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Selling Culture: Re-inventing the Past to Create a Future

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Selling Culture: Re-inventing the Past to Create a Future

by

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my parents for teaching me to be resourceful and independent and for always supporting my decisions.

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Abstract

Selling Culture: Re-inventing the Past to Create a Future

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The tourism industry in Peru has grown faster than any other sector in the country's economy. Peru has used *Incanismo,* the exaggeration of the Inca history and identity, to appropriate culture and tourism in and around Cusco. This method has led to significant economic advancements throughout the city. Because of this, traditional Quechua-Speaking communities outside of Cusco have begun to promote a similar method in order to experience the same success. In doing so, the meanings of community values and traditions are changing. Though I began my research with a negative perspective and found the tourism industry to be exploitative, the time I spent living and volunteering in the local community of Ccorccor helped me to recognize the potential positive opportunities that tourism could offer. With a Hopeful Tourism model, I offer suggestions for the incorporation of a broader, more inclusive Andean identity, rather than the previous Inca-specific one. Hopeful Tourism is way for communities to re-cultivate their own unique characteristics and heritages, while supporting economic development. Not only will this maintain tourism throughout Peru, but it will do so in a culturally sustainable way.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Women in brightly colored *polleras*[1] danced to the rhythm of the pan flute playing over the loudspeaker in the center. They swirled around me as I tried to push my way through the crowded Plaza. "*Mama*," they would call to me, "take this pin, do you want to buy a necklace, what about a nice alpaca sweater – it's *bien suavecita*?[2] Or better yet we can get you tickets to the Inti Raymi, you know it's the time of the Inca…"

Most of my days in Cusco, Peru began like this and indeed it was the time of the Inca. I arrived in June, the month Cusco was founded by one of the greatest Inca Emperors, Pachacuti. My research intends to illuminate how the importance of the Inca Empire and the significance of the Inti Raymi festival have created an elitist appropriation of culture, one which has commoditized Peru's people and its past. With the dramatization of the Inca, Peru's tourism industry has gained success by enforcing a stereotyped perception of its indigenous population. The portrayal of these groups as Inca descendants and the re-enactments of customs and ceremonies have decreased their traditional significance in Cusco as well as discouraged diversity throughout rural communities which partake in the tourism industry.

These historical aspects are being carried out in both Cusco and rural community settings. By analyzing specific opinions of Cusqueños (working in and outside of the tourism industry), community members participating in community-based tourism project, tourists, and my own experiences, it is evident that over-arching themes of urbanization, *Incanization*, tourism, and identity are producing a new path for the Peruvian state. Peru has emphasized its indigenous past, however I aim to explain why it is a smart, sustainable,

[1] A skirt typically worn in the Andes.
[2] It's very soft.

and responsible idea for the country to market itself with a more broad Andean identity, rather than relying solely on the original Inca theme.

Reviewing previous works of literature, my own personal observations, and interviews, I became aware of the unused potential residing within the industry. Peru offers a diverse array of histories, peoples, and cultures. I believe it is important to acknowledge that the typical model of selling the Inca expectation has been an obvious success, however it has only benefited a small portion of the Peruvian population. By incorporating community-based tourism projects, which emphasize unique characteristics, individual communities can participate in the industry without bending to potential alteration of their cultural norms[3]. This allows both local and state engagement, while bringing empowerment to the people working within.

In order to sustain tourism, and to do so in a safe, empowering, and just way, community-based tourism should focus on bringing forth individual communities' strengths rather than modify their current state so as to characterize them as "the Inca." A new perspective of rural living in the Andes will only broaden Peru's marketing strategy. Although this thesis will not look at marketing strategies in depth, I will make some suggestions so that both agents in the tourism industry and the state benefit on a more equal level. Allowing communities to represent themselves regenerates a multitude of Andean customs and experiences that have been overshadowed in the past. Thus, the tourism industry continues to create economic advancements in Peru, while communities have the opportunity to see a re-emergence or strengthening of past traditions and skills.

Through my own lived experiences and those related to me, I have transitioned from viewing tourism as only an exploitative entity to an industry of potentially positive

[3] Though the Inca presence is common throughout Peru, not all regions focus their tourism vantages on *Incanization* projects.

opportunities. Although manipulation and unjust actions continue to flow through the industry, I have come to understand that with proper training, awareness, and desire to re-construct and sustain culture and traditions, there is hope for all agents working in tourism.

LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

While it is important to recognize that there are theoretical frameworks that surround my research questions and goals, this thesis will only briefly touch upon them. I will address the ideas of authenticity, identity, and urbanization as part of the foundation of tourism and cultural studies. However, I believe my experiences add to narratives of other scholars and tourists who intend to create cultural competencies in order to generate better awareness between diverse societies. Below I will describe previous literature which I found helpful in attempting to understand how theory works and is apparent in daily life. Examples of these theories will be shown through my own experiences and their impact upon me.

Hopeful Tourism

Arena Ateljevic, Nigel Morgan, and Annette Pritchard (2003) offer a new vision on tourism studies. A values-led, humanist approach, Hopeful Tourism began in 2004 at the Critical Tourism Studies conference series. The goal of Hopeful Tourism is to commit to social justice, equality, and anti-oppression, and to support partnerships, ethics, and reciprocity (Ateljevic et al., 2003). The authors contend that the neoliberal views of tourism may create a shift in tourism discourse. Now that a greater number of academics and intellectuals are becoming more concerned with the ethics of tourism management and sustainability, the authors propose a three-fold plan for tourism educators and researchers

who wish to apply co-transformative learning in the creation of just and sustainable tourism. This plan includes "disturb[ing] and critique[ing] hegemonic socio-political practices; to prepare reflexive, ethical tourism professionals and academics; and to promote human dignity, human rights, and justice in tourism policy" (Ateljevic et al., 2003, 942). Their plan could provide the framework to market a broader Andean identity over the specific Inca identity. This would create more awareness as to what Peru and the Andes can offer, beyond just one civilization. I concede that the Inca history is the largest attraction for Peru. Yet, to better maintain, sustain, and promote Peru's tourism image, a smarter strategy would be to embrace the diversity of the people within the region. This is the framework within which I situate my views of tourism in Peru. Not only would this enhance tourism as a whole, but small communities would have the capability to partake in the global market without having to succumb to the inevitable facets of becoming like the Inca.

What is Real?

To define what is, or is considered to be, authentic is problematic; especially when tourism is involved. Once culture becomes a commodity authenticity seems to disappear (Shepherd, 2002). Claude Lévi-Strauss (1972, 39-40) argues that tourists search for a "vanished reality," and attempt to preserve something that no longer exists. Connectedly, Dean MacCannell (1973, 591) claims social realities are often conceived through mystification of a culture and once this perceived identity has been created the reality can "no longer speak for itself." In tourism studies, what is seen as "real" becomes split into two actualities; what is occurring and what is thought to occur. Tourists typically seek an

authentic travel experience; if they pointedly search for what they deem to be authentic, they believe they are on the right path to viewing what is "real." However, this is often quite the opposite. MacCannell (1973, 597) states that "structural development of industrial society is marked by the appearance…of touristic space," thus producing an expectation in order to please tourists. However, it is possible for an individual to enter the "setting" of the culture they are observing, where the "real truth" begins (MacCannell, 1973, 592).

While immersed in such a setting, sharing and learning is transmitted between both the tourist and local agents. The tourists have the possibility to receive experiences of what it is *like* to be one of "them," thus creating a space *with* them. This is where I found myself, in the transition from being outside of the setting, on the margin of it, and eventually within – partaking in a shared learning experience. Thus, if I address something as "real," it is simply my perception of unique situations I experienced and which for me, did become a reality, if only for a short while. I still struggle with the idea that communities perform for tourists without somehow altering their own traditions. However, from a Hopeful viewpoint, it could be possible for them to reinvigorate their own community, using tourism to appropriate their identity and agency (Cole, 2007, 946).

Neoliberalism Urbanism

Jacqueline Chase (2002) describes the geographies of neoliberalism as a process that combines spatial, cultural, and economic variables. Neoliberalism favors individual creativity brought into the market; however when individuals are challenged or coerced into specific trajectories, social movements create space for critique of state interventions

and policies. Chase argues that neoliberal governments produce spatial differences and perhaps dislocate how people view their space (i.e. community, culture, resources, labor markets, and within their household). I use this idea when working in Ccorccor. As independent actors in the tourism industry they attempt to attain success, however state and tourism agencies impose upon their autonomy. Although the community works towards an individual goal, it resides within multiple processes that halt self-sufficiency and reiterate state and political agendas.

Sonia Vives Miró (2011) focuses on the fundamental grounding of capitalism in a developing city: urban entrepreneurialism and city production. Her case example in Spain demonstrates how urban spaces can become expressions of capitalism through tourism and gentrification processes. The government constructs their cities "according to the dynamics of global financial capitalism," further defined as *neoliberal urbanism* (Miró, 2011, 2). Due to privatization and political hierarchy (even at the local level) the urban, white/mestizo elites in Cusco play key roles in the decision making process. Cusco and its surrounding regions have been situated in a time and place where tourism is a highly profitable market, however it is clear that only a select few are benefiting from these economic advantages.

"The Indian," *Incanismo*, and Elitism

Peru consists of complex social systems where ethnic purity has been idealized through past colonial classifications, which throughout history have created social and political unrest (Cadena, 1995). Colonial authors such as Garcilaso de la Vega (1966) and Felipe Guyman Poma de Ayala (1613, 1992) discuss both biological and social circumstances that categorize individuals. Depending on lineage, purity of the blood, and social mobility, Andean identities have fluctuated. Caste systems have been important throughout all Latin American countries. A mestizo is someone with a mix of Indigenous

and Spanish decent, or who has socially advanced their identity through marriage or education (Cadena, 1995). Mestizos who came from Inca lineage (Garcilaso, for example), but perhaps were not identified as indigenous, began to valorize their distant past and attempted to relate back to the time of the Inca (Vega (1966); Ayala,1992; Cadena, 2005). The educated mestizo population aims to revive their past ethnic heritage, and over time Peru has incorporated the idealized "Indian" as its national image – what is called *Incanismo*[4] (Hill, 2007; Mariátegui, 1971; and van den Berghe & Ochoa, 2000). Yet as mestizos attempted to re-incorporate their indigenous identities, their lack of such has been exposed; resulting in erasing their own "Quechua authenticity" (Cadena, 1995, 280).

Michael Hill, Pierre van den Berghe and Jorge Ochoa, and Annelou Ypeij analyze how the perception of the "Indian" has been exaggerated for profit through global exchange practices. Hill (2008) discusses how the New Age movement (Hetherington, 2000) and mystic tourism have constructed specific perceptions of Quechua bodies. These bodies are seen to be "authentically" linked to spirituality and are perpetually associated with the Inca past, creating a New Age Andean movement (Hill, 2008). However, these associations are not always true. This has resulted in the dominating mestizo population's exploitation of indigenous cultural norms, the reconstruction of ethnicity, and the commodification of culture. Although Quechua was the language of the Inca Empire, Quechua-speakers of today are different than the past society with which they are stereotypically identified. Thus, Peru markets spirituality and the Inca Empire as one culture, ignoring the complexity of the civilization.

Van den Berghe and Ochoa (2000) argue that the relationship between *Incanismo* and tourism are symbiotic and that they are both an elite phenomena. Local pride and regional identity uplift the community and integrate the indigenous and mestizo

[4] *Incanismo* extols the glory of the Inca Empire.

populations. One of the main constructs of this relationship is the Inti Raymi performance. A market strategy to reconnect Peruvians with their ancestry and accentuate the indigenous past, Peru sells the cultural event to both foreign and domestic tourists. Additionally, it is interesting to see how culture is produced and "sold" to Peru's own citizens. While the state imposes such notions, Cusqueños and entrepreneurs outside of the city also view this as a viable path towards economic development and link their own identifications to the Inca. Much research has been done on local community tourism projects, but I believe investigating how a community engages with tourism in the initial phases of their tourism project offers valuable information.

Because of the "Indian" influence on tourism in Cusco, both indigenous and mestizo populations are recreating themselves to appeal to this model. Ypeij's (2012) research intends to reveal how ethnicity, gender, and tourism are interconnected and how these aspects shape identities, either real or staged. She argues that tourism actors link their identities to their work, which discloses both positive and negative impacts. Through their positions in the industry social and cultural boundaries are crossed, new self-images are created, and Ypeij (2012) reasons that previous notions of class, gender, and ethnicity have been challenged.

RESEARCH AND DATA

Methods

The data collected for this case study comes from the fieldwork I completed in Cusco, Peru and the Quechua-speaking community of Ccorccor during the summer of 2013. After reviewing prior research done on the tourism industry's impacts in Cusco's city center, I found it important to look closer at Quechua-speaking communities outside

of the city, which have also taken advantage of the cultural tourism boom. My research was completed over a two-month period.

In Cusco I led various informal interviews with tourism actors, tourists, and Cusqueños in tourist areas of the city. Workers mainly consisted of market vendors, street vendors, restaurant staff, and tourist shop staff. Ccorccor is a community in the district of Chinchero, located about an hour and a half outside of Cusco. The community is made up of fifty-five families (fifty-five men and fifty-five women, in addition to many children). Twenty-seven of the women from Ccorccor agreed to form a community-based tourism project in February of 2013. The women call themselves la Asociación Munay T'ika, which means the Beautiful Flower Association in Quechua. I came across this community through the organization I contacted prior to my stay in Cusco. I visited Ccorccor as a tourist on three occasions and I realized that it was important to understand the process communities undergo to become a successful tourist destination. Furthermore, I was able to observe them during their initial phases and witness some of their future outcomes. I found Ccorccor to be a potential example of a Hopeful Tourism project. From my observations in the community I was able to experience how the influence of tourists' expectations and *Incanismo* impact community decisions as they attempt to gain popularity in the market. Having experiences in both the city and rural areas allowed me a better view of how tourism is perceived by local agents, tourists, and members of the tourism agencies, in each respective area.

Techniques

Semi-structured interviews and participant observation were used to collect data for this case study. I maintained a field journal detailing my time in Peru which also includes notes of large group, small groups, and one-on-one interviews. I was present at multiple community meetings in Ccorccor during which they discussed tourism tactics. There were

separate meetings held for just the women and then inclusive meetings with the men. These meetings were conducted in Quechua, but explained to me afterwards by either my host mom, Rosa[5], or by Ilsa, who both communicated with me in Spanish. I was able to do one large group interview with a majority of the women who participated in the tourism initiative (Ilsa as the interpreter), three one-on-one interviews, and other informal interviews while working with the women. The time we took to prepare for the tourists was the most beneficial for such interviews. I was able to gain the trust of the women by working alongside them, conversing and demonstrating interest in the community and their families, and acting as their advocate while tourists were present. I tried to show them that I truly cared for their community's well-being and I was there for more than my own advantage. They did come to trust me and frequently asked for my advice, mostly on "what tourists want." Since I had been to Ccorccor as a tourist on three occasions I could offer perspectives as a visitor and friend. I offered suggestions as to what I would have liked to see as a tourist and gave my opinion of tourism agencies. I explained what I thought they should look for in partnerships with tourism agencies and discussed tactics they could use to avoid manipulation. However, they were more hesitant to take my advice about the agencies. Probably this was the case since they were looking more at short term benefits rather than long term ones; I believe they ignored certain suggestions because they wanted to see larger tourist numbers quickly and were less inclined to look at how to maintain their success for longer periods.

BEGINNING STAGES OF POSITIONALITY

My personal view points and positions are broken up through this paper to piece together situations and frameworks in order to display how I was impacted throughout the various stages of my research. While writing my Master's thesis I found myself arriving

[5] Names have been changed.

full circle. I have been able to reflect upon my personal journeys moving from the average tourist, to becoming more aware and responsible, and eventually to where I am now, offering insights and suggestions to others. I began my travels to Peru as an undergraduate. I believed in the romanticism of past and that conception motivated me forward, to where I am today. Here are some memories of my first trip.

It was still dark out when our alarms started buzzing and beeping. I sorely rolled off the cot, trying to stretch out my legs. Today would be day three of our four day trek to Machu Picchu. When we, my best friend from the University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire and I, left our study abroad site in Montevideo, Uruguay in July of 2010 we were ready for the adventure of our lifetime. Following the advice of travel-savvy friends and our trusty Fodor's travel guides, we mapped out some of the best tourist stops throughout Uruguay, Argentina, Bolivia, Peru, and Chile. Besides our intermediate Spanish language skills, buses were the most challenging facet of our trip. As our main transport, they ended up giving us more grief – but fantastic stories – than anything else we experienced during our month of exploration. From trying to find the less popular bus station, *Liniers*, in Buenos Aires at 6am, to being the only *gringas* on a Bolivian company bus for three days to La Paz (complete with reoccurring stares and remarks like, 'Oh! We forgot there were two blonde girls on the bus with us!,' awkward eye contact usually included), always fearing that at any moment we would suddenly plummet over the edge of the Andes Mountains, while stopping along the way to load fresh fish into the cargo section, and making late night border crossings, we fully experienced South American travel. Finally, we rolled into Cusco – at 3 a.m. – with two intentions: 1. Pet some llamas and 2. Trek to Machu Picchu. Completely oblivious and without a place to stay, we jumped into the first taxi and asked the driver to take us to the nearest hostel that promoted Machu Picchu tours directly from their lobby.

Still wiping the sleep from our eyes we pulled on our tennis shoes, ready for the next level of intense trekking adventures. Our group headed off and walked up, up, up for four or five hours until we reached a small house located along the path, a tourist stop. While some tourists were hanging out with the "wild" monkeys, birds, and capybara and others tried on traditional Andean clothes, our group was ushered into a small patio. Our guide began explaining the importance of coca leaves in Peru and the Andes. He described how the Inca used them to help keep themselves alert and relieve their pain from carrying heavy rocks to construct their impressive roads and monuments throughout the region. He passed each of us a few leaves and invited us to try them and feel (minimally, of course) our pressures relieved. I sat on an old carved out stone bench munching on coca leaves, pretending it wasn't completely abnormal or weird, and tried to connect myself to the distant past. And that was it, I was sold. Falling into the glamorized misfortune of a defeated civilization, the grandeur and mysticism of the great Empire left me inspired and consumed with curiosity. The whole way to Machu Picchu I reveled in the idea of what once was. I felt the excitement and energy when I finally arrived at the top of Wayna Picchu on the final day of our trip. Watching the llamas graze alongside tourists, groundkeepers repairing some of the old ruins to make sure they lasted for another hundred years, cameras flashing in the background, and the rolling fog that surrounded everything added to the excitement. The fog made it appear we were no higher than a small hill – lucky for the rest of my group, they would have had to carry me down if I could have seen the drop off a foot away from me. I really do believe there is a special energy in Machu Picchu – but it comes from the people! The tourists who visit are invigorated by the exotic and the tragedy rooted in the history of the mountain; they create the atmosphere.

While this is the short version of my first experience in Peru, it allows a small glimpse at what set my sights on researching Latin American and Indigenous studies. Even

when I arrived back in Wisconsin I was obsessed with the Inca past and wanted to learn more. I wanted to live and work with the people who considered themselves of the Inca and I wanted to preserve their culture; keep the ruins intact, work towards sustainability, and fight environmental degradation. This brought me to applying for a Master's program at the University of Texas. I came to the Lozano Long Institute of Latin American Studies the fall of 2012 ready to examine how tourism has impacted the famous site of Machu Picchu and other significant areas surrounding Cusco. My goal was to work closely with the people and understand their identifications with the past, give them a voice, and help conserve their community values. However, I quickly learned that my project couldn't be that idealistic.

Researching further and working with my peers and advisers, I realized that my ideal of pristine culture didn't exist. I became discouraged and bitter towards the tourism industry, seeing it for what it was: exploitative. Tourism was degrading cultural values, changing the landscape physically, and changing the mentality of the peoples upon it. I felt I had been part of the problem and became determined to be part of the solution. Entering my field site with a negative perception, I aimed to critique unjust actors; however as I continued working within the industry I saw hope. I became more aware of positive possibilities for communities, members in the tourism sector, and for a future sustainable response.

This thesis is organized into seven chapters. Chapter 2 briefly discusses the Inca Empire, Inca Pachacuti (Cusco's founding father), and the Inti Raymi festival. These cultural attributes are largely influential in the success of Peru's tourism economy. The state used them as pillars to showcase the cultural importance of Peru, to its own citizens and internationally. Thus, tourism became one of Peru's largest economic revenue generators. Chapter 3 will then explain how the process of *Incanization* (the emphasis of

spiritual and traditional Inca histories), coupled with the Inti Raymi and other locally celebrated festivals, transformed Peru's idea of national pride into an elitist scheme to economically advance urban growth and development. Chapter 4 discusses my own experiences of the tourism industry. In Chapter 5 I discuss my own personal experiences while residing in Ccorccor. With that in mind, Chapter 6 approaches the tourism side of the community and incorporates my research results based on interviews and personal observations. Finally, Chapter 7 will conclude with my suggestions and thoughts for a more culturally sustainable and hopeful view of tourism.

Chapter 2: Remembering the Past to lead us into the Future: The Importance of the Inca and the Inti Raymi Celebration

Influential for the tourism industry, the modern festival Inti Raymi celebrates religious and political traditions in the region. The next two chapters will explore the intersection of the past, present, and future to interpret how the current Peruvian state has come to use the Inti Raymi (the Festival of the Sun) for traditional and economic advantages. This chapter includes both prior scholarly research on the origin and past meaning of the Inti Raymi, as well as my own experience of the event in 2013.

THE INCA LEGEND AND HISTORY

The great Inca Empire, also known as the Tawantinsuyu, spread throughout the Andes, and centered on its capitol in Cusco. Their origin is traced back to the sun "which was the most exalted of all created beings" (MacCormack, 1990, 34). According to Cristobál de Molina (2011, 4)[6], during the rule of the first Inca, suspected to be Manco Capac, worship of the Sun began. The Andeans saw Manco Copac "as a divine man" and adored him as a "god, son of the Sun" (MacCormack, 1990, 32). According to Inca legend, the people of the world were warned of a great Flood. This Flood caused many deaths, but also brought forth the knowledge of a Supreme Creator. Prior to the Flood these people lived in a world without celestial bodies. However, this Creator was said to have made the Sun, the Moon, and the stars. The Creator called upon Inca Manco Capac and his brothers to be Lords (thus initiating the Inca as royalty throughout the Andes) and told them that they would rule over many nations. He sent the Inca deep into the Earth and the day in which they emerged from below was the first time there was light – the Creator split the day from the night. As the Inca entered out into the world it was dawn; hence forward they

[6] A Spanish priest fluent in Quechua who lived in Cusco. He was instructed to create a report of the religious practices of the Inca. His work references interviews he conducted with some of the last eye-witnesses of events and ceremonies performed during the time of the Inca.

retained the name "Children of the Sun" and "worshiped and revered the Sun as their father" (Molina, 2011, 7). It is important to note that the Inca were a select few, and that they were believed to be direct descendants of the Sun, which granted them the privilege to dominate over the lesser peoples of the Andes.

THE IMPORTANCE OF INCA PACHACUTI

Inca Pachacuti was not the original heir to the Inca Empire. His father, Inca Viracocha, initially promised power to Pachacuti's older brother, Inca Urcon. But before the crown was passed to the elder brother, the Empire had engaged in a great battle with the Chanca tribe. Viracocha and Urcon fled while Pachacuti defended the empire and defeated the Chanca. This victory left Pachacuti as the "*de facto*" ruler (MacCormack, 1990, 10-12). Once the Chanca were gone Viracocha and Urcon returned and tried to re-regain control. However, the people were in support of Pachacuti and with this he forced his father into submission (MacCormack, 1990, 12).

During Inca Pachacuti's reign the Sun became the dominant deity in Inca culture (MacCormack, 1990, 12). He used the influence of religion for his own benefit and took its unforeseen benediction to elevate his social status. Because of his belief in the power and authority of the Sun, Pachacuti demanded that a sacrifice be given for the blessings of victory and for his great empire. According to the Spanish these events began the evolution of the Sun God's importance. Already the Sun had been revered throughout local levels of the empire, but to the Spanish it was Inca Pachacuti who gave birth to an advanced adoration of the deity. Allegedly he feared the priests were becoming too powerful and threatened his authority. In his distress he fashioned an advanced theory of an all-powerful god who controlled everything (Cameron, 1990, 73). While the theory was politically debated amongst the Tawantinsuyu people, Pachacuti's claim emerged triumphant and was dispersed throughout the empire (Cameron, 1990, 73). From this Pachacuti was said to

have identified himself, paternally and in divine origin, with this supreme god. He literally took it upon himself to not only be of a divine nature, but to fully embody the Sun God. Two examples, expansion and religion, demonstrate how he took advantage of his place of authority to proclaim himself as a god.

Each Inca emperor worked to expand the territory, and under the rule of Pachacuti the size of the Empire grew even more. Before Pachacuti's reign the Empire was said to be small. During his time he set in motion construction of Cusco, a city to be worthy of a God. Cameron (1990) states that Pachacuti created a large administrative system, placing Cusco as the focal point. City structures were created on a grand scale. His desire to give reverence to the Sun led to the design and completion of special holy spaces. He was significant, and necessary, in the construction of the gold-plated worship site of Coricancha (the Temple of the Sun). Today Coricancha is used as a museum after serving as a church for many years. Along with the Temple he ordered the building of Sacsayhuamán, a fortress that still partially stands today. And finally, roads were built to unify the Empire (Cameron, 1990, 69). Further information about the Inca history, their religious, calendric, and agricultural practices can be found in the works of Tom Zuidema (1990), Maria Rostowowski (1999), and Jean-Jacques Decoster (1994).

Inca Pachacuti has been compared to Napoleon and Alexander the Great. He was seen as a reformer of the world with the "ability to impose his will on every facet of government" (Cameron, 1990, 58). He created Cusco to be one of the "world's greatest fortresses… making it the center, from which he, *as Sun God*, exercised absolute temporal and spiritual authority" (Cameron, 1990, 58). The last Inca emperors are considered among the last "absolute rulers of the world…they not only claim to descend from the Sun God, but to *be* the Sun God" (Cameron, 1990, 69). Pachacuti's fierce political attitude and embodiment of the Sun gave him the appearance an omnipotent authority.

Illustration 1: Statue of Inca Pachacuti constructed in 2013.

The development of the Sun God's importance in Inca history has greatly affected how Inca history and religion are transmitted today. Most depictions of the Empire come from Spanish accounts, thus modern day "historical" and "traditional" spectacles are planned using this perspective. Likewise, the tourism industry manipulates these interpretations for the larger public. The Inti Raymi, which had recently been professed as an important religious event, has been transformed into a demonstration of cultural pride. However, commodification of culture has affected the festival and today its meaning for the people of the Andes has changed.

HISTORY OF THE INTI RAYMI

After Inca Pachacuti began to reform the religious sphere of the Inca society he created links between new religious festivals and annual events. According to MacCormack (1990, 26), "calendric time marked the movement of the sun, and agricultural or social time marked the growth of human beings." The Inti Raymi signified the summer solstice, created in accordance with young men's initiation into adulthood. It was a celebration of a prosperous harvest, to give thanks to the Sun, and give tribute for the coming year (MacCormack, 1990, 24).

Regrettably, there are few eyewitness accounts of the actions during an Inti Raymi. A first-hand accounts of Cristobál de Molina (2011) describes the intricacy and beauty of the celebration, despite deeming it as "abominable." MacCormack (1991) revisits his accounts as he briefly explains the procession of the event, those involved, the offerings, the duration and places, as well as a few other details of the festival. Although his version provides some insight into the historic event, it is fairly limited. He couldn't fully understand the importance of the rituals, nor did he believe in their significance; remarkably, his account happens to be from the last Inti Raymi of the Inca in 1535 (MacCormack, 1991, 74).

EMUFEC (Empresa Municipal del Festejos del Cusco), a city organization in charge of advertising festivals, cultural events and ceremonies in Cusco, has created a collection of details from prior studies to explain the process of Inti Raymi in the time of the Inca. Days before the Inti Raymi began, a restriction on the use of fire was set, laceration of the body was encouraged, dietary restrictions were enforced, and the abstinence from sex was required. The Inca would also don attire depending on age, gender, and class of nobility. A virgin was chosen to offer the Sun and the food and drinks were made for the celebrations (Alfaro et al., 1994, 35-38). When the harvest was complete and all the crops had been gathered, the people brought them to "a plain that faces toward the point where the sun rises as one leaves the city" (MacCormack, 1991, 75). The ceremony began with the procession of Inca nobility accompanied by the statues of "Ticciwiracocha, el Sol, la Luna, las Estrellas, y una llama de color blanco" (Alfaro et al., 1994, 31). In a predetermined formation, the nobles left their homes and marched into the Plaza Mayor (now the Plaza de Armas). Only the male royal lineage of Inca could partake in the ceremony, but the women prepared food and drinks for the whole event. Once settled into the plaza, they waited in complete silence for the rays of the sun to advance above the

horizon. As the first rays appeared the Inca would stretch their arms to the east and kiss the air, then raise their *chicha*[7] as offering to the Sun. The Inca then asked the rest of the people to participate in the ceremony (Jimenez, 1997, 302-315). Songs and prayers were said throughout and llamas of all colors would be brought forth as sacrifice as the ceremony continued.

Historically the Festival of the Sun lasted nine days and ended as the Inca broke open the Earth to signify the inauguration of the plowing season, which would make future harvests possible (MacCormack, 1991, 77). The celebration of the Sun God was more than hope for a prosperous new year for the Inca. They looked to the Sun God for help in agriculture, religion, and even in social relations. Today the Festival of the Sun continues to seek prosperity, but in a very different way.

MODERN INTI RAYMI

In 1944, the residents of Cusco wanted to designate a day for their city to demonstrate pride in their history, their settlements, and the Andean culture. Cusco re-created the Inti Raymi to celebrate the nostalgic mentality of their heritage. However, this time the sacred meaning of Inti Raymi was to be depicted through Spanish memory.

Inti Raymi has dwindled down to a one day event where Cusqueños, rural-dwellers, and tourists alike partake in the action. The Inti Raymi festival attempts to follow tradition, while adding in new modern customs. Giant papier-mâché floats line the streets and tourists follow the procession or try to get a better view from their high-rise stadium seats (Babb, 2012, 89). Animal sacrifices no longer occur. Tickets to the event are expensive and seats sell out quickly. The event is well publicized and many state and local agents recognize that the Inti Raymi is an "evento puramente teatral y de valor festivo local" (Alfaro et al., 1994, 81).

[7] Moderately alcoholic beverage that is made from corn.

PERSONAL ACCOUNTS OF THE INTI RAYMI 2013

My interviews with tourists, locals, and the President of EMUFEC, suggest that the Inti Raymi is still a significant tradition to Cusqueños. Although the Inca identity has been imputed to the people in and around Cusco, it hasn't been fully embraced by them. The educated mestizos, especially in Cusco, have taken a condescending attitude towards contemporary peasants in the region (van den Berghe & Ochoa, 2000). Their cultural pride, from either their birth in Cusco (as center of the Inca Empire) or their indigenous genes, produce a separation between themselves and the lower class. They view themselves as the proper heirs to the Inca Empire, but are now placed outside this realm due to social mobility[8] (van den Berghe & Ochoa, 2000, 12). What I saw in Cusco was the utilization of the Inti Raymi first, as an economic opportunity and second, as a way to rally support from Cusqueños and rural campesinos in order to commoditize the Inca history. Inti Raymi was revitalized for the people, to unify them, and to restore their heritage and pride. However, now the festival has become divisive between the people of Cusco and the surrounding communities and between those who can afford to attend festival and those who cannot.

The Inti Raymi begins early in the morning and everyone rushes to the event to try to get the best seat. There are three sessions: the first at Coricancha, the second in the Plaza de Armas, and the third in Sacsayhuamán. Initially, hundreds of tourists are herded around the courtyard in front of the Temple; most are in tour groups. Tourists wait anxiously to see how the ceremony begins and vendors weave carts through the crowd peddling soda, candy, hats, flags and other trinkets. My place in the crowd was terrible; I was behind a tree and I could barely see the doors the dancers would emerge from and could see maybe a quarter of the lawn. Despite this, I did get a good view of a rather shameful act of the

[8] Van den Berghe and Ochoa (2000) note other recent research documenting these views.

Inti Raymi security guards. A section or two down from me a woman was making her way through the crowd and successfully landed a decent viewing spot. A few seconds after she settled into her chair, one of the guards came up to her. I was shocked to hear him ask her to leave. As I listened in he told her that this area was reserved for tourists only and she couldn't stay. The woman was furious, and for good reason. "I am a tourist!" I heard her yell at the man, "I'm visiting from Lima!" The dancers began to flow out of the temple to a rhythmic beat and the woman's voice was drowned out by the music. She looked of indigenous decent, but wasn't wearing traditional Andean dress, not even a *pollera*. I wasn't sure why she was targeted, but it's almost certain there was a racial act against her. Furthermore, his actions implied that a ceremony designated to bring pride to the people of Cusco, or of Peru, was more so directed at tourists' convenience than that of the locals.

Illustration 2: Part one of Inti Raymi – Coricancha.

After part one is completed there is a mass rush to get to the Plaza in time for the second event. The second part actually represents the joining of the past and present, as the "Inca" calls upon the Mayor of Cusco to proclaim his servitude to the city:

> Father Inca Pachacutec! I swear that I will jealously guard this marvelous legacy and faithfully obey your commands. I promise, great lord, to keep watch over your people of Qosqo, and to work without rest for their happiness! (Municipalidad del Cusco, 2013)

However, despite paying for it, I ended up missing the second part. The agency that sold me my ticket had poor planning skills. Instead of asking the other tourists and myself if we wanted to walk to the Plaza to view, they carted us off directly to Sacsayhuamán – where we had to wait almost two hours for the third part to begin. They explained that the second part "wasn't important," saying the best parts were in the final phase of the ceremony and we wouldn't want to miss it.

In Sacsayhuamán the designated area was set up like a small arena; ruins on one side, bleachers on the other three, and a centrally located platform. Once I got through to the front of the line I was given an official EMUFEC Inti Raymi program and a DVD of 2012's festival. Upon entering the viewing area of the ceremony I could see behind the bleacher sections. There was a large cluster of people, over one hundred, sitting atop a hill that overlooked the "staged" area. I had previously been told that one could watch the ceremony from outside the bleachers, but mostly locals went there. The hill was a no-cost seating section. To sit there arriving early is necessary, as is missing the other parts of the Inti Raymi. But, if one wishes to experience Inti Raymi in a more cost efficient way I suggest sitting on the hill. The view isn't quite as good as in the bleachers, but better than the other lower areas. There is a clear separation of tourists in the bleachers and locals on the hill.

Illustration 3: Inti Raymi – Main Ceremony.

The performance is intricate and multiple practices are necessary for the dancers to be fully prepared. Each year auditions are held to find the best participants. The Inca is an especially critical consideration. He must look "indigenous enough," clearly portraying certain characteristics that resemble [the Inca Pachacuti] (EMUFEC, 2013). Not only are his looks important, but also his ability to speak "correct" Quechua. Only "proper" levels of Quechua are used in the Inti Raymi, so as to keep the script as clear and "pristine" as what it would have been during the last Inti Raymi of the Inca in 1535. The Inca of 2013 had played the role seven times. Although the Inti Raymi celebration is conducted in Quechua, one can follow along in Spanish or English in the program.

Illustration 4: Alfredo Inca Roca as Inca Pachacuti.

Before and during the ceremony I was able to speak with other tourists next to me. Some were international, and some were from Peru. Internationals all explained that they had specifically come to Peru to see the Inti Raymi or trek to Machu Picchu. I wasn't shocked by this response, although one couple did say they came for "all the history, culture, archeology," that Peru offered. They travelled by car from northern Peru to Cusco in order to have a more complete experience of the country. Having had some prior knowledge to the diversity of Andean past civilizations, they were interested in learning more about the various histories of Peru. Though they were having a stellar time, they expressed their dissatisfaction with the lack of information offered about other past societies of Peru, noting that, "only Cusco, Lake Titicaca, Nazca, and Machu Picchu [are displayed]; everyone knows them, but not the other sites."

The people I spoke with from Peru emphasized the cultural significance of the ceremony for the country. One participant from Lima explained that "it's all for the culture,

right? The meaning of the Inca, the celebrations of the day of the Sun." Another Limeño explained to me that as a Peruvian, "there is always an [Inca] illusion and an interest to see the life of the past. Obviously to see it [Inti Raymi] live is much more appealing." She went on to explain that Lima and Cusco are very different "because there is the Inca tradition [in Cusco] and it's a big part of their everyday life." In general, tourists I met who came from Lima had a very similar view of Cusco as tourists from other countries. However, Cusqueños and Limeños alike agreed that tourism brought modern influences and monetary benefits: "many people come from outside and make it [Cusco] international. Basically, this impacts the lives of the people in their own place and their economy. All the people bring something here and we can share in that," – "it's a blessing (*maravilla*) that there are tourists here."

I discussed the issue of spatial separation with two women who sat next to me in the bleachers. I asked their opinions on the seating arrangements, and pointed behind us to show them what I meant. Maria explained to me, "Well, there are rules now. It would be good if Cusqueños had spots, but the rules of the Municipalidad don't permit this. Many people don't have enough money for the entrance fees, so they have to sit back in the hills." Once again we become aware of the separation between Peruvians and internationals. As I continued the conversation I inquired if she found this to be fair. She replied "it's that the tourists have the preference and the others can't come in. Yes, it's a little sad."

In most of my interviews I asked if the participants had noticed a change in Cusco over the past few years due to the increase of tourism. An American expat noted that over the past eight years he had seen many changes which

> [Cater] a bit more to the tourists… Obviously it's getting more and more touristy and there are more people here, but at the end of the day if that is where you're getting your money from you have a choice. You can do this or do mining, you've gotta get your money from somewhere. So you know, I think they are doing a good job trying to keep it as authentic as possible, but there is no perfect scenario.

When I asked a local she responded, "[Cusco] is very different. Now it's distorted to look like the time of the Inca."

We now turn our attention to how Inca history generates tourism in the Cusco region.

Chapter 3: Uncovering Neoliberalism in Cusco: *Elitist Ideology and the Process of Incanization*

In the 2012 "World's Best" competition hosted by *Travel and Leisure* magazine Cusco, Peru ranked as the number one city to visit under the "Mexico, South, and Central America" category. Tourism has grown faster than any other sector of the Peruvian economy and Peru's Minister of Foreign Trade and Tourism, Jose Luis Silva, expects it to become Peru's second largest source of revenue by 2014 (Andina, 2012). Since the seventies neoliberal thinking has become dominant in many parts of the world. Vives Miró (2011, 2) defines neoliberalism as "a political ideology that advocates private property, the privatization of social resources, the flexibilization of regulatory frameworks that might hinder free market values, and the supposed withdrawal of State intervention." Peru has recently drawn from this model in expanding its exports of raw materials, however, Cusco also commoditizes its people and its past.

It is evident that Peru has constructed and capitalized upon the "utopic, spiritualized, indigenous body" through mystic tourism (Hill, 2008, 272-273). In 2001 the Peruvian president, Alejandro Toledo, magnified the state's connection with the commodification of the Inca culture. His swearing-in atop of Machu Picchu further extended the ties between the past and the present. The government's intent to uplift and display Peruvian identity was a tactic to quell international fear of terrorism in Peru and to generate a tourism boom in order to strengthen the economy.

Since then the marketing of Inca culture has become prevalent throughout Peru, and even more so in the surrounding areas of Cusco. The Inca, or "the Indian," has become the most commoditized aspect of the region. According to Ypeij (2012, 19) "the Indian" as a cultural commodity affects how culture and history are displayed for tourism. Shop

owners, street vendors, and *sacaméfotos*[9] (Ypeij, 2012) come to work in tourism because they see how well the idea sells. Ypeij (2012) states "commodification [of people and culture] is often perceived as negative in that it supposedly coincides with the loss of meaning and places tradition and culture in jeopardy" (2012, 20). Recognizing the legitimacy of this statement, I hope to accentuate the opposite, use a mindful approach to tourism, and thus contribute to the Hopeful Tourism literature.

Peru actively participates in the theatrics of cultural tourism and has been quick to capitalize on the industry and its unique history. Because of this, traditional communities surrounding Cusco are deemed more "authentic" or "real," in relation to Peru's historicized past. Consequently, the state and tourism industry intervene in local affairs, impose capitalistic principles, and determine how indigeneity is used in the city center. The elite members of society have taken it upon themselves to reinvent the past, to regenerate culture, and develop the idea of "the Indian."

In Cusco I met with various workers of the tourism industry, aiming to answer one of my main research questions: whether or not locals found the Inti Raymi celebration to be of cultural significance, or distorted for tourist expectations. Although most found the event to still play an important role in Cusqueño tradition, tourism as an additional motive was recognized. Hill (2008) draws from Kevin Hetherington's theory of New Age Style[10] (2000) and links with it the mystic tourism industry in Peru. His hybridized idea of New Age Andean spirituality critiques elite members' use of indigenous identity and racialization in the country.

[9] "Take-my-photo" women

[10] The New Age Style traces back to the 1960's "hippie" movement. A merging of alternative lifestyles, youth subcultures, and social movements, the New Age Style embraces a peaceful, nomadic way of life. (Hetherington, 2000).

Referencing the idea of *Incanismo,* which glorifies the Inca Empire, van den Berghe and Ochoa draw attention to the fact that *Incanismo*, which should honor "Quechua-speaking peasants who [are considered] direct heirs of that social order," actually benefits the "Spanish-speaking, urban, mestizo intellectuals" (2000, 11). The authors go on to state that,

> both Incanismo and tourism are elite phenomena. Cusqueños created their own myth by reinventing their past, and through that myth, elevated their vision of themselves and validated what tourists came to see. Incanismo authenticates the tourism product, and tourist interest validates it (van den Berghe and Ochoa, 2000, 23).

Additionally, Hill (2008) argues that elite members push the Inca culture onto the public, locals and tourists alike, through marketing and advertising. However, they acknowledge (at least subconsciously) their separation from the ethnic communities (Hill, 2008, 256). Elites, excluded from an indigenous heritage have begun to valorize or romanticize what once was for tourism purposes and they have created representations of the past within the tourist marketplace to "provide an alternative type of symbolic, holistic (but nonspecific) ethnicity," and placed these qualifications onto indigenous people (Hill, 2008, 256). Hill (2008, 256) argues that such a style "does not lead to class or racial consciousness, but rather to a type of symbolic ethnicity based in the belief that marginalized, oppressed ethnicities are more real." Thus, elites of the state attempt to control communities and other actors in the tourism industry with little regard for the actual well-being of these agents. In fact, the idea of what appears to be "real" comes from those in power, administering guidelines for tourism agencies, workers, and communities to perform. Moreover, they have created a standardized misconception, connecting all Quechua speakers of today to the Inca Empire from the past.

BECOMING AN ENTREPRENEURIAL CITY

Cusco's economy is upheld through tourism, and the likelihood of economic growth without it is limited. Miró (2011, 3) defines an entrepreneurial city as a "city which adopts an entrepreneurial strategy in order to succeed in an increasingly global economy," thus, Cusco can be considered as such. Neoliberal urbanism is "the logic of building cities according with the dynamics of global financial capitalism" (Miró, 2011, 2-3). This neoliberal urbanism has generated a progression of entrepreneurial cities, which give rise to, "marketing and promotion, investment attraction, competitive advantages improvement, promoting of new businesses, and technical assistance to companies in order to make them more competitive" (Miró, 2011, 3). While Chase (2002, 4) defines neoliberalism as "an extreme version of the 'utopia' of the free capitalist market," which leads to market diffusion and globalization, Miró (2011, 11), pronounces urbanism and city production to be "fundamental for the survival and expansion of the capitalist system." Proceeding to state that the urban space will adapt according to the past systems of capitalism, Miró (2011, 11) claims that "urban entrepreneurialism … [is] a key strategy within neoliberal urbanism."

Cusco is surprisingly more modern than most tourists imagine it to be. I have, just as many others who have lived in the city, found an unusual balance of "pre-modern" and "modern" versions of the city. It is obvious that there is a historic reflection in the city. For example, the Plaza de Armas is one of the largest reminders of both Inca and Spanish dominance in the area. Living in a dual world, one can experience a pre-colonial style of living while chowing down on a Big Mac or dancing the night away at Mama Africa, one of the local tourist joints. The center is very much set up to appeal to tourists; there is juxtaposition between historic architecture and modern amenities. Cusco provides an unusual locale for long-stay tourists, sometimes unsure of whether or not they are in a truly

modern society. Internet, WIFI, hot water, and food from across the world are all available, but three blocks outside of the Plaza one will encounter a very different lifestyle. Some tourists I talked with really appreciated the amenities, while others found it to de-value their idea of a "traditional city." Another tourist noted that "Cusco seems to be stuck. Locals try to advance themselves and progress into more modern, First world lifestyle, but because they are tied to a tourist economy it's like they are in limbo."

As neoliberal urbanism continues to expand in the local entrepreneurial sectors, the local government becomes a promoter and developer to enhance the municipality's position in the tourism industry. The local and national governments have implemented a new, clean, and safe image of Cusco using EMUFEC.

In July 2013 I had the chance to meet with the current president of EMUFEC. During our discussion I asked him to describe the organization and their position in Cusco, for his opinions on cultural tourism, the positives and negatives of the tourism industry, and if he has seen significant changes in the city because of them. EMUFEC is an organization which functions under "leyes sociales[11];" although it is a private business, the local government owns the organization. The institution looks for ways to advance the economic situation of Cusco. It does not receive money from the government, but from the tourist activities held in the city. The most popular event hosted by Cusco and EMUFEC is Inti Raymi, which is associated with approximately 3,000 activities in the month of June.

[11] Social laws

Illustration 5: A traditional dance performed by one of the local schools.

EMUFEC's President stated that both intercontinental and regional tourism has expanded. Neighboring countries, like Bolivia, Chile, and Argentina are providing tourists to Peru. Because of international tourism, the country is experiencing more opportunities to learn other languages, to study the world from diverse viewpoints, further business prospects, and participate in development projects. EMUFEC advertises its presence throughout the city with posters on buildings and other historical landmarks.

While in the city I met many locals on the street, at community events, in the markets, and in other social places. I was able to ask some of them their opinions of tourism and their opinions of tourists as part of traditional festivities. Although many Cusqueños told me that they see these festivals as important to local people, and tourists are simply lucky to experience them, they realize that many of the festivities are displayed for tourism purposes. Many tourists I spoke with found the celebrations to be overly touristic. However, they found them interesting to watch and felt that is was a good experience to

witness at least one or two events. For the purpose of my research I find it more important to focus on local perceptions. If locals – who the festivities should be for – still find them to be significant, there is hope that despite the rise of tourism, locals still view their culture as their own; even when festivals are exaggerated for the sake of tourism.

Cusqueños, for the most part, understand that tourists come to see what their country and their histories have to offer: "we are here in our culture and that is what the tourists want to see and that is what we want to share," a market woman told me. Almost all Cusqueños I interviewed claimed to have a lot of pride for their city and their heritage. Many tourist shops and agencies proclaim the city to be almost magical, populated by "the real Inca," coming from "Inca blood." Tourists are willing to accept these notions and believe what is shown to them. The romanticism of a vanished civilization and its way of life is an attraction for tourists. Their interest and presence consequently values *Incanismo* as a commodity and, as van den Berghe and Ochoa (2000) state, validates the ideology leading locals to pride themselves on their supposed Inca heritage and use it for economic advantage.

Similarly, it is becoming more common for rural communities to participate in the tourist industry. In the countryside communities are looking for work outside of traditional agriculture. According to Chase (2002, 10) "increasing numbers of people in the countryside across Latin America are engaged in non-agricultural pursuits as traditional peasant-based economies wither and … [they] combine incomes from diverse sectors." Many traditional communities have chosen a positive, practical approach to the current economic situation through community-based tourism projects. As the situation begins to change, communities obtain mobility and are "shaped by the cultures of the place they have lived in, but not bound to place or to an authentic culture" (Chase, 2002, 13). Through community-based tourism they sell their own merchandise, live as they always have, and

teach others about their life. A supplementary benefit for members participating in community-based tourism is the ability to stay close to home rather than commuting to Cusco each day. Instead of paying to travel to the city, the tourists are brought to them. Hopeful Tourism (Ateljevic et al., 2003; Tribe, 2002) attempts to strengthen these aspects. While these possibilities offer optimism, there are still issues that need to be evaluated. With such explicit exploitation placed upon communities we must ask if it is possible for a community to remain true to itself while attempting to implement the successful ideas with the tourism sector. Although tourism poses some risks and potentially, if not almost certainly, causes conflict within traditional lifestyles, it remains an innovative way for communities to fight against poverty and possibly set a new standard of modernization.

David King and William Stewart (1996) suggest that the commodification of nature generates a change in indigenous peoples' views of their environment as a whole. As they begin to move away from "working with the land" to "working for tourists (who observe the land)," their perspective of the space they occupy, and of themselves, is altered (King and Stewart, 1996, 296). When I first visited Ccorccor they had very little experience working with tourists and still were deeply rooted in traditional agriculture. As part of the tourist experience, guests in Ccorccor often perform tasks such as cutting grass, harvesting crops, or work (minimally) with the livestock. These practices reinforce norms of the community, continuing to strengthen the connection between community members and their environment. Modern technology would help to advance the pace of agriculture in the region, and perhaps lessen the labor burden of the people; however these technologies are expensive and sometimes invasive. Rural communities have longstanding agricultural practices that are successful and sustainable for them. The idea of commoditizing a special space – whether it be a city, a mountain, or a backyard – is enticing because in most cases there are benefits for both those that perform the commodification and those who

experience it. If a community is able to maintain (and enjoys exhibiting) their cultural background, it is less likely that they will come to devalue working with the land.

Not only are environmental roots challenged, but historical ones as well. With increased tourism, traditional communities may face stress and shocks to their culture. Ypeij (2012, 18) comments that the "distinction [of tourism from real life] is problematic… tourism work is an integral part of workers' lives, social relations, and identities, whether tourists are present or not." Although the community where I stayed does have a separation between their tourist activities and their own lives, much of what they show to tourists exemplifies traditions related to food, agriculture, and daily activities. Robert Chambers and Gordon Conway (emphasis mine, 1991, 5) consider the matter of tourism as an advantage to social sustainability affirming that, "...sustainability [should be used] in a more focused manner to mean the ability to maintain and improve livelihoods while *maintaining or enhancing the local and global assets and capabilities on which livelihoods depend.*" Yet, as Chambers and Conway (1991, 10) propose, communities have taken a proactive path towards "enhancing and exercising capabilities in adapting to, exploiting and creating change" in their socioeconomic status. These communities are now interacting with outsiders (i.e. travelers) and "are no longer impermeable containers of culture" (Chase, 2002, 7). This is bringing about a new way to revive past customs. Instead of using the traditional Inca model, tourism can represent a chance for local communities to re-cultivate their own pasts. Although there is a fine line between changing cultural norms and re-cultivating them, community-based tourism creates a possibility to regain and remember past traditions, songs, dances, and strengthen cultural identity.

Curiosity about indigenous lifestyles and cultures generates much of the tourism interest in Peru, which is a specific travel destination for adventure seekers hoping to encounter wondrous sites, a mystic experience, and the beauty of nature. However, rather

than presenting a broad Andean culture, Peruvian tourism companies utilize an Inca tourism method, where Inca history is overly emphasized in order to appeal to foreign travelers. As a result, many businesses in Cusco use this tourism method and construct a "stage of culture" for tourist participation (MacCannell, 1973). This consequently results in a general form of cultural exploitation within the city. Furthermore, understanding the demand for such representation as an economic opportunity, traditional Quechua-speaking communities outside of Cusco have also adapted this technique. Although many don't actually practice Inca traditions, most are willing to *perform* as though they do. From the constant promotion and pressure to reproduce Inca culture, tourism actors spread an ideal and continue to construct the expectation. They have set the stage for both city and community tourism to portray a specific Andean history and exclude many of the diverse actualities of the region.

Chapter 4: Perceptions of Tourism

My arrival to Cusco in 2013 began with a female police officer escorting me into a taxi, very concernedly telling me to "*cuidase"* – take care of myself – and my belongings so I wouldn't be harassed. I was glad to have an authority figure help me, but was a little shocked at how worried she seemed. The last time I was in Cusco I felt very safe even though my hostel had been in the "sketchy" area. However, now the presence of the local police force appeared to have been significantly increased.

When I began conducting interviews in June I would sit in the Plaza de Armas, either on a bench or in a café. I knew I would be able to meet with tourists, workers, and vendors at any given moment. However, after a few days of doing this I decided to walk throughout the city in order to obtain a wider range of participants. This was both beneficial and problematic. I already was targeting a large possible participant pool and by expanding my study area (which before leaving I hadn't actually defined), I was exponentially adding work for myself. However, I was able to meet a large variety of tourism workers and experience hidden areas of the city I otherwise may not have found. Below I will summarize what I learned from vendors, shop keepers, and traveling artisans throughout the city.

Generally most vendors allude to the fact that there are few tourists interested in more than the Inca history of Peru. I heard from multiple participants that they believed that without Machu Picchu, the Sacred Valley, and the Pisac market there would be no tourists; and this may partially be true in certain sectors of the tourism industry. Most also acknowledged that without tourism, Cusco couldn't survive.

When discussing vendor-tourist interactions and relations, all of the participants stated that they have friendly relations with tourists and like interacting with them – and of course they like that they bring more work to the city. Walking down Avenida del Sol I

encountered a woman and her daughter selling flags on the corner in front of Coricancha. Sitting in the sunshine and fanning themselves with the Wiphala (the Peruvian flag), they were laughing loudly at a passerby's joke. As I approached them they spotted me instantly. Calling me to come over, they were very friendly and jovial, asking what I needed or if was lost. I explained to them my project and the elder woman was immediately ready to answer any questions I had. When I asked how she felt about tourists in Cusco she went as far to say"[we] love tourists!" Like many others she replied that tourism was important for the city to grow and develop. She noted that tourists influenced clothing, food, and other activities in the city, but strongly believed that the ceremonies and festivals were held in honor of Cusqueños. Although most people readily discuss tourists, addressing the impacts of tourism on cultural traditions was somewhat harder to navigate. Few of the vendors and shop workers were able (or willing) to answer how significant traditions or events linked to the Inca were to them or what they believed the general public felt. I could see that some automatically responded with what they believed I wanted or expected to hear. I tried to specify my questions, directing them to refer to the customs we were witnessing throughout June (and of course Inti Raymi) and if they saw those as still partially displayed for the local people.

One participant explained that these customs are from smaller communities, brought to the city and performed. However, he went on to say that he believes traditional significance is being lost. Because of technology, tourism, and outward migration, the younger generations are losing interest in their past. This was thought-provoking; on the one hand traditions are continuing to survive because of tourism, but on the other, they are beginning to be seen as less significant. Positively, many (if not all) schools – elementary through college, even professors – partake in the activities and see it as a way to bring

education and culture together. Though these traditions are being kept alive, it's difficult to say if cultural pride or tourism is the leading reason.

In addition to the average shopkeepers and market vendors there are the "traveling vendors," artisans from other countries. One of the main areas in Cusco this type of vendor is found is in the San Blas Plaza; this is a location where New Age tourism is occurring. The San Blas neighborhood in Cusco is considered the "hippie" or "artsy" area. There are plenty of locals living around the Plaza de San Blas, but the square itself houses tourist shops, restaurants, hostels, bars, and art galleries. On a typical day street vendors wander through the Plaza on the way to the city center, school children run back and forth between breaks, tourists filter in and out of the "hip" shops, and an occasional local or two bathes in the Plaza's fountain. But the main allures of San Blas are the traveling artisans and self-proclaimed Shamans that inhabit the steps. With their intricate jewelry designs, laid-back attitudes, "romantic" catcalls (what they consider to be suave terms of endearment), and the bohemian-like atmosphere they create, all types of tourists are attracted. The tourist-artisans generate an interesting dynamic in the city. Because most of them are from other countries, they create competition in the tourism economy and some of the local vendors are quite annoyed that tourists buy the imposters' products, especially because they are not like typical Andean merchandise.

I spoke with many of these tourist-artisans, most of whom had the same impression of Cusco; in essence they can also be considered tourists with an economic mission. One artisan who had lived in Cusco for four months stated that the city to him was "very mystical and sacred." He liked it because he could find "world art" and the city "offered everything." When I asked him about tourism in the city, he told me that he sees a great deal of discrimination against the indigenous population there. Coming from the sierra-selva region of Peru, I assumed he could recognize this because he himself looks

indigenous. Ironically, while talking to him and his companion we were approached by the police, "because of racism." The companion continued to say, "they come over here because I have long hair and am talking to you, they are looking to see if we are doing drugs. But they also come because it's illegal to sell (merchandise) on the street." Free-lance vending is illegal, resulting in high policing of the city, especially (and obviously) throughout tourist hot-spots. Thus, many street vendors experience relocation multiple times per day. San Blas has been a tourist destination for many years, but increasingly it is becoming more expensive for small shops to stay open. The rent continues to rise and locals who have lived in the Plaza for years are currently being displaced…Such is the cycle of gentrification.

MIDDLE STAGES OF POSITIONALITY

I left to complete my summer fieldwork in Cusco with the intention of studying how shop and market workers, street vendors, and artisans viewed tourism in the city. I was looking to uncover their opinions of the industry, whether or not they had benefited, if they moved to Cusco from rural communities or alternatively were commuters, how long they had been working in Cusco, and how they identified themselves (indigenous, campesinos, mestizos, Peruvian). Before I arrived in Cusco I contacted a tourism agency to arrange some contacts to help me network during my stay. The agency I became affiliated with is called RESPONSible Tourism. RESPONS promotes responsible and sustainable tourism practices. They aim to empower the people and the communities they work with throughout all of Peru, emphasizing just interactions between tourists and tourism actors, between knowledge providers and learners, creating friendships, and strengthening intercultural relations. Through this contact I came to live with a family in Cusco – a single mother, two sons (14 years old and 10 months old), one daughter (7 years old), and a student intern from the Netherlands working for RESPONS.

While completing interviews in Cusco during the first part of my stay José, the student intern I stayed with, invited me to come see a new community, Ccorccor, which RESPONS recently began working with. Since Ccorcco was new to the industry, José was in charge of helping the community become familiar with hosting tourist activities, advising them in how to use their skill sets, and help them promote themselves without creating obstructions to their daily routines and cultural values.

From Cusco to Ccorccor travelers[12] typically go by bus or shared taxis (large vans). The first part of the way is about an hour in the bus/taxi, heading towards the district of Chinchero. The van I took with José quietly played *chicha* music. Most passengers sat in silence, but some rattled on about their daily events. Like any travel in the Andes, one swerves around sharp corners, watching *cholos*[13] work in the fields, with sheep and llamas grazing alongside them. I half listened to the beat of the pan flute in the background and watched the scenery pass by. Before reaching the center of Chinchero we hopped off the van at a really small local taxi center. From this spot it's another half an hour up the mountain to the community. José, three other tourists, and I bargained for a cheap taxi, crammed in, and sped up the mountainside. On the way up we passed a quiet looking lake, Lago Puray. I wondered how the people living in the surroundings used it or how significant it was to the region. Bumping along the gravel road we climbed higher and higher, passing adobe houses, thatched and semi-modern roofs, some new looking restroom facilities outside homes, and an old woman – Andean dress, plated braids, carrying a small child in the *manta*[14] on her back – herding sheep down the mountain, and

[12] Most tourists that use these vehicles are going to visit Chinchero, Umasbamba (another community near Ccorccor), or Ollantaytambo, which is why we have to switch taxis before entering Chinchero.
[13] Refers to peasants, or countrymen, who are usually of indigenous decent in the Andes.
[14] Manta refers to the word "blanket," however this instance refers to the manta used to help carry a wide variety of items (food, supplies, children, agricultural products) on your back.

we saw bulls wandering the paths, having escaped from their shepherds. Eventually the taxi reached a flat area on the ridge, and we had arrived at the entrance of Ccorccor.

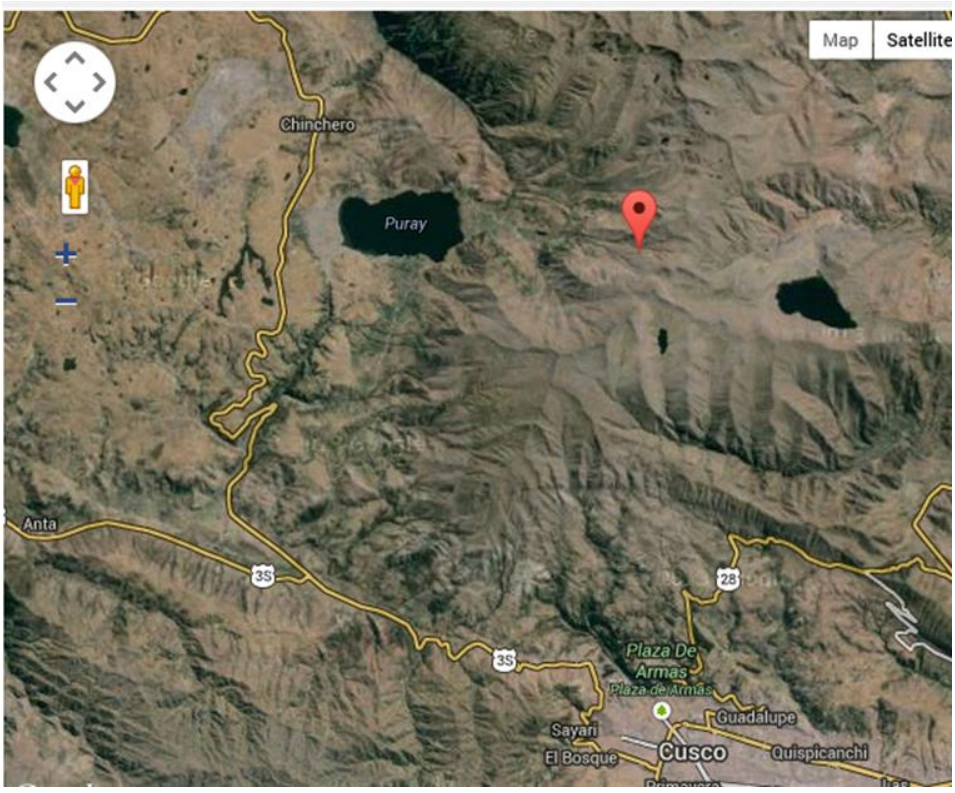

Illustration 6&7: Maps locating Ccorccor

We stepped out of the car into a group of clapping and singing women. One approached each of us, placed a necklace made of real flowers around our necks, took us by the hand and led us through an archway into a small courtyard. I made one of my normal "awkward moment" first encounters as I attempted to give a *beso*[15] to the women on the cheek, per norm in most Latin American greetings. But in Ccorccor (as I assume in other rural communities) handshakes are acceptable. Either way, I wanted to establish that I wasn't like "average" tourists. I was there to learn more about the Andes and see how community-based tourism fit into the industry, yet secretly I still had a sliver of longing to know if they identified with the Inca and to what extent. I tried to slip in some of my research questions while the day proceeded, but I wasn't fully satisfied. I couldn't tell though if there was a disconnect in language or if they didn't want to tell me the truth, but

[15] Kiss

I was quickly beginning to realize that although I previously saw myself having prior insight to Andean culture, I was still far from being "in the know."

It was pretty obvious that José had become super popular among the members of the community. He hugged the women and greeted them with broken Quechua, and they just loved him. It was evident that he created strong relationships with them, they trusted him and valued his advice. The women told me they wanted José to stay and live in the community, they also offered each single *mamita* to him as a wife, without any luck. And that's when I pulled him aside and asked what the community did with "voluntourism." José informed me that he had been working with the women to implement short-stay visits in the community, but at this point they were still fairly unestablished as a community-based project and hadn't had the chance to experiment with the idea.

My first experience in the community sparked a positive view of tourism. I saw interesting agricultural techniques and typical daily routines. For example, we were taught how to cut grass with a tiny machete, hack potatoes out of the ground and build a *huatia* to cook them in, and I milked my first cow – yes, I am from Wisconsin. The women seemed to enjoy working with tourists and appeared as though they were having fun during the experience. Because of this encounter I became very interested in the lifestyle of Ccorccor and decided to expand my thesis research to include a study of the community.

Illustration 8: Teaching how to harvest *olluco*[16].

As I reflect back on my time in Cusco and Ccorccor I remember how my position transformed from specifically wanting to "preserve" Inca traditions into the desire to broadcast a wider Andean identity. First, I arrived in June, the month Inca Pachacuti founded Cusco, which has copious events. After talking with many of my informants in Cusco, it was obvious that they were proud of how much the city had grown and that they were able to offer something that couldn't be found anywhere else in the world. They like to share their culture and traditions, but they also cater to tourist desires. I believe, however, that new attractions within the tourism industry would be desirable to enhance flexibility.

Next, I found that looking like a tourist while trying to do research on tourism isn't always helpful. There were days I couldn't get questions answered because my position as a female, an American, and as a researcher were questioned. After a few weeks in the

[16] A root crop from the Andes.

city I was frustrated with being seen as a tourist. Regardless of my attempts to participate in community activities, visit non-tourist areas (neighborhoods, bars – *chicharias* – and markets), I wasn't accepted as anything but a tourist. I eventually accepted my position and understood that there was little I could do to not appear like the average tourist. Moving forward, I accepted our differences (although maybe not enjoying all of them) and embraced our similarities.

An additional occurrence that changed my perspective was during my first encounter with the community. In my initial visit to Ccorccor I asked some of the women if they still celebrated Inca traditions and gave thanks to the Pachamama. I was rewarded with the answer I was looking for, which was "Yes." I was excited to hear that rural communities were living similarly as they had in the past. My prior attraction to the romanticized past led me somewhat astray. Once I lived in the community I learned a far different truth. I was informed that they do give reverence to the Pachamama and Pachatierra, however they do not associate these deities with the Inca – they don't even find Inti Raymi important, and rarely make notice of the event. I'm not sure if it was due to language barriers or manipulation of the truth to fulfill tourists' expectations that developed two very different responses, but this changed how I saw identity representation.

And finally, my first-hand experiences of tourism agency actions within Ccorccor greatly shaped my view of community agency. In Chapter 6 I will explain how one agency attempted to persuade the community to follow through with the Inca trend of community-based tourism and how the women and men reacted to these suggestions.

However, I realized that my prior goals of "preserving" culture weren't completely unrealistic; I just had to shift my goals from preserving Inca traditions, to re-cultivating community traditions, I had a new "mission" to advance the recognition of contemporary Andean culture. Looking back at my wishful, naïve desires to maintain nostalgic behaviors

– which I've previously criticized the Peruvian state for doing – I wondered how we could use a method similar to the Inca tourism one to re-cultivate community histories. If a civilization that has been more or less nonexistent for hundreds of years could make a come-back, why then couldn't it be possible for present-day societies to re-embrace their *actual* traditions and revitalize their own history?

Chapter 5: la Vida en Ccorccor: *Rural Living*

My Views in the Community

The taxi shook and jolted along the loosely graveled road, climbing higher up the mountainside. The car came to a startling halt and we waited for a herd of sheep to cross the road, being herded along by a woman and two children. After the 30 minute drive I hopped out of the cab and walked up to the familiar tourist center. The first day of my stay four friends accompanied me to Ccorccor. I brought them with me so they could get the traditional Andean experience, but really it was a comfort factor, I was nervous to stay in the community. When we arrived in Ccorccor we received the usual tourist welcome. The women came out singing and smiling. They took us by the hand and led us into the center. The day was run like any average tourist encounter, but we got a bit more hands on experience with the women. We were shown a more personal side of the community; we were given a tour between houses, we were taught to dance along with the songs they sang, and we played a rousing game of soccer. As evening approached and the girls were about to leave I was feeling a bit uneasy, but the women tried very hard to make me feel welcome and at home. Once my friends were out of sight Rosa and her daughter, Maria, took me once again by the hand and led me up to their house. That evening we got straight into how the members of Ccorccor lived: cooking, harvesting, and herding.

Like all the buildings in Ccorccor, Rosa's house was made of adobe. It was simple, with enough rooms for the basic necessities. The main room was the kitchen, in which we spent most of our time when we weren't with the tourists or animals. In the humble one room building, about 15 x 10 feet with a dirt floor, there is a wood-burning stove made of adobe built into one of the walls, a very small electric stove (less frequently used), and a table with a long piece of wood laid across two stumps as its bench. It was getting dark outside and in the kitchen as well. Although the houses do have electricity, there is

generally only one small light bulb hanging from the ceiling. The kitchen was dimly lit, and by the soft glow of the light bulb and the blaze of the fire lit in the stove we began to peel "Peruvian" potatoes for dinner. I sat on a tiny wooden stool attempting to keep up with Rosa's pace; I quickly found out that peeling potatoes was not my forte, as even two of her sons (ages 4 and 5) were faster than me! They were skilled with a sharp knife and sat happily on the floor trying to compete to see who could finish first. At first I was scared they would cut themselves, or someone else, but Rosa just laughed and told them to keep going. Seeing me struggle, she assigned me to stocking the fire. It was much nicer adding *leña*[17] to the fire; I was kept warm and entertained. We placed pots and kettles on top of the fire to begin boiling water for the *sopa de semolina*[18] we would eat

Once the soup began to boil, I went with Nora, the third oldest of Rosa's daughters, to bring the sheep back down from the pasture. Walking up the mountainside, I looked at the view around me; it was breathtaking. We were surrounded on all sides by mountains and far in the distance I could see a snow-capped mountain, one of the few still covered by glaciers in the area. The sun was setting around it changing the color of the snow from white to light pink. Around us were pastures filled with animals, awaiting the arrival of their owners to bring them in for the night. And far below, placid and peaceful, Lake Puray sat, circled by local communities.

[17] Tree branches
[18] Purified middlings of hard wheat

Illustration 9: View of Lago Puray from the pastures.

Samuel, Rosa's husband, returned from working on the mountains around 6 p.m. and we had dinner. With the best spoken Spanish of the whole family, he tried to make polite conversation, asking me if I was enjoying Ccorccor so far, but mostly wondering about work in the U.S. That first night the kids didn't have much interest in me, they were very quiet and shy. Day by day they became more and more interested in playing with me and showing me around the community.

After dinner I was shown my room, which I would share with Maria. She really liked Christian music; every CD she played for me was by a Christian band, followed by "do you know it?" She asked me many questions about religion and told me her family was Evangelical. We talked about music and T.V. shows and excitedly she asked if I wanted to watch her favorite telenovela: *Mi amor el Wachiman 2*. From that night on we watched it religiously throughout my stay. Yes, in fact there was a T.V. in our room – small with rabbit ears, but it worked pretty well.

That was my first full day in Ccorccor. I can remember worrying about how to communicate with the members for two weeks, if either of our Spanish skills would be sufficient. But the older kids were a big help; their Spanish wasn't perfect, but since they had been learning it in school for a few years they could usually bridge any gap that Rosa and I had.

Illustration 10: Working is a family affair.

Ccorccor was founded approximately 60 years ago, by Rosa's grandparents and their generation. She was born in her parent's old house and had lived in the community her whole life, like most of the members had. One afternoon Rosa asked me if I wanted to take a walk with her. She brought me to an old uninhabited house; it had been the home of her grandparents. The adobe was still standing strong, there were a few windows, some still with glass, and a very small door. But the house itself was tiny - one room and maybe

seven feet tall! We laughed as I stood next to the door; I was at least a head taller than it. Rosa and most of the women, and some of the men too, are no taller than five feet. She told me that her grandparents were even shorter than the people living in Ccorccor now. Although I wanted to go in and look, Rosa was worried it would collapse on me, so we continued down the path towards a hay field surrounded by a species of tree used to make the equivalent of syrup. We sat on a fallen log as she (attempted) to teach me about herbs and plants that were surrounding us. I think she liked having a reason to relax. Technically she was working because I paid for my stay, but while I was there she was able to take long breaks to show me things and enjoyed just sitting.

Rosa is still relatively young, only 36, but she told me many times that she was tired. I can't blame her for feeling so. She raised seven kids, works every day in the fields and with the animals, cooks for hours on end, is now the president of the Munay T'ika, and lives in a harsh environment, but she still manages to enjoy her surroundings. I have so much respect for the people of Ccorccor, even the children. The kids start helping the family as early as age three or four. Ernesto and Elias always came with us as we brought the animals to pasture. They eagerly chased the sheep to get them to move faster or herded them, since they had more energy than Rosa they pursued the ones that strayed away. Not only this, they would actually help with securing the animals, so that they couldn't wander during the day. In the house they also helped to prepare meals, cutting the vegetables, stocking the fire, and washing the dishes. Maria was even able to prepare most of the meals by herself. After a period of silence Rosa stood up and began to walk back into the community.

Just as the sun begins to peek through the *manta* hanging over the window, which Samuel hung specifically for me in hopes that I wouldn't freeze at night, Maria gets out of her bed and put her shoes on; I do the same. During my stay with the family I was lightly

introduced to what it would be like to live off the land; Rosa wasn't keen on my participation in some of the manual labor, as she still viewed me as a paying customer. Each morning, as soon as we wake, we go to the makeshift barn to milk the cow; Rosa's family has two bulls and one dairy cow. Maria, Nora, and Edger take turns doing these chores depending on who wakes up on time. They also split the responsibility of who cuts the *leña* for the fire, brings the animals up from their stalls, and who washes the dishes from breakfast.

The milk we gather goes straight into our breakfast of *arroz con leche*[19]. Usually we sat in a groggy silence, preparing ourselves for the day ahead. After breakfast the older kids go to school and I am left with Rosa, Juan, and Florcita. Early in the morning Rosa tells me what our agenda is; typically there is cooking to be done, animals to tend to, and occasionally traveling to bring Samuel and his co-workers lunch, though this only happens once a week because the wives or mothers of the men each take a turn preparing meals.

The morning is used as a preparation time for the rest of the day. As soon as the kids head off to school and Samuel leaves for work, Rosa gathers Flora onto her back and we head out to round up the sheep, herding them to the pasture. On our way we gather *stevia*, *manzanilla*, and *muña*, different types of herbs to drink as tea, making sure to grab extra to bring for the tourists. Many times we stop to talk with other *mamas* who are busily working, either harvesting *olluco* or re-locating their livestock. Although the women are working, it was also a way to socialize. They are separate, but together. There is a lot of freedom in Ccorccor; as long as everything that needs to be completed is done, the women converse and laugh with each other, often helping the others with their chores.

[19] Rice with milk

Illustration 11: Our daily morning sheep herding activities, showing the clothing worn during normal days.

After the animals are secured to their plot of land for the day we head back to the house to start cooking, again. Most of the ingredients used for cooking come from Rosa's garden. For example, vegetables such as celery, cauliflower, onion, various potatoes and other spices can usually be found around the houses in Ccorccor. They try to live off as much as the land can offer before they buy other produce and meat in the market or bread and little candies from the corner store.

Afternoons are spent preparing soups, toasted maize, and somehow incorporating *papas*[20] into each dish for the children when they return home from school or the fields. The women will also hand wash the laundry in the late morning and early afternoon so that there will be enough time for the sun to properly dry all the clothing. While household chores are done throughout the day, the *mamitas* have more time to tidy up the main rooms

[20] Potatoes

while the kids are away. Usually a neighbor or two will pass by to chat or help braid one another's hair.

The evenings are pretty short-lived due to the late arrival of the men and the early bed time needed in order to get enough rest for the next day. The women either finish cooking dinner or are in the pastures rounding up the animals to bring in for the night. The children work on homework, play outside, or watch T.V., if it's available. The nights are cold, so once the sun sets the families usually keep indoors.

Depending on the type of work the men do, the women make lunch and bring it to them. Samuel, for example, works two different jobs. He free-lances for a lumber company a few days of the week, while other days he works as a gypsy taxi between Ccorccor and Cusco. One particular day Rosa and I had to cook a large meal for Samuel and his fellow workers. We had to work quickly though, because we got back to the house late from the pasture – in a desperate attempt to escape Ernesto's grasp, three sheep made a dash for the other side of the mountain and we had to round them up again. Dicing vegetables and setting the water we cooked frantically. After two-and-a-half hours of making a large pot of *sopa de quinoa*[21] and a mixture of toasted *maize* and toasted *habas*[22], we were finally ready to go.

Down, down, down, we walked all the way to the bottom. Packed like mules, our *mantas* were filled full with pots of soup, side dishes, bowls, and silverware. Like that we trekked in order to bring lunch to Samuel and four other men cutting trees on the peak across from ours. When I agreed to deliver food with Rosa I had no idea the distance we would travel! So down we went, passing fields, neighbors, and livestock.

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[21] Quinoa soup

[22] Toasted corn and broad beans; almost like corn nuts, which were inspired by this dish.

Going down was the easy part. At the bottom we crossed the valley, where Umasbamba is situated. Then I became aware that we weren't just descending that day – we were about to climb up, up, up to the very top of a mountain ridge. We searched for a path, one I was convinced didn't exist; since we couldn't find one, we had to make our own. But the thick bushes at the base made it difficult to get through and the brambles tugged at our *mantas*, threatening to release the pots and spill the *sopa*.

We could hear a chainsaw high above us. Every now and then there would be a loud *crack* as another tree fell onto the earth. Rosa attempted to use her cell phone to reach Samuel, but the tree coverage, and the general lack of service, wouldn't send her through. The two of us must have climbed for at least 20 minutes when Samuel finally found us. Leading us to the path he removed my *manta* and carried it the rest of the way, asking me many times if I was too tired or if I needed to take a break. It was pretty obvious I was not an expert hiker and a perhaps a huge liability to the community. They often joked with me, telling me not to wonder off alone or get sick, because they didn't want to lose *la gringa*.

By the time we finally got to the top we had spent close to two hours walking. Samuel gathered his co-workers and they set their equipment down. Of the five, only two of them were using chain saws, while the other three used old axes. Three of the men were probably in their thirties. The last was a bit younger, about twenty I would guess. They sat down, exhausted from the mornings work. Hot, hungry, and tired they quickly helped Rosa and I unpack lunch.

Right before we started eating Samuel decided that we needed to drink *chicha.* I'm not sure if that was a normal occurrence for them to drink during work or if it was because I was along. They sell *chicha* in Umasbamba, so right back down the mountain he went! The men chatted with Rosa and asked me a few questions: why was I in Ccorccor, was I

planning on staying, and of course if I had found a husband there. Then for a long while we sat in silence, resting.

About an hour later Samuel returned with a gasoline container filled with *chicha*. He really is a lively man, even after he has worked a long day he takes the time to talk with the kids and help out his neighbors and friends. After filling my water bottle and passing another glass around to the rest of the group, he settled and began eating. Samuel contributed most to the conversation, asking me a lot of questions about the U.S. and if he and his friends could find work there. As a joke he even asked if I could bring Flora with me, but it may have been slightly serious. Once everyone had finished eating he passed around coca leaves to the other men, Rosa and I weren't offered any. Taking a last minute to rest, chewing on coca, the men all stared out over towards Ccorccor – somewhere on the mountainside across from us. Sluggishly they stood up, thanked us for our work, and headed back to finish cutting their quota for the day.

Far out in the distance loomed the still snow-capped mountain. The air was cold, but the sun was hot. In the valley below I could see men tilling the ground and women farming with babies on their backs. Here I was, *una gringuita*, completely out of my element, with a pot of hot soup on my back and a thick *pollera* hanging from my waist. I could have been easily defeated by the rough mountainous lifestyle, but the members of Ccorccor took me in and treated me as one of their own. They showed me their lifestyle, I wasn't expected to work, but by doing so I gained their trust and personally developed as well. They were willing to ask for my opinion and listen to the advice I could offer. Rosa and Samuel welcomed me as a part of their family, a new *ososiy* (daughter). During these moments I realized how wonderful it is to be connected, to have a strong community, and appreciate all of life's situations. To cook a meal for two hours and then travel for another

hour and a half to deliver it would seem ridiculous to most people I know. However, Rosa did it happily.

Illustration 12: The view from the top of the mountain ridge where Samuel cut trees. The community in the valley is Umasbamba. Ccorccor is almost directly in the middle of the photo, up in the hills.

As I followed Rosa towards the path that would lead back down, my surroundings and time in Ccorccor made an increasingly strong impression upon me. I found the effort they put into working, their genuine happiness, and how hospitable and kind the community was, inspiring. I was slowly beginning to understand that experiencing this type of rural living was something that more people needed to do. Tourists come to Peru to relive the Inca past, seek adventure in the jungle, or examine the mysticism of the region. But in this form of every-day life I experienced something "real." I was part of their resistance to change. I could see how tourism pressured them to evaluate themselves, how they viewed their own history and what they wanted tourists to take from experiences in

the community. What I had become so bitter about, the prospect of cultural alteration, was transformed into a vision of cultural, social, and self-preservation. The tourism pressure forces them to embrace or reject their past, to re-cultivate it or change it. The ideas of authentic, historic, and contemporary culture became my reality. This reality re-shaped my position concerning community-based tourism.

Illustration 13: I learned how to make a kite from sticks, plastic bags, and string. This kite was made to represent the condor, a rare bird native to the Andes.

Ccorccor may seem to be all work, no play, but the members of the community also know how to have fun. Besides their love of singing, talking, and playing soccer they know how to throw parties. I was lucky enough to have been in Ccorccor to celebrate a wedding. Although I missed the actual wedding ceremony, I was present at the reception. The couple was married in a church, but they also had the wedding officially recognized at the courthouse. Seven days after wedding ceremonies in Ccorccor the families of the bride

and groom had a massive reception and invite all the neighbors, families, and friends from the area. The day of the reception we had a group of tourists visited, so we had a pretty loaded day.

Once all the guests were gone, Rosa and I quickly ran up the slope to her house so we could ditch our traditional attire and meet Samuel. Maria joined us on our descent back towards the community center. We passed some of the other women and kept walking down the gravel road towards another community. We were walking to the neighboring town where the parents of the bride currently lived. As we passed a row of small trees Rosa hopped inside of them, holding back the branches for me to follow through. I wasn't really sure what we were doing, but I obediently climbed over the branches. We entered a small area of land, where a bathroom had just been built; leaning against it were a huge number of quinoa plants. Rosa explained that they were being dried out and this is what they use for soup for the tourists (usually in the quinoa soup). She knew how much I liked quinoa and wanted to show me this because she knew I would appreciate it. I was really touched that she thought of me as we were on our way to a community event.

Illustration 14: I was surprised to see a pink plant growing and asked Ilsa what it was. During my first trip to Ccorccor was the first time I saw quinoa growing.

It was a pretty chilly day, it had been hailing the morning before, and I was ready to get to the house and try to stay warm. We made it a little further down when we walked up to a two-section house. There was an outside kitchen for cooking and a dining room inside. The kitchen consisted of one large stove made from rocks and a smaller one next to it. Before we went inside we helped peel potatoes. At this point I was an expert potato peeler and was glad to do something while they talked amongst themselves in Quechua. To be there was a great experience, but it was a really awkward event. I tried to make conversation, but most of them didn't speak Spanish. There was one woman who came to talk to me while we added the potatoes into the giant four-foot tall steel pot.

It was obvious she didn't live in the community anymore. Her hair was straight, she was wearing a more typical Western style of clothes, and her feet were fully covered in tennis shoes rather than the sandals most campesinos wear. We talked about school and

why I was in Ccorccor. She was pretty impressed that I study tourism because it's a very trendy thing to do in Cusco now. She was living and working outside of Lima and only comes back to visit a few times a year. We continued talking until Samuel approached me and told me to come inside and get some dinner.

The meal served during a reception like this is truly extravagant for the members. There were over 300 guinea pigs roasted, at least two four-foot pots of potato-vegetable stew, boiled maize and peas, some kind of lettuce-tomato blend, and plain boiled potatoes on the side. Gallons of *chicha* were passed around, sharing glasses and mixing *chicha morado* with *chicha frutillada*. There were about twenty of us gathered at this point, all huddled in the small dining area. I mostly talked to Rosa and when I attempted to engage with others everyone would listen in and see if they could understand me – I definitely couldn't understand them – but there were multiple times where I knew they were talking about me; I just kept on eating, waiting to see what would happen next.

Once everyone had their fill it was time to load up the food – we were headed down to Umasbamba where the couple just finished building their house. It was like the circus was coming to town. Old station wagons and trucks were packed with people, food, and what looked like benches. Up until now only Maria had been with us, but the rest of the kids all clambered into Samuel's wagon and off we went, in a crazy caravan of party guests.

At the house they set up a small T.V. in one of the windows, facing the screen outside. The wedding had been video recorded and they were able to hook it up for everyone to watch. The benches were unloaded from the vehicles and set up outside of the house. A table was placed in the middle and all of the food was displayed on it. The newly-weds, who hadn't yet been seen, finally arrived and took front and center at the head table. The video began playing and dishes of food were passed around once again. By this time it was 7:30 p.m. The sun had set long ago and the temperature had gone from chilly

to *freezing*. The men started dragging big branches into the center of where everyone sat. I looked over at Nora who was getting excited, she ran over to me and explained that we were going to burn the trees to keep warm. A bonfire! Nora and one of her friends came and sat on the ground next to me. She wanted to explain the movie to me and in between kept asking me if I was still cold; the fire was 20-30 feet high and it was giving off intense heat. Our group had expanded from 20 people to about 50 now. Some were talking, others eating and drinking, the kids ran all over the place, and the men kept stocking the fire all the while. It went on like this for about a half an hour, but once all the branches were gone the party was over. Everyone packed up to head home so they could be ready for work the next day. Rosa and I were expecting another group of tourists the following morning.

Chapter 6: Tourism Encounters

By the time I prepared myself to live in Ccorccor I wanted to encourage the members that they didn't have to be just like every other community working in tourism and that they didn't have to portray themselves as something they weren't to appeal to tourists. Community-based tourism doesn't have to be done in one specific way; it is possible to revitalize and cultivate traditions of diverse groups throughout the Andes, thus creating a wider incentive for tourists to pursue the diversity of the region.

Ccorccor is actually very new to tourism, only just beginning in February, 2013. José had been working with them since Rosa came into the office in Cusco looking for help with promotion. According to the women they wanted to use tourism as a way to bring money to their families and to the community. Inspired by a community fifteen minutes below them, Umasbamba, the women took it upon themselves to create a method in which they could promote their own community. After witnessing Umasbamba's success – and thus economic gains – they called a community meeting. They gathered all members of Ccorccor to discuss the incorporation of tourism into their daily lives. Of the 55 families living in Ccorccor 27 of them decided to participate. And thus, la Asociación Munay T'ika, the Beautiful Flower Association, was formed. Both men and women are a part of the decision making process when it comes to tourism. However the men aren't usually present for the tourist encounters because they are either working in the city as taxi drivers or in labor positions, on the mountainside as lumberjacks, or as porters for hiking excursions, but they are included in meetings and are aware of the women's' plan.

Because of the brevity of their experience, Ccorccor only had short term goals set in place. After my first visit to Ccorcor José and I discussed the idea of encouraging voluntourism. We talked strategy to uplift community engagement and profitability. Since I experienced the community as a tourist, had a background in tourism, and wanted to help

them achieve their goals, I could test it out as the first "voluntourist" in Ccorccor and leave them with feedback for future endeavors. Of course this wasn't purely selfless. Although I did want to see them succeed, I knew it would also be a great chance for me to do fieldwork in a community. I could try to demonstrate ways to stay away from the normal, overdone, "Inca descendant" tourism fallacy, and I could finally work in a setting that offered an optimistic view of tourism – if correctly carried out.

BECOMING PART OF LA ASOCIACIÓN MUNAY T'IKA

Early on a morning that we expected tourists, Juan, Flora and I sat in the meadow waiting for Rosa to come back from securing the sheep higher up in the hills. I watched Juan play peek-a-boo with Flora; he ran back and forth in front of her to keep her from crying. Lunging one way and then the other he waved tiny purple flowers in front of her to keep her attention. The crochet bonnet she always wore was coming untied and falling from her head, so her brother began to adjust it – I was astonished at how well a 4-year old could manage a child less than a year old. Rosa returned and tied the laces together. "This is what we always used to wear. I made all the kids clothes. And my mama made all of mine. But now we don't. That's one thing I want to change here in Ccoccor. We should make our clothes again. And we can show them to the tourists." She packed Flora into my manta, placed her on my back, and we headed back down.

Walking through tall grass, Rosa led me off the trail towards a small stream, one which had just formed from the rainfall the night before. Although there wasn't much of a current and it wasn't very deep, Rosa gracefully jumped across uneven rocks so as to not get her almost bare feet wet. I watched her reach up to a tree on the other side. She called me over. "This is the national flower of Peru," she told me. "We need to bring some back with us for the tourists tomorrow. Look for other flowers too, we will need them." We balanced on larger rocks to boost us up. As I am almost a foot taller than Rosa, I was able

to get some that were much higher up, she laughed and joked, telling me that I needed to stay in Ccorccor so we could always get the highest flowers.

Because the women must prepare for the tourists, on days that they expect a group they wake up even earlier than usual, busily attending to the livestock and making breakfast for their families. The women typically meet in the tourist center around 8am to divide work tasks for the day; the more experience they attained with the set-up process, the quicker and easier it became. I watched the women cook and was occasionally allowed to chop vegetables, I wasn't normally asked to sweep or clean the kitchen areas unless they were running around at the last second and couldn't do it themselves – early on they didn't want to make me work at all, still viewing me as a guest in the community. I insisted they at least let me help make necklaces for the tourists, and eventually I was able to do more comprehensive tasks for them.

Two or three women make the special necklaces. Lacing the flowers together, they make the welcome gifts for the visitors early in the mornings. The primary flower used is the national flower of Peru, the *Cantua* – the sacred flower of the Inca. There are also various other wildflowers used which are found along the mountainside. All women will gather flowers in between tourist days, doing so while working in the fields or on the walk back from daily excursions. The flowers are separated and their stems cut, then they use sewing thread to make the necklaces. Poking the threaded needle through the middle of each flower they are linked together – a rather simple task, but the pieces are bold and unique, and the tourists love to bring them back as souvenirs.

Illustration 15: "We always are laughing. We like to play and have fun. You will always see us smiling" (Ilsa, 2013).

Once most of the *mamas* were gathered in the tourist center roll call would be taken. This attendance policy helped to ensure that each woman that was present got her share of the money made that day and that if someone wasn't present they weren't given any of the profits. During roll call some of the women would get their hair re-braided. All the women in Ccorccor, and in other communities, traditionally wear braids in their hair, and I too, wore braids – the women really enjoyed dressing me up and having me "play the part" as "one of them." Simple inclusions like this helped me to feel comfortable with the women and I enjoyed being part of their group.

Illustration 16: My first time as part of la Asociación Munay T'ika.

Meal preparation took the longest amount of time. Peeling potatoes, boiling water, running to get more water, cutting carrots, washing spinach – spoons were flying, knives were passed, but most memorable aspect was the laughing that could be heard throughout the whole process. While some women ignited the flames underneath huge soup pots, others ran back and forth from the makeshift stoves to the large sink-basin in order to keep up with the water demand. The inspirations for each meal came from traditional or distinct events that are celebrated in Ccorccor. For instance, like many other people in the Andes, *cuy* – guinea pig in English – is another dish that is usually only made for special occasions like weddings, birthdays, religious events, and other important days in the community. *Cuy* prepared in restaurants is more on the expensive side of Peruvian delicacies, it can cost between 25 and 40 soles ($8.90 – $14.23), in contrast it is very common to find *menus* (daily specials) for 3-5 soles, less than two dollars.

Other typical dishes that la Asociación Munay T'ika presents to guests are *torreja de olluco, torreja de espinaca*, *sopa de quinoa*, a variety of *papas*, and *sanku*[23]. The food is very hearty, but also heavy, the women told me the recipes are good for a long day of work. Most of the food prepared comes directly from the land surrounding the community. Some of the activities planned for the tourists even demonstrate how the locals harvest their food.

Illustration 17: Eating with la Asociación Munay T'ika.

Once crunching of gravel is heard off in the distance, signaling approaching tourists, we hastily jump up to begin the entrance "ceremony." The tourist groups arrive

[23] *Olluco,* spinach patties, and quinoa soup are shown in the photo above. *Sanku* is made from crush maize, flour, sugar, and water and is considered more like a dessert.

in either an agency van or via independent taxis. Grabbing the premade necklaces and placing our *monteras*[24] onto our braided heads, we all ran out to the road to greet the *pasajeros*[25]. Singing folkloric songs, each woman (myself included) escorts one or two guests. At first I was unsure of what my role would be during tourism activities, but quickly I discovered that having lived with the community I had more insight than most of the tour guides. My first time as part of La Asociación I accompanied an elderly gentleman from Canada. We passed through the leafy archway that separated the road into Ccorccor and the tourism center. Some people in the group thought I was actually part of the community; apparently I was pretty convincing… The tourists were excited that I spoke English and continued to ask me questions throughout their time in Ccorccor, since at times I could give more detailed descriptions than their guides.

After the tourists were in the center, we formed a circle and the women ceased singing. Rosa stood in the middle once all of the tourists were escorted into the square and began her greeting. Speaking in Quechua she introduced herself and thanked the tourists for choosing to visit Ccorccor. The guide parrots a rough interpretation of what Rosa says. Although the guides have a proficient or advanced level of Quechua, most admit that their knowledge is fairly limited. Since I don't speak Quechua I asked Rosa in Spanish what it is she says to the tourists, below is my English translation:

"Good morning Mister and Missus travelers. My name is Rosa, I am the president of the Beautiful Flower Association here in Ccorccor. I would like to say thank you for visiting us today. We are new to tourism and would like to hear any suggestions you have for us. We hope that each time travelers come we will be better and better."

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[24] Traditional hats worn by many communities.
[25] Passengers or guests

She then explained what the activities for the day would be and what food would be served. Once she ended her speech the other ladies began clapping, I think as a way to let the tourists know that she has finished; from there the guests are ushered to the next part of their community experience.

Illustration 18&19: Welcome to Ccorccor

As we led the tourists from the center into one of the un-harvested *olluco* fields, I told some of the guests more about daily life in the community. Most were interested to learn about the surroundings: the methods of planting and growing crops, the names of flowers and plants, and the fact that there was electricity in the community. The guides often asked me questions for future reference. I became another bridge for the women to tell their story, in a "real" way, without having to create a mystic backstory of sacred traditions. For future visits I was put in charge of explaining how the meals were prepared, what kinds of foods the community ate, what activities they participated in and other customs of the community. Activities the community showed to the tourists include cutting alfalfa and feeding it to the animals, shearing sheep, milking cows, decorating llamas, harvesting potatoes, and playing soccer – the women love to play too!

Illustration 20: In this photo the tourist taught community members how to make noise with grass. Cultural interactions on both sides.

Illustration 21: Dressing the part for daily activities, here the *manta* is filled with alfalfa to bring to the guinea pigs.

Illustration 22: My acceptance into La Asociación Munay T'ika

I secretively celebrated when tourists came to the community. It became a way for me to connect back to the "real world"; in my current position I find it ironic how much more real Ccorccor seems to me now that I have left the community. Although I had discomforts while living there, I grew fond of my host family, the women, and the land. I became more protective of their lifestyle and felt a reversion back to my previous protective sentiments about culture. Cultures, societies, and people change, but I was seeing so many influences placed upon Ccorccor that I couldn't help but want to see them define their own trajectories and not be categorized by some exploitative industry.

CCORCCOR-AGENCY INTERACTION

While pressuring the women to learn new skill-sets, one agency in particular wanted to enforce that the community work towards competency in all three aspects of their tourism project: rural living, mystic tourism, and medicinal tourism. It would have been easy for most communities to meet the needs of rural tourism, it's what they do every

day – working the land, cooking, and tending to livestock. However, mystic tourism was something far more complicated. Ccorccor feels little, if any, connection to the Inca. Most of the members are Evangelical, and their spirituality is very different than tourist may expect. Giving thanks to the Pachamama is widely recognized in the Andes, but once again this is a norm of the whole region. For the women, this aspect was perhaps the hardest to include in tourist encounters, but they told me that they were willing to learn how to participate in any activity the agency would have shown them.

As for medicinal tourism in Ccorccor, this is something that could be possible. Most, if not all, of the women know the herbs that grow around their community and how to use them. However, they use modern medicines as well. Rosa and I talked about the importance of medicinal herbs and concluded that this could be an advantage for the community to regain lost knowledge of medicinal production and use.

What the tour agency asked was nothing out of the ordinary. At the time I was annoyed that they couldn't see how wonderful an opportunity they were presented with in Ccorccor. This was a chance for them to break out of the traditional community-based tourism scheme – Ccorccor could be something different, something that broadly represents the Andes, but also provides a unique local experience. But, it didn't matter what my opinions were, even if the women listened to them, in the end it would be their decision; to conform – potentially resulting in a greater probability to experience large groups of tourists quickly – or to resist – which likely would result in additional time and community effort to attain success.

Chapter 7: Concluding Thoughts: Findings and Suggestions

Once culture is displayed as a commodity its authenticity is at risk. It is undeniable that Cusco thrives on the tourism industry; its main export is its past and its people. Creating wealth in the city through selling *Incanismo* and the "Indian," Cusco has set an example for rural, Quechua-speaking communities to achieve the same economic success. In both urban and rural settings concerns about cultural change have arisen. Given these concerns, it is possible to use a Hopeful approach when working with community-based tourism projects so that they can reach their full potential. By empowering and guiding them to promote their own strengths, they may be able to advance the tourism industry while also maintaining the diversity of Peru, and of the Andes.

From my findings and experiences I would like to offer my own suggestions to tourism agencies, tourists, and to communities that are thinking of beginning their own project or to those that are already a part of the industry. I believe it is important to know that we all have a responsibility to respect culture and the people within it.

My research offers recommendations for the incorporation of broader expressions of unique Andean culture into community tourism projects. Briefly explained, agencies should focus on the strengths of the communities they work with. By not blending them all into the Inca schema, communities are allowed to demonstrate what makes them distinctive. Communities must attempt to work with agencies that are committed to culturally (and environmentally) sustainable tourism to help maintain their heritage, while still benefitting from economic advancements. And finally, tourists and travelers should take the time to research the places they wish to explore. Ideally, tourists should investigate local histories, talk to people from the area, and become familiar with the environment surrounding them.

Tourism research has largely focused on the negative impacts of mass tourist activities. I concede that without proper care for social and environmental spaces, degradation may occur. However, it is possible to pursue community-based tourism with a hopeful lens. To combat such issues, "Hopeful Tourism" can be considered as a new paradigm. Hopeful Tourism, as defined by Ateljevic, Morgan, and Pritchard (2011, 947), "offers an alternative values-led approach to tourism knowledge production…the advocacy of human dignity and rights and just societies in tourism." This strategy pushes towards participant activity and empowerment, encouraging "co-created [and] co-transformative learning" (Ateljevic et al., 2011, 953) [26].

Whether the people of Ccorccor find themselves conforming to the Inca representations or promoting their own community's history, at least they have the agency to decide – they are in charge of their direction. During a one-on-one interviews I found that one of the women was in full support of adding outside traditions in order to appease tourism agencies and tourists:

"Does the community practice customs that are considered to be of the Inca?" I asked her.

"No." she responded.

"If these customs were incorporated in Ccorrccor would they change the community?

"Yes."

"They would, and you would still be willing to use them?" I asked her.

"Yes, I want to learn all things."

[26] SXSW is another leading organization that emphasizes the need to take responsibility for the environmental and cultural impacts of our actions. From this, SXSW Eco launched its promotion of sustainable tourism in 2013. For more information on how to become involved with the SXSW Eco initiative visit: http://sxsweco.com/.

Because Ccorccor was new to tourism I found it exemplary of how important the initial phases of community-based tourism planning are. Prior to implementation of cultural tourism projects in communities it is important to discuss future goals and potential setbacks with the community. Fully informing the members enables them to balance their own desires with tourisms' needs. I was a little saddened to hear how willing some of the members were to deviate from their own customs for the sake of tourism, but it's their choice to do so. I believe that because Ccorccor was still new to the industry, they were able to avoid embracing the Inca stereotypes; but they will most definitely need a full partnership (or multiple partnerships) with agencies that promote Hopeful Tourism objectives. However, as long as communities like Ccorccor remain, previous tourism practices can be rectified; we can examine the past to understand and change the present.

Peru offers culture as a commodity. Tourists receive a perception of the everyday life of "the Indian," and the nation in return obtains global recognition and the opportunity of further "modernization." Because indigeneity is such a popular tourist attraction, it is an obvious avenue for impoverished indigenous communities to display their heritage to tourists for money. From this, communities are creating an atmosphere that will be aesthetically, culturally, and traditionally pleasing to a tourist. However, Hopeful Tourism paves the way for an optimistic view of the tourism industry. All agents in the industry should take notice: the commodification of culture can be ameliorated.

According to Dowling et al. (2003, 9) for the "continued survival of social groups, it is imperative for members of a community to uphold their root values at the same time they are being threatened by extraneous factors, which have potential to devalue their cohesiveness." Communities are maintained by cultural practice. For example, "language, dress [or traditional dress], cuisine, [and] festivals" are more obvious demonstrations of cultural values, whereas ethics, behavior, and attitudes are more subtle (Dowling et. al,

2003, 9). As outsiders enter the community personal and group interactions are affected which could create a shift in community dynamics. With more and more access to technological advancements (i.e. smart phones, computers, information sharing), young adult outward migration, and the (somewhat prevalent) desire to become like the West, culture has been subject to change. For Hopeful Tourism to be effective, the community must understand that change in community thought or action is already occurring. Regardless of tourism, indigenous cultures are transforming, they are not nor have they ever been fixed. Once I accepted that although we (community members and tourists) can't have the same experiences as people had hundreds of years ago, we can remember that past, move forward from it, and embrace the beauty of contemporary tradition.

Although tourism is often perceived as destructive, many communities depend on the industry as an outside source of income. But the reality is that tourism has been poorly managed and planned, at times creating more problems that previously existed. Like ecotourism, community (or rural)-based tourism takes an alternative approach, one that I believe is fueled with good intentions. However, more than good intentions are needed to generate income, sustain agriculture, and maintain a lifestyle – a balance between practicality and hope is needed.

Either beneficial or problematic, tourism offers a new source of employment for the people of Ccorccor. The members already have practical skills, but through tourism are able to use them in a new way. The cost of hosting tourists is relatively low and demonstrating what the community looks and acts like is fairly simple. Community-entrepreneurial thinking is a way for Ccorccor to prosper with fewer potential setbacks.

Hopeful Tourism has given me a new perspective on community-based tourism, emphasizing community empowerment. Tourism research has greatly advanced in recent decades; morality, ethics, and cultural competence can be integrated in order to prevent

exploitation and aid (to a certain degree) in cultural preservation. Below are some suggestions I have for communities working in tourism, agencies working with communities, and tourists interested in community-based tourism projects.

SUGGESTIONS FOR TOURISM AGENCIES

Tourism agencies, in general, are working to make a profit. Thus far selling the Inca tourism model has been effective. Acknowledging that this model works and is widely used, we must also concede that it isn't the only model. It is premature to believe that only Inca traditions, or more importantly what is believed to be Inca traditions, will be successful. It is smart to market additional experiences to tourists and promote new versions of tourism.

I believe it would be most valuable for both communities and travel agencies to *understand* each other, language barriers aside. It is pertinent for agencies to express interest in the present day values, traditions, ceremonies, and cultural distinctions of the communities they work with. They should attempt to learn or become familiar with community customs or listen to their songs and watch their dances; these usually are different between communities. From this they can create a strategy that plays to the strengths of local people.

Some communities may have more advanced agricultural practices, while others may excel with medicinal plants. It could even be possible to show the traditional songs and dances if they are events the community doesn't mind publicly displaying. I would caution against pushing a community to learn a new skill or pretend they are something they aren't for the purpose of promoting tourism. Let the communities be real. Although tourists might be misinformed of the actual Andean traditions, they still search for what is considered to be "authentic" culture. Changing and reorganizing how the members live turns them into puppets. A community that can offer itself and its own history is unique,

unlike every other "Inca" descendent community. Andean culture will be portrayed through individuality of each community.

Once agencies stop selling this false idea that everyone who speaks Quechua and lives in the surrounding regions of Cusco is of Inca culture, we can all begin to embrace the fact that there is more variety than just the Inca history of Peru. A positive objective would be to exhibit the exceptional identities throughout Peru which establish the Andes as a place unlike any other. I do not wish to banish Inca tourism, after all Machu Picchu is one of the Seven Wonders of the World (World of New 7 Wonders, 2007). Yet, there is a time and place for tourists to see and learn about Inca society, however it does not need to be demonstrated in every single Quechua-speaking community.

SUGGESTIONS FOR COMMUNITIES

I find it more difficult to make suggestions for communities, because so much of what I would like to offer is situational and all communities are at various stages and have different needs. In many cases most of the members in rural communities are not fluent in Spanish, which is a setback when working with an agency that might only have one or two guides who speak Quechua. The guides I worked with had a good level of Quechua proficiency, but many times they informed the tourists that they couldn't understand everything that was said. Because I could act as a medium I realized how important communication was to becoming more aware of one another. Furthermore, I would suggest that community leaders look for agencies like RESPONS which promote agency and empowerment. They should look for guides that are willing to take time to understand their community and really be able to transfer information. After a trustworthy network has been established it will be easier to display what sets the community apart.

It is important to play to the strengths of the community; use special spaces nearby to illuminate aspects of one's community. For example, when I first went to Ccorccor I was curious about the beautiful lake nearby; during my stay Maria and I walked down to it and talked about what communities use it for. A lake visit could be used during normal tourist encounters. Another example would be to bring tourists to the pastures above Ccorccor and show them how to care for the animals; this would demonstrate what it is like to live in the rural Andes every day. Furthermore, simple activities, like eating lunch, can be used to expand upon community traditions and stories.

In addition to being served lunch, tourists could be involved in food preparation. Furthermore, a history of the meal, its importance, and its preparation would add another level of uniqueness to the experience. Additionally, villagers could eat with the tourists. Most communities have a designated dining area or room for tourists, but putting them in a room by themselves to eat, only seeing the women when they bring in the food, reduces the cultural significance of the meal. Each time José and I went to the community we made sure to eat with the women. Being outside, sitting in a huge circle on the ground (we were always given alpaca hides to sit on), laughing and being physically present with the women made a normal lunch-time event into an interesting and more "real" event. But in Ccorccor the women felt as though they were in the tourists' way if they ate with them or that the tourists weren't comfortable enough. However, spending more time with the guests only enhances their experience.

The next thing I would advise is to have patience. Community-based tourism requires an extreme amount of effort and planning of everyone involved. It is essential that

the members work together and create a strong bond between themselves. I found the women in Ccorccor to be exceptionally close and was informed by Ilsa that it was through the la Asociación Munay T'ika that they became that way. Before tourism planning was introduced they spent less time together; "now we organize ourselves and are always together." She said she feels closer to the community and to her ancestors because they have used tourism as a way to reincorporate dances and songs their grandparents used to show them, but had been forgotten over time.

Don't get discouraged in the early phases of setting up tourism in your community. There is a period of trial and error when the members can learn what they do well and what they need to work on. Until your community is well represented through an agency, or spread via word-of-mouth, it is harder for people to know the community exists. Some agencies can supply flyers and other forms of visual aids. RESPONS, for example, has a Facebook page and links pictures and comments for each area they work with. And as I have been in contact with them and follow their Facebook page, I have seen their success at keeping their information up-to-date. With the help of the tourism agencies, advertise the opportunity to live, work, and volunteer in the community; many times tourists are only aware of the day trips into communities. Multiple tourists informed me they would have been interested in a two or three day visit if they had known it was possible.

The price of the handicrafts should be competitive. It is understandable to ask for more than what the markets in Cusco do; however many of the tourists have seen similar products and compare prices. Generally tourists want to buy something from the community because of the special significance and the handmade quality. Many tourists

informed me that they like to buy from local markets and communities because the money goes directly to the community members; however, exceedingly high prices dissuade them from making purchases. I would urge the community to find prices which represent the added value and effort of the women, but do not overestimate the amount tourists are willing to pay.

Keep it "real." If a tourist asks you a question don't give them the answer you think they want to hear. It is better to be truthful about your culture than to pretend to be something you're not. If your community does decide to portray its members as Inca descendants, it should be aware of how the community might change. You should also think about how the representations used for the tourists will effect current community values and ideas. Will the performances become a norm or will they be kept completely separate from the community's traditions?

SUGGESTIONS FOR TOURISTS

Honestly, do your research before your trip. If it was planned spontaneously, ask around, the locals will most likely have some information for you. Once you're in the community continue to ask questions. The women I worked with love when the tourists seemed interested and excited, it truly does give them pleasure to have something to offer. Engage in conversation; not all the women speak Spanish, but they do want to talk to you. They also want to hear what you like and dislike about the experience. Since they are relatively new in the industry they are trying new things out and need feedback; the feedback they do receive is usually from the tour guides.

Move away from the common stereotype that all indigenous people in the Andes are of Inca descent; even people that claim to be Inca aren't. In case you are really

interested, most of the people who are considered to truly be "of Inca descent" live in (or are from) the San Sebastian neighborhood, in Cusco.

Many communities are visited so that tourists can see how traditional, mountain-dwelling people still live and to try a traditional meal. Don't go to the community just to eat. Participate in the activities! They might not be your typical idea of "fun," because a lot of the times you learn how to harvest potatoes - and anyone who has pick-axed the ground for more than ten minutes knows that your back gets sore in eight. But you come to appreciate a new perspective of life and work. Sometimes your tour may be behind schedule and agencies will cut certain parts out of their tours to make up for lost time. I saw a few cases where the group could only eat lunch and look at the handicrafts, after which they were quickly whisked away. You probably paid for other activities besides the meal, so you are missing out on a great day of events and possibly cheated of your money. It's also one of the best experiences you'll get – so do it!

Profit maximization is an economic drive that motivates a lot of businesses to compromise the integrity and quality of the products they sell. State officials and tourism agencies act for their own benefits and not necessarily for the benefit of community livelihoods. However, you can do your part in researching which companies work to benefit a community, are non-exploitative, and offer a more complete Andean experience.

CONCLUSIONS AND FINAL POSITIONS

My own tourism adventures through South America have brought me to the understanding that tourism can be positive, it can offer hope, and it can reinvigorate cultural appreciation and values. I too was, and at times still am, like the average tourist. I continue to enjoy traveling, learning about new cultures, meeting new people, and expanding my knowledge of the world. I believe travel is a wonderful opportunity, it aids in cultural competence, which creates better international relations and consideration. Ccorccor made

me more aware of the stark differences (and unlikely similarities) between cultures. I was confronted with unusual circumstances and had to react in ways I wouldn't have thought myself capable. The members of the community demonstrated strength, determination, and joy. They made me realize that tourism doesn't have to be an activity that only takes and manipulates. And they presented me with a new vision of tourism, one with a hopeful ending.

Cultural significance and pride are contested every day in tourism studies, and although we may not have the authority (nor should we consider ourselves qualified) to tell societies what should be important to them, we have an obligation to relay information to the actors within the tourism phenomena in an understandable and meaningful way. I went in knowing that living in a culture far different than my own would be challenging, but I had to change my stereotypical visions of what was supposed to be "normal" and confront my comfort level. Like most travelers, I got sick, I battled bed bugs, and "braved" the unknown. It was trying and many times I wasn't always sure how to handle new situations. But once my connection to the community strengthened and the members treated me as one of them, I felt like I was accomplishing something worthwhile.

My suggestions are not all I have to offer, I can offer myself as an agent. I can share my experiences from Ccorccor, emphasize a broad Andean Identity, and a more hopeful view. This thesis will be shared with RESPONS in hopes that they will continue to use a Hopeful method in their tourism initiatives and be an example for other agencies to follow. In the future, I also intend to share my findings with the member of La Asociación Munay T'ika. Furthermore, I hope to expand ideas of cultural competencies to those around me. This experience has made me more aware of another part of the world and I found an appreciation for activities I would never have thought possible. For those

with the opportunity, I encourage you to actively engage in the world we live in, leave what is comfortable behind, and explore the unknown.

With a hopeful perspective, I find it possible for all actors to receive justifiable benefits that last. Culture is constantly changing; this is irrefutable. However, it is important that we remember our past, because it will lead us into the future.

EPILOGUE

Sitting in lecture listening to my adviser tell stories of his time in Peru, the significance of Machu Picchu today, and the contact between the Spanish and Inca I could see the interest amongst the students; I could even feel my own excitement rise. Learning about how well organized the Empire was, right down to the fit of stones in their walls, and how they connected themselves spiritually, astronomically, agriculturally, and socially to the cosmos, I was brought back to what sparked my interest in studying Latin America and why I chose to go abroad, to travel, and to connect with diverse cultures. I will never completely reject the romanticized versions of Inca history; it's still part of what motivates me, and it's a large part of why people travel to Peru. However, as my journey comes full circle, I am reminded that it comes down to the experiences lived and the relationships made to achieve cultural competency and to appreciate and accept the complexity of historic and contemporary culture.

Illustration 23: Me with the women.

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