. Some of them were elderly, too.

For months I had seen the old woman sit on the street corner, always with a large bundle next to her, but I had not realized that she was selling food. No sign indicated this; she was simply selling to locals who knew her. In her bundle she had two or three pots with a home-

cooked meal, as well as plates and cutlery; she served the meal, her customers would eat it sitting on the steps nearby and then return the plate to her. This is also an example of a small-scale business that can be run with great flexibility and low investment, a point I will discuss later with regards to gender. Also noteworthy is the juxtaposition of elderly locals and visitors in this comment; while the local woman is still working, elderly tourists enjoy their leisure time. Again, despite the difference in wealth and privilege, Daniela's comment reflects empathy and concern for the visitors.

While in their praise of tourism many local people focussed on economic capital, other aspects played a role as well. The brothers Diego and Alberto emphasized that they enjoyed learning about other cultures by talking with tourists from all over the world: "This way we have educated ourselves; it's a benefit, an interchange of culture. We cannot travel because we do not have enough money, but this way we can inform ourselves and learn; we imagine and we learn." I heard similar sentiments from other people working in tourism, and, like Diego and Alberto, most of them spoke about meeting foreigners as the only way to learn about other places due to their own inability to travel.



Cards and gifts displayed in María's guesthouse, by Karoline Guelke

On the wall in her kitchen, María proudly displayed photos and thank-you cards she had received from volunteers who had stayed with her. She was proud and protective of the special cabinet she had reserved for gifts, including mugs, plates, packages of tea and a bottle of whiskey. This display of social capital immediately showed off her international connections to anyone who entered her kitchen.

While this may have given her some status in the community (as well as exposed her to envy, addressed in chapter 6), these social connections were often limited. When one evening María mentioned a couple of volunteers from Vancouver who had invited her, I spontaneously said: “That’s great! You can visit them and then come stay with me in Victoria.” While I was momentarily oblivious to the restrictions she faced, she simply looked at me and said: “Yes, in another life.”

Despite the underlying inequalities, there are also moments when locals and visitors can come together and simply enjoy each other’s company. In Ollantaytambo, most accommodation still consists of small locally-owned guest houses where a family home has been reconfigured to rent a few rooms. Family life is not kept separate from guests; children run about and converse with guests, family friends and neighbours drop by for a chat while the owner is preparing breakfast, and guests are sometimes invited to family celebrations. I spent a whole evening of New Year’s celebrations with Naida and Víctor and a Brazilian couple who were guests at their hostel. We shared a meal, played games, and toasted to the New Year; afterwards everyone agreed that it had been a great evening. On another occasion, María told me about her sister’s birthday; María’s husband had been away that evening and with her sister being unmarried they just had female guests. Scrolling through the photos on her cell phone she chuckled as she described the evening to me:

We were just sitting around that evening, you know, drinking a bit, talking ... and then Ronald, the kid who lives with us and runs bicycle tours for tourists, he brought in these seven big guys from England! I had my *comadres*<sup>9</sup> here, in their traditional skirts and all, and at first they looked really upset. But then we started dancing, and it was so much fun! And my *comadres* started dancing, with their skirts swirling, and with these big guys jumping around...oh, I laughed so hard, my stomach hurt! We had so much fun!

Small informal family businesses like María’s and Naida’s guesthouses foster closer contacts between hosts and guests. In the context of rural Turkey, Tucker found that through the close encounters afforded by small guest house accommodation, local people can control

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<sup>9</sup> The term *comadre*, literally co-mother, refers to a woman connected through a godparent relationship (the male version is *copadre*). Sometimes these terms are also used for close friends.

some of the tourists' behaviours and engage with them on their own terms (2003). These settings also allow people to come together, enjoy each other's company, and simply have fun - despite their underlying differences and inequalities. While these momentary encounters and shared experiences usually do not translate into long-term connections, they often constitute "meaningful encounters" (Wilson and Ateljevic 2008) for all parties involved.

Tourism development in the Cusco region has been shown to increase material inequalities as benefits from tourism are distributed in unequal ways (Steel 2013). In this chapter I outlined how in their daily encounters locals and foreigners negotiate some of these inequalities in the "contact zone" of tourism. While there are clear structural differences with regards to economic, cultural and social capital, the specific ways in which people experience, manage and challenge these vary strongly. Tourists may romanticize local people or construct them as exploitative and out to "rip them off," thereby discursively distancing themselves from the poverty they witness. On the other hand, visitors also express empathy, consideration and reflexivity. Heron has observed a variety of similar strategies among development workers and writes: "We see and at the same moment do not want to see how we are positioned, and our negotiations of differences similarly produce multiple and contradictory effects, among which is preservation of moral narratives of self" (2007:79). Complaining about being targeted and voicing empathy both allow visitors to frame themselves as good people vis-à-vis the other. Local Peruvians are well aware of the different inequalities at play, and, while the emotional labour required in tourism work is often intense, they generally voice appreciation of visitors. The inequalities described above are often handled with "mutual complicity" (MacCannell 1992) and solidarity, yet there are breaking points where envy and conflict are expressed more openly and sometimes even violently. After discussing gendered experiences and inequalities in the next chapter, I will explore these overt expressions of conflict in chapter 6.

## CHAPTER 5: Negotiating Gender and Ethnicity

*I first met Diego on the steep hill of Pinkuylluna, the smaller of the two Inca sites overlooking Ollantaytambo. I had walked up in the morning and was sketching the mountainside across the valley when a man in reflective sunglasses and baseball cap approached, introduced himself and offered me a guided tour. I declined but we began a conversation. Diego was 30 years old, married and had two young sons. He was fluent in English, spoke basic French and wanted to learn German as well, so I agreed to give him language lessons in exchange for interview time. Over the course of my stay, I came to know Diego and his family quite well. He and his brother Alberto had been tour guides for several years, and his wife Ana was working long days at one of the town's larger hotels. Several times I saw him running through the streets, and he would tell me: "I have to go home to make dinner for my kids. Ana is still at work."*

*Toward the end of my fieldwork, Diego mentioned that his wife was now working in a small restaurant they had opened in a converted room in their house. He invited me to come by, so one afternoon I walked up the cobble-stone street until I saw the newly painted sign for the restaurant. The upper part of town, where the small lanes narrow even further, is mainly residential; only a couple of small shops, a bakery, and women selling homemade corn beer cater to locals. Diego proudly showed me how he had decorated the restaurant: bright orange walls with colourful wool hats and blankets typical of the region, flowers on the wooden tables, and a new TV in the corner. As Ana was preparing tea for us, she occasionally checked on their two sons playing in a room adjacent to the kitchen. Diego smiled and said: "This is good. Ana can work from home and keep an eye on the children; it's much better this way. And if everything goes well, we'll add a room or two to rent out."*

Tourism and gender intersect in multiple ways. Existing gender roles affect what types of tourism work are accessible to women and men, while in turn the impact of tourism changes how these roles are defined (Kinnard and Hall 1996). Ana's work at the hotel had mainly consisted of cleaning rooms, while in her new restaurant she prepared and served meals, activities that fit with the traditional gendered division of labour in Andean *mestizo* communities. In response to new economic opportunities and challenges, she and her husband were also renegotiating and challenging these roles. Conversely, the effects of tourism on travellers are also gendered. Male and female tourists' behaviours and views may clash with those of the cultures they visit, and while the adventure discourse so common among backpackers emphasizes bravery and personal challenge, most female travellers feel the need to adjust their behaviour in order to minimize risk.

With a somewhat greater emphasis on women, this chapter explores the main ways in which tourism experiences are gendered and how gender and ethnicity intersect in this context.

Many of these issues will be revisited in subsequent chapters. I did not question people specifically on their gender identities or sexual preferences. A few participants chose to comment on this topic, so some experiences of bisexual or homosexual travellers are included here. In general, however, people's comments seemed to reflect normative notions of masculinity and femininity. My findings indicate that, mostly through the increase of flexible, small-scale business opportunities, tourism can offer significant benefits for women in Ollantaytambo. However, while aspects of indigenous culture have become major tourist attractions, indigenous people themselves are often marginalized and become objects to be gazed at. As in many tourist destinations in and around Cusco, we find women and children posing for photos, but the members of nearby highland communities are finding ways to negotiate their participation in tourism in more equitable and communal ways than elsewhere. Last, I consider some of the ways in which tourists negotiate their roles in the Cusco region, or, in other words, how they perform gender.

### **Gender and Ethnicity**

As outlined in the introductory chapter, racial and ethnic categories in the Andes are fluid and relational; people may categorize themselves and others differently depending on place and situation. Most people in Cusco will point to the countryside and refer to everyone outside of the city bounds as indigenous. However, due to a long history of racism and discrimination, most people in Ollantaytambo reject this label and use the term *mestizo*. On a couple of occasions, I heard people refer to themselves as *cholos*, which can carry a very negative connotation, or as *serranos*, highlanders, a more neutral term. Following the definitions of people in Ollantaytambo, I use the term indigenous or Quechua when referring to people from the smaller highland communities where the Quechua language is still spoken.

There are disputes about the interpretations of gender relations in the Andes. I begin by briefly outlining two patterns that map roughly onto *cholo/mestizo* versus Quechua/indigenous populations and can be seen as ends of a continuum. While simplifying a much greater complexity, these generalizations are meant to provide a starting point for discussing how gender, ethnicity and tourism intersect differently for people in Ollantaytambo and their highland neighbours. In most areas where the Spanish have dominated for the past five centuries, we now see gender relations strongly modelled on Spanish culture (Weismantel 2001:49). This applies to large parts of the *mestizo* population who mainly live in small towns across the Andes. Women's work is centred on household chores, food preparation, and childcare, while

men work in various positions outside the home. As opposed to the Inca system of parallel hierarchies, where the different roles were likely recognized equally (Silverblatt 1987), in the *mestizo* system private work is valued less than public. Fitting with the gendered divisions into public and private spheres are the ideologies of *machismo* and *marianismo* (Duran 2001:140). *Machismo* constructs men as superior, dominant and aggressive, and behaviours fitting with this view are condoned and even expected. *Machismo* has been interpreted as a reaction to colonization. Through the brutal domination of the Spanish, local men were rendered powerless to protect themselves and their families, so their aggressive masculinity can be seen as a reaction to this history as well as to the continued subjugation from dominant elites they face today (Garcia 1997; Mirandé 1979). Through *marianismo*, based on the perceived characteristics of the Virgin Mary, women are viewed as saintly, passive and inherently connected to the domestic sphere (Navarro 2002; Stevens 1973). While men are clearly accorded the dominant position in this system, women can exercise indirect influence and thus affect decisions men execute in the public realm (Bourque and Warren 1981:52; Weismantel 1988).

Gender relations in Quechua communities have been described differently. Some researchers argue that gender relations were asymmetrical even before the Spanish conquest (Barrig 2006:112) and that “rural Andean society is heavily marked by sexual hierarchy” (Bourque and Warren 1981:4). I have frequently heard international volunteers and urban Peruvians describe Quechua women as shy and subordinate. However, others emphasize that gender relations in these highland communities are more egalitarian than in the *mestizo* towns. Both men and women take part in agricultural work; they have distinct and complementary duties (i.e. Allen 1988; Bolin 2006, 1998; Canessa 2005; Zorn 2004). However, they do not have taboos against performing the other gender’s work (Bolin 2006:53), which contrasts strongly with *mestizo* society where women’s occupations are valued less, so by performing these tasks men risk loss of status. Local gender ideologies define men’s and women’s tasks as roughly equally important and women maintain control of important resources such as land, animals and food.

The system of gender relations in Ollantaytambo falls somewhere between what has been described for *mestizo* and indigenous communities. In general, I saw less pronounced expressions of *machismo* and *marianismo* than reported elsewhere, though the picture varied. Diego said:

Yes, *machismo* exists here. Many men are very... the woman has to be in the house, cooking, looking after the children, while he can go out with his friends drinking. He doesn’t want her to go

out. Sure, women go out, too, but sometimes when she goes out with her friends, her husband may cause a fight; he may hit her.

His description indicates a greater power position of men as well as restrictive domestic responsibilities for women. As Babb describes for market women in the Peruvian town of Huaraz (1989:141-143), local women who work outside the home tend to perform the typical double shift of paid work plus domestic chores, resulting in long work hours. Many foreigners also mentioned the gendered division of labour they witnessed, commenting on the women's heavy work load. American expat Graham sarcastically commented that it was "definitely the Dark Ages" in terms of gender. Ade and David, the Indonesian volunteers, described their experience at the chocolate store, where, to the amazement of their female co-workers, they often prepared their own meals in the workshop kitchen. Ade said:

We clean, we wash the dishes, we never feel ashamed to do any of that... You know, it's dirty, we clean it. And the local girls here, it's like something really strange for them, you know, there are men cooking! I think that's a gender difference. For them cleaning, cooking is for women, and men is farming, and the man will *never* clean the house, will *never* wash the dishes, will *never* do the cooking. They sit there and stare at us when we cook, like wow, how do you know how to do this? And you can see it in their eyes: hey, I want to be your wife because you can cook! Those women, they worship us!

This fits with my own observations. While Valentina's husband often helped her prepare cakes for sale, and Naida's husband sometimes prepared dinner, I saw mostly women doing household chores. However, despite, and sometimes through these domestic responsibilities, women can exercise power both directly and indirectly. When asked about the topic of gender, María said: "The men in Peru are *machos*, especially here in the highlands. They do what their mothers say." She proceeded to tell me about her husband who, when they first started dating, only listened to his mother. The intertwining of patriarchy and power of older women has been documented in other parts of the world, such as the Middle East (i.e. Friedl 1989). This also reflects the indirect ways in which women can exercise influence (Bourque and Warren 1981; Weismantel 1988).

However, in Ollantaytambo, women also have more direct avenues of influence by controlling the household resources, a point confirmed through personal conversation with Elisabeth Kuon Arce, an anthropologist with many years of experience in the Cusco region. In the families I came to know, I often witnessed women making decisions about household spending. Kate, the British resident running one of the town's larger hotels, told me: "Here the women look after the money, whether they work outside the home or not. And certainly with the

porters... the porters' wives would come into Cusco and collect their wages, because otherwise their husbands would drink it before they got home." It has been shown that, based on internal power relations and gender ideologies, resources may not be evenly distributed within households, and men may withhold their income from other family members (Benería 2003:35; Sen 2010:102; Costa and Silva 2010). While women in Ollantaytambo usually find ways to control household spending, resources can certainly be contested within the household.

I did not find evidence of strong sanctions against women in public which characterize *marianismo* elsewhere. Local women can be seen everywhere in public, chatting on street corners, sitting on benches in the market. The vast majority of market vendors are women and so are most shoppers. Neither do there seem to be strong sanctions against informal and jovial contact between unrelated women and men. Street vendor Johnny frequently teased a female colleague, Tina, who reciprocated vehemently and often hit him playfully. One evening, when I was living with Adriana and her family, she spoke about her boss at a small hotel: "I told him not to bother me. One time he grabbed my arm; it was jokingly, but I told him 'don't mess with me, or I will tell my mother', and he said 'no, no, please don't tell your mother; I will leave you alone'." Her mother Valentina commented that such joking was inappropriate. Interestingly, she seemed less concerned with the man's actions than with her daughter's response, reflecting a generational gap in what are considered appropriate interactions between the genders and possibly a greater acceptance of violent behaviour from men. Also noteworthy is that Adriana's threat consisted of telling her mother, not her father or two brothers. Even though meant largely in jest, this suggests that women have a certain power in the community.

Along with *machismo* we typically find strongly heteronormative views. Adriana commented that she had seen a gay couple being verbally harassed and on another occasion a young man beaten for being gay. When the issue came up in conversation, comments by locals were generally disparaging. In general, gender roles in Ollantaytambo show elements of both indigenous and *mestizo* communities, and they are also currently undergoing significant change. Adriana commented that "women's roles have really changed in the last five to seven years. Women have emancipated themselves; they don't let themselves be dominated by men. Sure, there are always cases of domestic violence, but it has changed a lot." María concurred; she attributed these changes largely to development programs and to new work opportunities in tourism, which I will consider in the next section.

## Gender and Tourism

Economic development affects people in gendered ways, and women do not automatically benefit from programs aimed at men (Boserup 1970; Rathgeber 1990:491). Third-wave feminists in anthropology and Gender-and-Development (GAD) proponents have pointed to the importance of considering the ways in which social class intersects with gender. For example, Ferguson's work in Costa Rica shows that members of the middle-class benefit more from tourist developments, as do foreign nationals who were able to buy land (2011b:366). Even though women may gain more power, class differences increase as intra-household equality is offset by increasing inequalities between households (Ferguson 2011:368). Moreover, women's work in tourism is often an extension of their traditional and naturalized roles (Ferguson 2010b; Kinnaird and Hall 1996; Sinclair 1997). Parisi points out that, even though the UNDPs revised Gender Inequality Index now considers a broader range of factors than economic standards, it still tends to disregard women's labour in the domestic sphere (Parisi 2013:441-43). In Ollantaytambo, one can also see these gendered divisions in tourism work: as in Belize and Costa Rica, women are doing most of the domestic work while men hold the higher paying and more desirable tour guide positions that are considered inappropriate for women (Ferguson 2010b). However, the people I spoke with did not describe guiding work as fundamentally inappropriate or shameful for women but emphasized that the long hours away from home were incompatible with child care and other domestic work. British expat Kate said:

There is lots of *machismo* and violence and that stuff...and I think sometimes there's still a feeling that women shouldn't be working, doing paid work. It's complicated, but it was one of the reasons that my sister-in-law left. I think her husband's family felt that she wasn't involved enough with the kids. She wasn't working fulltime, and the kids would come and often have lunch at our lodge, so it wasn't like she wasn't seeing them at all. The younger one would sometimes stay and play, but her older son had some issues. He got drunk one night, and her husband thought that she should be around more in the house.

This indicates how a gendered division of labour can restrict women's participation in tourism work. Similarly, Ferguson's work in Costa Rica, Belize, and Honduras shows that women are still the ones held primarily responsible for housework and child care, even though combining these with the irregular and often late shifts of tourism employment can be difficult (2011b; 2010b). Mothers are the ones blamed first for children's problematic behaviour, and men justify their increasing aggression by saying that "women are neglecting home life" (2010b:873).

In terms of what is considered appropriate for women, the work's possible conflict with domestic responsibilities appears to be a bigger issue than working in the public realm. Other

research in the Andes indicates that *mestizas* working in public are frequently confronted with strong negative judgments and may be harassed by men (Bourque and Warren 1981; Weismantel 2001:47). Henrici reports that in Pisac, located about two hours by bus from Ollantaytambo, female market vendors have been accused of prostitution and witchcraft (2007:87-90). When asking female craft vendors about how being a woman affected their work, I sometimes mentioned these findings; this almost always caused surprised looks, and the women said that for them this was not the case. While they did mention challenges in their work, these did not include harassment for what was deemed inappropriate work. It is also important to consider that, while selling crafts to tourists is a new type of work, it shows many continuities with the past. Andean markets have long been dominated by female vendors, and, even though their roles can be contested, women's positions in the public realm have a long history (Babb 1989; Weismantel 2001). Thus, while contact with foreigners has certainly increased significantly, many types of tourism work constitute modifications of what has been done for generations.

However, while local women almost always spoke positively about their involvement in tourism, there is also evidence for some backlash and conflict. Regarding women selling in the market, Diego said: "Yes, sometimes they talk with other locals, other vendors, and so people say: 'Ah, you are talking to him; you are with him.' So they fight at home, and the husband goes to drink." On a few other occasions, I heard criticism about women working "out there." Based on her experience running a hotel, Kate commented: "I had other women work with me and then have issues because they were earning a good wage, and that made the husband feel a little bit threatened... also because she now has the opportunity to separate." Kate also related a story that indicates how tourism work can be linked with an increase in domestic violence:

I was working with a couple from a small community about an hour away. She started in September and worked until just after Christmas; during that time her husband also started doing things in the garden and some housekeeping... They were really good workers. But in their community, there were meetings when they weren't there, and so a new road was built through part of their garden, because they weren't there. And at the end, he ended up - he didn't seem like the kind of guy who would beat up on his wife - I don't think he was violent before - but I think it had all to do with not being there, not being present in the community. It was horrible.

In this case it seems that it is not tourism work *per se* that causes people to act more violently but rather the conflicts arising from a breakdown in community structure. Since their work prevented the couple from attending community meetings, they were excluded from important decisions. And even though both partners had worked in the same location and presumably both suffered from the unwanted construction on their property, the resulting violence was highly gendered. In other parts of the Andes, researchers have found that an

increase in women's earning power can intensify patriarchal patterns in the home (Wilson and Ypeij 2012:9). In Chiapas, Mexico, two female Maya potters were murdered, likely because the wealth and status they had gained through tourism was perceived as threatening by men (Colloredo-Mansfeld 1999:34). Olavarría writes that across Latin America the processes of globalization and economic deregulation have challenged traditional masculine roles. As women gain autonomy, men see their work options and authority positions become more precarious, which can lead to greater domestic violence. Also, despite women's increasing work outside the home, traditional household responsibilities often remain the same, resulting in an added workload for women; however, he also observes a new trend of men increasingly engaging in the private sphere and taking part in tasks previously defined as women's work (2006:35 - 37). I could also see some people in Ollantaytambo renegotiate gender roles in that way. As outlined in the opening anecdote, Diego was willing to step in and look after their sons when his wife was busy with her work at the hotel. I came to know several local men, all of them in their 20s or 30s, who regularly looked after their children. Similarly, in Costa Rica and Belize, women who earned their own income could sometimes claim greater rights in the family and successfully request more help from men in domestic tasks (Ferguson 2010b:870-71). Cornwall has criticized how development campaigns aimed at girls and women frequently frame men as a hindrance or threat; she calls for a more "relational approach" that takes into consideration the various ways in which women and men interact and negotiate their roles (2014:133-134). While men may oppose and restrict women's participation in the marketplace, many also show active support.

In addition, contact with tourists can also effect changes (Kinnaird and Hall 1996).

Jason, the young American tour guide, commented on how he viewed the impact of tourism on women's roles in Ollantaytambo:

It gives women a lot more work opportunities. Traditionally here the women would stay home and cook and look after the kids, you know, and the men would go out and work. But now, especially with the younger girls, they used to have kids or get married when they were 16, 17 years old. Now that things are getting more developed here you can actually meet 25-year-olds who don't have kids and are working on their career.

He added that new work opportunities also existed in other sectors but that tourism seemed to be the driving force. Graham stated that "as women bring in more money, they become more powerful than they already were." As other researchers have pointed out, women's control over productive resources and/or the opportunity to earn and control wage income is strongly related to their status; it is also important that their culture's gender norms support them in these roles (Friedl 1991; Lockwood 2009). While women in Ollantaytambo are

benefitting from greater income, their new roles are still controversial; in some cases their husbands and family members show support while in others resistance.

Daily contact with foreigners also impacts gender roles and norms. Rodes documented how the inhabitants of a mountain village on Nepal's popular Annapurna trekking circuit observed the more casual relationships among Westerners and the greater independence of women. Whereas particularly older people were highly critical of this behaviour and feared for their cultural values, several young community members expressed hope that their culture would change accordingly (1992). I found similar mixed views in Ollantaytambo. Jason observed:

Local girls do note the difference in social interactions between male and female tourists from other countries, compared to how they are here in the small communities. They walk around and they see these girls going out, going out travelling on their own. You know, girls in their early 20s, walking around alone, partying with their friends, and they realize that their society is much more controlled.

María emphasized the positive impact that hosting volunteers has had: "It's good for my children. They meet people from all over the world; they hear how life is in other places... My daughter sees how independent many foreign girls are, and she can learn." Several people I spoke with commented on how free Western women seemed to them, both in terms of their movement and their general expression and relationships. "You come and go as you want, free as a bird," an older female friend in Cusco told me. While her comment expressed admiration, there was also an element of criticism, and on other occasions she voiced strong concern and pity about my status as a single, childless woman. These conflicting views characterized many conversations I had, which can be expected in a situation where people are confronted with different values and behaviours and are in the process of negotiating profound changes in their community. I will return to locals' views of tourism behaviour below.

### ***Women's Roles and Workplace Flexibility***

The different types of work available in tourism have distinct implications for women and men. Diego and his brother Alberto had started out singing and posing for tourists as children; now they are running their own tour company. María had worked as a craft vendor before converting her home into a guesthouse. Both Naida and Adriana had worked in high-end hotels; Naida and her husband Víctor had also been guides on the Inca trail, a four-day trek to Machu Picchu, before opening their hostel. On different occasions, Naida and Adriana had told me about the strict working conditions at the hotels, which involved long work hours and frequent

overtime. When speaking about their work, many people emphasized that they valued work place flexibility and control in order to accommodate childcare and socializing.

As described above, Ana's work at the hotel had conflicted with childcare whereas with her own restaurant she could have her children nearby and choose when to open. One of the photovoice images from Diego, not shown here, shows his wife working in the kitchen with her two sons playing next door; in another photo we see one of their sons with a toy truck just outside the restaurant. Both Ana and Diego mentioned the advantages of this arrangement several times. Since women are considered the primary caregivers for children, the compatibility of work with these domestic duties is an important factor. Having other family members, especially grandparents, look after children is something I witnessed in many families, including Ana and Diego's. The flexibility to combine work and childcare is crucial for women to succeed and be supported by family members in their work. I witnessed this in several of the small restaurants I frequented. Children were often present playing in a corner or doing their homework at an empty table; the owners also frequently invited friends for a meal and visited during quieter hours. This could also be seen in small guesthouses. Jacquie commented: "Some women are guides but generally I see women taking the roles where they can still look after their children, so tending the hostel, whereas the husband goes off and does tours. A hostel is a great job for a woman with children; she can stay in the house and be with the kids but also receive guests."

The situation in the craft market and small stores was similar. Male partners may spend a few hours helping out, but the vast majority of vendors are female. Camila, a woman in her 40s, commented: "That's good about this work here: we can bring our kids. Often my daughter comes by after school and she helps a bit. Sometimes she brings her friends... they can play over there. It works well." Children often join their mothers to eat right at the stall, and older girls will often attend to customers. Smaller children can be seen sleeping on a pile of blankets tucked in a quiet corner, while infants are carried on their mothers' backs. Women might close their stall at lunch time to go home to cook, but more often a relative, usually another woman, will take over or come by loaded with pots containing a home-made lunch. Craft production and socializing can also be integrated into this flexible work schedule. Many of the women can be seen knitting wool hats or sewing bags. During quiet hours vendors may move their stools together, chat, and share a meal; as soon as a tourist bus appears, they disperse back to their stalls in order to sell their wares.



Market vendors socializing, by Karoline Guelke

One of the photovoice images Daniela shared, not included here, shows two local men and a woman sitting on the bench in front of her store. Daniela chuckled and told me they were relatives who “really like that bench” and were “always visiting.” In another photo one can see her six-year-old daughter in front of the store. Daniela commented that the girl liked to spend time there and was learning English from tourists. Vendors almost always spoke positively about producing and selling crafts, saying that it allowed them to stay close to home and look after their children while men had more and better-paying work options outside the community. There is concern that the need for flexible schedules generally means less-secure and poorly-paid work for women (Olavarría 2006:35), but working in their own craft stalls and small restaurants in Ollantaytambo can generally afford women greater security and autonomy than working as an employee. A couple of women mentioned that sometimes their husbands helped them with craft production, which was confirmed by volunteers working with weaving

cooperatives in town and in the nearby highland communities. It has been documented that men may take over craft production once it becomes profitable for women (i.e. Little 2008:161; Swain 1993), but none of the women I spoke with mentioned this as a concern. The greatest complaints about tourism work I heard from both men and women focussed on strict and often unfair treatment from employers that they experienced. Naida described how, at the hotel she had worked at, employees were often threatened with job loss if they did not agree to working extra hours. Both she and Adriana reported having been harassed by supervisors. At the time of my stay, they had sought more independent work, Naida by running her guesthouse and Adriana by helping her mother in their small café.

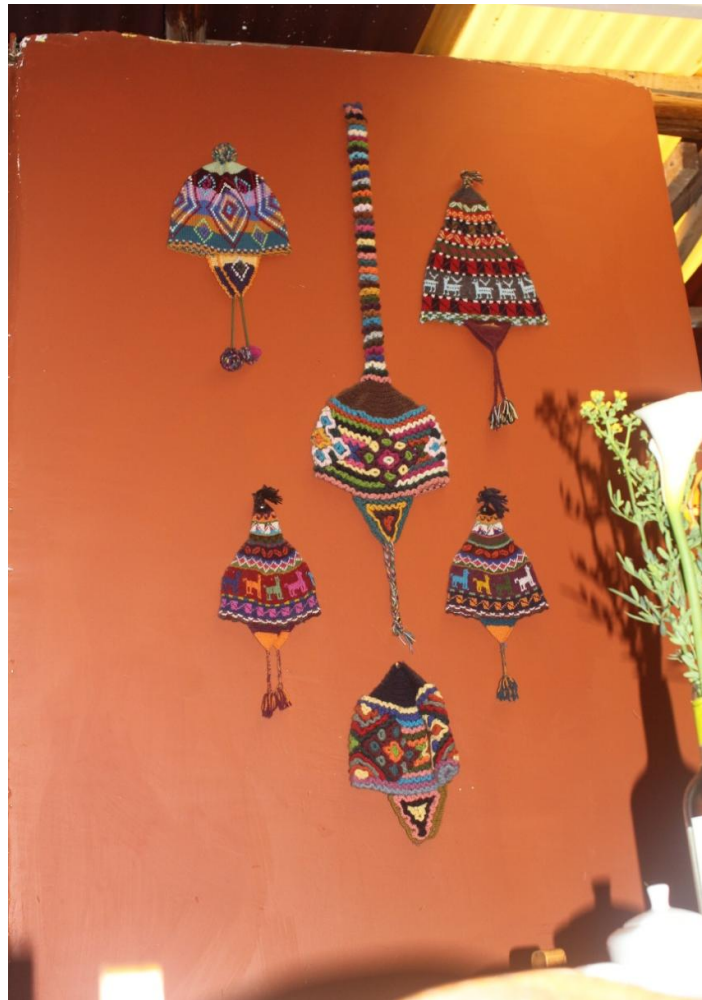
Less than a generation ago, the majority of people in Ollantaytambo lived by farming (Hubbard 1990). Many people mentioned that their current work in tourism paid better and was less strenuous than agriculture, which is similar to Ferguson's findings from Belize and Costa Rica (2010b:869). Yet there are also parallels between these types of work. In the Andes, agricultural work happens on a somewhat flexible schedule; it is often communal and can be combined with childcare. Likewise, Andean produce markets have long been social spaces where female vendors can bring along their children (Weismantel 2001). Babb writes that "marketing is probably the single occupation in which women engage beyond the household in Peru that allows them to watch over children as they work," even though in some places, such as the city of Huaraz, this was forbidden for certain periods (1989:140-141). Other tourism work allows women a similar flexibility and ease of entry. The street vendor depicted in chapter 2 provides one example. She bought her wares wholesale in Cusco and resold them by approaching tourists in the street. Her business required no investment other than the goods purchased, and she could control when and where she worked. In other parts of Peru, Mitchell and Eagles have also observed that participation in the handicraft industry is more accessible to people with few resources than other tourism businesses or employment options (2001:22). However, it is only the small, family-run establishments that afford this flexibility, so unless gender roles shift more significantly, these types of work are the most accessible for *mestizo* women. For members of indigenous communities there are other factors to consider, which I will discuss below.

### ***Marketing Indigeneity***

The visual is an important factor in tourism, both in the representation of a site and in tourism practice. Certain cultural objects as well as the bodies of local people often become prominent actors in the staging of tourist displays, including advertising, museums, official

cultural performances and individuals posing for photos (i.e. Dann 1996; Desmond 1999). In Peru displays of indigeneity often dovetail with the *incanismo* movement, outlined in the introduction, which highlights the glories of the Inca past and select aspects of Quechua culture. Many of the concerns of *incanismo*, such as the preservation of Inca architecture and the promotion of indigenous culture, converge with tourism and have been turned into marketable commodities (Silverman 2002; van den Berghe and Flores Ochoa 2000). Facilitated by community organizations and NGOs, indigenous people have increased their access to the tourist market to sell their weavings, leading to a greater validation of indigenous markers. In 2005 UNESCO declared the hand-woven textiles of Taquile Island, produced largely by women, a Heritage of Humanity, which has brought recognition from beyond the community (Ypeij and Zorn 2007:125). Jacquie, a long-time resident, commented that women weavers from highland communities were getting “more empowered and confident” through their interactions with tourists and the income their work provided, a point that was confirmed by volunteers and locals. In this discussion, I briefly consider the issue of displaying indigenous clothing for decorative purposes and then explore the intersections of gender and ethnicity in the context of the traditionally dressed women and children posing for photos.

Diego chose indigenous-style knitted hats as wall decoration for the new restaurant. While these examples, shown in his photovoice image below, consist of more modern designs, similar displays of traditional indigenous clothing items can be found in numerous hotels and restaurants in the Cusco area.



Wall decoration in Ana's and Diego's restaurant, by Diego

On the one hand it can be argued that this makes visible and honours indigenous heritage. Diego has relatives in Quechua communities and is well aware that these types of clothes are worn on a daily basis. He told me that he had seen a similar arrangement in another hotel and thought it looked beautiful. On the other hand, the items are removed from their daily use and become simply decorative, aesthetically pleasing objects to brighten up a wall. In several places I have seen the clothing placed alongside antique Inca tools or framed photographs of Machu Picchu and other archaeological sites, thus visually aligning them with the past. If we consider tourism as a network performed by human and non-human actors (Law 1992; Ren et al. 2012), arguably this specific ordering of objects fixes certain views about indigeneity. The staging of indigenous people as part of the past is a common theme in tourism, as documented, for example, in postcards from Australia (Edwards 1997) and the Andes (Weismantel 2001). Weismantel writes about “a fantasy of pre-modern life” that creates a

greater distance between depicted local people and the usually White viewers (2001:180). The display of indigenous people's clothing constitutes a similar distancing and can obscure the fact that people in indigenous communities are active participants of the present.

Another way in which indigeneity is displayed is by people posing for photos. This is particularly common in Cusco (Babb 2012; Herrera 2013), where, on many days, I encountered at least 50 women and children walking around to pose, usually accompanied by a lamb or baby alpaca. They would often position themselves in front of main Inca sites, and tourists would gladly take photos and pay. Just as Hill observed in Cusco, most tourists do not take photos of *mestizo* children in school uniforms but focus on those in hand-woven clothing, since they meet their preconceived ideas of the authentic Andean child (2008:256). Again, we find an alignment of present-day indigenous people with the past. The combination of women, children and animals is also worth noting; these displays seem to position women as exotic, nurturing and close-to-nature. Andean women are often seen as more indigenous than their male counterparts (Canessa 2005:131; de la Cadena 1995), and in the context of tourism they can become the "signifiers of traditional culture, the indigenous, and the 'Other'" (Babb 2012:38). Desmond has analyzed the staging of human and animal bodies in Hawaiian tourism. Bodies are presented as natural, innocent, and authentic; people and places become dehistoricized, and "nostalgia replaces history" (1999:254). In the Andes, the sexual attributes of local women are not nearly emphasized as much as in Hawaii, yet the themes of nostalgia, timeless tradition, and closeness to nature are clearly present.

In Ollantaytambo one can also see indigenous women and children posing for photos, especially along Inca walls in the old part of town and near the entrance to the archaeological site. However, there are some important differences. Unlike in Cusco or Pisac, I never saw them posing with animals. The majority of women were from Huilloc and Patacancha, two nearby highland communities, and they were posing in the dress still commonly worn there. On some days one could also see groups of four or five women who would wait for a tour group to walk by and then sing a high-pitched Quechua song for tourists. These encounters were clearly mediated by the tour guides, who would explain briefly where the women were from and what they would sing, for example, a traditional harvest song. After the short performance, the tourists usually took pictures and paid a few *soles*. Often the group blocked one of the narrow streets, causing disgruntled locals to wait or push their way through.

People in Ollantaytambo have a range of opinions of their highland neighbours posing for photos, ranging from supportive to critical. Two photovoice participants, Rosa and Alberto, took pictures of girls posing. Rosa said that she found it sad that children were working, adding

that they should rather attend school than come down into the valley to beg. Regarding the photo below, Alberto commented that this work allowed people to buy goods they could not grow in their communities and that it was an easier way to earn money than by selling their agricultural produce.



Two indigenous girls interacting with tour group, by Alberto

However, other local people disapproved. One local hotel manager commented that people were “charging too much.” She thought that “they should just ask for a tip and let tourists decide.” Her neighbour weighed in saying she was working hard in her hotel every day, whereas “they just stand there and ask for money.” Resentful sentiments also came through in the comments of Adriana’s father who told me that several NGOs had been focussing their work on the nearby Quechua communities, and that the municipal government had recently paid for

development projects there. “People up there make good money”, he said, “but they still come here and play poor.”

Most tourists, on the other hand, expressed fascination with the “colourful natives,” and some voiced pity or revealed a reluctance to pay. Lisa commented on her experience:

At the plaza, I hadn't seen the girls in their traditional dress; it was our first week, and I was like 'I love them; I really want a picture'. And I always ask people: 'can I take your picture', because I know if I was walking around and people started taking photos I would at least want to have a say like is it okay, you know, so I always ask. And they were like 'Yeah, yeah, of course', and then they are like “a *sol*, please.” And of course I went and gave them a *sol*. I didn't agree to that, but then I felt bad, and I kind of realized then what the relationship was between us.

While Lisa had not expected to pay the young women, she complied. As discussed in the previous chapter, avoiding paying “too much” is a prevalent concern for many travellers. MacCannell writes that the “touristic ideal of the ‘primitive’ is that of a magical resource that can be used without actually possessing or diminishing it;” inherent in this view are also “post-capitalist moral fantasies based on the desire to deny the relationship between profit and exploitation” (1992:28-29). On the other hand, some expressed concern about children working. Karina, the Swiss backpacker, told me: “There was this little boy in his native clothing sitting in the ruins, just a serious face, asking: ‘photo, photo?’ They don't really seem like children, not like we know them.”

In other cases, tourists do not seem satisfied with what they are seeing and attempt to stage their own notions of authenticity. Anja, the German long-term resident, described the following scene. Two girls dressed in hand-woven clothing were posing for tourists, but another girl, clearly a friend of theirs and dressed in the store-bought clothes now common in the village, attempted to join the photo. The tourists, however, motioned her to get out of the way so that they could take a photo of the indigenous-looking girls only. On several occasions I had observed similar scenes. Likewise, Alberto's photo shows two girls, friends who were playing together while also posing for photos, and he commented that tourists just wanted photos of the girl in Quechua clothing.



Two girls posing, one in typical dress of Quechua communities, by Alberto

In many places, tourists have been observed actively and sometimes rudely forcing locals to comply with their ideas of authenticity. In the American Southwest, tourists have rearranged hair and clothing of native people before photographing them (MacCannell 1992:28), while in Ecuador they asked locals to pose in specific ways (Meisch 1995:453). Tourist brochures and websites are full of images of indigenous people, and travellers may want to reproduce those in a hermeneutic cycle (Albers and James 1988; Urry 1990). Elsewhere I have examined this effect in the context of tourists' photos posted online (Guelke 2015). Indigenous people are seen as representing a purer and more authentic past. In addition to an "imperialist nostalgia" (Rosaldo 1989), this practice also fits with what Appadurai calls "armchair nostalgia, nostalgia without lived experience or collective memory" that nevertheless evokes powerful sentiments of loss and longing through imagination (1996:78). While the encounters with

indigenous people may briefly meet tourists' yearning for a past they never experienced, what does this mean for local people in the present? Furthermore, one can also see continuities with historical photographs in the Andes in which members of the middle and upper classes staged themselves in association with indigenous people while simultaneously reproducing messages of their own racial superiority and modernity (Poole 1997).

On the one hand, the interest of tourists presents a validation of indigenous markers, which is a reversal of the discrimination that people in hand-woven clothing often experience, be it when a bus passes them by at a designated stop or when being served last and in a rude manner in the town's produce market. Babb writes that "what has been a social liability, being female and indigenous, can serve in some cases as a form of cultural capital" (2012:38). On the other hand, the validation is literally quite superficial. Like "the Inca", the Peruvian from the coast posing in Inca costume, these women and children are staging themselves for the tourist gaze. Yet, whereas he knew multiple languages and could adjust his strategies based on the type of customers, the tourism expertise of indigenous people is generally more limited, and especially the women are often monolingual Quechua speakers. My conversations with them were almost always mediated by children, who are mostly fluent in Spanish and function as translators with tourists as well. While this can be very effective, interactions are still limited and people who have contact with tour guides benefit more. Adriana told me: "There were these two boys from a highland community; they were only seven or eight, and they would come to Ollanta all dressed up and sing and make lots of money. They had connections to some of the big tour groups, so the guides would bring them all these tourists and they'd get lots of money. Everyone called them 'the dollars'." Through their greater expertise *mestizo* middlemen often control the business of marketing indigeneity. Another point to consider is that most markers of indigeneity are easily staged for tourists. In Cusco, on several occasions, locals commented to me that the women posing for photos were "not real", but that their clothes, in fact, showed several non-local elements. *Mestizas* or *cholitas* can easily dress up for tourists, who are unlikely to know the difference. I will return to issues of cultural appropriation and the power of middlemen when discussing New Age tourism in chapter 7.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Sometimes the gaze was reversed (Maoz 2006), and tourists became the objects to be photographed. One morning as I was crossing the main square, I saw a very tall and dark-skinned tourist of African descent surrounded by local people; they were laughing, posing next to him and taking photos. When I later asked a local shop keeper about this, he chuckled and said: "Yes, I *had* to take a photo to show my wife! So dark - did you see him?" Speaking about his work at the chocolate store, Jonathan commented that as a tall, blond foreigner with long hair, he felt "part of the spectacle." His partner Lisa described how, the previous day, ten Latin American tourists had taken photos posing next to her: "It feels a bit like being a character in Disneyland, you know?"

Some researchers have voiced concerns about commodification and the potential loss of cultural meaning (i.e. Greenwood 1989). In the Andes, the colourful fringes along indigenous women's hats have traditionally signalled their social status, such as being married or widowed. Henrici reports that in many indigenous communities around Pisac people do not know the colours' traditional meaning anymore as girls are increasingly wearing multiple colours in order to appeal to tourists (2007:93). In Ollantaytambo, at least for now, women and children appear to pose in their traditional dress; the only additions I observed were a few plastic flowers pinned to the hat, which can be seen in the first of Alberto's two images above.

It is also interesting to consider this work in terms of its intersection with ethnicity. Traditionally, men from indigenous communities have been moving to urban areas to work at much higher rates than women. De la Cadena writes (1995:343):

Because the definition of a person's capacity to work is central to ascribed ethnicities, gender intersects with status to structure and legitimate ethnic inequality within the community and even within households. Thus, within the regional and local confines of modern patriarchy, modernization has reinforced the Indianization of women, while opening the option of cultural *mestizaje*<sup>11</sup> to most men.

Posing for photos in the valley has become an avenue of work that is available to women and may help counteract this trend. However, access to work and income is only one aspect in improving women's positions; as feminist anthropologists have emphasized, gender norms also have to support their productive work and decision-making (Friedl 2001; Lockwood 2009). In other Andean communities, women's work selling produce or crafts is not valued as much as men's labour (de la Cadena 1995:3410342). Babb writes that in the Cusco area posing for photos is generally not considered a respectable occupation and can lead to family or community conflict (2012:47). While I did not conduct research in the highland communities themselves, several comments by locals in town certainly reflected disapproval. However, Alberto also mentioned that community members worked on a rotation system, so that people took turns coming down into Ollantaytambo. Several people confirmed this point. This also explains why I rarely saw the same women and girls several days in a row. The fact that this system is in place indicates that there cannot be widespread opposition to women engaging in this work; instead, the communities have taken steps to manage participation and distribute the benefits more evenly.

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<sup>11</sup> The term *mestizaje* refers to the "racial" and/or cultural mixing between European and indigenous ancestry. In the quote above it points more to the upward social mobility afforded to those who adopt cultural markers of the urban class.

## ***Gendered Tourist Experiences***

Western travellers often act according to their own gender roles (Myers and Hannam 2008), or, influenced by a masculine adventure discourse of bravery and self-reliance, actively challenge the norms from both home and host cultures. It has been argued that tourism and anthropology are both rooted in imperialism, and the narrative of the intrepid, White, male traveller continues to shape both tourists' and ethnographers' experiences today (Dubois 1995; Elsrud 2006). This adventure narrative emphasizing movement, strength, bravery, and self-reliance impacts men and women in different ways. In the Victorian era, when travel and exploration were dominated by men, women risked their respectability when travelling alone (Elsrud 2006:183; Enloe 2000). As in many cultures, being a woman meant staying close to home. But rather than seeing this gendered domestic-public dichotomy (Rosaldo 1974; Lamphere 2009) as a fixed system, following Butler (1990) we can ask how gender roles are actively performed and constituted in the context of tourism.

By definition, tourists navigate mostly in the public spheres of the places they visit, and thus, female travellers in the Andes are diverging to some degree from the local norms. The masculine adventure discourse, which is so frequently enacted in backpackers' stories of difficulty and bravery, also obscures the fact that female travellers are generally at greater risk. Jordan and Aitchison found an increase in self-surveillance among female travellers in Italy, who restricted their movements and bodies in order to avoid harassment from local men (2008). It is worth noting that, compared to other South American destinations, Ollantaytambo is relatively safe, and men typically do not make aggressive advances. However, travellers do face certain risks, and in my sample clear differences emerged in how men and women perceived and responded to potential danger. Tom, a young American backpacker, volunteered at a hotel in Ollantaytambo before continuing his trip around South America and Europe. When I asked him about safety concerns, he responded:

Aside from basic precautions, like not flashing money around, I don't feel I need to be... I keep very little on me when I walk around town. I feel comfortable walking around here, even at night. Helps to be male, I suppose. No one has accosted me, aside from trying to sell stuff. I feel safe enough... Jessica, the other volunteer, kept saying she wouldn't go out walking by herself after dark. I don't know; it's hard for me to say. As a guy, I never felt that way. I've been perfectly comfortable walking out in the streets at night in my own town and around here. It just doesn't occur to me that someone... But I don't know if she is just overly cautious. Others I've met are cautious, but they do move outside as long as there are other people. She didn't even want to go out with others.

Regardless of gender, most tourists mentioned similar "basic precautions" such as not carrying a lot of money, expensive watches or jewellery and not staying out late at night. Even

though he voiced some doubts about the way the female volunteer restricted her behaviour, Tom did recognize that his gender afforded him greater safety. Jessica herself had this to say:

I think here in Ollanta, compared to Cusco and Lima, I feel more comfortable going places by myself. I mean, I don't go out after dark alone when I'm travelling, but I feel this is a pretty safe place for female travellers, yeah. I mean, everyone seems pretty nice; I haven't had any weird, awkward encounters with guys or anything like that. It has actually been really refreshing to travel here.

Even though she feels more comfortable and safe than elsewhere, Jessica still adheres to her strategy of not going out alone at night. This degree of self-surveillance and restriction was only mentioned by women. When I interviewed couples, one partner often stated that they did not stay out late, but male solo travellers like Tom voiced far fewer concerns. The dangers were definitely real. Karen, a German in her mid-thirties, had been sexually coerced by a tour guide in another part of the Andes, a point I will return to in chapter 7. She described additional safety strategies:

My habits here are different, definitely, because I don't know the codes. I'm more afraid because in the guidebooks you often read: watch out with the men, the guides, and all that. For example, in Germany I hitchhike a lot, but not here. And here I greet everyone, the men, also the women. But with men it's an issue of safety; I want a sort of relation, you know? If they greet me back, it feels better. I feel safer then.

Luz Marina, a dance teacher from Lima, commented: "Well, men always see a woman travelling alone as an opportunity, no? An opportunity to approach. And the differences stand out, sometimes racial or how we dress. That attracts them generally." Only women mentioned changing their dress and covering up more; several European and American women said they felt uncomfortable wearing shorts.

On the other hand, at any given time during a warm day, one can see many female tourists in shorts and/or tank tops, an issue that also came up in the photovoice project. As addressed previously, local people generally spoke positively about tourists, and much of their criticism was directed at men and women equally. Dress, however, was an exception. Daniela, the hotel and store manager introduced earlier, contributed the image below.



Two female tourists outside Daniela's store, by Daniela

She commented: "Young women in shorts - well, some dress differently, no? It gets cold here, and ... it isn't respectful. We should have our legs covered up to our knees at least." Looking at another photo she took, showing a female tourist with full-length cotton pants and a jacket, she said that this was the way visitors should dress. Anja, the young German resident, was told at the school where she worked that she needed to avoid short shorts or skirts and very tight clothing if she wanted respect from local people. She pointed out the irony that skin-tight leggings and t-shirts had become common attire of local women, so the main issue seems to be the amount of skin showing. While Anja mostly followed these recommendations, many female travellers do not have an awareness of different cultural norms or are not willing to adjust. Tourists who do make changes appear to do so primarily in order to avoid unwanted male attention rather than out of respect for the larger community, which was the issue local people emphasized.

The experience of travel is gendered in other ways as well. Jonathan, the young British volunteer, commented on an experience he had at a local festival with his partner Lisa:

Well, Lisa being blonde, white and pretty, a lot of guys here want to dance with her. And the guys would come up to me and then kind of like befriend and then like ask me. It's kind of strange. One

time Lisa was like: 'No, thank you.' And the guy, he heard her response but then still looks to me for an answer. And then I'd say: '*No quiere bailar*,' you know, 'she doesn't want to dance.' And there's almost this - it's like a second validation; you need the man to say if it was or wasn't correct. And that was quite - that was quite interesting.

Other tourists reported similar experiences. An Australian backpacker mentioned that when she started a conversation with locals, they often directed their responses to her boyfriend instead. "Even though my Spanish is much better than his," she added. On the one hand travelling with a male partner provided greater safety and freedom for women, but it also seems to restrict their interaction with locals to some degree. This was different for female solo travellers who often commented that they enjoyed the contact with local people.

By travelling alone, women do not perform gender according to local standards. This, combined with different clothing and hair styles, means that sometimes they are not perceived as female by local people. On several occasions, locals would point to a tourist, usually a short-haired woman in long pants and hiking boots, and ask me if this was a woman. On a visit to Cusco, I once passed a young boy walking with his mother. He glanced up at me in surprise and asked his mother if I was a man or a woman. I believe it was my tall stature combined with bulky clothing, as well as the fact that I was walking alone, that made me appear gender-ambiguous in his eyes.

While travel can be an empowering and emancipatory experience for women, the greater risk results in higher levels of self-restriction, counteracting some of these effects. In many places, female travellers are criticised far more than males for transgressing social boundaries and for behaving in ways considered overly sexual (Frohlick 2010). Daniela judged the women's clothing in the photo as inappropriate, and on several occasions local women commented that I was a good person because I did not stay out late in the evenings and drink. Frequently they contrasted my behaviour with that of female volunteers from North America or Europe who had spent many evenings at the bar and associated with local men. However, overall the gendered criticism I heard was limited, and, as I will explore in chapter 8, in many cases locals showed more concern that foreign women would be taken advantage of by local men. When reflecting on their own experiences, many female travellers expressed gratitude about their independence and freedom. "Wow, women work so hard here, working all the time. I feel so lucky," a young French woman commented. This parallels the greater recognition of their prosperity and opportunities many tourists reported, as described in the previous chapter. It appears that, though women often experience greater risk and restrictions, travel fosters a greater appreciation of their own cultural gender roles.

The greater self-restriction reported by many female travellers is matched by that of gay tourists. While Cusco and other South American cities have specific gay destinations, this is not the case in rural areas. A German tourist in her 30s told me that she was interested in meeting local women but found it difficult. At home she knew where to go, she said, but in Peru she was not sure and felt afraid of being judged negatively or even attacked physically. An Australian backpacker had travelled with a female partner for a while, but they had made an effort to hide their relationship for fear of negative attention. That had been the approach of Ade and David, the Indonesian couple, as well. When they stayed at her guesthouse, María referred to them as “the two friends,” seemingly unaware of their relationship. Ade commented: “Yeah, don’t ask, don’t tell. It’s just easier that way.” While the liminal stage of travel can afford greater freedom in terms of sexual and other behaviours, women and gay travellers in particular need to discern which contexts are safe and which may put them at greater risk.

It has been widely shown that paid labour is generally valued more than unpaid labour, which means that domestic work and childcare largely performed by women do not receive the same recognition as men’s work outside the home (i.e. Rathgeber 1990; Lockwood 2009:513; Waring 1988). This has been reported in an Andean context as well (de la Cadena 1995). In many parts of the world, development programs have aimed at creating opportunities for women to enter the marketplace and receive monetary income in order to improve their status (Chambers 2010; Kinnaird and Hall 1996). The work opportunities in tourism have similar potential and can arguably contribute to women’s empowerment. They may also allow for more personal agency than development programs imposed from the outside (Aslanbeigui et al. 2010:191). In the context of gender and development, empowerment has been defined as a situation in which people previously limited are able to make a wider range of choices (Kabeer 1999; Mosedale 2005). The fact that so many women in Ollantaytambo are running small tourism businesses implies that they were able to make this choice and are not being restricted in significant ways. In turn, the flexibility of small businesses facilitates a greater range of choices than the more structured employment available in larger businesses. It is also important to consider that, although their public position has sometimes been challenged, women have dominated as market vendors in the Andes for centuries (Babb 1989; Weismantel 2001). As such their work in craft sales can be considered an extension of a traditional occupation rather than a radically new development. Furthermore, we need to recognize that people regularly perform different identities, and Andean market women have long performed different roles to adjust to specific situations and customers (Babb 1989:25; Henrici 2007). For example, they

may modify their dress and language in order to alternatively emphasize their indigenous characteristics or their belonging to an urban setting (Weismantel 2001:115). Thus, as they now interact increasingly with international customers, market vendors may add new roles to their repertoire, but this does not necessarily imply a loss of cultural or gender identity.

Discussing patriarchal gender relations, Kabeer points out that “power and dominance can operate through consent and complicity as well as through coercion and conflict” (1999:441), and patterns of normalized inequality can be difficult to identify for the people involved. Aspects of *machismo* and *marianismo* mean that family and community support for women is greatest where their new work in tourism allows for a combination with more traditional domestic roles, especially childcare. Since women generally allocate a greater share of their income to the household than men (Olavarría 2006:35), supporting them in their work outside the home benefits other family members as well. Working in small, family-run restaurants, guesthouses, and craft stalls has allowed people to carry over a certain flexibility and sociability characteristic of agricultural work; yet as we see an increase in larger tourism businesses, local women may not be able to participate and benefit as much. Mosedale defines empowerment as a collective process; rather than expanding individual women’s choices, she aims for “redefining and extending the limits of what is possible” so that other women can benefit as well (2005:252). Analyzing development initiatives in highland Bolivia, Apffel-Marglin and Sanchez argue that the programs do not aim to improve women’s lives in the context of their indigenous communities, but rather employ a Western notion of the autonomous individual, which is opposed to the more collective Andean view (2002). The way in which indigenous groups are communally managing women’s participation in tourism is indicative of such a collective approach. In the valley, however, tourism development also seems to bring about an increase in competition and conflict, which I will turn to in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 6: Resistance, Conflict and Witchcraft

*About halfway through my fieldwork I began to suffer from acute insomnia. Often I could not go to sleep until three or four o'clock in the morning, and many nights I only drifted off briefly when the sun was coming up. Within a short while I started feeling very anxious and depressive, especially since I could not find a cause. I was staying at the same guesthouse as before, and, if anything, felt more comfortable in the community now that I had come to know people. Occasionally I had a good night's sleep but overall I grew increasingly desperate as time went on and sleeping medication proved mostly ineffective.*

*When I mentioned my insomnia to local people, they almost always gave one of two explanations: that I had insulted Pachamama/Mother Earth in some way, possibly by unknowingly stepping or urinating in a sacred area, or that someone had given me the 'evil eye.' The second explanation was also the result of a traditional technique of diagnosis, which Valentina, Adriana's mother, performed. One evening I went to her house and, as I stood quietly in her kitchen, she slowly passed a raw egg up and down my body. She then cracked it into a glass of water and pointed to the white swirl that was visible. "Look", she said with a frown, "this indicates that someone has given you the evil eye" (mal de ojo). When I inquired further she suggested that someone in the community was probably envious of me and had caused my insomnia, and that since I had "the soul of a child," I was particularly susceptible to such curses. This unsettling diagnosis was the first time I had heard of the 'evil eye' in Ollantaytambo, but soon I found out that these beliefs were not uncommon. After about 10 weeks my sleep finally returned to normal.*

Beliefs and practices of the 'evil eye' are found across Southern Europe, the Middle East and Latin America. It is thought that, motivated by envy and resentment, a person's gaze can harm the people toward whom it is directed. This constitutes one of several ways in which conflicts and resistance are expressed in Ollantaytambo. In chapter 4 I explored ways in which local people and tourists negotiated their inequalities and solidarities. Tourism development also contributes to growing economic inequalities among community members, and those who succeed often become targets of envy and hostility. We can distinguish "open resistance," which involves aggression and possibly organized protest, from more indirect "veiled resistance," which includes strategies like obstruction, gossip, insults and humour (Boissevain 1995:14-15; Maoz 2006:224).

In this chapter I examine how open and veiled resistance are expressed among community members as well as towards foreign long-term residents, who often bring expertise that enables them to be more successful in tourism business. This includes supernatural beliefs and practices like the 'evil eye' and rituals performed with the intent to cause harm. While I

never found a clear cause for my insomnia, the explanations given by local people indicate that some of my behaviour could have attracted envy and aggression. Last, I return to locals' relationships with tourists and the ways in which they manage and challenge their visitors. While it seems that tensions are on the rise, some of the expressions of conflict, including witchcraft, can be interpreted as attempts to restore balance to a community that is experiencing rapidly increasing economic inequalities.

### **Conflicts between Community Members**

As a consequence of tourism and other forms of economic development, inequalities are growing between community members. As outlined in the introductory chapter, economic changes have been profound, and the tourism industry has grown exponentially in the past two decades. American tour guide Jason commented: "This town got electricity in 1987! So, the change that's happened here - we can't even comprehend it. Friends barely older than me remember when, you know, there were gas lamps in town. My great-grandfather remembers when there were gas lamps in town!" American traveller Hubbard, who stayed in Ollantaytambo in the late 1980s, describes the typical houses as follows (1990:66-67):

I was somewhat shocked when I first saw the house interiors. They share it with their animals at night. A few of the village homes have wooden floors and are neat and tidy. But most homes in Ollanta... have packed earthen floors, black from centuries of chicken droppings and baby urine and spilled kerosene and the blood of butchered rabbits brought inside to gut and dress. Hunks of horrible-looking meat hang from the rafters, where vast shoals of flies make their home. Most village houses have one bare lightbulb hanging from a roughly hewn rafter... The doors on most homes are often just rude planks whacked together, the hinges made of uneven leather. Only a rickety table with uneven, handmade legs might grace the home as furniture. Everyone seems to sleep in one giant bed under mounds of dirty blankets.

His description has a dark and critical tone and clearly reflects his own uneasiness with the very different living conditions. Despite his bias, he nevertheless provides some vivid detail about the look of the village less than two decades ago. American architect Graham Hannegan also commented on the changes in construction. Having lived in Ollantaytambo for over ten years, he witnessed many of the developments first-hand.

It manifests itself in architecture in so many interesting ways. You go up the hill... and look down on the roofs: it used to be one option; for hundreds of years it was all the same: thatch and clay. The same tile molds, the same clay, the same patina, this homogenous roofscape. And then in the last couple of years we've got a dozen at least accepted options for roofing; they all have different colours; they age differently. That for me is an interesting summation of the change... And any time you get further from tile, it gets better - that's the attitude.



View of old part of town from Pinkuylluna hillside

He also referred to the irony that the locally used Spanish term for concrete is *material noble*, the “noble material,” reflecting the view of concrete as a superior and high status material. Economic changes have been as uneven as they have been swift. Even though the town has a rule that allows only two-storey adobe constructions, larger buildings made of concrete have been built as well, often next to houses that look similar to what Hubbard described. One morning I was chatting with María and commented on the dilapidated-looking house across the street from her hostel. “You know, they don’t even have electricity over there,” she told me. “The kids are often hungry; sometimes I give them some bread and jam. It’s very sad. Some people here are getting very rich from tourism, but others don’t get anything.” Kate confirmed this: “There is a lot more money around, that’s for sure, but many people are still poor... There is some trickle-down effect, definitely, from tourism, but a lot of disparity between the haves and have-nots.” When I asked if in her view the material disparities had grown, she responded:

Yes, just because there are more people with money. Like before, hardly anybody had any money - even ten years ago. Yes, there were some who had more, but there wasn’t much. And now there are a lot more people who have quite a bit of money, so yeah, there’s more disparity...

but it's not that there are more people who are poor, it's just that there's more people who are rich.

Kate's assessment is supported by national statistics. Even though national poverty rates have declined over the past decade, the wealth gap has stayed roughly the same (Oxfam 2017). Other studies in Peru have reported that foreigners and high-skilled professionals tend to dominate the tourism business, resulting in limited benefits to the majority of the population (Steel 2013). In a small community like Ollantaytambo, the sudden and unequal inflow of money has resulted in a growing wealth gap between community members, and it has fostered rifts and conflicts between family and community members. Street vendor Johnny described one example to me:

There's a family in Cusco, friends of ours, they were very poor and lived by selling postcards to tourists. Then they met this old guy, a foreigner, maybe American. He drank a lot and had money, and he gave them lots. They started building themselves a big house with concrete walls and all. Damn, he must have given them tons of money... Now they don't talk to us anymore.

When I asked why, he added: "They got all selfish and don't want to share." Interestingly, he mentions the house built of concrete as a key factor in how the family set themselves apart. Foreign residents made similar observations. Jacquie commented that "ambition has really increased, in terms of money... and therefore people are having more disharmony in their families because they are squabbling more over things. That's what I've been told." Graham added that local men often spent their increased earnings on alcohol, leading to greater conflict within families. With regards to household organization, studies have shown that resources are not always shared evenly within families (Benería 2003:35; Moore 1988:55-56). Cultural power structures within the household can result in varying levels of intra-household cooperation and conflict (Costa and Silva 2010; Quisumbig 2010; Rai 2011b).

Within and between families, disharmony and conflict emerges in different ways. Many people commented on envy and gossip as major concerns. Based on her study in Göreme, a small town in Turkey, Tucker highlights the role of gossip as informal yet powerful means of social control (2003:108). María commented: "When you do well, people talk. They don't like it ... they might say you've dug up some Inca gold or stole or something to get rich." A local man told me:

There's a lot of jealousy here. I've always worked hard; I wanted to improve my situation. My childhood was not very good, but I wanted something better for myself and now for my children. But people here see that I now have two restaurants and a hotel... and to my face they are all nice and say: 'Congratulations!' But behind my back I know they talk and say: 'Oh, he is way too ambitious. Who does he think he is?'

In addition to this form of veiled resistance, sometimes the aggression and resistance becomes a lot more open. When Naida and her husband moved into town a few years prior and took over the guesthouse from her uncle, locals were initially very hostile. She told me that some threw rotten eggs at their door and even defecated in front of their house. This open resistance has subsided, while other conflicts are ongoing. Naida's own aunt, who owns the house on the corner, refused to allow her to attach a sign to the outside of her house to direct guests; instead, they have to use a fold-out sign which they prop up in the narrow lane every morning and take down in the evening. Naida explained that the animosities were due to her family members' envy of their success. She also mentioned that another hostel owner down the street routinely turned their sign around; often he claimed not to know their hostel when guests asked and offered them accommodation in his own guesthouse instead.

Many of the behaviours outlined above have been identified as general characteristics of peasant societies. Based on notions of scarcity and the fear to be outdone, people work hard to essentially remain at the same level, while new ideas and innovations are generally spurned (Bailey 1971:20-23; Foster 1965). Jealousy and envy are common and can lead to drastic strategies to push down people who are perceived as rising above in terms of wealth (Tucker 2003:106). However, peasant societies are also characterized by strong traditions of cooperation, and this can be seen in Ollantaytambo as well. The Moon Handbook for travellers states that in the face of rapid tourism development, "the town's saving grace, and what should carry it through its present crisis, is the tremendous sense of community that is palpable to anyone who pauses here" (Wehner and del Gaudio 2011:43). I witnessed many examples of this. Most community members know each other; many are closely connected by kinship, work or cooperation in community events and festivities. These bonds foster a support network that also extends into tourism work. Many times I saw how hotel owners sent guests to a friend's establishment when their rooms were full or they did not want to take any more guests. When Johnny told me about his problems with his girlfriend Catalina, he also mentioned the support he received from his artist friends: "One day I was talking to them and I said that I hadn't been able to work because I've been so worried... And one of them just gave me four of his paintings; another gave me a few more, and they said to just take them and sell them." Many times I observed in the craft market how vendors guarded each others' stalls, or, when one of them did not have what a customer asked for, she ran over to a friend's stall and fetched the item from there. The market vendors are also part of an association that provides a more formal system of support. When I spoke with a small group of vendors who were resting and socializing during a quiet period, one of them told me: "We are like family; we support each other," while another

added: “When someone is sick, we collect money to help.” Principles of *ayni*, or reciprocity, are strong in Andean communities, a point I will return to below. However, the picture of harmony and cooperation was modified by one of the vendors, who, leaning in so she could not be overheard, told me that three families dominated the organization and that she often felt that her voice was not heard. As Tucker describes for rural Turkey, we find expressions of conflict alongside the continuity of community cooperation, as villagers are striving to balance the rapid economic and social changes (2003). Some strategies of social control and resistance are also extended towards foreign residents.

### **Locals and Foreign Residents: Conflict and Resistance**

Some tourists and volunteers decide to extend their stay, and some eventually become long-term residents. Even those without extensive funds find that the far lower costs of living afford them a comfortable lifestyle. A retired German living in a community near Ollantaytambo commented: “Isn’t life great in the valley? We live like kings here!” Based on a study in the Ecuadorian Andes, Gascón describes how retirees from Canada, the US, and European countries are attracted by pristine landscapes and low cost of living. While the foreigners are motivated to move by growing financial insecurities in their home countries, their presence has caused land prices to soar and has further impoverished local peasants (2016). This is also a problem in many parts of the Sacred Valley. Ollantaytambo, on the other hand, does not allow the sale of houses and land to foreigners, so my discussion here focuses on residents who are renting properties and run businesses.<sup>12</sup>

Referring to her initial experience in Ollantaytambo 12 years prior, Kate commented: “When I arrived here, there were like ten foreigners living here, a few were volunteers and a few more long-term; now there’s hundreds it feels like. And I think there is a lot of resentment.” Some of this resentment is due to specific behaviours. American resident Jason told me:

I hate to say it, but some volunteers do contribute to the hostility towards foreigners. They come in for one or two months; they don’t really stay long enough, but they start to act like a local in town, like they’re entitled. Most people here are happy to give discounts to a volunteer, because they know they’ve been here for a long time and do help. But some just start demanding that, like get a free cookie, get a free coffee, and so then the restaurant owner is like: ‘Who is this? I’ve never seen them before and they’re telling me they’re a local.’ It’s kind of that: ‘I belong here; I’m

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<sup>12</sup> I heard that some foreigners find ways around this rule by buying property in the name of local residents; conversely, some locals have sold land regardless, only to have foreign buyers find out afterwards that they did not have any legal rights.

part of the community.' Whereas a lot of locals, the real locals, they're like: 'No, you've been here for a month; you are not part of this community... You do not know us; you do not know how this place works.' I myself am careful and not call myself a local. I have friends who call me a local, and if they're willing to accept me like that, that's cool. But I am not going to push myself on them, like 'I'm one of you guys.'

My own observations confirmed that long-term residents do not necessarily develop greater understanding or closer relationships with local people. One example of this was Peggy, an American of about 60, who had worked as a tour guide and was writing an adventure novel. She had lived in Ollantaytambo for about eight months but spoke little Spanish and seemed to have limited contact with local people. She told me she liked the charm of the town and considered it more a writing retreat than a way of establishing personal connections. I frequently ran into Peggy in the street and in the small shops, and on a couple of occasions we shared meals together. One evening we went down to the plaza to watch dances performed in honour of the local Catholic patron saint. The plaza was crowded with people; the specially erected bleachers were overflowing, and people formed several rows on the sidewalks to catch a glimpse of the dancers. We had found a reasonably good spot when a small boy came past us pushing his bike and hitting several bystanders in the process. When the bike hit the back of her legs, Peggy loudly yelled "Jesus Christ!"— a highly inappropriate exclamation at a religious celebration. In one conversation I mentioned my frustration with a local family; I had lent them money, but for a while they did not respond to my phone calls. When I said that I considered them friends, Peggy almost shouted back at me: "Peruvians aren't friends!" I contradicted her, arguing that I certainly felt I had formed friendships, but she insisted that many of the local people were just out to take advantage of foreigners. Comments by locals indicated that Peggy was considered rude and unfriendly. "She's been here for a long time, but she doesn't talk to us," a woman who lived down the street told me, "she is rude."

Apart from specific behaviours, the major frictions between local and foreign residents arise around business competition. Almost all foreign residents I met had found work in the tourism sector, and based on their cultural background and education they often brought greater expertise than local Peruvians. Jacquie described how she had first helped out at a local guesthouse, mainly by cleaning the bathrooms and kitchen, which according to her were "a real mess." Later she opened her own hostel with her local partner:

We were really successful really fast because I knew more what tourists wanted. The Peruvian people just don't see those kinds of details. They don't think of these things because they've never lived like this. You know, every successful tourist business here in town has had a *gringo* involved somehow... I'm here not as a business woman, I mean, I need a livelihood, but it just appeared. I didn't even have to think.

Jacque's description shows how her Western background alone provided cultural capital to apply in the tourism business, which gave her an edge over local people. Success was fast and she "didn't even have to think." Jason provided another example of this. Speaking about his work as an adventure guide, he told me: "I'm doing well. Tourists like me because I'm the perfect bridge, the American guy that knows this place, knows the culture... Many Americans just prefer an American guide." While cultural capital varies strongly cross-culturally, the processes of globalization and economic growth put foreigners and locals in direct competition, and in the arena of tourism, foreigners often win out.

One of the problems recognized by the municipality in its strategic planning is the lack of diversity in products and services (SariegoLópez and Moreno Melgarejo 2011). It is noticeable that craft stores and stalls tend to carry the same range of products, and restaurants often have very similar – if not identical - menus, a point that was also criticized by many tourists. Tucker noted the same process in Turkey; she reports "a pattern of imitation with businesses constantly copying the practice, style, and even décor of their competitors" (2003:111). Local anthropologist Elizabeth Kuon Arce also commented on this issue:

Education is terrible here; they learn to read and write and that's it; they don't learn to think. One opens a shoe store and sells successfully; another will see that and open one right next door, and then four more will follow. And in the end they will be surprised that no one is making good business anymore. They kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. In a few years, it will likely collapse, and their kids won't have anything to eat. But they don't think of that now.

Luz Marina, a middle-aged dance teacher from Lima who had lived in Argentina for several years, offered a somewhat different explanation:

During the presidency of Alan Garcia in the 80s, prices just went up unpredictably. People didn't know how much bread would cost the next day, so they bought 20 when they could. They just focussed on surviving in the moment; there was no long-term planning, you couldn't - you just took advantage of what was there. I think that thinking still persists.

There are other possible explanations. Outsiders may see the practice of copying as indicative of a lack of knowledge and creativity, which reflects an underlying Capitalist mindset that assumes that everyone's goal is to maximize individual success. However, in a cultural climate that values equality, the strategy of copying can allow people to keep up with changes without out-competing others and further increasing inequality (Tucker 2003:111). In indigenous communities in the Andes, people are often averse to change and to expression of "individuality, which intrudes on harmonious relationships at the familial, social, and cosmological levels" (Greenway 1998:1002). It was clear from other observations that often locals did not strive to maximize profits. For example, a jewellery maker told me that during the high season he

actually worked less and some days did not open his store at all. "Sales are good then, so I don't need to work as hard," he explained.

In any case, in the rapidly expanding tourism sector, foreigners often have greater expertise and hence business success than locals. This is clearly noted and criticized by local community members. María said:

There is a lot of competition; foreigners just have more skills. They speak English; they know how to deal with internet bookings and advertising and all that; we usually don't. And foreigners help each other. They told you the best wifi is at the American hotel down there, or have good pizza at the Italian place. Those are all foreign businesses, right? No one says: Valentina's cakes are the best; stay with this local family. They help each other but don't recommend people from here.

The business success of foreigners in the tourism industry is based both on their cultural capital as well as on their social capital, since the strong support network they have among each other allows them to advance further.

The tensions and resistance are also expressed in more open and violent ways. American resident Ben had lived in Ollantaytambo for nearly ten years. When almost three weeks after opening his guesthouse he had still not hung up a sign outside, I asked him about his reasons, since sometimes guests had difficulty finding his place. He shook his head and said he preferred to wait; it worked well enough without a sign, and if he put one up, he expected that people would just deface it. He added that there was a lot of envy which was illustrated shortly after. One of the first nights I stayed at his guesthouse I heard some commotion and yelling downstairs. In the morning Ben looked tired and concerned; he apologized for the noise during the night and explained what had happened: For several years he had participated as dancer in one of the local dance groups who perform in the four-day-festival honoring the local patron saint Señor or de Choquequillka. Several of his "buddies" from the dance group had appeared at his door in the middle of the night, highly inebriated, and challenged him to fight. Clearly angered by the success of his newly opened guesthouse, they yelled: "You and your damn guests! This is our street, our town. You have no right to be here!" It is significant that this open aggression is directed against a foreigner who, by any standards, is well integrated into the community. Dancing for the patron saint is considered an honour and an important service to the community; inviting a foreigner to do so indicates a significant level of acceptance and inclusion. The alcohol involved clearly contributed to the open aggression, but it is noteworthy that the accusations were voiced in this specific way, clearly positioning Ben as the foreigner who had no right to live and run a business in town.

Similarly, a European resident, who had been living in Ollantaytambo for 18 years, told me about the violent conflict that erupted around his rental property. Despite having signed a five-year-contract, the landlord wanted to increase the rent. When he and his family protested, the owner and some friends dumped sand in front of his property at night to block access; they further insulted him, accusing him that he was taking advantage of local people. He had gotten death threats, and on one occasion someone tried to hit his wife. He told me this had been the worst time of his life, and that for the first time he and his family were contemplating leaving.

Joaquin, a man from Lima who was running a popular local bar for a while, also faced conflict and accusations from local people. Although he was Peruvian, his coastal origins and more European look made him a *gringo* in the eyes of many locals. He described to me how local men would come to his bar and sometimes yell at him, complaining that he was taking work away from them: “You know, one of them was a friend of mine; we had worked together. Then he came by the bar one night; he was drunk already and claimed that I owed him money. He yelled at me: ‘You garbage; you piece of shit! This is not your land; this is our town!’ I said: ‘Please, for God’s sake, calm down.’ But he was crazy; he had been drinking for days.” It seems that, despite a lot of integration and cooperation between locals and foreigners, the underlying inequalities remain and can lead to sudden and unexpected outbursts of resentment, anger and violence. It may also be that conflicts with foreigners often get violent because the more indirect strategies of social control, such as gossip, are less effective with them (Tucker 2003:109).

It is worth noting that there were different perspectives on the conflicts in the bar. American resident Jacquie commented:

I’ve always been able to take my dog in there, and last night Joaquin was like: ‘We don’t want dogs in here; you couldn’t take your dog into a bar in the US.’ And I’m like: ‘That’s why I’m not in the US!’ It feels like recently we are getting more *gringos*, including people from Lima, like Joaquin and his buddy running the bar for locals. Now they are like screening; they are closing the doors and screening, letting some people in and not others. It’s supposed to be according to how drunk they are, but it often turns out that it’s all *gringos* in there. My partner and I’ve been there several nights, and he’s the only local! It’s all people who are, you know, not from here. So, we are starting to see more of that as the *gringos* move in and take over the businesses.

The view of the expat was confirmed by Naida, who told me that the managers of the bar just cater to *gringos* and “discriminate against local people.” Indeed, Joaquin mentioned that he priced the beer higher in order to discourage locals from coming; he also told me that he had a blacklist of five or six people who were not allowed inside the bar anymore. Interestingly, he said that when there was a problem, he usually phoned the owner, a local woman, who would come by or tell unruly customers off over the phone. “They usually respect that,” he added. It is interesting that Joaquin, a tall, imposing man in his forties, clearly had less power in this regard

than the local woman. It speaks to the degree of animosity towards outsiders but also points to the position of women and greater solidarities among local people. Discrimination against local people has also been reported from Cusco, where owners of tourist restaurants in the centre of town have refused service to Peruvians, likely because they tend to consume and tip less than tourists (Steel 2013:243).

Another factor is the sale of drugs, particularly cocaine, which is produced in the lowland areas nearby. In its entertainment section, the Moon Handbook (Wehner and del Gaudio 2011:46) states: "Ollantaytambo has a small but lively nightlife scene, due mainly to a community of expats who live in town year-round. Be sure to patronize places that seem respectful of surrounding residents and do not encourage use of drugs, which is an increasing problem in town." These factors are very difficult for tourists to assess, especially if they are only in town for one night and have limited contact with locals. Ironically, the only bar recommended by the Moon Handbook is exactly the one I repeatedly heard criticized for drug sales. This very real concern over growing drug use likely fuels animosities towards foreigners as well.

Alongside this growing competition, there are also many examples of cooperation and solidarity between foreigners and community members. Kate, who first came to Ollantaytambo 11 years prior and now runs a successful hotel, described her approach as follows:

When I first came here I really disapproved of people who came from outside and had a business. Hmm, and now I don't feel like that really. But it is really important for me to run my business in a sustainable way. So I do have employees come from outside, but I also have several local employees who get well above minimum wage; they are all on health insurance. So, a woman who is pregnant will get maternity leave. And also, I do classes with them, not myself, but a friend of mine is teaching English classes, and I sponsor those; I think that's important.

Jacquie, a friend of Kate's, confirmed this, emphasizing how by educating local people through her hotel business Kate has given back to the community. Foreign-owned restaurants and hotels all employ local people, and I heard several owners express concern about involving and properly compensating them. While many new-comers make concerted efforts to include local people in their businesses, and many locals extend their tradition of cooperation to foreigners, tensions nevertheless appear to be strong and likely on the rise alongside the increasing material inequalities in the community.

### **Witchcraft and the 'Evil Eye'**

Conflicts also play out in the arena of supernatural beliefs and practices. When I was ill with insomnia, Valentina diagnosed the 'evil eye,' suggesting that someone had been envious

and thus caused harm to me. These beliefs date back to the time of the Inquisition when the Spanish transferred European notions of witchcraft to the Andes (Silverblatt 1983). I use the terms witchcraft and black magic to refer to supernatural beliefs and practices that are intended to cause harm. While traditional Andean beliefs focus on maintaining balance between people and their environment, Europeans superimposed dualistic distinctions between good and evil, including their views of witches as having a pact with the devil. Ironically, the figure of the devil has taken on more ambiguous connotations in the Andes and sometimes even functions like a patron saint (Silverblatt 1983:421; Taussig 1980). In many parts of the Andes today, including the Cusco region, we find Andean beliefs and black magic existing side by side. Local newspapers carry advertisements for “black shamans” whose services range from magic spells to bond a romantic partner to curses causing illness and even death to an enemy. Despite playing an important role for local people, dark magic remains largely hidden from tourists, and it was only after five months of fieldwork when struggling with insomnia that people began to talk about this with me.

One afternoon I was sitting chatting with María. We were both concerned about Naida, a common friend, who was suffering from the return of a worrisome infection. For María the cause was clear. “I think it’s witchcraft”, she said, “why would she get it now? I think it’s her husband’s ex-wife; she is jealous... There is a lot of envy and vengeance around here.” When I asked her if cases of witchcraft were common in the community, she nodded and recounted several instances where people had performed rituals, or asked someone else to, in order to cause harm to someone, usually illness or business failure. Another local woman told me that she had repeatedly found burnt candles and other paraphernalia on her property. There were disputes about land ownership in her family, and she suspected that a cousin was performing black magic in order to take land away from her. As mentioned in the previous chapter, female market vendors in the nearby town of Pisac were reportedly accused of witchcraft (Henrici 2007). The cases I witnessed in Ollantaytambo did not seem to target women specifically but largely reflected conflicts around the growing material inequalities among community members, regardless of gender.

This is also extended to foreigners. Apart from the physical threats against American expat Ben, described above, local people also performed black magic. After I returned from a few days away in Cusco, he told me that two of his neighbours had seen a man walking around the block three times in order to put a curse on him and his guest house; he had been reciting something while carrying a candle and ringing a small bell. One of the neighbours had yelled at the man and told him to go away. I was struck by the image and decided to paint it later. As

addressed in the methods section, this is an example of depicting what I did not see but heard about (Causey 2017:147). The man was a former employee who felt he had been paid unfairly, though Ben commented that they had had a good relationship and that he had always compensated him well.



Man performing ritual to cast a curse, by Karoline Guelke

The cases of suspected witchcraft I heard about all occurred between people who had close ties through kinship or friendship, or at least a positive work relationship. Tucker has observed the same in Turkey. She writes that beliefs in the ‘evil eye’ can be considered another expression of the striving to maintain equality that is typical for peasant societies. Black magic is a more formalized way to push down people who stand out and do better, especially in economic terms (2003:105). It also fits with the notion of “limited good,” the idea that resources

are finite so that one person's gain means another's loss (Foster 1965). Similarly, on Taquile Island in Lake Titicaca, those who expressed desire for greater wealth were seen as a threat to community harmony (Mitchell and Eagles 2001:23), and in other parts of the Bolivian and Peruvian Andes, wealthier community members have been accused of deals with the devil (Zoomers 2008:977). The rifts of growing material inequality may be felt especially strongly between people who have in the past shared a close and more equitable connection.

I, too, had felt that my relationships with people were generally friendly and positive. Though diagnosed with the 'evil eye,' I never found out if someone was, in fact, taking measures to do me harm. But the fact that a local woman diagnosed this condition indicated that something about my role or behaviour made me vulnerable. Valentina's comment about me having "the soul of a child" also raised interesting questions. When I showed emotional upset at a man yelling, María told me the same with what seemed like a mix of criticism and affection. One evening over dinner preparations Hilaria, a retired school teacher I was living with for a while, recounted a story based on an experience a friend of hers had had when visiting a hacienda several decades ago. As was often the case, the hacienda owner strongly guarded his daughters, but this particular case had been extreme. Her friend had told her how on a visit she had met all three daughters, grown women by that time, and found they were all dressed like young girls. The oldest one, then in her late 20s, had been sewing. Her friend assumed that it was for her baby but it turned out she was making a dress for a doll. Hilaria continued the tragic family story of the girls eventually getting married off to abusive men. After finishing she looked at me and said: "And that's how I see you, like this big girl. Forgive me, but to me you are this tall, beautiful child, not really an adult." When I asked her to explain she said something about me being innocent and pure but also naïve. The image of the women dressed as girls stayed with me and made me reflect on the ways in which I may have appeared to some local people. The pen and ink drawing below is based on this particular story but ties in with Valentina's and María's comments about my childlike soul.



The anthropologist seen as a child, by Karoline Guelke

What are the implications of being seen as a child? How does this compare to other anthropologists' experiences? Like a child, the ethnographer is learning about the cultural norms under study which naturally involves awkwardness and social mistakes. In addition, as an unmarried, childless woman of 40, I did not conform to local gender roles. This was also suggested by one of the doctors in Cusco I consulted about my sleeping issues. He was a kind man of about 60 years, and his office looked like it had not changed much in decades. After some basic tests, he asked a few questions and then suggested that the reason for my insomnia was the fact that I was single and without children. His diagnosis differed from what locals in Ollantaytambo had suggested, but there was a common thread: they saw my health problem as related to my social role. I was not fulfilling my gender role in a culturally appropriate

way, and therefore I was suffering. Other female anthropologists have addressed the issue of identity and roles. Reflecting on her research in Chiapas, Mexico, Eber writes that her identity seemed to puzzle people. She describes how a young boy saw her as a “tall, pale, woman-like person who sleeps alone” (1995:75). As in my case, other community members had compared her to a child, indicating that she was not seen as fully occupying the expected adult feminine role.

The second common view about my insomnia, having inadvertently insulted Mother Earth, reflects the notion that I had upset the balance with natural forces, and it was suggested that I perform an offering in order to rectify my transgression. Silverblatt writes that in Andean communities, “notions of illness and well-being were intrinsically tied to a normative structure in which the maintenance of balance between social, natural, and supernatural forces was a predominant ideal. The explicit expression of this ideal is found in the term *ayni*, which means both balance and reciprocity” (1983:418). While she writes about the region at the time of contact, the principles of balance and reciprocity have been documented in many contemporary Andean communities (i.e. Bolin 2006, 1998; Greenway 1998), and references to the importance of reciprocity were common in Ollantaytambo as well. As outlined above, traditions of support and cooperation continue strongly in the community, but this network is increasingly under threat by the growing material inequalities. Zoomers reports a general decrease in reciprocal relationships in rural Andean communities in Bolivia and Peru (2008:976). In Ollantaytambo, some of the aggression towards foreigners is clearly a defense and open resistance against outsiders’ economic domination. But there are also attempts to integrate foreigners. The suggestion that I perform a ceremony to restore balance with Mother Earth is an example of this, and even the potential ‘evil eye’ can be seen as a strategy to ‘bring me down’ to the local level. Attributing my sleep issues to lack of compliance with the culturally acceptable role implies that there is the possibility of integration. However, the situation with tourists who stay for only a few hours or days is different.

### **Locals and Tourists**

As outlined earlier, the relationships between tourists and local people are usually marked by significant material inequalities, yet both groups are often complicit in performing interactions in a way that sidelines these differences (MacCannell 1992:28). Most tourist interactions I witnessed and heard of were characterized by a friendly tone. However, as described in chapter 4, tourists also display rude and ignorant behavior. Lisa, the British volunteer, reflected on her work handing out samples outside the chocolate store:

Some tourists are just so unbelievably rude. I remember one lady, like I was just asking if she liked a chocolate sample, and I'm never just the hard sell, I mean, I'm really smiling and friendly and all...and she basically just put her hand up in my face and said: 'Go away, go away!' And the guy who dresses up as the Inca was standing near me, and as she was walking away, he was like: 'Fucking tourists!' As if to say: 'Look, don't worry, hon. They are all like that sometimes.'

Resistance from locals includes examples of both veiled and open resistance. By indirectly insulting the tourists, "the Inca," introduced in chapter 3, expressed solidarity with a foreign volunteer. On other occasions when he chatted with me, he openly imitated tourists in a mocking way, causing me and vendors nearby to laugh. Humour is a common strategy of veiled resistance, which I saw employed frequently. Johnny often imitated tourists behind their backs, and so did his colleagues. One evening María told me about a couple from Lima staying at her guesthouse. "My God, the woman complained about everything. She didn't like the toilet paper; she wanted the softer kind. But I said: 'Sorry, but we are in the mountains here; we only have this kind'." I heard her tell this story a number of times to friends and neighbours, who usually joined her in laughing heartily. Sometimes she imitated her guest from Lima in an exaggerated fashion. As addressed earlier, people in the highlands often feel discriminated against by Peruvians from the coast, and giving misinformation about the availability of toilet paper and making fun of them was a means of pushing back. Similarly, Sweet's research among the Pueblo people showed that burlesquing visiting White tourists was a common strategy of resistance (1989).

Sometimes locals straddle the line between being polite and telling tourists off openly. Naida recounted the following incident:

One time there was a group of Argentineans and Chileans here at the same time, and the Argentineans said to throw out the Chileans, and the Chileans wanted me to throw out the Argentineans. I said: 'Please, if you have to fight, you can do that on the street but not in my house. You Chileans took some of our land, and you Argentineans should have supported us in the war against Ecuador, but you helped them. I should be mad at both of you. But since I'm polite, I welcome you all in my house, so let's be calm and get along.' Then they were quiet and went to their rooms.

By remaining polite and using a broader political perspective to appeal to their guests understanding, Naida managed to get them to comply. On another occasion she more openly told someone off: "There was an Argentinean hippie - I think she was high - and she was throwing garbage into the street. I said: 'Hey, you can't just throw garbage here. Take it with you.' And she said: 'Show me some respect here.' And I said: 'What? It is you who is not showing respect. You are in another country. If you want to throw garbage around, stay in your

own country!” Similarly, an older guide who had worked in the Cusco area for many years recounted his experience with a French tourist, imitating her with a whining voice:

I have worked a lot with French people; yes, they are special, often very difficult. There was this short old French woman who complained about everything on the trip. This was bad, that was bad - everything was bad! Then at the end she suddenly wanted to give me a tip and recommend me to her friends. I didn't accept the tip and said: 'Please don't recommend me to your friends; I do not want to travel with more people like you! Don't write me; I don't want to hear anything more from you. Just leave.'

Local people clearly find different ways to resist and challenge tourists' behaviour. Most of these acts consist of veiled resistance that are unlikely to alter the larger inequalities. During my stay I heard of only one specific case in which a tourist was mugged; many locals commented on this as unusual and worrisome, indicating that this was not a common occurrence. Many local people, as well as volunteers and foreign long-term residents, emphasized how safe Ollantaytambo was compared to other parts of Peru or Latin America. "It's not like Cusco", Naida said several times, "Ollanta is quiet and safe." Kate commented that, while she saw a lot of violence around, this behaviour was not usually directed at tourists. However, despite the low rate of robberies, other factors may endanger tourists. Drawing on Foucauldian notions of power as always shifting, Cheong and Miller emphasize that tourists are often unable to communicate in the local language, unfamiliar with cultural norms and political realities, and often highly visible as outsiders; thus, they occupy "insecure positions" and can easily become targets (2004:380-383). As outlined in the previous chapter, female tourists are generally more vulnerable than their male counterparts. In many places, female travellers are criticised far more than males for transgressing social boundaries, which can lead to violent backlash (Frohlick 2010). However, as I will explore in chapter 8, while local people often commented about romantic relationships between Western women and local men as inappropriate, most of their criticism was directed at the men.

Hostilities against tourists are also expressed in the realm of the supernatural. Across the Andes, stories are told about the mythological figure of the *pishtaco*, a White man said to kill and extract fat from indigenous people to be used as holy oil, machine oil, or face cream for wealthy foreigners (Hill 2008:260; Weismantel 2001). Weismantel analyses the *pishtaco* stories as reflecting an economic reality: since colonial times White foreigners have been extracting the life force, in the Andes often depicted as fat, from local people, and the stories emphasize the extreme brutality of these interactions. While the *pishtaco* of 100 years ago was usually seen as a Catholic monk using body fat for candles or as holy oil, modern versions show him as a large, White man seeking fat to lubricate machines or for use in facial cream (2001). The changes in

the story indicate that the myth is highly relevant today, since White people, including tourists, continue to extract resources from the Andes. In Ecuador, several tourists were attacked because locals considered them to be *pishtacos* (Weismantel 2001:203). This points to the darker side of tourism encounters and the importance of acknowledging its colonial legacy and continuities. Soledad, a local woman, told me about a recent case near Ollantaytambo. As part of her work with an NGO, she was visiting a small highland community about half an hour's drive above the valley. At the end of the day, she spoke with a few local men about arranging a ride back down. When a tall, blonde foreigner walked by, the men looked suspiciously at the unaccompanied woman and agreed that she could well be a *pishtaco*; they then debated whether to get sticks and hit her. Soledad urged the men not to do this and eventually convinced them to take the foreign visitor back down with her. It is usually men who are suspected of being *pishtacos*, but in some cases women as well. In this case, the foreigner's gender may not have been immediately obvious to the local men; walking by herself, probably wearing pants and hiking boots, she did not act in accordance with local definitions of feminine looks and behaviour. The same has happened to me a couple of times when children expressed uncertainty about my gender. The figure of the *pishtaco* reflects the ongoing tensions based on the history of colonialism and exploitation by outsiders, and this can result in real danger for foreigners in the Andes. *Pishtaco* stories are not commonly shared with outsiders, so this is an aspect that the vast majority of visitors are likely unaware of.

Another instance revealed aggressive attitudes towards tourists. Over a shared dinner Valentina commented on the tourist dangers in Juliaca, a town with a rough reputation located near the Bolivian border. "I've heard that in Juliaca, tourists can't even go down the road by themselves. They have a lot of gold there, and sometimes they kidnap tourists and kill them. You know why? To use as offerings in the gold mines!" When I questioned her further she said she had heard this from different people. "That's how it is," she added matter-of-factly. She looked concerned but then carried on the conversation about a different topic. While I cannot comment on the veracity the story, I doubt that we can take it at face value. However, the way the story was told is revealing. Neither the idea that a ritual offering could include the killing of people nor the fact that tourists were the reported targets seemed especially noteworthy or out of the ordinary to her. It suggests that sentiments of resentment and aggression towards tourists, whether only felt or actually enacted, may be more commonplace than people generally acknowledge.

The majority of people in Ollantaytambo considered tourism a positive force and wanted it to develop further. As discussed in the previous chapter, many women benefit from flexible and low-stakes work opportunities that can be combined with domestic duties. However, these changes are accompanied by growing material inequalities and responses of open and veiled resistance. How effective are these strategies? Foucault considers resistance as inherent in power relations but also often transient and short-lived (1978:95-96). While in many instances local people openly expressed frustration and aggression towards tourists and foreign residents, this does not seem to have a long-term effect. Víctor, Naida's husband, commented that one had to be really careful because when tourists write a bad online report it can damage business. Though at times very outspoken, María commented that often it was not worth the trouble to argue with guests and instead she preferred to send them away with a refund.

As material inequalities are growing in the formerly more egalitarian community, we find continuities of cooperation as well as conflict. Acts of resistance including supernatural beliefs and practices can be seen as levelling mechanisms aimed at "taking down" those that have distanced themselves through greater wealth. Gender is also an important factor. In the cases of physical threats and violence described above, the aggressors were all local men; their targets were men from outside the community or the country who had moved in and established themselves successfully. In Colombia, deregulated market conditions and insecure employment have been described as "destabilizing factors for masculinity...conditions (that) erode one of men's main identities, that of the provider" (Gómez Alcaraz and García Suárez 2006:103). Based on the principle of "limited good" (Foster 1965), the newcomers were likely considered competition for scarce resources as well as a threat to local masculine identities. Local men's open and veiled acts of aggression can be seen as attempts to reclaim their position of dominance. While I did not witness open violence against foreign women, I heard several locals refer to Jacquie as a witch (*bruja*), which may have been prompted by envy of her successful hostel. Also, if local men feel that their gender identities are on the line, successful women may be perceived as even more threatening than other men.

Being more connected to the community than tourists, foreign residents also become more dependent and vulnerable to acts of hostility. A few months after the black magic incident, Ben and his girlfriend experienced growing health and relationship troubles; eventually they broke up and he returned to the US. Local friends have since taken over the guesthouse. Much later Ben's partner told me: "When I think back to that time it all seems crazy. But that was our reality then." As another foreign resident, I generally felt well accepted yet locals' responses to my insomnia also showed that my privileged position warranted envy and hostility. Traditional

networks of support and cooperation persist but are increasingly stretched in the face of rapid economic changes. This is similar to Costa Rica where members of the middle-class and foreign nationals benefit more from tourist developments, and while women gain more power, class differences increase (Ferguson 2011:366 - 368). Expressions of black magic to mitigate growing inequalities remain largely hidden from tourists, but in the next chapter I explore how certain forms of spirituality become commodified for tourism and can also function as further strategies of resistance.

## CHAPTER 7: Marketing Spirituality

*One of the local men I came to know well was José. Having grown up in Ollantaytambo, he ran a guesthouse with his American partner and took tourists on spiritual tours to nearby Inca sites. During most of my stay I saw him busy renovating parts of the house and reconstructing an Inca stone wall. One afternoon I walked past with a friend, a local woman, who turned to me and said jokingly: “And here we have the last Inca.” On other occasions he would stop his work, wipe the dirt and sweat of his face, and chat with me. Several times he pointed out the shapes of the large stones making up the bases of houses. “Every stone has its meaning”, he said. “Many people here don’t know, but there are special figures in the rocks; the Inca put them there. My grandfather told me all about this when I was a little boy. I didn’t value it then, but as I grew older I could feel it more. It is about feeling it, not just knowing. You need to feel the energy.” One late afternoon, just as the sun was disappearing behind the mountains, he pointed to the Inca rocks in the foundations of all the houses in the street. “When the sun goes down, the whole street turns golden, have you noticed? Everyone is looking for the golden city, but ha - they can’t see. And here it is right in front of them: the stones turn to gold!”*

Apart from environmental and cultural attractions, Peruvian tourism has developed a distinct form of New Age tourism, locally called spiritual or mystical tourism (*turismo místico*). Defined in many different ways, the term New Age broadly refers to an eclectic spiritual or religious movement that arose in the 1970s in the West and combines elements of Eastern philosophy, Western esotericism, and indigenous beliefs and practices (York 2013:363). Central themes are the interconnectedness of all beings, the divine nature of humans, and the move towards a major shift of consciousness or New Age (Granholm 2013:60; York 2013:364). In the context of Peruvian tourism, especially in the Cusco area, we find a blending of these global New Age themes with distinctly Andean traditions; Hill calls this a “transnational and hybrid ‘New Age Andean’ movement” (2008:252). Indigenous cultural practices and shamanism, as well as the spiritual dimension of Andean landscapes and Inca and pre-Inca archaeological sites are marketed to tourists, with Machu Picchu being the most famous destination (Hill 2007:433).



Painting displayed in local restaurant, showing Andean New Age tropes, by Karoline Guelke

This is summed up visually in the many pieces of art for sale to tourists and displayed in local restaurants and hotels. The image above shows one example: Machu Picchu, an Inca rope bridge, and a condor, all distinctly Andean motifs, are combined with global New Age themes like crystals and planets, all mediated by a vaguely indigenous looking person. Tourists can purchase experiences, such as the participation in ceremonies, as well as material goods like crystals and figurines said to hold spiritual power or positive energy. In my discussion, I use the terms spiritual tourism and New Age tourism interchangeably, with the understanding that I refer to the specific forms in which this plays out in the Cusco region. It is important to note that boundaries are not well defined and that New Age discourse and practice permeate “regular” tourism. Even visitors who do not explicitly seek spiritual experiences will likely be confronted with Andean New Age themes. Several tour guides, who did not call themselves spiritual

guides, told me that they regularly spoke about the mystical powers of Inca and pre-Inca sites and performed ceremonies for tourists, the most common being an offering to Mother Earth (or *despacho*). When participating in guided tours, I observed the same. In addition, local men also effectively draw on New Age themes to appeal to foreign women and establish relationships, a topic I explore in chapter 8.

In my discussion I will consider issues of commodification and cultural appropriation and examine who controls these practices, who benefits, and how these expressions are gendered. My focus is especially on the main themes in New Age discourse and the ways in which these are employed by and affect locals and visitors. While on the one hand the marketing of spirituality constitutes a selling out to foreign demands, on the other hand the narratives produced can serve as a strategy of veiled resistance and allow local people to challenge unequal power relations, at least temporarily.

### **Key Themes in New Age Discourse**

In my approach to discourse I follow Foucault who argues that discursive practice is not a transcription of reality, but that the ways in which people consistently speak about a certain topic develop into commonly accepted views of how things actually are (1972:48-49). Discourse is also one of the main ways through which power relations are produced and exercised (Foucault 1972; 1978). While specific expressions of the discourse will vary widely, we can identify key themes and analyze how they function for the different participants involved (Granholm 2013:52). I will do this for the following key themes that have emerged from my research: first, the strong romanticizing and essentializing of the Inca and contemporary indigenous people; second, the call to share and appropriate traditional practices; third, the focus on personal destiny and on individual over collective spiritual development; and, fourth, the value placed on feeling over thinking.

### **Romanticization**

New Age discourse selectively draws on highly positive aspects of Inca and indigenous culture resulting in narrow and essentialized presentations that appeal, and can be marketed to, foreigners. This selective focus dovetails with the *incanismo* movement described in the introductory chapter. Originating as a protest against Spanish domination, *incanismo* became a political movement to highlight the glories of the Inca state, establish the inhabitants of Cusco as direct heirs to that heritage and thus to increase their status in relation to the dominant coastal

elites. This movement was largely driven by the urban population who, while extolling the virtues of their Inca ancestors, sought to set themselves apart from contemporary indigenous people whom they regarded as inferior (Hill 2008; Silverman 2002; van den Berghe and Flores Ochoa 2000). Likewise, tourist guides today will describe the Inca state as a model empire and the Inca people as highly spiritual and sometimes superhuman, focussing on their achievements rather than their defeat. For example, tour guides in Ollantaytambo highlight the ingenious move of Inca leader Manco Inca, who immobilized and overpowered Spanish forces by flooding the plain through water channels in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Bunten describes similar strategies used by native tour guides in Alaska, who retell history by emphasizing the Tlingits' win in a battle against the Russians (2008). Both for the Tlingit and for the Inca, victory was short-lived and did not halt the invasion of colonial forces. However, in both cases the particular focus of the narrative presented to visitors serves to counter the stereotypes of native people as victims and makes a political statement about their endurance and strength (Bunten 2008:391). This positive emphasis is expressed in different ways. One day, after having climbed up to the small rooftop terrace of the guesthouse, I watched the morning sun move across the large Inca site across town. Edwin, a local guide and friend of the hostel owner, followed me and explained how the Inca had constructed the site in the shape of a llama and her young, and modified a nearby rock formation to resemble a condor. "Everyone calls these places ruins", he said, "but that's not right. These are sacred places for us; they are not ruined."

However, unlike in Alaska, the historical Inca are glorified while their contemporary descendants are sometimes treated in a derogatory manner. For example, guides on the Inca trail often tell tourists that the *campesinos* living in the area are not originally from the region and thus not "authentic" (Ypeij 2012:26). Guides are important cultural brokers and have a lot of power in shaping visitors' impressions; thus their often disparaging attitude towards more indigenous people can affect tourists' impressions. In Ollantaytambo, I have frequently heard people describe members of nearby highland communities as dirty. As addressed in previous chapters, many Western tourists hold very positive views of indigenous people, while visitors from other Latin American countries or the Peruvian coast tend to have more negative views. Plus, just as in the *incanismo* movement, the connection between the Inca and modern indigenous people is sometimes called into question. A friend in Cusco, a woman in her late 50s, told me about a professor she knew who considered the Inca a "different race" that had hardly anything in common with present-day indigenous people whom he referred to as "dirty thieves." He argued that the Inca fell victim to disease when the Spanish arrived, so contemporary *campesinos* were mainly descendants of the Spanish. When I questioned the

professor's argument, my friend strongly defended his interpretation, claiming that it was "obvious that the dirty *campesinos* don't have anything in common with the noble Incas."

While sidelining or outright denying the *campesinos'* Inca ancestry, many people instead emphasize the similarities between the Inca and contemporary Westerners. This is evident in the context of tourism and other interactions with foreigners. For example, when walking through most Inca sites in the Sacred Valley, one notices that the steps are quite high. Guides are quick to point out that "the Inca were tall, just like you." Similarly, I have heard several tour guides talk about Inca accomplishments, be it in architecture, social welfare or astronomy, and comment that "the Inca were very advanced, like you." Another example comes from a ghost story I heard from María:

Our house used to be different, much simpler, and from the neighbour's house you could look in. One day my neighbour told me: Oh, this morning I saw this beautiful woman on your staircase; she was very tall and had long black hair. She was wearing this long skirt just like an Inca woman, and she was combing and braiding her hair. She was so beautiful, and I kept watching her. And I thought: she must be one of the foreign volunteers staying at your house.

María added that she did not have any guests staying with her at that time, so what her neighbour had seen must have been the ghost of an Inca woman. I heard many stories of Inca ghosts during my stay, but what is striking about this one is the fact that the neighbour's first assumption was that the person with Inca characteristics was a foreigner rather than a local woman. On the one hand this reflects a certain distancing of local people from their Inca ancestors, and on the other a close aligning with foreigners. It may express an attitude that Edwin, the guide, put more bluntly: "Yes, we are backwards compared to you now, but our ancestors were very much like you." Thus elements of the past are mobilized in discourse to present a more empowering version of history.

While many urban and *mestizo* Peruvians seek to distance themselves from indigenous people, foreigners are generally fascinated by them, and the mystical tourism industry produces essentializing narratives catering to this. As addressed in previous chapters, this "romanticizing gaze" takes many forms. The new Age discourse that describes Quechua people as inherently spiritual is a form of essentializing and racializing that stages them effectively as the Other (Hill 2008:258). One morning I was chatting with Jacquie outside her hostel. A group of young children from a nearby highland community walked past us, all dressed in the traditional hand woven clothing. "Look at them; aren't they beautiful?" Jacquie said, "They are pure spirit." At the moment I felt that her comment showed warmth and admiration. Jacquie is quite well integrated into the community and interacts and cooperates with locals in different ways. Through her local

partner she has a social circle that includes indigenous people from nearby communities who stop by the house frequently. Thus, her comment comes from a different place than a tourist's who may just momentarily be fascinated by the superficial otherness of the people she encounters.

However, Jacquie's comment also has problematic implications. Hill identifies an underlying contradiction in Cusco's mystical tourist industry: Quechua spirituality is seen as located in the bodies of indigenous people while simultaneously being offered for appropriation and consumption by foreigners (2008:253). In their analysis of tourist postcards from the Cusco area, one of the themes Sinervo and Hill noted is the emphasis on indigenous people's spiritual nature. They argue that "foreigners thereby avoid the issues of material inequality, taking refuge in the idea that cultural and spiritual riches make Peruvian children – indeed, indigenous Andeans more broadly – a happy people despite their suffering" (2011:134-135). By calling the children "pure spirit," Jacquie elevated them above other people but thereby also staged them as Other; Others who are so much in the realm of the spiritual that they may not even have the same material needs as us. In a way this elevation and distancing provides comfort; the children are so different and superior to us, being of a spiritual and not material world, so that we do not have to confront the blatant material inequalities that exist between us and them.<sup>13</sup>

### **Sharing Knowledge, Cultural Appropriation and Commodification**

Another common theme is the call for broader sharing of culturally specific knowledge, which can effectively open the door to cultural (mis)appropriation. Hill points out a fundamental contradiction inherent in Andean New Age discourse and practices: "the idea that religious culture is embodied essentially (perhaps even genetically) but that it can still be appropriated at will" (2008:253). The call for the open sharing of the traditional cultural knowledge of indigenous groups can be very explicit. Imasmari, a spiritual organization based in Cusco offering spiritual tours, meditation, yoga classes and other events, recently produced a three-minute-video that provides a good introduction to Andean New Age themes (Werber 2016). The clip shows predominantly young White people performing ceremonies in Inca sites, while people with indigenous Andean characteristics are featured only briefly. The material items used in the ceremonies range from crystals and prayer beads to Tibetan singing bowls, and someone is

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<sup>13</sup> It is also worth noting that, in the romanticized depictions of Andean spirituality, the darker aspects, such as the belief in the *pishtaco* or the 'evil eye,' are omitted completely.

wearing what look like deer antlers. The voice-over describes the purpose of the organization as follows:

Five hundred years ago a group of Incan people retreated to the high Andes mountains to preserve a prophecy. The prophecy states that we have now entered the dawn of a New Age, the next Pachacuti, in which humans will remember their true essence. Though in order for this New Age to manifest, there must be a rejoining of the paths of wisdom that were long ago sent to the four ends of the earth. This great reunion called upon by the prophecy will catalyze a greater shift for a consciousness of grace. We believe this is why so many people from around the world are now drawn to the Incan capital of Cusco, Peru. As people of all lineages and nations cross paths here, we are putting the wisdom pieces back together; we are the great reunion... Imasmari creates and hosts a variety of consciousness expanding events for people from around the globe who seek a new way of being... We provide a space where people come together to play, create, and embrace the great and beautiful mystery of life. If you feel the call, come and join us as we discover the New Age of grace at Imasmari, Cusco.

This description reflects a number of key New Age themes. It is interesting that the shift of consciousness is described as contingent on people from different parts of the world coming together to learn and share. Quechua traditional beliefs are subsumed under a larger New Age movement; as Hill argues, they are de-ethnicized and de-territorialized and thereby made accessible to outsiders (2008). This message was also given at a retreat centre in Pisac where the American owner stated that, in response to growing global problems, Quechua elders have chosen to teach sacred rituals to non-community members and foreigners (Gómez-Barris 2012:75).

While the sharing of knowledge is couched very positively as benefitting not just the individual but the global collective, this happens in the context of very unequal power relations. Quechua people have been systematically marginalized and discriminated against, and neither they nor most of their cultural traditions are valued by mainstream Peruvian society. Now the mystical tourism industry positions them as the holders of spiritual authenticity and providers of marketable goods and services. Quechua people usually do not have the cultural know-how or language skills to market their own cultural capital and benefit little or not at all, while it is mostly *mestizos* and foreigners who direct the exchanges with tourists. Again we see parallels with the *incanismo* movement which was mainly directed by urban *mestizos*.

Here it is useful to consider the process of commodification, "a process by which things (and activities) come to be valued primarily in terms of their exchange value, in a context of trade, thereby becoming goods (and services)" (Cohen 1988:380). Many have argued that this usually results in cultural loss (i.e. Greenwood 1989), but Kaul maintains that it is the issue of control that has the strongest effect on the meaning of cultural traditions. His study of Irish

musicians shows that, even though they increasingly perform for profit in the tourist market, many of them retain significant control over when, where, and what they play and continue to find their music meaningful and enjoyable (2010). In the Andean context, it seems that outsiders largely control the marketing of Quechua culture, but there are some exceptions. One of the most common ceremonies performed for and with tourists is the *despacho* or offering to Mother Earth, and the different ways in which this happens indicate different levels of local involvement and control. Traditionally, the ceremony involves a healer assembling a number of objects, usually coca leaves,<sup>14</sup> sweets, and sometimes confetti or flowers, wrapping them in paper or cloth, passing them over the participants' bodies for cleansing and then burning or burying the offering. At Paz y Luz, a retreat centre in the nearby town of Pisac established by the American Diane Dunn, the *despacho* ceremonies were conducted in under an hour, compared to the traditional version that includes music and dance and lasts for several hours (Gómez-Barris 2012:75). Images on the website of Paz y Luz show photos of individual bundles rather than a communal one; the offerings are also lavishly decorated with flowers to make it more aesthetically pleasing (Paz y Luz 2017). Gómez-Barris argues that “engagement with local culture and religion was replaced by ethnicized spectacle”; the American and a *mestizo* man directed most of the ceremony while the Quechua man from the Q'ero community was delegated mainly to the role of “authenticating figure” (2012:75). In comparison, the *despacho* ceremonies I witnessed were simpler in material terms, including coca leaves, sweets, bread, and sometimes coloured paper and a few flowers. Even though the New Age movement calls for people to come together, the focus of many practices is on the individual and not the collective. Like most Andean ceremonies, *despachos* are traditionally a communal affair in that they seek to benefit the whole community and maintain or restore balance between people and the land. Sometimes a ceremony is performed in order to reintegrate an ill or troubled person into the community, but even here its purpose is to help both the individual and the larger group (Bolin 1998; Greenway 1998). In the context of tourism, however, ceremonies may be conducted with a more personal focus. Whereas many locals of Cusco emphasize the concept of *ayni*, or reciprocity, between people and the environment, foreign spiritual seekers often speak about personally receiving positive energy from specific places and ceremonies (Hill 2007:453). Typically, the spiritual tourism industry caters to a “self-oriented search for meaning” (Gómez-Barris 2012:76). The above examples show how *despacho* ceremonies are

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<sup>14</sup> Coca (*Erythroxylum coca*) is a bushy plant cultivated in the low lands. It has been much maligned because it is the basis of cocaine. However, in the Andes it has been used for centuries, where it figures prominently in rituals and, when chewed, provides high levels of vitamins and minerals (i.e. Davis 1996).

commodified for the tourist market and how at Paz y Luz Quechua members are invited but arguably have very little control over the process.

However, this was different in some of the *despacho* ceremonies I witnessed and heard about in Ollantaytambo. For the photovoice project, Alberto shared various photos of a *despacho* with me; he told me that sometimes he invites a Q'ero elder to perform the ceremony, someone he referred to as a friend. When I asked about the logistics of working with this healer, he said he felt better having him run the ceremonies instead of doing it himself. "He's a *curandero* (healer), I mean, I can do it; I've seen it many times, but it is better if he does it. It's hard to get a hold of him sometimes, and then sometimes he can't come down; that's how it is. But usually we work well together." In this arrangement Alberto organizes the logistics and functions as the cultural broker who provides translations and explanations to the tourists. But his comments indicate more of an equal partnership in which he acknowledges and respects the *curandero's* expertise and gives him control over when and how to perform the ceremony.



Q'ero elder Nicolas Machaca Quispe performing ceremony for tourists, by Alberto

Two other tour guides regularly performed *despachos* themselves. When asked about the meaning this had for them, one laughed and said: “Well, I’m Catholic, and in my family normally we don’t do *despachos*. But it’s good; it’s tradition. I like doing it now.” The other guide responded that “tourists really like *despachos* and they pay well for it.” He added that his family performed their own *despachos*, so he was familiar with the practice. It does not seem that the ceremony has become a meaningless exercise only, but that its practice for tourists can contribute to validate and revive the practice. Jacquie’s comment also expresses optimism about this:

I think in positive ways tourism is helping increase indigenous pride, you know, they see tourists really interested in their history, their culture, and ancestry, and the spiritual tourism. I feel like I’ve seen indigenous pride grow, like my partner wanting to do a *despacho*, were he may not have wanted to before, but I was interested in it.

### **Destiny and Personal Calling**

Another common trope is that of destiny and personal calling through which foreigners explain their presence. In my interviews with tourists, these themes emerged repeatedly. People spoke about serendipitous ways in which they ended up in Ollantaytambo and felt they were meant to be there. An American woman in her 50s, who described herself explicitly as a spiritual seeker, often commented on the role of destiny. She and I stayed at the same guesthouse for almost two weeks and frequently chatted over meals and took part in a solstice ceremony together. She spoke of “knowing on a deep level” that she had to come to the Andes and “feeling called” to learn and share her knowledge of spirituality and healing. It was interesting that similar phrases were also used by travellers who did not identify as particularly spiritual. Over ten backpackers I interviewed had decided to extend their stay longer than planned. A Swiss woman in her late 20s, travelling with her boyfriend, described their arrival in Ollantaytambo as follows:

We were planning on staying in Cusco longer, but then this guy we met said: ‘Hey, it’s so much nicer in the valley; you have to go there. Go to Ollantaytambo.’ And Cusco was so noisy and, yeah, so we just decided to take the bus out here, and –wow- it’s great. I felt that we’ve landed in just the right place, like we were meant to be here.

Similarly, an Australian backpacker travelling by himself said: “As soon as I arrived here and looked around at the village and the Inca ruins and the mountains, there was this feeling like I just knew I had to stay.” Staying, of course, involves paying for accommodation and food, and while many backpackers eat in inexpensive local restaurants and manage to get by with

little money, the fact remains that they can only follow their calling because they have the resources to do so.

Gómez-Barris has identified this theme prominently in the writings of Diane Dunn, the owner of a retreat centre in the nearby town of Pisac, mentioned above. Dunn talks about her spiritual search and her “deepest calling” that led her to the Cusco region, thus justifying her right to practice Andean spiritual traditions and build up her retreat centre there. She is one of many foreigners who have bought land in the area, leading to land scarcity and rising property values (2012:76). Several times I have heard local people refer to the area as “gringoville.” Hill reports tourists in Cusco speaking about serendipity and destiny in the context of purchasing jewellery and paying to have their coca leaves read, a form of divination in the Andes. He sums up the issue well by stating that “New Age ideologies about predestined spiritual meanings of serendipitous occurrences reframe the potentially alienating dimensions of commodification and inequality by imparting sacred meaning to capitalist exchange” (2008:268). However, this is not just directed by outsiders; for locals the discourse of destiny can also help alleviate some of the alienation of tourist encounters.

### **Heart knowledge versus Mind Knowledge**

The incident of José instructing me to “feel the energy in the rocks” and saying that it “is about feeling it, not just knowing”, illustrates another major trope: the value placed on the process of feeling over thinking or, as Gómez-Barris describes it, “heart knowledge” over “mind knowledge” (2012:74). Jacquie also emphasizes the importance of feeling as an avenue of deep connection and understanding:

The more tourists can ask for the local people to teach us, you know, the more it benefits both the tourists and the local people, and so that is something I have promoted in my hostel, always recommending that my guests go with local guides, even if they don't speak much English. I mean, if they don't understand everything, it's more about sinking into their hearts, because this is a heart-centred culture, and so just feel how he connects to the land, how his energy and his presence is. And so that my local buddies who take the tourists out feel good about themselves, because they can share something that is important information in the world, how to be in your heart, how to connect to *Pachamama* (Mother Earth).

The emphasis on feeling and positive energy can be an effective marketing strategy as well, and I found that many of the craft and jewellery vendors used a similar discourse. Crystals are praised for “positive energy”, for connecting with *Pachamama* or higher beings. I cannot count the times that I picked up a figurine or a piece of jewellery only to hear the vendor tell me that this was for positive energy. This concept is ill-defined yet powerful, and it cannot be

comprehended with the mind but only accessed through feeling. This approach clearly presents a compelling narrative, which can land the vendor a good sale and positions him as a knowledgeable person with something to teach. In a gentle way, this functions to undermine the (perceived) superiority of foreigners partially based on higher levels of formal education. The argument that “heart knowledge” is superior to “mind knowledge” challenges that power hierarchy; it positions local people as the ones who know how to access this kind of important knowledge and Westerners as having to learn from them.

However, the emphasis on feeling over thinking can also be problematic in that it can lead to superficial impressions, which participants may misinterpret as deep understanding. In her analysis of Diane Dunn’s centre, Gómez-Barris argues that by asking visitors to simply feel instead of think, the cultural context of the teachings was erased and opportunities for providing a more nuanced understanding of indigenous peoples’ traditions and issues wasted. Quechua explanations given by the attending couple simply became part of “a soundscape of chanting and bells”, providing atmosphere but no deeper understanding (2012:74).

Also, the emphasis on feeling is usually not an open invitation to get in touch with whatever one is feeling but rather the call to feel something specific, at the cost of repressing other sentiments. While this can lead to some confusion and embarrassment, in extreme cases it can open the door to harm and exploitation. Several times José, described at the beginning of the chapter, encouraged me to place my hands on the massive Inca stones in his street and to feel. I remember standing there, touching the wall and wondering if I was feeling the “right” thing. He told me to “relax and feel the energy,” but however much I tried I did not perceive anything unusual in most of these situations. On several occasions, when visiting Inca sites with local guides, I had similar experiences. While these are simply examples of mild embarrassment, the discursive emphasis on feeling something in particular can also be used to facilitate exploitation. Karen, a German woman in her thirties who was backpacking through Latin America, recounted an experience of sexual abuse in highland Bolivia. Through the local tourism office she had found an official guide and arranged for a cleansing ritual with Mother Earth. She described how, as the ceremony went on, he had started touching her but kept her captivated with his explanations:

He had such a good story. It was like, I couldn’t step out of his story, you know? About the energy and how I needed to open up to it and feel it. And it was only to get me to have sex, and after it was over, I thought: What the hell was that? I felt guilty; I felt ashamed. It’s like in the textbook, right? I think his story was just about getting closer physically, sexually. But at the moment I didn’t see that, I couldn’t.

Female travellers are at greater risk of being sexually exploited than males (Frohlick 2010; Jordan and Aitchison 2008), and the trope of “don’t think, just feel” can be used against them. It should be noted that it is not just about feeling anything but the call to feel something particular. When guides spoke to me about the energy in the rocks, they did not simply ask me to get in touch with my true feelings; rather the implication was that there was something specific I had to feel. If I failed, the problem was explained as “being too much in my head” or “thinking too much.” Later in the interview, Karen said she wished she had trusted her feelings and left. It was not that she was encouraged to get in touch with whatever she was feeling but rather the push to feel something in particular, and in this case to even ignore and shut down part of her emotions which left her highly vulnerable. Karen’s story was the most explicit description of sexual exploitation I heard from tourists, but warnings about male guides were common, both from tourists and local people. Several local women recounted stories of local men taking advantage of foreign women, a topic that will be discussed in the next chapter.

### **Revival, Resistance and Self-Commodification**

The expressions and effects of the Andean New Age movement are complex. As simplified ceremonies, material goods, and traditional knowledge are marketed to tourists, issues of romanticization, commodification, and cultural appropriation are all of concern. But New Age tourism and discourse are also tools that can be used on a broader political as well as on a personal level. As Babb reminds us, “we need to view tourism as far more than selling out to global interests and to understand it as fundamentally linked, for better or worse, to the refashioning of histories and nations” (2011:xiii). Stories of Inca glory and triumph present a much more positive side of history as well as a statement about local people’s endurance. Success as a guide can bring social status. British expat Kate commented on the pride she could see in two young sisters when they spoke about how Westerners admired their father, a spiritual tour guide. Sweet points out that tourists are often economically better off than the people they visit, but in terms of local knowledge they are disadvantaged. Her work with the Pueblo people illustrates how choosing when to share or withhold information allowed local people to exercise significant power in their interactions with visitors (2010:142). Considering most tourists’ fascination with the topic, this may apply even more to knowledge about spiritual beliefs and practices.

It is useful here to consider the concept of self-commodification, defined as “a set of beliefs and practices in which an individual chooses to construct a marketable identity product

while striving to avoid alienating him- or herself.” The process is often contradictory but emphasizes the personal agency in people’s response to larger capitalist structural forces (Bunten 2008:381). Whereas in large foreign-run centres like Paz y Luz indigenous spiritual and cultural capital is often appropriated and commodified by outsiders, in most instances I witnessed, local people exercised a significant amount of control over how to present themselves and their culture, and they knew how to draw on New Age discourse for their benefit. It is true that even in Ollantaytambo *mestizo* guides perform indigenous ceremonies, but, as in Alberto’s case, there were also cases of cooperation and inclusion where indigenous people participate on an equal footing. Plus, while based on the history of discrimination outlined earlier, few inhabitants of Ollantaytambo today self-identify as such, they nevertheless share many cultural similarities with indigenous people. Like Hill, I found that local people were not so much concerned with the commodification of indigenous spiritual practices *per se* but more with accessing this lucrative market themselves, indicating a partial alignment with the basic tenets of neoliberalism (2007:456).

With regards to gender, it is important to note that most spiritual guides, as indeed most guides in general, are men (Ypeij 2012:25), and from what I have witnessed, spiritual tourism is especially attractive to Western women. Considering this, New Age tourism brings greater benefits to local men than to women, both in terms of material profit and increased social status. It has been shown that, as employment and state support become more precarious in a neoliberal climate, men often struggle to fulfill their role as provider which, as discussed earlier, can result in violence and conflict. By using their cultural capital, and often appropriating that of other groups, men can find new avenues of work in the New Age sector of tourism. As previously outlined, local women can benefit from small-scale businesses, but they do not participate equally in mystical tourism. Local men also employ New Age tropes to establish relationships with foreign women which adds another gendered dimension to this form of tourism, which I explore in the next chapter.

New Age spirituality can function as a form of “veiled resistance” (Boissevain 1995:14-15; Maoz 2006:224) in that it successfully offers tourists goods, experiences, and knowledge while also providing local people a discursive strategy for challenging their visitors’ power base. The emphasis on feeling over thinking proposes a fundamentally different way of relating to the world and challenges the superiority of “mind knowledge”; thus, the stereotyped “dumb Indian” becomes the teacher with access to the real knowledge. New Age discourse also allows for a reframing of a violent past characterized by exploitation and discrimination. In many parts of the

world, colonial sites have become tourist attractions, whether bars frequented by Hemingway in Havana, Cuba (Babb 2011:29) or British architecture in Malaysia and Singapore (Henderson 2004). In Cusco, Spanish churches and cathedrals are presented as a must-see for visitors, and many colonial buildings have been converted to hotels and restaurants. However, in people's self-representation, Inca identity figures more prominently. The descendent of the spiritually superior Incas is a more powerful position from which to meet foreign visitors than that of an exploited and colonized people. As José, described at the beginning of the chapter, said: "You know what I don't like? That many guides talk about us as victims, how the Spanish came and destroyed everything. I don't want to think of myself as a victim, I mean, aren't we then discriminating against ourselves? I prefer to just live here, with these stones and with my gods, the mountain gods."

As Foucault reminds us, resistance is an inherent part of power relations but is also often transient and short-lived (1978:95-96). Hill is doubtful that the mystical tourism industry can help address structural problems of inequality, but he also sees the potential for it to contribute to greater awareness of global issues and differences (2008:273). Mystical tourism clearly has major problems; it perpetuates essentializing and racializing stereotypes, and urban *mestizos* and foreigners commodify indigenous cultural knowledge and reap most of the benefits. However, on the often alienating day to day interactions with tourists, New Age discourse offers a more empowering alternative to the common narrative of cultural destruction that posits local people largely as helpless victims. Though often only temporary, this can help reframe locals' encounters with visitors in a more equal manner. New Age tourism has become big business, yet José's message - that we do not need to go far but just open our eyes to see the golden city right in front of us - captures an essential point that most spiritual tourists miss.

## CHAPTER 8: Marketing Romance

*I first met Giulia as she was chopping vegetables for dinner in the guesthouse kitchen. A German-Italian woman of about 40, she had her curly brown hair tied back with a scarf and exuded an easy-going confidence. Giulia had been on extensive solo trips across Europe, Asia, and Latin America and was fluent in four languages. She financed her travel by selling hand-made jewellery as well as taking odd jobs. When I first asked her for an interview, she responded: "Ahh, I don't think I can help you; I'm not the typical tourist. I hardly spend any money; I usually cook for myself, and I don't buy stuff."*

*However, as we came to know each other better over shared meals and chats on the guesthouse porch, she agreed to share some of her stories. Most evenings she spent at the local campsite, the cheapest place in town which was also frequented by local young men who came for evening parties and sometimes set up camp for a while. One morning during breakfast, I noticed a large scratch on Giulia's arm. "Well", she laughed, "I was out late with the guys at the campsite. But then I decided to come back here; it was really late. Everyone was sleeping, and I couldn't open the damn door. So I had to go over the wall!" The wall, like most in Ollantaytambo, is about three metres high and planted with cacti on top for protection, so this was no small feat. She added cheerfully: "There is this guy I like; I sat next to him in the sweat lodge. I would like to, you know, exchange some energy with him."*

*Shortly after that Giulia moved to the campsite completely. One afternoon I visited her there, and we spent a couple of hours chatting in the shade while others were sitting in the grass, passing around a water pipe, and helping each other with making jewellery. Giulia told me that she and "her guy" had been travelling to other parts of the valley and were having a good time. About two weeks passed before I saw her again. This time Giulia looked downbeat and tired and told me that her relationship with the Peruvian had gone sour. "One moment he's super-sweet and then he is really mean. I feel like a stupid child. But whatever, I don't give a shit anymore. In two days I'm leaving for Bolivia."*

Sex and romance are common aspects of tourism. In many locations, local people are not only romanticized but sexualized by the tourism industry, as, for example, Desmond describes for Hawaii (1999) and Pruitt and LaFont for Jamaica (2010). Sex tourism is primarily associated with travelling men seeking local women, and while male tourists may be criticized, their behaviour is often naturalized as part of normative masculinity and the adventure discourse (Enloe 2000; Frohlick 2010:56). In the Andes, sex tourism catering to visiting men is not nearly as prevalent as in other parts of Latin America; rather, it is often local men who seek out romantic relationships with foreign women who can provide them with sex and often substantial material support (Babb 2012; Bauer 2008; Wilson and Ypeij 2012). While the clear distinction between sex tourism and romance tourism can be debated, these relationships typically fit with

what Pruitt and LaFont define as romance tourism: relationships that involve “a complex set of desires, hopes, and fantasies that include romance, love, and the possibility of a long-term relationship in addition to sex” (2010:166).

In the Cusco area, local men who try to establish relationships with foreigners are called *bricheros*. This term may be derived from the English word breeches, referring to the three-quarter length pants traditionally worn by indigenous men. The more common explanation, however, is that its origin lies with the term bridge, thus the *brichero* (or the female version *brichera*) is someone who builds a bridge between two people and two cultures (Bauer 2008:613; Ypeij 2012:27). American expat Jacquie referenced the concept of the bridge when commenting: “*Bricheros*, yeah, I think it is a really positive way for the connection, the bridge between the worlds, and, you know, I think that’s a lot of the tourism here, women coming here and finding these cute young men.” It is important to note that, in contrast to this optimistic assessment, many local people use the term *brichero* in a critical and derogatory manner, and the men themselves usually do not self-identify as such. However, given that the term is so commonly employed by both locals and researchers, I chose to use it as well – keeping in mind the complexities and varying connotations of this label.

Ollantaytambo is far smaller than Cusco, but one can easily find men who fit the description. The most visible examples are the young craft vendors who sell their goods in the street below the main archaeological site. Many make their own jewellery or resell what they purchase elsewhere. A popular spot is by the two large Inca stones that sit in the main street; often the vendors lay out their wares on top and sit nearby working, chatting and calling out to potential buyers. Some of the men are from Ollantaytambo or the broader Cusco region while others have migrated from different parts of Peru to find work in tourism. Some international travellers, often from Chile and Argentina, also join them there. Apart from street vendors, tour guides are often associated with the role of the *brichero* (Ypeij 2012:27), as are men working in other parts of the tourism sector. I begin this discussion by examining how *bricheros* use New Age discourse and then, following Pruitt and LaFont, look at “the subtle interplay of gender, money, and power” (2010:167) involved in these relationships. Many studies on sex and romance tourism emphasize the strategic approaches of men while not examining the motivations and experiences of women to the same extent (Tucker 2003:138). Hence, I aim to give equal voice to the women and men involved, as well as consider the views of other community members. My findings indicate that, while in many ways these relationships can be mutually beneficial, foreign women tend to hold more of the power, thus replicating the global power inequalities we so often see in international tourism encounters.

## ***Bricheros* and New Age Discourse**

The strategies men use to connect with foreigners draw heavily on *incanismo* and New Age discourse described in the previous section. In response to the romanticization of Inca and indigenous people, *bricheros* tend to cultivate a look that is distinct from local men, often growing their hair long following Inca tradition and wearing jewellery with Inca symbols.



*Brichero* craft vendor with tourist, by Karoline Guelke

In conversation they claim a close connection with their Inca ancestors as well as with *Pachamama* (Mother Earth). At the same time, they usually acquire fluency in English and broad cultural knowledge to converse with foreign women on a number of topics. Interestingly, in her analysis of cross-cultural romance in literature, Pratt has observed that colonial love interests are usually not completely non-White but often of mixed ancestry or with strong

European affiliations (1992:100). Similarly, *bricheros* cultivate a composite identity, simultaneously the exotic Other and somewhat familiar.

This can be considered an example of what Bunten has defined as self-commodification, the process whereby “an individual chooses to construct a marketable identity product while striving to avoid alienating him- or herself” (2008:381). The resulting persona clearly appeals to Western women, as indicated by comments of several female tourists. After an interview over breakfast, Sara, a Swiss backpacker in her 30s, and I had spent a day walking. On our way back from the Inca storehouses, we passed the vendors selling their hand-made jewellery. Looking at one young man in particular, perched on one of the massive Inca rocks, his long hair in a ponytail and wearing just a vest over his bare torso, Sara turned to me and whispered: “Wow, he looks like a real Indian – so cute!” On another occasion I shared dinner with two middle-aged American women. One of them commented on the “beautiful Indian guys with their long hair” while the other agreed enthusiastically. “We had just a beautiful guide in Cusco; he looked like a real Inca, very charming. He told us all about how he grew up in the mountains, and he still speaks Quechua.”

It is interesting that the characteristics the women highlight are the physical attractiveness based on the “Inca look.” Local men are clearly objectified and racialized based on their physical appearance, and their stories of Inca and indigenous heritage increase this appeal. Jacquie, the American expat, also identified the racial aspect of the exoticized Other: “I feel that part of it is racism, because they’re a different race; they are brown. We don’t... I mean, maybe unconsciously, but if it was a 19-year-old white boy, we probably wouldn’t, right? But it’s like this exotic appeal, so it’s not real life and yeah, there’s a little bit of racism.”

As discussed above, speaking of destiny and personal calling allows foreigners to justify their presence as well as sideline some of the inequalities inherent in tourism encounters. But the trope is also employed effectively by local people, and power flows both ways. In Guevara Paredes’ short story, *Gringa Hunter*, a *brichero* in Cusco describes his strategy for luring in a Western woman as follows: “I used an old trick with the *gringa* that’s always worked. It was to convince her that our meeting wasn’t by chance, but rather it was due to the magnetism this city radiates, making it possible for us to meet, because she’s been in my dreams for a long time” (1998:101-102). As a single Western woman spending a lot of time walking around and sitting in cafés by myself, I also became a target, which allowed me to experience some of the *bricheros*’ strategies first-hand. While sitting on the stone steps watching the goings-on in the plaza one afternoon, a young man sat down next to me and declared “I think it was destiny that we met”; he then tried to convince me to go hiking with him to show me a supposedly unknown Inca site

nearby. On another occasion, as I was grocery shopping in the market, a local street vendor struck up a conversation with me. I had seen him several times before walking around the plaza and the craft market trying to sell drawings and watercolours. He usually smelled strongly of alcohol. When I told him that I had plans to meet friends, he responded: “Oh, don’t go; it must have been destiny that I came here today and saw you again.” Framing a chance meeting as destiny can hide other motives for pursuing contact, such as sex and material support. By assigning the meeting such great importance, it also makes it more difficult for women to reject the men’s advances.

The *bricheros*’ strategies often include offers to share knowledge about Inca ancestry and spirituality, which are desired commodities for many foreign visitors. As discussed in the previous chapter, the sharing of formerly (or allegedly) secret knowledge, frequently framed as a need to rally supporters for the shift in consciousness, is a common trope in New Age discourse. Guevara Paredes’ first person narrator describes how he explains his different epistemological approach in order to impress a foreign woman: “I had another way of perceiving reality. And it wasn’t the simple reality the majority of people see but the reality that’s within the same reality. Besides, clinical and psychoanalytic intuitions didn’t have anything to do with it, because my perception came from an ancient belief that only belonged to the chosen ones” (1998:102). The type of perception he describes is clearly differentiated from Western approaches, which he calls mere “intuitions”, and it cannot be accessed in the same way, again undermining the Western view of thinking as the primary means of gaining knowledge. In a similar way as the discursive emphasis on feeling over thinking discussed above, this allows locals to challenge foreigners’ position of power based on formal education. Positioning himself as the carrier of secret knowledge that he is willing to share, results in a mysterious and desirable persona and thus provides a greater power base from which to interact with foreigners.

Furthermore, it is not difficult to imagine how men can use the argument of focussing on feeling over thinking as a means to convince women to have sex. Karen’s story of sexual abuse during a supposedly spiritual ceremony, described in the previous chapter, illustrates how this can lead to very exploitative situations. But women’s comments also revealed positive responses in that regard. Nina was a Dutch woman in her 30s with striking blue eyes and long blond hair. One afternoon I invited her for coffee in exchange for an interview, and just on our short walk to the café I noticed several men stopping and staring at her. Nina was well aware of the attention and commented: “Yeah, I’m the blonde *gringa*, right? I had actually thought about dying my hair dark before this trip but then – I do like my hair.” Sitting on the balcony of one of

the newly opened cafés in the plaza, we ended up talking for over two hours. Nina had taken time off from her busy work schedule to spend two months travelling around South America. With a somewhat flexible schedule, she had decided to extend her stay in Cusco in order to spend three weeks with a local man. She told me that he had taken her to several Inca sites around Cusco and they had had a lot of fun together. “I was so stressed when I came, from work and all that - so much in my head all the time. But this guy, he showed me how to take it more day by day, how to feel more. I think I really needed that.” It is worth noting that her description draws on the same concepts that men may use to frame their approach, that of the Westerner who is thinking too much and needs a local man to show her how to get in touch with her feelings.

In response to tourists’ search for the exotic, *bricheros* effectively stage a commodified persona (Bunten 2008), and the use of New Age themes constitutes an important part of this. This approach can also serve to hide true motives. Guevara Paredes’ narrator describes his strategy of speaking about ancient Andean teachings that include “overcoming of one’s affections for material things” (1998:102). This is a familiar New Age trope that appeals to Westerners and also gently undermines their power position based on wealth. In addition, it serves to conceal the irony that for many *bricheros* material support is one of their main objectives.

## **Romance and Motives**

When Giulia told me about travelling around the valley with the Peruvian man, she casually mentioned that she was paying for everything. “It’s okay,” she added, “I don’t have much money, but I’m better off than he is.” That statement describes the general situation of material inequality between foreign women and local men, as well as the willingness of the women to pick up the tab, whether for short-term excursions or more long-term ventures. Johnny, the artist and street vendor I often talked with, repeatedly joked with me: “Señorita, bring me a girlfriend from Canada, please! Or a German one? Please, just bring her in your suitcase!” When I asked him why he wanted a foreign girlfriend instead of a Peruvian, he replied that local women were troublesome and that he wanted to go travel and see the world. It is a realistic assessment that likely only a foreign partner could afford him this opportunity.

Another clue about material motivations is the fact that cross-cultural relationships are not just initiated by the partners themselves. Jason, the American adventure guide introduced earlier, recounted how locals had tried to set him up. He described an occasion when he was eating breakfast at a local restaurant, when two elderly women struck up a conversation with

him and asked why he did not have a Peruvian girlfriend. His response was that everyone his age, in their late 20s, was already married with two children. The women proceeded to inquire why he did not date high school students and a moment later one of the two pulled in her reluctant grand-daughter, who, according to Jason, looked about 14 years old. He quickly left the café. This incident illustrates that relationships between foreigners and locals are not simply rebellious choices of the young that are regarded as improper by the older generations (though I have heard of such cases). In the situation Jason described, the two older women clearly had an interest in forging a cross-cultural relationship. While we cannot know exactly what their motivations were, it seems likely that they were materially based. Jason was successful in his work and very well-off by local standards, which would have benefitted the woman's grand-daughter and other extended family members as well. Although this example is the reverse of the typical *brichero* situation involving local men and foreign women, it nevertheless provides clues as to why local people may seek relationships with foreigners.

For women, the primary motivation seems the appeal of an exotic partner as part of the travel experience. Guevara Paredes' narrator states that "women come looking for exotic adventures, because in their countries people are so mechanized that they've forgotten about that little world called love. That's why they like us Latins and say we're passionate and loving" (1998:98). Jacquie described her first time in Ollantaytambo as follows:

When I first landed here I went to hang out at the bar every night. It was my mid-life adventure, ha, it was awesome! It was me and all these men, all these beautiful young men! And they were just like – woosh - you know, coming on to me. I didn't really understand what they were saying, but I loved the attention and the vibe and the energy...There's something about the old gender roles that's appealing, because in the West with our shifting roles and all the changes ... well, what I feel with the men here, just this crazy amazing focus and attention that just made my feminine go whohoo! The Western men, you know, they don't really know how to be a man; they are all confused.

While the concept of romance tourism de-emphasizes the physical side of the encounter, and information about this private realm is difficult to obtain, sex clearly forms an important part of these relationships. Jacquie often alluded to her sexual experiences in Peru, and Giulia joked openly about "exchanging energy" with the man she'd met. At the local bars, one can see couples touching and kissing. Guevara Paredes describes in detail how a *brichero* seeks to "score" with a *gringa* (1998). But apart from material benefits for the men and sexual experiences for both partners, these liaisons can have other benefits as well.

For both partners, a cross-cultural relationship can mean social capital in their respective social circles. It seems that simply being seen with a foreign woman in public can increase a

local man's status, especially among his peers. Lisa, the British volunteer travelling with her partner, described an experience at a festival, where local men had persistently asked her to dance.

I get the feeling that it is just because I'm a *gringa*. Every five minutes it was like - I hadn't learned by then to say no - so every five minutes I was dancing with somebody. And while they were dancing with me, they would kind of be looking around to see if their mates would see them dancing with a *gringa*... It wasn't because they just wanted to dance with me or thought I was pretty, you know? Sometimes it really felt like they were like 'Oh look at me, I'm dancing with a *gringa*!'

Just as for local men being seen in public with a foreigner can bring status, for Western women a relationship with an exotic Other can do the same. Here the arena of the public is different, though. On several occasions I watched Western women taking 'selfies' with local men; some may just have been acquaintances or guides, but on a couple of occasions the romantic involvement was obvious. In one instance the procedure was elaborate: the woman kept repositioning the man in a way that would show some of the plaza and the mountain with the large Inca site as backdrop. I can only assume that she shared this photo with friends back home; what they will see is her smiling with her arm around a long-haired man in a colourful shirt and impressive Inca buildings in the back. She literally positioned him in line with Inca heritage and the past, the exotic Other staged and visually captured. In chapter 5 I examined some examples of how indigenous culture can be staged for tourism, and this plays out within personal relationships as well.

However, while both men and women can gain status among their peers, they also face criticism. Community members in Ollantaytambo often voiced very negative views. María, who frequently hosted foreign volunteers at her guesthouse, explained to me:

Volunteers, I warn them against the *bricheros*, especially the guys with the dreadlocks who sell jewellery and smoke marihuana. We had one girl here, I think from the US, and she hooked up with one of those guys. But we knew him; he was bad, always going around with *gringas*, and he had three kids already! I told her that she couldn't bring him into the house. At first she was upset, but after a while she realized he was no good. It's hard, what can I tell them? I guess they have to find out for themselves. After a while she found another boyfriend who was much nicer.

It is interesting that María's comment included the statement that the volunteer had later found a "much nicer" boyfriend. Clearly her criticism was not directed at these cross-cultural relationships per se, but at what she saw as improper and exploitative behaviour of certain men. This was illustrated on another occasion, when during one of my frequent trips to Cusco I found myself sitting next to María. Squished together on the back seat, we chatted and waited for the

bus to fill up and leave. At the last minute, one of the street vendors jumped into a seat at the front. María turned to me with an expression of disgust and whispered “*Cochino* (dirty pig), this guy is a drug addict and takes advantage of women.” I also heard other community members make critical comments of the *bricheros*, paralleling the situation in Jamaica, where local people tend to criticize men for living off foreign women and may even refer to them as prostitutes (Pruitt and LaFont 2010:175). In Ollantaytambo I never heard *bricheros* called prostitutes; this term only came up in reference to women, as I will discuss below. However, the men were clearly not viewed as positively as Hill reports from Cusco, where conquering foreign women is often associated with virility and strength (2007:444). My observations are more in line with Ypeij, who writes that through their frequent contact with foreigners, the men often spend more time in bars, use their income to buy consumer goods, and dress more like Westerners. Their values and habits often shift, including greater sexual promiscuity, which can all lead to alienation from their own communities (2012:27). Criticism was also racialized in that *bricheros* were sometimes referred to in derogative terms for indigenous people. For example, a restaurant owner commented: “Why do the *gringas* always pick the ugliest Indian (*cholo*) they can find?”

Another interesting point is that the criticism I heard was predominantly directed at the men and not the foreign women. As discussed in chapter 5, female gender roles have become more flexible and permissive in recent years; nevertheless, a woman travelling on her own is still considered an anomaly and often met with a mix of curiosity, admiration, disdain, and pity. It is possible that since I was a woman living and travelling alone, people were careful in voicing their criticism to me; it may also be that some local people felt apologetic for the behaviour of their own community members and wanted to explicitly warn me. However, on other occasions they had openly shared more negative perceptions of female tourists, such as their criticism of what they considered inappropriate clothing, described in chapter 5. It seems, then, that the main motives for men are material support while for women the attraction of the exotic Other plays a major role. Both partners also seek a sexual experience and can gain status among their peers; however, the men in particular may be criticized and alienated by other community members.

The concept of the *brichero* is clearly gendered and reflects ideologies of *machismo*. Many more local men seek relationships with foreigners than do local women (Babb 2012:40), though the female version, the *brichera*, does exist. During my stay in Ollantaytambo, I heard of only two such cases. Adriana, a local woman introduced earlier, commented on the gender differences:

I know many guys here who've had relationships with foreigners, and many have gone abroad. One went to France; he has a daughter there, but then he came back. My brother went to England. I also know someone who lived in Switzerland for a while. One is in Australia; I think he is happy. That's what many guys here do, but many also come back. Women - we don't do that so much. Frankly I have never felt attracted to a foreigner. Well, if it happens, good, but I'm not looking for it.

In terms of New Age themes, it is interesting to note that local women who seek relationships with foreigners do not change their appearance to the New Age Inca look that men tend to cultivate (Bauer 2008:613). However, the most prominent gender difference is found in the much harsher social judgements that these women experience. When I asked Naida about this, she responded that it was considered far more acceptable for local men to seek foreign women than vice versa; "they talk really badly about women who do that," she added, "it's like they prostitute themselves. At least here you don't see it that much. In Cusco it's a bit different; some girls there go to the discotheque to meet foreigners." On another occasion I raised the topic in a conversation with three women in their late 20s, all craft vendors who had gathered outside a friend's shop on a quiet afternoon. One woman seemed almost offended at the idea of a relationship with a foreigner and made it clear that she "would never, never do that." Another just commented that "people here talk a lot; you have to be careful." None of them wanted to elaborate on the topic. This is in line with other findings on *bricheras* being considered akin to prostitutes (Hill 2007:444; Meisch 1995). During my fieldwork I never saw public displays of affection between a Peruvian woman and a Western man; this is in stark contrast to the way local men openly conduct their relationships with foreigners. This reflects the fact that women are chastised far more for what are considered inappropriate relationships, while local men's pursuits are generally condoned or even encouraged by a culture of *machismo*.

## **Gender and Power**

Pruitt and LaFont urge us to examine the "interplay of gender, money, and power" (2010:167) in cross-cultural romantic relationships, which is the topic I will turn to in this section. Latin America's colonial history is shaped by images of dominant White men and subjugated non-White women, two dimensions of inequality intersecting and compounding each other (Weismantel 2001:155). Local *bricheros* and their predominantly White female partners reverse the historical pattern in terms of gender relations, but power inequalities still surface in different ways. Here it is useful to reconsider Graburn's analysis of travel as a secular rite of passage. As people leave home, cultural restrictions are lifted in the liminal space of the journey (2004; 1998). While this approach has been criticized for its binary assumptions of home and away, it

still highlights some prominent patterns of travel which are negotiated in gendered ways. Since arguably women face more restrictions in most societies, travelling can be a more empowering experience for them than for men. Israeli women travelling in India (Maoz 2008) and Western women in the Caribbean (Pruitt and LaFont 2010) both reported feeling liberated and empowered while travelling, which sometimes included relationships with local men. However, Frohlick points out that women in search of sex and romance are also often judged as immoral, exploitative or pathetic (2010:55).

In her study of cross-cultural relationships in Otavalo, Ecuador, Meisch writes that many Western women reported receiving a lot more attention from local men than they would at home (1995:451). In a similar vein, Jacquie described the following experience from her guesthouse:

My friend Claudio, he is 24; I've known him since he was 18, and he's had plenty of women, like middle-aged women. He is a guide and, well, they would be receptive. I've had women stay with me; I have noticed all these middle-aged women come in. One stayed for eight months. She would go on tours with these young guys and just, you know, women just getting all that attention they haven't gotten from men in their country. And just a whole other level of depth that these men help the women feel.

Jacquie's comment, as well as those I heard from other women, often emphasized the surprise and pleasure of receiving more male attention than they were used to. Another point worth noting is the factor of age, as in many of the relationships we find middle-aged women with significantly younger men. As quoted earlier, Jacquie had cheerfully spoken about her "mid-life adventure" and the joy of meeting "all these beautiful young men." For Western women, a relationship with a younger man is a reversal of cultural norms from home and arguably an empowering experience. Maoz has described a similar situation for middle-aged Israeli women travelling in India, where relationships with younger Indian men allowed them to break from much stricter professional and familial gender norms at home (2008).

Personally, I found that younger men would approach me fairly regularly with suggestions of having a drink or going for a hike. My strategy was to decline jokingly and mention that I was 40, an argument that did not carry much weight. One man kept putting his arms around me declaring how he liked German women, while others just complimented me on looking younger and said they did not mind my age at all. Just as Western women are attracted to a simplified notion of the exotic, the appeal of the White Other may make age a secondary consideration for local men. And if material support is a main motive, a middle-aged partner is likely to provide more support than a 19-year-old backpacker.

Returning to the concept of liminality, it is worth noting that it is not just tourists who experience this state. Ypeij writes that tour guides are "often associated with the figure of the

*brichero* because in the eyes of their families, friends, and other local community members, they live between two worlds” (2012:27). Based on her research in the village of Göreme, Turkey, Tucker argues that contact with foreigners also creates a liminal space for local men (2003:139-141):

The liminal nature of both the women’s and men’s experiences in this tourist realm allows for and promotes a sense of romantic and sexual freedom that might be more restrained in their ‘home’ contexts. He is in his new paradise where uncovered and ‘free’ women are plentiful; she has arrived in an enchanting landscape where she is charmed by numerous attractive and attentive men.

This constitutes a useful addition to Graburn’s concept. The liminal effect for locals working in tourism is likely stronger the more gender roles differ between their culture and those of visitors, but the concept can be applied in understanding tourism encounters in any tourist site. The context of tourism affords men a liminal space with greater freedom and thus power. Similarly, in the context of his work in Sumatra, Causey speaks about a “utopic space,” referring to events and interactions that play out “in between reality and unrealizable desire.” Here “the interactions between tourists and travelers indicate a common interest in exploring ways of being and acting... where their respective cultural rules and mores are suspended” (2003:166-167).

However, foreigners have, in almost all cases, the advantage of greater wealth and mobility, a ticket back to their other lives, which causes a fundamental inequality in these relationships. In their analysis of Jamaican men’s relationships with Western women, Pruitt and LaFont also locate the power as mostly resting with the women (2010:167). In some cases men may take advantage in more aggressive ways and sway the power balance in their favour, at least temporarily. The owner of a small guesthouse told me about one of his employees, a young man from the village, who had lived in Europe for several years. After his relationship there ended he had returned to Ollantaytambo and found work in tourism. The hotel owner sighed and said:

He spoke English really well, and I arranged for him to do some work as a guide to make some extra money. But mainly he just went out with the women; he never wanted to guide older people or couples. Always with the women, that was his thing. And sometimes he was drunk...He took advantage. There was this case when - I think it was an American woman - they spent a lot of time together when she was here, like boyfriend and girlfriend. Later she sent money to him; he was supposed to send crafts for her to sell in her country. But he never did. Hundreds of dollars, and he just kept the money.

Clearly the young man had succeeded in his quest for money, but the American proceeded to denounce him and the guesthouse on online booking platforms, resulting in significant financial losses for the business. The greater expertise many foreigners have with regards to the internet provides another avenue through which to exercise power.

The effects of these relationships beyond the couple also need to be considered. In the context of a Turkish village, Tucker speaks of a “triangular set of relations...between tourist women, local men and local women” (2003:137). Again, Jacquie reports on this:

I know that has hurt a lot of the women here because their partners start running around with the *gringas*. I had to ask some women to leave, some women staying long term and they got involved with some of my buddies whose wives are also my friends, and I had to tell them – you know, you can't bring him here to my hostel. His wife is my friend! I had one woman cuss me out; she was like “Fuck you”, and I had to kick her out, but she was obsessed. So that's one way that tourism has affected people. The women here know that their men are running around with gringas; they know it. But it also brings in money for their families, so they don't like it, but they deal with it, you know. I know a number of women like that.

This comment confirms the financial importance of relationships for local men and indicates the difficult situation this creates for local women. Another aspect is that the women often do not share the more liberal attitudes men may have acquired through their contact with foreigners, causing complications in their relationships (Ypeij 2012:27). On the other hand, Jacquie argued that local women may benefit as well.

I was confused by all the men running around with the gringas, and me asking my friends, women friends, do you like sex? And they were like nooo! So no wonder the men are running around...My sense is it's up to the woman to direct (laughs). We can't count on the men knowing, but the women here haven't been empowered enough and educated enough to know their own bodies and what pleases them and then express it... Hopefully most of the men here are open to learn whatever with the gringas, whatever the gringas have to teach them. And that's probably a really good thing, you know, if the men are learning and then hopefully taking something a bit better back to their wives. I hope so.

Pruitt and LaFont state that “dominance and power are not static but shifting and situational, constantly negotiated and contested, a process at once global and personal” (2010:181). We can see these relationships as a field in which this negotiation plays out; while usually the Western women have dominance in terms of financial means, men also have the opportunity to gain power, at least temporarily.

## Emotional Dimensions

The emphasis on feeling is an Andean New Age trope that is effectively mobilized in these cross-cultural relationships. But what role do emotions play? Tucker points out that most of the research done on sexual and romantic relationships in tourism emphasizes the purpose and function; the encounters are described as strategic while personal attraction is often neglected (2003:138). Related to this, the emotional involvement and cost may be underestimated. During my last meeting with Giulia, it was obvious that the relationship had taken an emotional toll on her. On another occasion a young American volunteer spoke to me about the heartbreak she had experienced with a Peruvian man. But it seems that most women enter these relationships with the expectation of a travel adventure rather than a long-term connection. Giulia had quickly moved on. When telling me about how the Peruvian had made her relax and feel more, Nina, the Dutch woman described earlier, had used the past tense: "I needed that." When I asked her if she was staying in touch with the man, she responded: "Sure, we are texting and Facebook, but well, I can't take him to Holland!" It was evident that for her the relationship was part of her travel experience and now finished.

Many writings highlight the exploitative nature of men in the context of sex and romance tourism, and in Peru emotional sensitivity is strongly discouraged by a culture of *machismo*, which contributes to a gendered view and a disregard for men's emotional experiences. Yet the *brichero* in Guevara Paredes' short story describes falling in love with a South African woman, following her to Brazil, and ending up heartbroken and out of money. He puts the emotional challenges bluntly, saying that he knows "a lot of *bricheros* who aged prematurely because of such a rough life, and the *gringas* won't give a fucking buck for them now" (1998:101). To me, the emotional complexities for men involved became evident in the comments of Joaquin, introduced earlier, who worked at a popular local bar. Joaquin was around 40 years old and originally from the coast. Like many local men, he actively sought relationships with foreign women, but physically he had more European features and did not draw upon any aspects of Inca heritage to present himself. For a few weeks he and I met regularly in a local café where I gave him English lessons in exchange for interview time. One of these afternoons, after we had finished with English past tenses, Joaquin told me about a recent relationship he had had with a French volunteer. She had left to carry on her trip around South America but later returned to spend another two weeks with him. Even though she emailed and called after that, Joaquin had decided to cut off all contact. "I guess her leaving affected me more than I thought", he said. "And sometimes I wonder: did she just come back for sex tourism?" When I teased him lightly about the hardships of this, he looked somewhat upset and responded that he was now looking

for something more permanent and did not want to feel used. I realized then that my comment had been tactless and that I had not fully considered what this had meant for him emotionally. My response also revealed some of my own gender bias, which included the notion that men are less emotionally vulnerable.

Another case was Guillermo, a waiter of about 30, who had lived abroad and could converse in English, French, and German. For a while I gave him German lessons, and he told me at length about an English woman he was in love with but who kept “just playing” with him. He raised this topic repeatedly over the course of several weeks, and it was obvious that he had experienced emotional pain. On another occasion he also mentioned that he “kept prostituting himself.” As I discussed earlier, I had not heard local men referred to as prostitutes, but the way Guillermo used the label indicated a certain level of shame. Although a culture of *machismo* largely condones their liberal sexual behaviour, this does not mean that men are free from emotional pain and inner conflicts in this regard. In his discussion of masculinities and neoliberalism, Hayns has documented a similar situation among Moroccan market vendors who engage in relationships with European women (2016). As these cases show, cross-cultural relationships are driven by more than strategic motives; they are also entangled in uncontrollable factors like emotions, and cultural biases may lead us to perceive these in strongly gendered ways.

### **Short-term versus Long-term Relationships**

The emotional involvement can become so strong that a woman decides to stay long-term, which affects the power dynamics in different ways. Often her material investment becomes significant. While the pooling of resources can even out some inequalities, in many cases this is temporary and leads to ongoing frictions and negotiations. Jacquie had been in a relationship with a local man for several years. She told me how the two had started to run a hostel together:

It was really challenging; it was a brand new relationship and a business partnership as well. And so I provided all the money. That's what a lot of the couples that are, you know, that are intercultural, that's what happens here, and so I took that on. And he and I started going to Cusco to buy everything... It pains me ethically to see *gringos* coming in and doing business that doesn't involve local people in any way. And at the same time, it has been very challenging doing it with a local partner; it's been power struggles. I mean, I brought all this money, so in my culture this would make me more invested. Not in this culture, because this is his godfather's house, his town, his street, his culture, so for him, he is more invested, you know? So we have that struggle.

Even though Jacquie brings economic, social and cultural capital to apply successfully in the tourism business, this does not necessarily translate into a stable power position. Furthermore, in long-term relationships the liminal state fades and both partners are faced with more traditional gender expectations. Tucker describes how in Göreme, Turkey, local cultural norms mean much greater restriction in terms of movement and interaction, as well as fulfilling social obligations for their male partners' extended family – an unfamiliar and often very challenging role that differs strongly from the freedom experienced as a tourist (2003:147). To a lesser degree, I heard similar comments. Jacquie explained:

I guess for me the most challenging part was not just opening a business and dealing with tourists, but also this town. It is so small, and my partner is a home boy, so all of a sudden there is this new community, new culture. So we were living there in one room; it was the only way to do it then. And so, yeah, I just never had any time to myself, like you know for three years, pretty much 24/7 I was playing hostess to tourists or locals. (My partner's) friends and family are coming over all the time, so receiving people all the time was hard to get used to. Here no one calls first to see if it's okay. That's why right now I have my own place.

On the one hand Jacquie now seems quite well-integrated into the community. I often saw local people visiting her house, and she and her partner have been invited to hold an important role in a major upcoming community celebration. On the other hand, Jacquie's position remains ambiguous. Before meeting her in person, I had heard local people talk about her. Three of them referred to her as a witch (*bruja*). One man told me to be careful that she did not get any of my hair or she would use it in one of her rituals. The comment was made jest, but the man still seemed to consider it a possibility. While these accusations may have to do with the fact that she and her partner run spiritual ceremonies out of their hostel, I think it also reflects that many community members do not trust the foreigner completely. In chapter 6 I outlined the role of envy and the ways in which aggression can erupt even against well-integrated foreigners. As a full-time resident whose personal life and business success are highly dependent on the community, Jacquie finds herself in a more vulnerable position.

Another example is Kate, the British expat, who like Jacquie owns a successful hotel and has lived in Ollantaytambo for over 10 years. Community members generally spoke highly of her and some voiced pity that her husband, a local man, had treated her badly and had relations with other women. Even though Kate is separated now and divides her time between Peru and abroad, I heard from other expats that her ex-husband had broken into her house and beaten her. Once women become more invested emotionally and financially, they lose a lot of the independence and power they held as tourists, while at the same time they may never achieve full community support either. As discussed in chapter 6, even well-integrated

foreigners can become targets of aggression, and women are more vulnerable if this becomes physically violent.

*Bricheros* effectively mobilize local mythologies and New Age discourse to establish relationships with foreigners. By staging the persona of the exotic and spiritual Other, they stand to gain material support and status. While Bunten's concept of self-commodification (2008) is useful in highlighting the personal agency of the *bricheros*, it sidelines the larger structural power inequalities involved. Arguing on the side of Westerners' dominance, Pruitt and LaFont write that in Jamaica "social and economic inequities, as well as beliefs and stereotypes each partner holds about the Other, work to construct a relationship uncomfortably similar to the power relationship between the partners' respective societies" (2010:181). Similarly, Hill emphasizes how *bricheros* reflect the contradictions of modernity in Peru's neoliberal economic climate; tourist encounters bring about desires for Western-style wealth and lifestyles, yet in order to access these, locals often have to resort to presenting themselves as the "primitive mystic" (2007:446). Further contradictions emerge in terms of masculine identities. Cornwall writes that mens' responses to neoliberalism often include the struggle for, but also the disillusion with, the role of man as provider (2016). In chapter 6 I discussed how local men can act out aggressively when perceiving foreigners as a threat to their capacity to fill this role. At the cost of emotional conflict and criticism from their community, *bricheros* reject these gendered prescriptions as they live off foreign women. However, some of them also channel resources into their own families, thereby using their position as *brichero* as a means to maintain the more traditional role as provider.

Within relationships, gender roles and power relations are negotiated in complex ways. Close personal encounters between locals and tourists, including romantic relationships, provide opportunities for local people to redress some of the overarching power inequalities (Tucker 2003), but for both partners this is often only temporary. The liberation and empowerment Western women experience is part of a time-limited travel experience. It also can also bring significant personal risk for female travellers (Frohlick 2010). Sexually transmitted diseases pose a risk for both partners. In her study of romance tourism in Ecuador, Meisch notes that neither locals nor travellers were particularly informed or concerned about HIV/AIDS or other diseases (1995), and more recent studies of the Cusco region identify the same problem (Bauer 2008; Hill 2007). If indeed women usually hold greater power in these relationships, it would be interesting to investigate if they are more likely and able to convince their sexual partners of condom use. It is also important to consider that in a long-term

relationship, once a woman has made a significant financial and emotional investment, her position of power will likely diminish, as she is now subjected to more local gender expectations.

In discussions of power it is also worth noting that Western women and Peruvian men have a shared experience of oppression, the former based on gender and the latter based on racialized identities and colonial history. In that regard they meet on a somewhat more equal footing than we typically find in the context of sex tourism between Western men and local women, where inequalities based on gender and nationality are compounded. Furthermore, it has been argued that power is not inherently linked to sex and the male domain but rather is linked to specific behaviours and ways of being (i.e. Cornwall 1997:11). My findings are in line with both Meisch (1995:460) and Pruitt and LaFont (2010:181) who state that both women and men can exercise dominance and power, if they are able to access more material resources than the other. Just as colonial love stories usually end with the European returning home (Pratt 1992:100), Northern women today can do the same. Giulia was clearly travelling on a shoe-string budget, but when the relationship with the local man did not meet her needs anymore, she still had the means and power to move on. Following her on Facebook, I have seen that over the past two years she has not only travelled to Bolivia but Argentina, Chile, Mexico and Thailand. I wonder if her former partner will ever have the opportunity to travel outside his own country.

## **CHAPTER 9: Conclusion**

Tourism is a complex process that is continuously performed by different participants. Focussing on the daily interactions, my research has examined how gender roles and power relations can be perpetuated, negotiated, and challenged in the context of this powerful industry. These dynamics are often specific to the locations and cultural contexts in which they unfold, and care must be taken when generalizing findings. However, the in-depth study of one location can also reveal aspects of tourism impacts that apply more broadly. In this dissertation I have focussed primarily on the encounters between Western tourists and local Peruvians, including the perspectives of volunteers and long-term residents. Like many of the tourists I studied, as a White Western anthropologist, I, too, benefitted from global structural inequalities, and my background may have motivated some Peruvians to participate in my research. Although I disclosed my purpose and offered different forms of compensation, it is important to acknowledge that this work is built partially on the colonial history shared by both tourism and the discipline of anthropology. Throughout this work, I have aimed to make my position and sometimes complex relationships with participants transparent to the reader. I conclude this dissertation by outlining the main findings, contributions and limitations of my study and then addressing recent changes and recommendations for both local people and tourists.

### **Main Findings and New Developments**

Tourists, visitors, and brokers experience each other through a “mutual gaze” (Maoz 2006). While many tourists arrive in Peru with expectations of finding “the real Andean village,” they are more likely to experience staged or existential authenticity instead (Wang 1999). Tourism discourse reveals different ways in which visitors distance themselves from issues of inequality and legitimize their presence. Local people are generally welcoming of tourism business for its earning potential and seek to increase it further. Despite mutual benefits, tourism also fosters growing inequalities. Peru’s two prominent industries of mining and tourism are both dominated by foreign and national elites and have led to greater disparities in wealth (Steel 2013:245). Smaller communities like Ollantaytambo are similarly affected. Two years after architect Graham Hannegan had pointed to the growing disparities visible in house and roof construction, a new tourist video about the village published on Facebook (Montaña 7 colores 2018) shows a number of expanded and new buildings with different types of roofs, attesting to the ongoing changes. In the city of Cusco, rapidly rising land and property prices

had already pushed local people out of the historic centre and into peripheral neighbourhoods (Steel 2013:243), and this pattern now seems to be repeating in smaller communities. Naida told me that most houses in the old part of Ollantaytambo have been converted to tourist accommodations and restaurants, and local people are moving away in increasingly numbers. María and her family have built a new home outside of town and rented out their guesthouse. Their property in the country is larger, and I see photos of her garden and proud displays of their harvest on Facebook. She and her family seem to do well, but what does this trend mean for the community long-term?

The vast majority of tourists arriving in Ollantaytambo see little of these changes. Many discursively sideline their own privilege by framing locals as spiritual and content in their poverty and viewing themselves as “getting ripped off.” On the other hand, local people have generally embraced tourism for the diverse work opportunities it provides. My research indicates that small, flexible business opportunities have been particularly beneficial for women as they provide access to paid work, which is generally valued more, and can be combined with traditional gendered tasks, particularly childcare. Adriana gave birth to a baby boy last year. The child’s father is absent, and she continues to live with her parents and helps with managing their small guesthouse. “It’s fine; I’m happy with my little prince,” she tells me. “And we are doing quite well. I just hope there will be more tourists; please tell your friends to come visit.”

However, local family businesses like hers may face more difficulties in the future. Already during my stay, people complained about lower numbers of tourists, which surprised me because statistics show a continuous increase of visitors to Cusco and Machu Picchu in recent years. The reason for this is likely a shift of tourism infrastructure and services. For many years Peru’s Andean region attracted the more adventurous, independent travellers, and high-end accommodation was exclusive to urban centres, but this trend has been changing. More visitors appear to visit on pre-arranged tours which often organize meals in affiliated restaurants and leave little time for tourists to explore and use the smaller local businesses. During my stay, several large, new restaurants opened along the main road of the Sacred Valley where tour buses stop. If we consider women’s empowerment as a more collective than individual process that opens a greater range of choices for women (Apffel-Marglin and Sanchez 2002; Mosedale 2005:252), then the growing competition from larger businesses is problematic since it may once again reduce women’s choices of flexible work. Empowerment also implies a redefinition of how work is gendered. It seems that through increased work opportunities in public, women’s presence there has become more acceptable. Also, by turning formerly unpaid domestic chores like cooking and cleaning into paid labour, their value and appeal to men increase. Many young

men spoke with pride about their work as cooks in tourist establishments, and there are signs that they are also picking up more of these tasks in the home. The presence of foreigners demonstrating less rigid gender relations, and especially young women travelling independently, has also had an effect on local perceptions. However, despite women's greater involvement in work outside the home, inequalities remain. Men often have access to more prestigious and better paying work than women (Ferguson 2010b), and most guide jobs in Ollantaytambo are held by men. For example, Diego's work as a tour guide provides most of his family's income. In addition, men may feel threatened in their position of power in the home, sometimes leading to violent backlash against women.

In addition to domestic conflicts, tourism development and growing material inequalities also result in aggression between community members. Joaquin has left Ollantaytambo and his work at the bar. He told me that dealing with the ongoing conflicts became too difficult; instead he is now running a cell phone business in Lima and is thinking about moving to Canada. As we have seen, conflict is expressed as both veiled and open resistance. While resentment towards tourists was usually articulated indirectly through story-telling and humour, aggression between community members and towards foreign residents was often more open. *Mestizo* gender ideologies still define men as providers, so they are often the ones who feel the competition from foreigners most acutely, which partly accounts for the expressions of open conflict. It is important to recognize the relational dimensions of gender issues and understand how patriarchal structures can limit both women and men (Cornwall 2014:136). Social tensions are also revealed by ongoing cases of "black magic." In a recent phone conversation, Naida told me that they had fewer guests in recent weeks, which she attributes to witchcraft. She and Victor had travelled for a few days and left their guesthouse in the care of relatives who also run a small guesthouse in town. A friend later told Naida that she had seen these relatives "do some witchcraft" in her house. Based on the notion of "limited good" (Foster 1965), making sure a neighbour does not prosper too much is considered to increase one's own chances of success. With tourism numbers showing a recent decline, cases like this may be on the rise.

While Ollantaytambo is changing to provide more tourism infrastructure, it is simultaneously attempting to meet visitors' expectations of an authentic Andean village. Aspects of indigenous culture become commodified, as seen, for example, in the decorative displays on restaurant walls. More agency can be seen by the women and children from nearby indigenous communities who pose for photos to make money from tourists. While often criticized as beggars by the inhabitants of Ollantaytambo, with their community-managed rotation system

they seem to have found an effective method to regulate tourism work in a more egalitarian fashion.

Other aspects marketed for tourism are spirituality and romance. A blend of global New Age themes with local traditions has been turned into valuable commodities for tourists, who are willing to pay well for certain objects and participation in ceremonies. On the one hand, this constitutes a selling out to foreign demands, and involves the appropriation of indigenous cultural capital by *mestizos* and foreigners. On the other hand, the tropes of New Age discourse can also serve as a strategy of resistance that allow local people to position themselves in a more knowledgeable and powerful role vis-à-vis foreigners. However, even though spiritual discourse challenges structures of power based on wealth, those who market New Age practices rarely aim for a fundamental change of the capitalist system; rather, they focus on increasing their share of the market (Hill 2007:435-436). Power relations also come into play in the personal arena of romantic relationships between Western women and *bricheros*, the local men who pursue them. While in many parts of the world sex tourism involving local women and Western men grows from and compounds inequalities based on gender and nationality (Enloe 2000), arguably romances between visiting women and local men have the potential to be more balanced. In the Cusco area, female tourists are often attracted by the figure of the exotic Other, and the liminal stage of travel affords them greater freedom to enter relationships with younger men. This is offset by the greater physical risk women generally face when travelling. Local men can gain material support, though often only temporarily, and risk alienation from their communities. Outside of strategic motivations, it is also important to consider emotional aspects, which include vulnerabilities for both partners. Jacquie recently left her local partner and now lives in Cusco where she is involved in a yoga and healing centre. Hers had been the longest lasting cross-cultural relationship I encountered during my fieldwork, but it appears that, in the end, the cultural differences were too difficult to bridge. Both spirituality and romance provide a different framework in which tourists and locals can come together and transcend the underlying inequalities that generally separate them – at least for a while.

### **Limitations and Future Research**

Many aspects relevant to tourism were beyond the scope of this project. My focus has been on independent travellers from Western countries, but people in Ollantaytambo often reported greater frictions with visitors from other parts of Peru and Latin America, who they felt expressed discriminatory attitudes. Further research could explore how such tourist encounters

perpetuate or exacerbate such rifts and how they may help reduce prejudice and build greater understanding. My discussion of marketing indigeneity is based on observations and interviews in Ollantaytambo. As indigenous spirituality and culture have become desired commodities, and tourism expands into ever more remote areas, research in these highland communities is needed to provide a more in-depth perspective of these processes. In particular, the system of turn-taking followed by women and children posing for photos should be explored further, as this approach seems to be a very beneficial model for other indigenous communities to follow.

In many ways, tourism encounters recreate colonial relationships as the often wealthier White visitors are served by local people, and aspects of local culture and belief systems become commodified and offered for consumption. However, my findings indicate that tourist relations are more complex and dynamic for a conclusion that simple. While colonial history and contemporary global inequalities frame encounters between locals and visitors, it is also evident that people can actively renegotiate and challenge these inequalities in different ways. Rather than deciding whether certain acts should be considered forms of resistance or reflections of historical and neocolonial power inequalities, it is important to consider how these aspects intersect and co-exist (Hollinshead 2004). The avenues through which resistance can be exercised are historically and culturally shaped. My focus has been on the day-to-day experiences and interactions between individuals. In combination with data of broader trends of tourism, such as those provided by PromPeru (2016), Mincetur (2018), and the WTTC (2017), this work can shed light on the dynamics of tourism development and cross-cultural interaction in a community that is undergoing rapid economic and cultural changes.

Last, through its application and adaptation of visual methods, this dissertation contributes to the development of research methodology. The photovoice images included here present a viewpoint through local people's eyes, and the project helped stimulate discussions about a range of related topics. It was found that the general framework of photovoice can be modified significantly in order to fit a distinct cultural context. Drawing allowed me to process and consolidate data after fieldwork was complete, and the resulting images offer the reader a different avenue of accessing information. This method also allowed me to insert myself into the process of research in a more personal way. The combination of pen and watercolour provides concrete detail while at the same time remaining inherently fluid and open-ended; it thus makes visible the process of gaining anthropological understanding over time while at the same time foregrounding the fact that this understanding is always incomplete, shifting, and subject to interpretation. Photovoice and drawing have allowed me to gather information in new ways, and the resulting images provide a greater range of perspectives for the representation of data.

These methods provide effective additions to the ethnographic tool kit and have the potential to be developed further to suit specific research goals and contexts.

## **Recommendations and Final Thoughts**

Tourism is inherently an unstable business. In January of 2010, a mudslide caused by heavy rains wiped out part of the railway line to Aguas Calientes, the town nearest to Machu Picchu, causing thousands of tourists to become stranded and resulting in a temporary closure of the famous Inca site. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, in 2017 Peru saw a drop in tourist numbers, likely for political reasons. The recent tragic killing of an indigenous healer and a Canadian man in the Peruvian Amazon is a reminder of social tensions and will likely affect tourism in the region and the country as a whole. Another factor that impacts the sustainability of tourism in the Andes, and people's livelihoods, is climate change. Resulting erosion and soil degradation affect farming and food security (Zoomers 2008:974); this is exacerbated by changing weather patterns and melting glaciers, which have functioned as water reservoirs in the past. Conflicts around water management, already a problem in many parts of the Andes, are expected to increase significantly in the coming years (Murtinho et al. 2013). Due to these factors, a strong economic reliance on tourism is not advisable, and development in this sector should always be combined with other strategies, including the continuation of agricultural production. More than half of the people I spoke with in Ollantaytambo still have family members working in agriculture, providing a fall-back system to the often fluctuating and insecure work characteristic of the tourism industry. Agricultural production in rural communities is not just important for their own inhabitants but also functions as a support system for urban migrants, who may rely on family members in the country for support (Steel 2013:244-245).

The government continues to support tourism as an avenue for economic growth (PromPeru 2016). Due to growing numbers of visitors, access to Machu Picchu has been limited; since the summer of 2017 entry tickets are only valid for half a day, and visitors are only permitted to enter with a guide (Coldwell 2017). In recent years, the Amazon region has been increasingly promoted for tourism development (Steel 2013:246), so we can expect to see similar developments there as in the popular highland region. However, few locations have the characteristics to consistently attract large numbers of tourists. In that regard Ollantaytambo stands out. Its proximity to Cusco and Machu Picchu, unique Inca architecture, and beautiful natural surroundings are factors that consistently make it attractive to visitors. On the other hand, these same factors may also make it difficult to limit development, should the community so choose. As mentioned earlier, Ollantaytambo does not allow the sale of properties to

foreigners, but that is not the case for the Sacred Valley in general, which has seen a large inflow of foreigners and new construction for both business or personal use. Gascón has described how in Ecuador growth in tourism paved the way for international residents to move in. Attracted to rural regions and low land prices, foreign residents often contribute to the further marginalization of rural people (2016). Around the town of Pisac, at the other end of the Sacred Valley, foreigners have already displaced local farmers from valuable agricultural land. Both tourists and locals have identified garbage and waste management as a major problem, and clear regulations are needed to protect local people and the environment.

Studies in other parts of the Andes have shown that, as people become wealthier, they tend to turn away from traditional cultural practices (Zoomers 2008:980). However, there are also counter-examples. Colloredo-Mansfeld describes how in the Ecuadorian Andes the money made from international craft trade has allowed people to stay in rural communities and continue their cultural traditions rather than migrate to urban centres (1999). This is evident to some extent in Ollantaytambo as well. “Everyone wanted to go to Cusco or Lima - there was nothing here for them. But that is now changing; there’s more work,” a local hotel manager told me. In addition, tourist interest brings validation to local culture, particularly relevant in a society where rural and indigenous populations have long been marginalized. Thus, the notion that increased tourism always leads to cultural loss cannot be substantiated.

It is also important to consider that “tourism discourse which promotes the preservation of the ‘traditional’ for tourist experience is itself based on a colonial desire to fix the identity of the other in order that it remains (or perhaps in actuality becomes) distinct from tourist identity” (Hall and Tucker 2004:17). Rather than focussing on the preservation of narrowly defined cultural traditions, discussions about sustainability need to include new cultural developments (Kaul 2010; Tucker 2003). This is also relevant to the concept of authenticity, which was still found to be a main concern for tourists searching for “the timeless Andean village.” Cohen’s concept of “emergent authenticity” (1988) helps us move beyond static definitions and acknowledges that cultural forms are always changing. Another important factor is control. Chambers writes that authenticity “occurs under conditions in which people have significant control over their affairs, to the extent that they are able to play an active role in determining how changes occur in their social setting” (2010:101). Similarly, based on an analysis of two tourist destinations in the Andes, Mitchell and Eagles argue that a concentration of power in the hands of a few community members is detrimental and call for involvement of as many residents as possible, beginning in the early stages of tourism development (2001:26). In Ollantaytambo, many people felt a lack of control over the rapid developments and did not see

their concerns, whether over issues such as growing traffic or insufficient signage and promotion, addressed by the municipal government. This imbalance in influence and control is gendered as well. It has been shown that women benefit far more from tourism development if they can actively take part in the design of projects (Ferguson 2010a:20). In Ollantaytambo, women's participation in tourism is certainly significant, and the association of craft vendors, who are almost all female, manage many of their own affairs. However, members told me that they did not feel that their voices were sufficiently heard by the municipal government, forcing them to be more reactive in their own planning.

Mitchell and Eagles emphasize that community unity, defined as "collective support for the local tourism sector and community cohesiveness," is one of the crucial elements of tourism success (2001:6). On Taquile Island in Peru, almost all community members gain some of their income from tourism, either by providing accommodation or by selling handicrafts (Mitchell and Eagles 2001:18). During my time there, most tourism businesses in Ollantaytambo were locally owned, but involvement in tourism was not as inclusive as on Taquile. Some obstacles are skills-based, such as lack of computer and English competence, which are needed to access and successfully manage different types of tourism work. As mentioned previously, larger businesses nearby and those that are run by Peruvians from other regions or foreigners, are creating a situation of increased competition. Community support could also be increased by sharing benefits through investment in community services. Rosa, one of the photovoice participants who worked at a small hotel, commented: "Tourism is growing so much; we need a good place right here to study tourism, to learn more. People don't seem to think long-term; they just want to open a business and make money... And we need to invest in the children. They don't even have a recreational centre; they are just out on the street." Rosa's comment clearly speaks to the concerns of balancing individual with communal benefits and assuring that local people have access to training and education to participate.

Tourists also have an important part to play. In one of our conversations, Karen, the German backpacker, expressed her struggle with the tourist role, commenting that she was trying to be a "good traveller" but was wondering how exactly to do that. An American tourist was concerned about the poverty he had encountered and questioned whether it was ethical for him to travel at all. Conversely, my conversations with local people indicated that almost all of them welcomed tourism and hoped for more visitors. The most common complaint I heard was about a lack of respect, which locals felt most strongly from coastal Peruvians and other Latin Americans. This was experienced through disparaging and impolite comments, and through certain behaviours and styles of dress worn by women. Tourists can feel stressed by travel, and

at times they are taken advantage of, yet this getting “ripped off” for a few dollars happens in the larger context of profound global inequalities and Western privilege. While this cannot be changed easily, awareness on the part of tourists can make a difference and help them consider more carefully how they interact with other people and places. Many locals expressed appreciation of what might seem like small gestures. Daniela, the hotel manager, commented: “I like that many tourists stop and talk to the children... That’s really nice.” María told me she appreciated it when guests used at least a few phrases of Spanish. The tour guides Diego and Alberto said they enjoyed talking with tourists and learning about other cultures and places. “It’s good when they show an interest,” Alberto told me. “You know, when they ask about our culture, about how we live here.” Tourism affords moments when common humanity can be experienced, and in today’s world, where encounters with those different from us do not just happen on extended journeys but in our everyday lives, it becomes even more important to focus on basic human kindness. While I have been critical of many aspects of tourism in this dissertation, I also still believe that travel has immense potential to challenge assumptions, teach new perspectives, and help people recognize their basic commonalities.

Ollantaytambo’s Inca foundations of stone have stood strong for more than five centuries, holding up colonial Spanish constructions and now tourist restaurants and hotels. Likewise, “the living Inca town” has preserved many of its cultural traditions. What might be most needed now is the continued practice of *ayni*, the Andean tradition of reciprocity, to balance individual gains and growing inequalities with solidarity and cooperation. Thus, the community’s strong foundations could be used not to resist change but to support it.

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## **Appendix 1. Photovoice Instructions**

As described in the methods chapter, I modified the photovoice procedure to fit with the local context. To provide information to potential participants, I handed out the following project description. We did not meet as a group, but the individual follow-up interviews yielded very useful information.

### **Photo Project**

Part of my study of tourism in Ollantaytambo is learning about the experiences of those of you who live and work here. Pictures can help discuss these issues, and therefore I would like to do a small project based on photos.

1. Please take 10 to 20 photos with your cell phone relating to your experience with tourism. This can be something specific to your work or something you encounter as you walk through Ollanta: a place, people and/or objects, whatever you like. The idea is to capture aspects of tourism that you find especially good or bad, important or interesting. If you take photos of other people, please ask for permission first. Apart from that there are no rules.
2. After one or two weeks we will meet again to look at your photos (with your permission we will transfer them to my computer) and you can tell me a bit about each image.
3. If you agree, we will meet another time as a group (with 3 or 4 people) in order to look at all the photos and talk about the issues more. For this you are asked to choose 4 or 5 of your images to share with the group.

(plus contact information)

### **Proyecto de Fotos**

Parte de mi encuesta sobre el turismo en Ollantaytambo es aprender algo sobre las experiencias de Uds. que viven y trabajan aquí. A veces imágenes puedan ayudar con conversar sobre estos asuntos. Por esto quisiera hacer un proyecto pequeño usando fotos.

1. Por favor toman 10 a 20 fotos con su celular acerca de su experiencia con turismo. Puede ser algo que es muy particular a su trabajo o algo que encuentran paseando por Ollanta: un sitio, personas, y/o objetos, lo que sea. La idea es captar aspectos del turismo que para Uds. son especialmente buenos o malos, importantes o interesantes. Si tomen fotos de otras personas, por favor pidan permiso antes. Aparte de esto no hay reglas.
2. Después de una o dos semanas nos encontramos para mirar sus fotos juntos (vamos a pasarlas a mi computadora para verlas) y Uds. me explican un poco acerca de ellas.
3. Si Uds. estén de acuerdo, nos encontramos otra vez en grupo (con 3 o 4 personas) para ver sus fotos juntos y conversar más. Para eso Uds. escogen 4 o 5 de sus fotos para compartir con el grupo.