

The role of tourism in local power relations

A case study of Pisac, Peru

By

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Abstract

Tourism can be a driving force for socio-cultural change and has the potential to reshape local power dynamics by creating new employment and educational opportunities for traditionally marginalised population groups. Concurrently, the introduction of tourism may also foreground the conditions for the emergence of new business elites and the reproduction of hegemonic power structures which reinforce social differences based on ethnicity, culture and gender. Nevertheless, the examination of local-level power dynamics amongst host communities and the restructuring of local power structures is a topic that remains especially under-researched and under-theorised. Although foreign brokers and tour operators may play a determinant role in influencing the distribution of tourism, asymmetric power relations are also embedded in host communities. If socio-cultural power imbalances are not acknowledged, then tourism development may further intensify existing inequalities.

This thesis critically investigates the role of tourism in local power relations within host communities. Although the multi-dimensional and at times anti-participatory power structures impacting host communities are critically examined, the study also explores the possibilities that tourism may afford local actors to renegotiate established power structures. In order to obtain a more in-depth understanding of host society social dynamics, longitudinal case study research was conducted during two different time periods in the town of Pisac, Peru. Ethnographic methods consisting of participant observation and 40 semi-structured interviews were used to collect primary data for this study.

The study findings reveal a complex interplay of power relations concerning Indigenous and non-Indigenous actors, both male and female. Tourism was found to simultaneously enhance and restrict opportunities for actors to hold and exercise power. Empowerment, as a state of being, was not displayed as a single point or stage to be reached, but rather as a continuum or process. In Pisac, tourism naturally served to influence the pattern of fluctuations in power across actors in the town and surrounding area. To understand and interpret these shifts and exchanges of power, this study suggests that future research must account for locality, temporality and cultural factors; only when these three elements are considered alongside one another can a representative picture of power relations emerge.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Research background and rationale

During the last few decades, tourism research has received increasing attention from social scientists, who have provided key contributions to the understanding of tourism as a socio-cultural phenomenon (Dredge, 2001; Dolezal, 2015; Knight and Cottrell, 2016). Research has been particularly prolific in the area of host-guest relationships and their impacts on communities from the Global South, where the socio-cultural and economic differences between hosts and tourists are particularly marked (McNaughton, 2006; Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Van der Duim et al, 2005). Nevertheless, as posited by a growing number of critics, scholarly focus on host-guest relationships has led to a relative disregard of the way in which tourism impacts micro-level social interactions amongst host actors (Pforr, 2006; Marzano and Scott, 2009; Wearing et al, 2010). The examination of local-level power dynamics amongst host communities and the restructuring of local power structures is a topic that remains especially under-researched and under-theorised (Lane and Corbett, 2005; Wearing et al, 2010).

Increasingly noted by commentators, tourism may restructure host communities on a socio-political level, since it introduces new practices, customs and exogenous stakeholders to the local scene (Church and Coles, 2007; MacLeod and Carrier, 2010). Following this line of thought, existing literature notes that tourism can be a driving force for socio-cultural change and has the potential to reshape local power dynamics by creating new employment and educational opportunities for traditionally marginalised population groups or subaltern populations, such as Indigenous¹ groups and women (Cohen, 1988; Pereiro, 2015). Concurrently, the introduction of tourism may also foreground the conditions for the emergence of new business elites (Gibson, 2009; Crystal, 1989; Goering, 1990; Ferguson, 2011) and the reproduction of hegemonic power structures which reinforce social differences based on ethnicity, culture and gender (Yang, 2011).

¹ In this thesis the word 'Indigenous' will be used interchangeably with the word 'Quechua' to refer to the native communities of the Andes of Peru. They live in separate communities to the rest of the local 'Mestizo' population (individuals of mixed heritage), Quechua is their main language, and they share prehispanic cultural characteristics (Starn, 2003).

In the context of developing nations, numerous studies highlight how the presence of exogenous tourism investors with greater knowledge of and access to foreign resources (i.e. social networks in tourism generating markets, new technologies and foreign investment capital) can destabilise micro-level social dynamics and increase conditions of vulnerability for local actors (Archer et al, 2005; Theobald, 2005). As a result of these detrimental implications, contemporary researchers are increasingly starting to question the impacts of tourism development on host communities as well as the power relations shaping interactions amongst different tourism stakeholders (Wearing and McDonald, 2002; Dredge, 2004; Bramwell and Meyer, 2007). Nevertheless, Bramwell and Lane (2008, p.2) note that notwithstanding the emergence of recent studies on issues of equity and social justice in tourism, further research specifically examining “the causes of inequality as well as the unequal distribution of tourism outcomes is needed”, an argument reiterated within recent scholarship (Ferguson, 2010; Duffy et al, 2012).

Although foreign brokers and tour operators may play a determinant role in influencing the distribution of tourism benefits (Kozak, 2004; Budeanu, 2005), asymmetric power relations are also embedded in host communities themselves (Wearing et al 2010). Host societies are rarely homogeneous; local elites can prevent individuals from non-dominant ethnic or social groups from participating in key tourism decision making processes (Henrici, 1999; Sharp et al, 2000; Wearing et al, 2010). Thus, further scholarly attention should be paid to the examination of the highly fragmented character of local communities and the power vested in informal institutions (such as kinship structures and social interactions); especially in the context of developing countries (Duffy, 2000; Moscardo, 2011; Nunkoo and Ramkissoon, 2011). If existing socio-cultural power imbalances (for example, those based on gender, ethnicity and class) are not acknowledged, then tourism development may further intensify existing inequalities (Duffy, 2000; Tosun, 2000). Such problems, although central to the sustainable and equitable development of tourism, remain under-theorised in scholarly tourism research (Lane and Corbett, 2005; Wearing et al, 2010).

Over recent decades, several researchers (Becken and Job, 2014; Dredge and Jamal, 2013; Salazar 2012; Van der Duim, 2005) also suggest that over-emphasising local-level social dynamics (such as conflicts, interests and decision-making processes) without

connecting these to broader socio-political structures and macro-level debates may lead to a simplification of “the messiness characterizing (sic) tourism-based development at multiple scales” (Knight et al, 2017:346). As noted by Gupta and Ferguson (1997), local spaces are hierarchically interrelated and linked to larger social structures. Accordingly, tourism scholarly literature increasingly advocates that the analysis of tourism-linked power imbalances may benefit from greater reflection of the nexus between local-level dynamics and broader discourses (Stumpf and Swanger, 2015; Brohman, 1996; Dredge and Jamal, 2013; Larson and Poudyal, 2012). This might include consideration of how broader debates related to globalisation, post-colonialism, gender and ethnicity manifest at the local level in tourism host societies. Nowadays, more nuanced approaches, which seek to ground wider discourses in localised contexts appear especially pertinent, given the increasing promotion of sustainable tourism by practitioners and scholars alike (Swarbrooke, 1999; Jamal and Camargo, 2014). This is because imbalanced power relationships and exclusionary ideologies linked to macro-level socio-political processes may be reinforced by local elites and exogenous agents, compromising the goals of participative tourism models (Stumpf and Swanger, 2015).

Additionally, recent scholarly contributions have highlighted the need for further research to scrutinise power with a focus on both individual agency and broader social structures, leading several authors to highlight the need for studies which examine both these aspects conjointly, including options for resistance and empowerment (Wearing et al, 2010; Duffy et al, 2012). Although the concept of empowerment has been addressed within existing studies of tourism and power relations, these remain limited in scope; this is especially noticeable in research examining empowerment as a relational and temporal process (Emmel, 2017). Such calls have also been accompanied by sustained and increasing requests by tourism scholars to further incorporate multi-disciplinary approaches to the study of tourism (Scott, 2015). As noted by Graburn and Jafari (1991, p.7) “no single discipline alone can accommodate, treat, or understand tourism; it can be studied only if disciplinary boundaries are crossed and if multidisciplinary perspectives are sought and formed.”

In view of these literature gaps, this thesis aims to investigate the role of tourism in local power relations within host communities, using a case study approach and ethnographically grounded research methods. A multi-disciplinary research approach is

adopted, drawing upon key concepts from the social sciences and humanities (anthropology, sociology, cultural studies and postcolonial studies) related to power, gender and ethnic identity (Foucault, 1978 De la Cadena, 2000; Butler, 1990) as well as current tourism scholarship examining host communities' interfaces with tourism development (Church and Coles, 2007; Cole, 2006; Scarles, 2012; Dolezal, 2015, Knight et al, 2017). Given that anthropological enquiry emphasises the understanding of societies and their cultures through their social relationships, structures and myths, anthropological theories provide a particularly apposite framework to underpin the exploration of the nuanced ways in which tourism impacts host culture and restructures micro-level social dynamics (Holden, 2005). Following this logic, ethnographic methods mainly consisting of participant observation and semi-structured interviews were used to collect primary data for this study. In order to obtain a more in-depth and holistic understanding of host society social dynamics underlined by tourism development, longitudinal case study research was conducted during two different time periods in the town of Pisac (Cusco, Peru).

The town of Pisac was selected for the study since it possesses a multi-ethnic population (Indigenous and 'Mestizo'² communities) whose interactions have been historically conditioned by distinctive power structures related to ethnicity, gender and class (Henrici, 1999). Additionally, the area brings together diverse varieties of tourism (for example, cultural tourism and agro-tourism) which are managed by varied stakeholder groups and individuals (including foreign entrepreneurs, NGOs, Pisac natives and Indigenous groups) (Henrici, 1999; Simon, 2009). These features collectively establish Pisac as an appropriate location in which to set a study exploring multifaceted local power dynamics and tourism.

An ethnographic approach to empirical data collection was selected due to the advantage it affords in comparison to other methodologies. Ethnographic methods allow the researcher to immerse him/herself in the cultural environment being studied, since the researcher usually spends an extended time period living with research subjects (Holden, 2005; Tan et al, 2003). This allows ethnographers to witness the environmental, cultural, political and social contexts of human interactions and thus

² This term will be further analysed in this thesis. However, it is important to note that in this thesis the ethnic category 'Mestizo' will be used to refer to Peruvian individuals of mixed European and Indigenous heritage, not living in an 'Ayllu' (Indigenous village).

opens degrees of understanding that may not have become apparent using research methods from other disciplines (Holden, 2005). A prolonged stay in the research setting permits the researcher to establish long-term rapport and relationships built on trust with research participants (ibid). Consequently, this allows the ethnographer to ask questions and gain participant responses that have a cultural context, go beyond the superficial and may not have been divulged without the relation of trust developed between researcher and respondent (Tope et al, 2005). Ethnographic methods thus allow the researcher “the possibility of understanding the nuances of tourism that otherwise might be missed or incomprehensible” (Holden, 2005, p.137).

Aiming to contribute to the limited body of tourism research which examines social and cultural relations of power underpinned by a multi-dimensional consideration of the latter (Wearing et al, 2010; Macleod and Carrier, 2010; Malam, 2008), this thesis adopts a predominantly poststructuralist power paradigm. Poststructuralist views of power broadly contend that power should not be viewed solely as overt coercion or the ability to access resources but should rather be seen as a multifaceted construct with both restrictive and emancipatory capacities (Foucault, 1980; Sharp et al, 2000; Church and Coles, 2007). Although this thesis asserts that to advance more equitable and successful local participation in tourism, the multi-dimensional and at times anti-participatory power structures impacting host communities must be critically examined, it also explores the possibilities that tourism may afford local actors to renegotiate established power structures. Given recent calls from tourism scholars to further scrutinise the nexus between community-level power dynamics and broader discourses (Meyer, 2013; Bianchi, 2003), this thesis considers the effects of ingrained ideological discourses regarding ethnicity, culture and class as well as the extent to which local actors renegotiate established power dynamics in tourism spaces.

1.2. Aim and objectives

This research aims to critically examine the role of tourism on local power relations in the Andes of Peru and the extent to which tourism may be used to enhance the socio-economic equity of host actors. With this aim in mind, the following specific objectives were set:

1. To conduct a critical review of the literature identifying and examining the links between ethnicity, local power relations and tourism.
2. To conduct an ethnographically based investigation in Pisac, assessing the role of tourism on existing local power relations and bringing socio-economic equity to community actors.
3. To assess local actors' perceptions of power dynamics within the Pisac tourism industry by conducting observation and semi-structured interviews with key informants.
4. To contribute to an understanding of the way in which local power relations impact the distribution of tourism benefits in host societies.

1.3. Contributions to Existing Knowledge

Whilst power as a concept has been widely examined within the social sciences, it has thus far been selectively examined in the tourism literature (Cheong and Miller, 2000; Church and Coles, 2007; Hall, 2010; Sofield, 2003). A great deal of focus has been placed on investigating the power asymmetries between hosts and tourists (Butler, 1980; Shaw and Williams, 2004) and power within a macro-level policy domain (Farmaki et al, 2015; Airey and Chong, 2010; Gunn and Var, 2002; Hall, 2008; Pforr, 2006). Whilst these publications have contributed to a greater understanding of the impacts of tourism; opportunities persist to develop further understandings on the way micro-level power dynamics influence local participation in tourism and how tourism can restructure social relations of power amongst residents. This appears particularly imperative in destinations with highly fragmented populations where the division of labour and access to decision-making posts has been traditionally organised around ethnic, gender and class divisions.

This study aims to contribute to these conversations through an in-depth consideration of local-level social dynamics in a post-colonial tourist destination; the study location has a history of asymmetrical power relations organised around socio-cultural differences (Henrici, 1999; Ypeij, 2012). Under such circumstances, it is important to identify which social groups participate in tourism and the conditions under which they

do so. Further to this, the study setting is especially appropriate to interrogate the possibilities that tourism may afford subaltern marginalised groups for social mobility and resistance to hegemonic power structures. These possibilities can only be realised when scholars and practitioners recognise, accept and promote the agency of community members, particularly those in liminal spaces. The agency of community residents is increasingly being foregrounded by tourism scholars (Scheyvens, 2002; Tucker, 2003; Doron, 2005; Maoz, 2006; Scarles, 2012, Knight and Cottrell, 2017), however, studies are limited in scope, especially with regards to post-colonial societies where hosts are still largely portrayed as victims of Western-imposed tourism development; their agency is seldom acknowledged (Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Hill, 2007; 2008). As stated by Wearing et al (2010, p.63), although tour operators are amongst the main stakeholders in influencing the effects of tourism (Budeanu, 2005; Kozak, 2004), they do not control all aspects of the process. Similarly, Chambers (1999, p.10) highlights that “too often we regard the local communities and regions that receive tourists as being the passive recipients of a tourist dynamic”. Dualistic approaches which perceive hosts in binary opposition to exogenous stakeholders such as tourists, tour operators and governments fail to acknowledge that society is not neatly grouped into the powerless and powerful (Wearing et al, 2010).

Depending on the setting, the ‘oppressors’ may equally be the ‘oppressed’ and the dominated may find subtle and creative mechanisms for resistance that may not be overtly manifested (Lukes, 1974; Hall, 1994; Bianchi, 2004). As Lukes (1974) notes, conflict may not always be manifested overtly and domination may take place through mechanisms and tactics that may not be evident or observable. Thus, by scrutinising micro-level host interactions, this study aims to develop new understandings of how multiple systems of meaning may overlay a single site and how host actors may renegotiate power relations in tourism-oriented spaces. Furthermore, studies which favour agency-oriented views of host societies are increasingly needed to enhance understanding of the nuanced ways in which power may be negotiated and renegotiated by local residents (Dolezal, 2013; Hollinshead, 1998; Uriely, 2005). A move away from a one-sided examination of power towards a poststructural enquiry that employs a dynamic conceptualisation of power, may also allow for the acknowledgement of hosts’ agency to resist local power structures through tourism and shape the kind of tourism that takes place in their localities.

Following this argument, it is expected that this thesis will demonstrate the value of ethnographic and case study based approaches to the study of tourism spaces and host community interactions. As previously stated, prolonged immersion in the study field allows ethnographers to obtain more in-depth and long-term view of their subject matter since they are able to perceive changes that take place over an extended period of time. As observed by Macleod (2010, p.12), “cultural elements may be easy to name and to imagine, but they can be difficult to uncover...because often they become visible only in the subtle interplay and unexpected activities of daily life”.

Having acknowledged the importance of examining the particularities of the local context in which power relations develop, this research also answers calls by recent scholarly commentators to link micro-level power relations to wider power structures, including national and international discourses on ethnicity, culture, development and gender (Giddens, 1984; Bianchi, 2003; Meyer, 2013). Thus, this thesis examines asymmetric power relations by exploring the national and regional socio-historical processes underpinning existing social practices, an approach largely missing from current Peruvian tourism research (Knight and Cottrell, 2016). It does this by uniting theory stemming from Western scholarship with Peruvian academic contributions, answering increasing calls for further engagement with global south scholarship in international academic research (Escobar, 2007; Mignolo, 2007; Desousa Santos, 2012). In particular, the contributions made by Peruvian ethnographer Marisol de la Cadena (2000) to the understanding of gender and ethnic identity formation in Peru, are used to analyse the current socio-economic standing of Indigenous and Andean actors in Peru. Although in recent years a number of studies have explored tourism, ethnicity and gender in the Sacred Valley (Knight and Cottrell, 2016), few have considered extant Peruvian scholarship on gender and ethnic identity formations in the Andes.

Thus, this thesis also aims to uncover how tourism affects gender relations in traditional patriarchal societies such as those found in the Peruvian Andes (Henrici, 1999; Ypeij, 2012). Although the view espoused in most academic literature is that tourism tends to replicate established patterns of domination that subdue the voices of women, recent scholarly advancements suggest that in some cases women are making important gains under new terms of engagement with tourism; in the last decade, the scholarly community has been enriched by findings from studies in the Peruvian Andes

investigating the impacts of tourism on Indigenous women (Ypeij, 2012; Knight and Cottrell, 2016). This study aims to contribute to this debate by further incorporating the perspectives of Mestiza women (Andean women who are not Indigenous), who although heavily impacted by tourism, have remained largely neglected in past studies.

Given that the Sacred Valley around the city of has become a prominent site for research investigating the links between ‘Indigeneity’³ and sustainable tourism models (Maxwell and Ypeij, 2009; Knight and Cottrell, 2016; Burrai et al, 2017), this thesis will also examine the different ways in which Indigenous Quechua communities are impacted by and engage with tourism. Within the context of sustainable tourism models which promote community-based, bottom-up and participatory development approaches, it is especially important to scrutinise imbued imbalances of power - both among local and exogenous actors involved in key tourism decisions; the study will ultimately assess “whether the circumstances in which people choose from their opportunity sets are enabling and just” (Robeyns, 2005, p.99).

Lastly, this study is expected to yield an enhanced understanding of the ways in which local power relations impact the sustainability of tourism development. Future practice-oriented studies dealing with wider structural aspects of tourism such as planning, policy or governance may be able to draw on these new insights to develop strategies which facilitate a more equitable local participation in tourism decision-making processes.

1.4. Study context

1.4.1 Cusco and the Sacred Valley

The city of Cusco is located in the South-eastern region of Peru and is the capital of the eponymous province, Cusco (Peru travel, 2017). It crosses through the Andes mountain range and is situated at an altitude of approximately 3,400 metres above sea level (Bauer, 2012) (see figure 1.4.1 for illustration). Due to its diverse population and the way tourism has economically and socially reshaped the Cusco region over the last 20 years, a growing number of studies have been published examining the impacts of

³ An ongoing debate exists amongst social scientists regarding what exactly defines ‘indigeneity’ (see for example Merlan 2009). In this thesis, ‘Indigeneity’ is “understood as an attribute of indigenous people, a set of cultural features shared by groups defined as ‘indigenous’ “ (Varutti, 2013:30)

tourism in the region (Henrici, 1999; 2002; Zoomers, 2008; Ruiz-Rubio, 2009; Ypeij, 2012; Larson and Poudyal, 2012; Maxwell, 2012; Knight et al, 2017).

Figure 1.4.1: Map of Peru and the Cusco region



Source: Colleen Farrell, 2017

Over the last two decades, tourism in Peru has grown exponentially (Knight and Cottrell, 2016; Ypeij, 2012); international tourist arrivals in Peru increased by 380% between 1995 and 2010 (UNWTO, 2014). The latest figures from the Ministry of Commerce and Tourism (MINCETUR) note the arrival of 3,744,461 international tourists to Peru in 2016, a 14% rise from 2014 (MINCETUR, 2017). Most international tourists visiting Peru, travel to Cusco and the Sacred Valley where approximately 1,200 travel and tourism companies are currently registered and serving tourists (DIRCETUR, 2013). Alongside industries such as oil and mining, tourism and in particular sustainable tourism in Peru has received a great deal of attention for its potential contribution to the country's economic growth and poverty alleviation (Copestake, 2011; USAID, 2016; WTTC, 2013; MINCETUR, 2015).

The tourism industry in Peru was halted for a decade during the 1980s and mid 1990s by the civil conflict between the guerrilla group Sendero Luminoso and paramilitary

state forces (Mitchell and Eagles, 2001). However, following the end of the armed conflict in the mid 1990s, the country witnessed a revival of tourism, attracting visitors with the promise of exposure to spectacular historical settings and intimate encounters with Andean and Quechua local actors (Babb, 2010; Hills, 2008; Silverman, 2002; Van den Berghe and Flores Ochoa, 2000). Following this demand trend, community based tourism (CBT) has been promoted in the area of the Sacred Valley around the city of Cusco as a tool for poverty eradication (Jurado et al, 2012; MINCETUR, 2006). It promises to do this through the empowerment of rural residents who tend to be affected by higher degrees of poverty than those living in urban centres (ibid).

The potential for empowerment of rural communities, together with the presence of significant natural and cultural assets, explains why the majority of community based tourism developments in Peru have taken place in and around the Sacred Valley area, located between the ruins of Machu Picchu in the South-central highlands and the city of Cusco (Knight, 2013). This region represents what was once the core of the Inca Empire between the 12th and 16th Centuries and is also one of the most popular areas for international visitors who wish to visit archaeological ruins and meet Indigenous communities (Zoomers, 2008; Knight and Cottrell, 2017). According to MINCETUR, between 2007 and 2013, Peruvian rural economies saw over 7 million soles (around \$ 2.3 million) of revenue generated as a result of tourism employment and partnerships with community-based tour operators (Knight, 2013; MINCETUR, 2014). In villages in the Sacred Valley, community-based tourism is thought to have generated economic growth and opportunities for women in particular (Knight, 2013).

However, only a minority of tourists engage in CBT; most tourists are attracted to Cusco and the Sacred Valley due to its cultural, natural and historical heritage sites such as the Inca citadel of Machu Picchu and Cusco's colonial architecture (Baud and Ypeij, 2009; Hernandez Hurtado, 2009; McGrath, 2004; Knight and Cottrell, 2016). Peru has more archaeological sites than any other South American nation (McGrath, 2004) with the Instituto Nacional de Cultura (INC) reporting no fewer than 36,000 known sites in the region of Cusco (Jenkins, 2000). Notwithstanding that tourism is not the only force reshaping contemporary Cusco and surrounding areas, the industry is irrefutably one of the area's most significant income suppliers (Baud and Ypeij, 2009; Hernandez Hurtado, 2009; Knight et al, 2017).

This is due in part to the Peruvian state's neoliberal economic policies which aim to modernise Peru through foreign investment and international tourism (Knight and Cottrell, 2016). As compellingly expressed by Silverman (2002, p.883), "the discourse of modernity in Peru is proclaimed at all levels of Peruvian society – from traditional highland villages to cities – as one of the most important catalysts for prosperity". Nevertheless, theorists have questioned the trickle-down effect of tourism income as it appears that much of the profits of tourism remain in the hands of either foreign owners, Cusco's urban middle classes or Lima-based political and economic elites (Silverman, 2002; Ruiz-Rubio, 2009; Knight and Cottrell, 2016). For instance, the tourist train to Machu Picchu and the nearest situated resort to the archaeological site are owned by the British hospitality corporation, Orient Express (Knight and Cottrell, 2016). Similarly, most of Cusco's high-end hotels and new-age tourism⁴ travel agencies and businesses are owned and operated by Westerners or entrepreneurs hailing from Lima but living in Cusco or abroad (Knight and Cottrell, 2016). Yet, local actors from all levels of society have embraced tourism as a new way of earning a living and more importantly as an opportunity for social mobility (Ypeij, 2012). Local actors from lower social classes often create their own working opportunities in tourism both formally, by registering their businesses with government institutions and paying taxes, or informally by working in unstable jobs that are characterised by low and irregular wages (Ypeij, 2012). This has led most studies to conclude that tourism has limited economic benefits for local stakeholders from rural backgrounds and the lower socio-economic strata in the Cusco region; due to the leakage of tourism revenue to foreign entrepreneurs and multinational corporations (Ruiz-Rubio, 2009; Knight et al, 2017; Hill, 2008; Ypeij, 2012).

Although the issue of host community economic equity has been foregrounded in the latest scholarly publications on tourism in the region, attention has also been paid to the examination of survival strategies of itinerant street vendors (Steel, 2006; 2009; 2012; 2013; Bromley and Mackie, 2009); the socio-economic impacts of community based tourism on Quechua Indigenous communities (Knight and Cottrell, 2016; Jurado et al, 2012; Knight et al, 2017); gender relations and female empowerment in tourism (Ypeij,

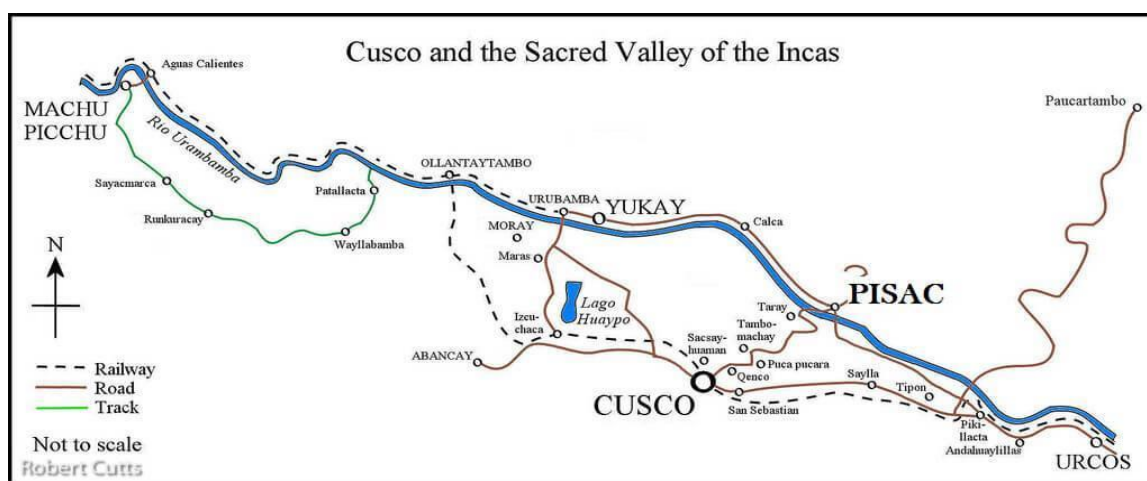
⁴ In this thesis 'New Age' tourism or 'Mystical' tourism (as known locally) is understood as the type of tourism that "actively markets the mystical power of the Andean landscape, of indigenous Andean shamans, and of Inca and pre-Inca archaeological sites" (Hill, 2007, p.433).

2012; Knight and Cottrell, 2016) and new-age tourism and its impact on the cultural heritage of Quechua and Andean actors (Hill, 2007; Vich, 2007; Hill, 2008; Gomez-Barris, 2012). Investigations have largely focused on the participation of Andean Quechua groups in tourism and the way that tourism restructures community dynamics and Indigenous actors' interactions with non-Indigenous Mestizos (Henrici, 2002; 1999; Ypeij, 2012; Knight et al, 2017). Nevertheless, as previously mentioned, Andean Mestizo populations and their involvement in tourism have not been extensively examined in extant research. Although rural Mestizo groups from lower socio-economic strata are also impacted by reportedly inequitable working conditions, gender bias and unbalanced access to managerial positions in the tourism industry (Steel, 2012), this has seldom been recognised or examined by previous studies on tourism in the Peruvian Andes.

1.4.2. Pisac

The district of Pisac is situated in the Department of Cusco, province of Calca, in the area commonly known as the Sacred Valley of the Incas, 35 km north of the main city of Cusco (Municipalidad de Pisac, 2017) (see figure 1.4.2 for illustration). It extends over 148.25 km² and comprises the main town of Pisac and the following surrounding Indigenous communities: Amaru, Ampay, Ccotaqui, Chahuaytiri, Cuyo chico, Cuyo grande, Maska, Ccotamba, Emiliano huamantica de huandar, Pampallacta, Paruparu, Sacaca and Viacha (Municipalidad de Pisac, 2017).

Figure 1.4.2: Map of Pisac and the Sacred Valley



Source: Knight and Cottrell, 2016

Like much of the region of the Sacred Valley, it has experienced a surge of growth in tourism in recent times, with new hotels emerging in and around town. Described by Lonely Planet (2017, p.18) as “a bustling and fast-growing colonial village...a magnet for both spiritual seekers and mainstream travellers...with ruins, a fabulous market and weaving villages nearby that should not be missed”, Pisac has begun to enjoy an international reputation as a must-see destination. In fact, the town has been part of the tourist circuit since the late 1960s when it was part of a national tourism development project which aimed to train male artisans in ceramic manufacturing for tourist and export sales (Henrici, 1999). Shortly after, individual artisans started to establish workshops in the village, building Pisac’s reputation as the key centre of artisanal pottery production in the region (ibid). Ceramic production for visiting tourists and export sale dominated the local economy of the village by the 1980s, although by the 1990s most ceramic workshop owners started to become middle merchants for crafts produced elsewhere (ibid). The village is also known for its traditional handicraft market, which features sale of pottery pieces, jewellery, and local weavings, many of them made by adjacent Indigenous communities (ibid). The market currently opens every day of the week but this only started to take place about ten years ago, traditionally the market only opened on Wednesdays and weekends (ibid). The Sunday market has long been popular with tourists, largely due to the procession of Indigenous mayors who descend to Pisac from adjacent Indigenous communities for the Quechua mass in the town’s church (ibid).

Nevertheless, in the last 15 years, the growth in the number of tour operators and travel agencies has produced changes in the way tourists experience the local scenery and the type of tourist products they consume and purchase (Pearce, 2005). As will be discussed further in this thesis, this has deeply impacted Pisac and other villages around the Sacred Valley as tourists now mostly travel in organised day tours and may not be inclined to spend time in the village and purchase handicrafts from the market. Moreover, in recent years there has been a considerable rise in the number of new-age tourists, motivated by an interest in Quechua cosmology and a desire to take part in Ayahuasca ceremonies (Hill, 2008)⁵. This has led an increasing number of foreigners

⁵ Ayahuasca is “a hallucinogenic plant mixture used in a ceremonial context throughout western Amazonia, and its use has expanded globally in recent decades. As part of this expansion, ayahuasca has become popular

(mostly Americans and Europeans) to open retreats, coffee shops and other Mystical tourism related establishments in Pisac and the Sacred Valley (ibid). Thus, unlike 20 years ago, when Pisac mostly catered for independent travellers interested in purchasing cultural artefacts from the market and a stroll through the village, presently the town primarily attracts two types of tourists: day visitors travelling through the Sacred Valley in large tour groups and new-age tourists. These shifts in the tourism industry have led to a rise in the number of accommodation establishments in the town (aimed at new-age tourists staying in Pisac for an extended period of time) as well as a rise in the number of jewellery stores and souvenir shops where day tourists can make quick purchases.

These changes in the local tourism scene and the impacts on the lives and social dynamics of residents have thus far not been examined by existing studies of the Sacred Valley and tourism. The last in-depth study conducted in the village was conducted in the late 1990s (Henrici, 1999; 2002) when tourism in the Sacred Valley and in Peru more broadly was arguably still nascent in its development. With the exception of Hill (2008), who examined Dianne Dunn's spiritual retreat based in the outskirts of the village of Pisac, most studies have mentioned Pisac only transiently when investigating the Sacred Valley and community based tourism. Based on the rapid growth of tourism in the region, the associated socio-demographic changes accompanying this growth and the previously mentioned gaps in knowledge within the area of power relations and tourism, Pisac offers a rich setting to further an understanding of the ways in which tourism influences power dynamics in host societies. Having established the potential contributions to knowledge and introduced the research setting, the following section will outline the structure of the thesis.

1.5. Thesis structure

The structure of this thesis is as follows:

among westerners who travel to the Peruvian Amazon in increasing numbers to experience its reportedly healing and transformative effects." (Fotiou, 2016:151).

Table 1.5: Thesis structure

Chapters	Content
Chapter 1: Introduction	The chapter introduces the aim and objectives of the thesis; the potential contribution to knowledge and the research setting and the structure of the study.
Chapter 2: Power and power relations in tourism	The chapter firstly introduces the main theoretical contributions on the subject of power and power relations, with a focus on insights from sociology and anthropology. Following a general introduction of theoretical understandings of power relations and female empowerment, a review of existing studies on the subject of tourism and power relations is presented. The chapter closes with a summary of reviewed literature and clarifies how the revised theoretical stances will assist in answering the proposed research questions.
Chapter 3: The interplay of ethnicity, power and tourism in Peru	The chapter begins by critically examining the main theoretical stances on ethnic identity, namely primordial and situational perspectives. This is followed by an analysis of ethnic identity in Peru and the Peruvian Andes. The chapter concludes with a concise review of existing contributions around the links between ethnic identity and tourism in Peru.
Chapter 4: Methodology	The chapter outlines the philosophical and empirical elements that underline the methodological basis of this study. It provides a practical understanding of the research methods used in this study, lays out a rationale for their selection and clarifies the ontological and epistemological positions adopted by the researcher. The chapter also explores ethical considerations, issues related to representation and the practice of reflexivity.
Chapter 5: The socio-spatial transformation of Pisac through tourism	The chapter presents and discusses the results of semi-structured interviews and observation in Pisac. This is the first chapter discussing the results of primary data collection in Peru. This initial chapter introduces stakeholder groups, local social dynamics and the social and spatial changes that tourism development has produced in the district.
Chapter 6: Exogenous tourism stakeholders, Municipal authorities and local power relations	Following the discussion commenced in the previous chapter, this chapter examines in greater depth the power relations amongst local residents. However, the focus of this chapter is the interaction amongst market sellers, tour guides and jewellery store owners. Special attention is paid to the mechanisms and strategies used by tour guides to control the local tourism industry. Within this frame of reference, the spatial tactics used by tour guides to manipulate the touristic space are also scrutinised.
Chapter 7: Tourism, power, ethnicity and gender	This chapter critically examines the extent to which tourism development has restructured gender dynamics and power dynamics between Mestizo and Indigenous groups in the district in Pisac. The chapter also discusses the empowerment of women as a result of tourism employment in the district.
Chapter 8: Conclusion and recommendations	This final chapter provides a summary of the thesis, outlines the contributions to knowledge and practice and offers recommendations for future research and policy makers.

Having outlined the structure of this thesis and its potential contributions to existing knowledge, the following chapter will provide a critical review of the body of knowledge related to tourism and the study of power.

CHAPTER 2: POWER AND POWER RELATIONS

2.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide an in-depth review of the concepts of power and power relations, which act as the vehicles for analysis in this study. An investigation of the different levels and dimensions of power is performed, as well as the components of the empowerment process. The concept of power has been examined by researchers from a myriad of disciplines and epistemological positions (Weber, 1947; Parsons, 1956; Dahl, 1957; Parsons, 1963; Lukes, 1974; Foucault, 1982; Giddens, 1983; Butler, 1997; Haugaard, 2002). Crucially, two epistemological standpoints may be recognised in the existing academic literature: structuralist perspectives, which equate power to control and the single exercise of force from an enforcer to a subordinate; and poststructuralist positions, which view power as a multifaceted complex construct which does not necessarily entail the exercise of force (Fennell, 2001).

The first part of this chapter will introduce existing theoretical perspectives around power, notably reviewing structuralist and poststructuralist understandings of power. This is followed by an examination of female empowerment. The notion of empowerment is discussed as a multilevel and multidimensional concept that emerges from social interactions, presented as a process rather than purely an outcome or a state to be reached. Subsequently, the different ways in which power has been approached in tourism related studies is reviewed. Major themes include: power within the context of the tourist-host encounter; tourism as a platform for empowerment and resistance; the power of the tourist gaze; the power of tourist imagery and power in tourism governance.

2.2. Conceptualising Power

The concept of power has been examined by innumerable scholars, stemming from multifarious epistemological stances and disciplinary positions (Weber, 1947; Parsons, 1956; 1963; Dahl, 1957; Lukes, 1974; Foucault, 1982; Giddens, 1983; Butler, 1997; Haugaard, 2002). Although it would certainly prove unfeasible to review the extensive body of writings on power in its entirety, it is possible to discern four broad features

which have characterised power discourses over time (Church and Coles, 2007). These comprise firstly the plurality of theoretical approaches on the nature of power; secondly contestability in conceptualisations; thirdly, disagreements over the language used to discuss power; and lastly, debates over why power concepts are analytically valuable (ibid).

Numerous scholars have attempted to summarise generalised power conceptualisations and theorisations under different power typologies (Lukes, 1974; Begg, 2000; Haugaard, 2002). For instance, Haugaard (2002, p.298) identifies five generalised perceptions of power within scholarly literature including what the author terms “power over”, “power to”, conflictual power, consensual power and power as constitutive of reality. Haugaard (2003) expands these general categories to propose a sevenfold typology of extant theories on the production of power. This considers power created from: systems of thought (Foucault, 1982); false consciousness (Lukes, 1974); bias (Bachrach and Baratz, 1970), discipline (Foucault, 1980); coercion (Weber, 1947; Dahl, 1957; Bachrach and Baratz, 1970); social order (Parsons, 1956; Giddens, 1983; Clegg, 1989; Barnes, 1991) and power produced from and productive of knowledge (Foucault, 1980; Clegg, 1989). Along similar lines, Begg (2000) (cited in Coles and Church, 2007, p.11) classifies 19 definitions of power from different multi-disciplinary sources (see table 2.2 for a selection of definitions).

Considering Begg’s classification, it may be possible to echo Dowding’s (1996) and Kearins’ (1996) observation that two major power discourses have been key in Western thought throughout the 20th Century, notably “power to” (typified in the definitions by Foucault, Kaplan and Giddens) and “power over” (exemplified in the definitions by Russell, Weber, Bierstedt, Dahl and Blau). It should be noted that other power definitions have been articulated by theorists who do not clearly fall within either of these two categorisations but rather borrow selective aspects from both of these perspectives (such as Stewart, 2001; Clegg, 1989 Avelino and Rotmans, 2011). However, given that a complete review of existing power specifications diverts from the aims and scope of this thesis, only key definitions associated to structuralist and poststructuralist paradigms have been included. Furthermore, it is worth noting that the labels of poststructuralist and structuralist are often ascribed unto authors and that these are seldom self-ascribed labels.

Table 2.2: A selection of definitions of power

Authors	Year	Definitions of power
Russell	1938	<i>The production of intended effects.</i>
Weber	1947	<i>Power is the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will, despite resistance and regardless of the basis on which this probability rests.</i>
Bierstedt	1950	<i>Power is a latent force...Power itself is the prior capacity which makes the application of force possible</i>
Parsons	1956	<i>Power may be defined as the realistic capacity of a system-unit to actualise its interests within the context of system-interaction and in this sense exert influence on processes in the system.</i>
Dahl	1957	<i>A has the power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that he would not otherwise do.</i>
Blau	1964	<i>Power is the ability of persons as groups to impose their will on others despite resistance through deterrence whether in the form of withholding regularly supplied rewards or in the form of punishment in as much as the former, as well as the latter, constitutes in effect negative sanction.</i>
Kaplan	1964	<i>The ability of one person or group of persons to influence the behaviour of others, that is, to change the probabilities that others will respond in certain ways to specified stimuli.</i>
Lukes	1974	<i>A exercises power over B when A affects B in a manner contrary to B's interests.</i>
Foucault	1982	<i>A way in which certain actions may structure the field of other possible actions.</i>
Giddens	1989	<i>By power is meant the ability of individuals or groups to make their own concerns or interests count, even where others resist. Power sometimes involves the direct use of force, but is almost always also accompanied by the development of ideas (ideology) which justify the actions of the powerful.</i>

Source: Adapted from Church and Coles (2007, p.11)

The concept of 'power over' may be seen to equate power to the singular exercise of force from a discrete enforcer upon a discrete subordinated actor (Church and Coles, 2007). This specification has typically been related to structuralist views of power. Broadly speaking, a structuralist paradigm focuses on what Lukes termed "structural constraints" that characterise social action (Clegg, 1997). The focus is on the reproduction of reality through structural forms which consequently shape human agency; this is in opposition to the notion of reality being produced through human agency itself (ibid). Conversely, the 'power to' conception refers to "outcome power" or "the ability of an actor to bring about or help bring about outcomes" (Dowding, 1996:2-3) and has been largely associated with a poststructuralist paradigm. Within this perspective, power is regarded as the capacity to bring about change to obtain particular outcomes (Fennell, 2001). Poststructuralism may be seen as "an ontology

that acknowledges multiple meanings within any given discursive context” (Marston, 2002:304) and emphasises the “instability and contingency of the structural context of social interaction” (Torfing, 1999:54). It is characterised by a rebuttal of fixed meanings, claims of objectivity, meta-narratives and a universal social science grounded in the laws of natural sciences (Smart, 1990). In order to perform a more extensive critical review of these two power perspectives, the following section will assess how various theorists have discussed the concept of power from both structuralist and poststructuralist standpoints.

2.3. Structuralist and Poststructuralist Power Conceptions

The perspective of power as “power over” has traditionally been related to a Weberian consideration of power, whereby power is equated to authority, domination and the imposition of will (Fennell, 2001). This standpoint mirrors Dahl’s (1957, p.2002-2003) power specification, one of the most quoted and espoused definitions of power in the literature, which maintains that “A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something B would otherwise not do”. Two implicit assumptions may be drawn from this theoretical perspective: firstly, power can be possessed; and secondly, power may be regarded as a commodity which individuals can gain, exchange, share or delegate (Kearins, 1996). Broadly speaking, structuralist views of power, also labelled functionalist considerations (Clegg et al, 2006), consider that the extent to which an individual holds power is largely dependent on his or her position in the social hierarchy (ibid). Adhering to this logic, power is dependent on one’s position within a given structure or system (for instance social class) and consequently something that is distributed by the structure (ibid). Power may therefore only be possessed by dominant elites who rule over subordinate classes; it radiates from a sovereign centre and as such is strongly linked to the power of the state and those who have access to important resources (Clegg et al, 2006). Therefore, power is implicitly associated with authority and domination, while focus is placed on the observable effects of power. Power in this sense is conceptualised as fundamentally repressive and restrictive since it is used to enforce obedience upon individuals who are not complicit in this exchange (Allen, 2003).

This conceptual approach has been heavily criticised by numerous commentators (Foucault, 1980; Stewart, 2001; Allen, 2003), albeit that authors allude to it using

different and inconsistent terms of reference (Allen, 2003). For instance, Foucault (1980) critiques the juridical model of power where power is exclusively associated to a form of repression. As noted by Clegg et al (2006, p.254), for Foucault, power is not something that dominant classes possess and subordinate classes lack, rather “power is a strategy, and those who are dominated are as complicit in its strategic web of relations as those who are dominant”. Similarly, Arendt (1970, 1980) faults the command-obedience model which links power to sovereignty, repression and dominance. Debatably, it may be possible to discern that these different terms refer to the same power perspective: power as domination or the control or mobilisation of resources (i.e. the functionalist perspective) (Stewart, 2001). Critics (Parsons, 1963; Arendt, 1970; Foucault, 1980) posit that this particular power conception results in generally negative connotations and discourses of power where domination and power are seen “as integrally related concepts” (Stewart, 2001, p.31) when these are not actually synonymous.

Building on this logic, Arendt (1970) warns against conflating power exclusively with domination. For Arendt, power differs from authority, strength, violence and force. Whilst power may be exercised through force or coercion, Arendt maintains that these are the technologies through which power may be enacted, as opposed to modalities of power. Further to this, Arendt contends that albeit violence may be used as a coercive measure in the exercise of power, it actually represents the erosion of power because for those in power, resorting to violence indicates a dissipation of their capacity to impose their will. Accordingly, Arendt (1970:44) posits that “power corresponds to the human ability not just to act but to act in concert...it belongs to a group and remains in existence only so long as the group keeps together”. Based on this observation, Arendt, much like Allen (2003), conceives power as a collective capacity based on group consensus and mutual action.

Relatedly, Arendt’s perspective bears several similarities with Parsons’ views on power. Parsons (1963; 1967) is credited with advancing a more utilitarian and positive view of power as the capacity to accomplish collective goals through collective action (Allen 2003). While power is contingent on consensus and authority, it is disassociated from conflicts of interest and coercion (Parsons, 1963). Following a similar system of belief, Parsons in turn criticised Weber’s power specification for making the tacit suggestion

that there is somehow a set and fixed quantity of power which can be overtly observed. Likewise, Parsons faults Weber's approach for implying that the gains of the winners are necessarily at the expense of the losers (ibid). Haugaard (2002) and Clegg (1989) concur with Parsons and challenge oppressive views of power. They maintain that power could contribute positively to the achievement of civility in society, given that powerful organisations or collectives might theoretically use their power to attain goals for the collective good of humankind.

A further criticism attributed to structuralist approaches relates to the assumption that power is a tangible entity, open to empirical measurement through observable effects (i.e. actual behaviours of individuals and displays) (Church and Coles, 2007). According to critics, this position does not take into account aspects not tied to individual actions such as structural factors, which inform and condition how power operates in social networks (Hindess, 1996). Closely linked to this criticism, Bachrach and Baratz (1962) challenge Dahl's (1957) power specification for failing to consider what does not happen in decision-making settings, specifically those issues consciously excluded or inadvertently neglected from the agenda. Adhering to this logic, Bachrach and Baratz (1962) caution that power can be similarly exercised through non-decision making.

Following a parallel line of argumentation, Lukes (1974, p.21) proposes a three-dimensional view of power, distinguishing between three different modes of power as well as observable and non-observable conflicts (see table 2.3.).

Table 2.3: Lukes' three-dimensional view of power

<i>Dimension</i>	<i>Key characteristics</i>
One	Power that is exercised to secure a decision in situations where there is some observable conflict or disagreement.
Two	Power that is exercised to keep issues on or off the decision-making agenda, so that potential conflicts or disagreements are precluded and therefore unobservable.
Three	Institutionalised power that is exercised to define social reality. Where norms and meanings are internalised, people accept and thereby reproduce the power-invented definition of reality, even when this is against their "real" interests.

Source: adapted from Coles and Scherle (2007, p.219)

Lukes' framework explores how power relations among actors are played out, paying special attention to the behaviours and motives of actors for exercising power, as well

as examining the outcomes of these power exercises (Coles and Scherle, 2007). The first dimension consists of power related to decision making, while the second dimension encompasses power in controlling the agenda. However, it is in the third dimension where Lukes' (1974) conception differs from previous considerations of power. From Lukes' perspective, the effects of power are not limited to decision making and control of the agenda; additionally, power can operate at a more invisible and profound level. Influenced by the Gramscian notion of hegemony, the third dimension recognises non-observable dominant power, termed "latent conflict" (see table 2.3) (Church and Coles, 2007). Lukes (1974) argues that the second face of power was still limited in so far as its methodology centred the articulation of power purely on observable conflict, whether covert or overt. In so doing, it failed to consider that conflict might be latent, as it may not be necessary for conflict to be present in order to observe the exercise of power (Lukes, 1974). Whilst non-decisions imply the presence of grievances which are prevented from being considered or aired in the political process, Lukes (1974, p.23) argues that "the most effective and insidious use of power is to prevent such conflict from arising in the first place". In articulating the third dimension of power, Lukes acknowledges that power may be operated not just to restrict what is discussed in the political agenda, but that it may further be used to prevent individuals from realising that there is a problem.

Lukes (1974) posits that instead of overt conflict, there may be "latent conflict", which operates ideologically to shape individuals' thoughts and perceptions so that they do not question the order of things and that their otherwise apparent "real interests are precluded" (Vogler, 1998). This may take place because individuals cannot imagine any alternatives to the existing order of things; they see it as natural and unalterable or otherwise predestined and beneficial to them (Lukes, 1974). An example may be deeply rooted forms of political socialisation where people unconsciously follow power commands even if these are against their best interests (what Lukes terms "real interests"), thus yielding different sets of choices and actions than if they had had the freedom to choose (Lukes, 1974). It may be possible to remark that unlike previous power theorists, Lukes (1974) questions the notion of consensus. Whereas earlier conceptions of power were based on the presence of conflict, Lukes (1974) postulates that actors are often complicit in their own oppression; actively endorsing outcomes which are not in their real interests (Fletcher, 1992). In this regard, even if people are

not aware of what their real interests are, these interests can be empirically measured by others (ibid). Based on this argument, Lukes (1974) contends that it is possible to locate the exercise of power when it can be determined that the best interests of the group are not being served (Fletcher, 1992).

Nevertheless, Lukes' framework has been subject to strong criticism (Clegg, 1989; Fletcher, 1992). In a more recent revisiting of his original thesis, Lukes (2005) himself observes that his original framework misguidedly focused solely on power as domination when this is only one among many aspects of power. Critics have also remarked that Lukes' approach limits power to an examination of binary relations between groups when, in actuality, power relations can take place between multiple actors with divergent interests (Church and Coles, 2007). Lastly, Lukes' conceptualisation has also been faulted for not specifying the process by which perceptions and cognitions are influenced in such a manner that actors will not question oppressive status quos (Church and Coles, 2007). Poststructuralist commentators in particular have viewed Lukes' failure to overtly examine the role of ideology as a major weakness in his argumentation (Fletcher, 1992). Whilst Lukes implies that ideology may somehow play a mediating role between people and their experience so that actors perceive certain conducts as natural, he fails to explicitly elaborate on the role of ideology (Clegg, 1989).

In this regard, one of the most prominent and quoted poststructuralist theorists, Michel Foucault, extensively discussed the role of ideology in controlling individual and collective actions in society (Sharp et al, 2000). Since the present study will draw heavily on Foucauldian readings of power, the following section will critically discuss the work of Foucault on power relations as well as the ways in which his work has been criticised and further elaborated on by subsequent scholars.

2.4. Foucault and Power

Foucault (1980) contends that the conception of "power over" is limiting for several reasons and should be expanded into a more comprehensive power consideration. He proposes a disciplinary model where power is dissociated from a narrow command-obedience relationship and conceptualised as "diffuse and capillary, omnipresent, and both productive and repressive" (Allen 2003, p.133). According to a Foucauldian

perspective, power is not an isolated force at the disposition of any one set of individuals or institutions; rather, power traverses “the entire social body” and “should not be sought in the primary existence of a central point, in a unique space of sovereignty...power is everywhere...it comes from everywhere” (Foucault, 1978, p.95-96). Hence, power does not only entail a sovereign ruler exercising power upon a group, but it is also embedded in networks and technologies which function constantly within society to regularise, normalise and discipline individuals. Adhering to this logic, Foucault (1989, p.93) contends that power transcends politics; it is an everyday, embodied and socialised phenomenon which is “produced from one moment to the next, at every point, or rather in every relation from one to another”. In this regard, actors are subjected to powers that continually produce and reproduce the very meaning of the normalised body (i.e. what is considered “normal” or ordinary in society).

The author uses the term “power/knowledge” to illustrate that power is constituted in society through accepted forms of knowledge and “truths” (what Foucault terms “discourses”). As Foucault (1980, p.131) suggests, “each society has its regime of truth...that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements... [And] the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true”. Foucault posits that power and knowledge are inextricably linked in such a way that each is not able to exist without the other: rather, each constantly creates the other (Church and Coles, 2007). Knowledge as power is produced by a network of relations amongst social actors in various social roles (i.e. media, government, schools) as opposed to through a sovereign-based system (Church and Coles, 2007). According to Foucault (1991), this system is more efficient than a top-down structure since it diffuses power throughout society, is imperceptible to most individuals and requires no force. Social actors discipline themselves in the “belief that they are under the continual surveillance of a gaze which has the power to punish them” (Church and Coles, 2007, p.102). Similarly, knowledge of something (i.e. a field of theory, particular technologies) or knowledge of individuals, produces power and being in a position of power allows knowledge to be garnered (Jorgensen, 2003).

In Foucault's reading, regimes of truth are the result of scientific discourses and institutions; they are continually and tacitly reproduced (and redefined) through media outlets, the education system and political and economic dogmas (Jorgensen, 2003). Drawing on this theorisation, Foucault (1980) expounds that modern power institutions (such as the military, schools or medical establishments) use ideological discourses and disciplinary techniques or what he terms "technologies of power" (i.e. invisible, non-violent power) to tacitly produce the proper body of efficient and ordered individuals in society. In order to elaborate this argument, Foucault (1978) famously presents the 'panopticon' and internalised surveillance. He describes the 'panopticon' as an eight-sided prison surrounded by a wall, with a tower at the centre. The prisoners sit in cells located on floors around the wall and are unable to see the inner courtyard and tower. Prison guards sit in the tower and constantly observe what happens in every cell. Since prisoners have no way of knowing when they are being observed, they supervise and moderate their behaviour themselves.

Through the notion of the panopticon, Foucault (1978) captures how subjects internalise an omnipresent and invisible gaze as a result of a non-coercive but nonetheless potent form of power. This exercise of power is chiefly dependent on the effect of potentially being observed. The contention is that the gaze of the overseer (i.e. the prison guard) is imagined to be constantly present, and is thus internalised by prisoners who then conform to the demands of power (Foucault, 1978). The model of the panopticon serves as a useful allegory to illustrate modern forms of disciplinary power where violence and the use of visible or sovereign force are not necessary to control and discipline subjects (Church and Coles, 2007). According to Foucault (1978), this metaphor also exemplifies the less costly exercise of power upon which modern society and modern institutions (i.e. schools, the military, medical establishments) are organised. As Foucault (1980, p.155) notes:

There is no need for arms, physical violence, material constraints. Just a gaze. An inspecting gaze, a gaze which each individual under its weight will end by interiorising to the point that he is his own overseer, each individual thus exercising this surveillance over, and against, himself. A superb formula, power exercised continuously and for what turns out to be a minimal cost.

Following the premise of the 'panopticon', Foucault (1980) concludes that power is not held but exercised. By implication, attempting to measure or locate power is an irrelevant exercise; the important question is to understand how power acts and what it produces (Sharp et al, 2000). In line with a Foucauldian perspective, power produces discipline, obedience and systematic knowledge about subjects. Likewise, power tends to be anonymous, rational and diffused since it seemingly encompasses all aspects of social life (Foucault, 1980). Thus, countering the juridical model, which assumes that the individual is a fully formed and stable entity which gets engrossed in power relations external to its composition, Foucault (1978) considers that individuals do not come fully formed into the world but on the contrary, are shaped through social relations which are entrenched in political, socio-cultural, and economic roles or institutions (Wartenberg, 1988).

This means that individuals are conditioned by unconscious social structures (i.e. discourses, regulations, law, philosophic proposals, administrative resources, morality, institutions, and architectural arrangements) (Hall, 1997). These unconscious structures are taken for granted since they are invisible to the eye and are deeply embedded in the way that humans live. Foucault (2002, p.196) maintains that unconscious structures, such as ideological and material structures, automise and disindividualise power and may be used to create and sustain a "power relation independent of the person who exercises it".

2.5. Post-Foucauldian Power Perspectives and Critiques of Poststructuralist Views

Numerous theorists have followed similar lines of enquiry to that of Foucault in their considerations of power, extending Foucault's theoretical contributions by further examining power as a multifaceted concept (Bourdieu, 1984; Giddens, 1984; Butler, 1997). For instance, Bourdieu examines the power of invisible ideological structures and argues that "individuals internalize (sic) as 'mental dispositions'.... the organization (sic) of their external reality" (Thiele, 1997, p.78). Bourdieu terms this external reality "habitus" and argues it consists of a "set of historical relations 'deposited' within individual bodies in the form of mental and corporeal schemes of perception, appreciation, and action" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p.16). An actor's habitus, then, mirrors the social structures inherent in the social fields in which the actor

participates (Thiele, 1997). While social structures largely remain undetected by those they affect, they nevertheless constrain or enable the relations of individuals without those individuals becoming aware of them (Church and Coles, 2007). According to Bourdieu, given that individuals focus on the behaviour of other individuals, they do not necessarily perceive the social structures which surround them. In this regard, habitus is produced and reproduced unconsciously “without any deliberate pursuit of coherence...without any conscious concentration” (Bourdieu, 1984, p.170).

However, whereas Foucault views power as ubiquitous and inescapable, Bourdieu (1984) suggests that actors are only partially interpolated by power. In this sense, Bourdieu (1984) posits that power is culturally and symbolically produced whilst being repeatedly legitimised through socialised norms (i.e. habitus). Habitus is neither determined exclusively by structure or free will, but is legitimised through the interplay of structure and agency over time (Navarro, 2006). This repeated interplay leads to patterns that are lasting and transferable from one context to another, but may change over time and in relation to particular contexts (ibid). Hence, within the notion of habitus, power can be resisted in some fields given that “habitus is not fixed or permanent, and can be changed under unexpected situations or over a long historical period” (Navarro, 2006, p.16).

Following a similar line of enquiry and drawing on the work of Foucault, Judith Butler (1997) contends that agency is also located within power structures. Butler notes that “if following Foucault, we understand power as forming the subject as well as providing the very condition of its existence and the trajectory of its desire, then power is not simply what we oppose but also, in a strong sense, what we depend on for our existence” (Butler, 1997, p.2). According to Butler, although structures of power define the terms of actions and identities, they do not determine these identities. Mirroring Bourdieu’s emphasis on the process of becoming through replication, Butler approaches structure and power as processes of becoming through the concept of repeated performance of the body and the constructed self.

Taking the body as her site of analysis, Butler (1997) argues that the body, and, by implication, the subject, are both created through regulated performance such as acts and gestures which replicate ‘essentialised’ identities fitting ‘normal’ social frames. Following this precept, material and discursive structures are productive of particular

types of subjects, but since these structures must be constantly performed in daily acts to produce identities, their consistency is a process of negotiation. This does not imply that every repeated performance is an act of subversion but rather that in the everyday acts in which subjects perform their identities; there exist spaces to interpret differently the function or meaning of those identities. Although for Butler (1997) actors can never truly challenge power structures in any meaningful way, they can work within them and change the language of subordination in their favour by performing in a slightly altered manner.

Criticism of poststructuralists and Foucault in particular has been precisely directed at his espousal of the notion of boundless power (Church and Coles, 2007). In particular, strong objections have been voiced against the idea of the inescapable power of social structures which preclude any possibility for meaningful individual freedom or responsibility (Hartstock, 1990; Schapp, 2000; Stewart, 2001). Hence, numerous commentators have accused Foucault of committing to “the death of the subject” with theorists such as Schapp (2000, p.134) noting that it is a “sense of human beings as creative agents both of the self and of the world they share that is missing in Foucault”. Sharp et al (2000, p.15) also critique Foucault’s power specification and probe that “if power is so nebulous, so “unauthored”, can we have any optimism in the potential for individuals or groups to find ways, and we might also say spaces, of resisting... power in its dominating guise?”. Additionally, a key criticism relates to the argument that Foucauldian and poststructuralist power theorisations undermine the oppressive dimension of power as in ‘power over’ (Lukes, 1974; Avelino and Rotmans, 2011). Critics argue that Foucault and similar readings of power, in their attempt to distance power from an association with dominance and coercion, undermine the oppressive dimensions of power ‘over’ others (Lukes, 1974), thus underplaying the effects of overt structures of repression in society (i.e. dictatorial regimes, state-sponsored repressive practices).

However, Allen (2003) counters critics of Foucault’s capillary power model by maintaining that Foucault does not refute agency. Consequently, Allen posits that according to Foucault, power is not only based on agency but also accounts for historically and culturally determined aspects impacting agency such as actors’ backgrounds, the social relations they engage in and their knowledge or education. In

his later writings, Foucault (1980) acknowledges the possibility that actors can resist power structures and ultimately bring about change through their actions. Thus, Foucault (1980, p.193) states:

"I set out to grasp the mechanisms of the effective exercise of power; and I do this because those who are inserted in these relations of power, who are implicated therein, may, through their actions, their resistance, and their rebellion, escape them, transform them- in short, no longer submit to them...I do not undertake my analyses to say: look how things are, you are all trapped. I do not say such things except insofar as I consider this to permit some transformation of things."

Nevertheless, Giddens (2002, p.160) criticises Foucault's ideas for not linking power "to a satisfactory agency and knowledgeability as involved in the making of history". Giddens' comment may be seen to reflect one of the main points of contestation within discussions on power: whether power rests mostly on the structure side (societal structures which constrain and predetermine the behaviours of actors) or primarily on the side of the agent (power as that which enables individuals to exert free will and make a difference) (Avelino and Rotmans, 2011).

In this respect, Giddens' theory of structuration (1984) may be seen to stand somewhere in the middle of the spectrum. Structuration theory aims to overcome the conceptual problems around structure by abandoning the dualism of agency versus structure, and advancing a duality of structure (Depelteau, 2008). Following Giddens' reasoning, structures shape individual practices while these same dynamic practices create and reproduce existing structures (Sewell, 1992). In other words, structure is dynamic given that power is constituted and reproduced through the day-to-day communicative interactions of its members. Attached to this idea, Giddens' (1984) theory of structuration posits that structures are both constraining and enabling since agents can use causal power to either challenge or maintain these structures.

Thus, according to Giddens (1984), power is the capacity of actors to draw on structures in order to achieve particular outcomes. By consequence, power is not simply constraining but it can also be emancipatory (Avelino and Rotmans, 2011). Hence, from Giddens' perspective, albeit that power is "generated in and through the reproduction of structures of domination", there is scope for some recognition of behavioural traits

(Giddens, 2002, p.258). However, it is precisely this insistence on the contingency of power on historical structures of domination that has led manifold authors to critique Giddens' perspective, mainly because it fails to adequately account for agency (Stewart, 2001; Bramwell and Meyer, 2007). In this regard, Stewart (2001) notes that Giddens' conceptualisation, much like Foucault's, remains narrowly defined in regard to the domination of and dependency on structure. Stewart (2001, p.16) contends:

"In spite of Giddens' formal commitment to possibilities of 'making a difference', it effectively makes power a function of the distribution of resources, subject only to actors' capabilities to draw upon such resources effectively (...) [Giddens' specification of power] makes socially transformative capacity substantially dependent upon existing structures of domination".

Stewart's (2001) criticism of Giddens' power specification is particularly directed at an insufficient account for long-term temporal dynamics and thus possibilities for change. This has been stressed as one of the main faults in both Giddens' and Foucault's specifications of power relations (Avelino and Rotmans, 2011). Criticism is foremost directed at Foucault's focus on resistance as an inherent aspect of power relations but one that ultimately fails to produce long lasting change (Foucault, 1978).

Allen (2003) attempts to add further clarity to the debate, arguing that while domination is part of power, it is only one aspect of power relations. According to the author, domination is just one among several modalities of power which may include seduction, manipulation and coercion. Allen (2003) additionally espouses a more critical approach to power and warns that the relationship between power and resources is not always an obvious clear-cut one. He specifically distinguishes control of resources from the exercise of power, warning that these do not always go hand in hand since exercising power may not be necessary to control resources (Church and Coles, 2007). As Allen (2003, p.105) remarks, "resources are the media through which power is exercised; they are not power itself".

Allen (2003) also contends that power is entrenched in mutual action and thus much like Parsons (1963) and Arendt (1970) recognises that power is also a collective capacity (i.e. the capacity to achieve collective goals) based on mutual consensus. Thus, the author adopts a similar conceptualisation of power to that of Foucault in so far as

power is viewed as a relational effect of social interaction; it is practised and not possessed and those who are dominated may also be complicit in this exchange. However, his thesis differs from Foucault's argumentation in that power does not have an ubiquitous presence but only manifests through the interplay of relationships in particular spaces. Allen (2003) maintains that power is constituted in time and place and is always of a particular kind. Following this premise, power is not an arbitrary construct, since although "people are placed by power...they experience it at first hand through the rhythms and relationships of particular places, not at some pre-packaged force from afar" (Allen, 2003, p.2).

Unlike Foucault, Allen (2003) does not assume that power is evenly distributed across space but rather sustains that different modalities of power are differently exercised. He posits that while Foucault and other poststructural readings developed key insights on the dispersed nature of social power, they did not sufficiently theorise the types of power relations that arise in different social situations. Allen's (2003) general plea for a more precise theorisation of the organisation of power led the author to develop several categories summarising the diverse power practices, tactics and techniques enacted by social groups and agents. Commenting on Allen's work, Church and Ravenscroft (2007) note that his categorisation of power modalities offers a useful theoretical contribution to understand what forms of power relations emerge in specific contexts. Nevertheless, Church and Ravenscroft (2007) caveat that while this typology provides conceptual neatness; it presents major challenges for empirical research. In practice, specifying the nature of power relations is problematic since it may not always be possible to distinguish between general modalities of power and specific tactics that permeate negotiations.

As may be gathered from these typologies and categorisations, there are extensive variations among interpretations of the concept of power, each containing limitations and potentialities for the production of insights into power dynamics in tourism. Inevitably, different perspectives on the nature and production of power are bound to exist given that power is a polysemic construct reflecting individual biases, sympathies and particular historical trends (Church and Coles, 2007). Although power remains one of the most debated concepts in the literature, the notion of empowerment has also received considerable attention in recent research. Female empowerment in particular

is increasingly examined by tourism scholars who debate the extent to which tourism may empower female tourists and hosts on an economic and social level. Given that women constitute the majority of the tourism workforce in Pisac, it is pertinent to examine theoretical perspectives around the study of female empowerment.

2.6. Female Empowerment

Various models have been proposed over the years for the analysis of the complex nature of female empowerment (Scheyvens, 2000; Stanistreet et al, 2007; Hoque and Itohara, 2009, cited in Moswete and Lacey, 2015) but given that empowerment is a profoundly contextualised concept, little consensus has been reached over its meaning (Zimmerman, 1990; Eyben and Napier-Moore, 2009; Moswete and Lacey, 2015). Kabeer (2001, cited in Desai, 2010) views empowerment as the ability of individuals to make strategic life choices which had formerly been denied to them. Tegland (2008) advances a multi-disciplinary definition focused on the extent to which individuals may have control over the determinants of their quality of life, including freedom, health and knowledge. Although no universal definition has been established, most definitions seem to revolve around notions of choice, community action and self-determination (Eyben and Napier-Moore, 2009; cited in Moswete and Lacy, 2015). It should be noted that such conceptions of empowerment assume access to opportunities and resources as a given and thus imply the existence of a certain level of freedom. Therefore, empowerment may be seen as the capacity of individuals or groups to control their own affairs or the factors that affect their lives (Cole, 2006; Scheyvens, 2003). This infers that members of a community may be active agents of change and will have the ability to resolve their own problems, make their own decisions, implement actions and assess solutions (Cole, 2006). Nevertheless, full empowerment as described by Cole (2006) and others is rarely achieved in every aspect of a group or individual's life; instead groups and individuals may achieve different levels and/or degrees of empowerment.

In this respect, Chant (2006) warns against basing women's empowerment mostly on the values of outsiders (i.e. anyone from outside the community). Kabeer (1999) further notes that the notion of women's empowerment is too often based on Western notions of idealised gender relations, and warns that in developing countries these goals may be unrealistic. As Singh (2007, p.104) argues in relation to developing nations, "for any women, adopting the goals of Western feminism would mean losing their families, the

primary source of support for the fulfilment of their social, psychological and economic needs". Azzarito et al (2006, p.224) further denotes that poststructural feminism is a more useful approach to adopt given that "individuals negotiate gendered discourses contingent on specific historical contexts by resisting or participating in those cultural practices". Following this view, women are seen as active participants who make choices to negotiate and structure their own identities (Azzarito et al, 2006; Weedon, 1997). Rather than viewing women solely as victims of patriarchal systems, this approach does not assume a simplistic, standardised and static definition of women and considers the specific socio-cultural conditions in which women live (Singh, 2007).

In the case of Peru and Pisac, considering the specific socio-cultural climate in which women live would necessarily involve attention to religious and gender-related cultural codes. Linked to this, past studies have found that a particular gender ideology intertwined with religious dogma prevails in several Latin American countries (Ehlers, 1991; Stevens, 1973; Duffy et al, 2012). Authors have named this ideology 'Machismo-Marianismo' and have found that it chiefly influences male and female subjectivity. The theoretical model of 'Machismo-Marianismo' has been employed by several commentators to explain gender relations and behaviours in Latin-America Ehlers, 1991; Stevens, 1973; Duffy et al, 2012). It has been defined by Duffy et al (2012, p. 792) as "male pride and the exertion of masculinity paired with the passivity and patience of women". According to this theory, in Latin American societies (particularly rural contexts), attributes traditionally linked with men are aggressiveness; strength and arrogance, whereas feminine attributes comprise humility, sacrifice for the family and patience (Duffy et al, 2012). Positive female traits are thus aligned with the attributes traditionally associated with the Virgin Mary, hence the name 'Marianismo' (as in Maria) (Duffy et al, 2012). This also implies that women may consent to abusive behaviour as a way to obtain spiritual verification of their womanhood (Stevens, 1973; Duffy et al, 2012). On the other hand, 'Machismo' "indicates an attitude of male superiority, a wish to control women and keep them in an inferior position" (Fromm and Maccoby, 1970, p.16).

The 'Machismo-Marianismo' paradigm of gender relations is widely accepted as a global phenomenon, albeit arguably more suited to a Latin American context where Catholicism is the dominant religion (Duffy et al, 2012; Gutmann, 2006; Stevens, 1973).

Given that past studies indicate that rural communities in Peru are highly patriarchal societies, the 'Machismo-Marianismo' theoretical lens appears apposite to facilitate an understanding of local gender dynamics and their impact on female tourism employment. Therefore, the 'Machismo-Marianismo' theoretical paradigm will be a useful tool to employ when examining the role of ideology and its impact on female participation in the Pisac tourism sector.

2.7. Rationale for the Espousal of a Poststructuralist Power Perspective

Having reviewed the different theoretical and conceptual approaches through which power may be understood, and given that this thesis aims to perform a comprehensive analysis of micro-level social relations of power, an approach that adopts a fluid and spatial understanding of power is called for. With this aim in mind, power stances broadly categorised as poststructuralist or pluralist will be used as a set of sensitising concepts to examine the varying ways in which tourism may reproduce and/or challenge existing local power relations in Pisac. Following Mills' (1991) approach, poststructuralists' body of work will be used as a toolbox (as opposed to a totalising theory) to facilitate the analysis of the differing ways in which power is exercised, reproduced and transformed.

At different times, aspects of the body of work developed by Foucault, Butler and Lukes will be borrowed to make sense of the ways in which technologies of power and disciplinary discourses relating to gender, ethnicity and culture may be deployed through tourism. Lukes' (1974) work on the second and third dimension of power and Foucault's theorisation of the 'panopticon' will be particularly useful to provide an understanding of how hegemonic power structures are sustained by tour guides and local elites in Pisac. Concomitantly, poststructuralist theories, which acknowledge that power structures can be both constraining and enabling, will be employed to examine the extent to which tourism may offer opportunities to resist and challenge existing power dynamics.

The body of work of poststructuralist power theorists is particularly suitable to examine the manifold aspects of local power relations in Pisac since it does not limit the concept of power to static terms, instead viewing power as something that is not held but is, on the contrary, acquired through particular processes over time (Jorgensen,

2003). In other words, it considers that power does not run in a straight line from despots to the oppressed but rather that the oppressed also have a degree of agency and may be complicit in power exchanges. More importantly, poststructuralist power theorists have developed key insights into the importance of examining discourses that sustain the creation and endurance of particular power relations rather than purely observable expressions of power (Church and Coles, 2007; Wearing et al, 2010). This fits well with the aims of this study, which seeks to obtain an understanding of the discourses and mechanisms (i.e. what Foucault calls 'technologies') through which tourism may sustain existing power relations, create new ones and/or produce alternatives for resistance. Notwithstanding that observable manifestations of power will also be taken into account, this investigation aims to transcend such rudimentary analysis and scrutinise the discourses and mechanisms which enable these power structures to manifest and endure in the first place.

Employing several intersecting theories allows for a more comprehensive analysis of discourses, ideologies and local belief systems related to ethnicity, gender and class. Since this thesis is primarily concerned with understanding power relations in the context of tourism, it now seems fitting to proceed with a more in-depth review of the various ways in which scholars have approached the study of power in tourism.

2.8. Discussions of Power in the Context of Tourism Research

As highlighted by an increasing number of authors, scholarly investigations of tourism have much to contribute to the understanding and assessment of power in the contemporary world, given that tourism has become one of the quintessential features of modern life and consumer culture (Britton, 1991; Church and Coles, 2007). Thus, Church and Coles (2007, p.3) note that "the study of tourism offers social scientists a greater insight into the nature of modern day life...it too provides an ideal empirical setting in which to appraise the value of current thinking on power". With this in mind, the following section will critically review the range of tourism studies where power has directly or implicitly formed part of the analysis.

Power as an analytical category or underlying subtheme has featured in tourism discourses as far back as the 1970s and has increasingly been invoked within later tourism works. For instance, in the 1970s, studies by Doxey (1976) and Bjorklund and

Philbrick (1975) examined the relative power of local residents in dealing with the impacts of tourism in their communities (Bjorklund and Philbrick, 1975; Doxey, 1976). This was closely followed by the works of De Kadt (1979) and Butler (1980) who touched upon the issue of power relations and power asymmetries in tourism. Whilst De Kadt (1979) exposed power asymmetries in his analysis of socio-cultural impacts of tourism in developing countries, Butler's much-cited "tourist life cycle" (1980, p.5) alluded to changes in power dynamics between foreign stakeholders and local residents during the process of tourism development.

Power has been explored in tourism literature from a wide-ranging set of disciplinary and epistemological positions (Church and Coles, 2007). These namely include, but are not limited to, the fields of political economy, identity and gender studies, mobility studies, stakeholder collaboration, sustainable development, community participation, public sector policy and planning, sociological studies, performance studies and postcolonial research (ibid). Although exploring the entire spectrum of theoretical lenses from which the study of power has been approached in tourism research is beyond the scope of this thesis, the following section will review the key conceptual and theoretical lenses most commonly deployed in works on power and tourism.

2.8.1. Foucault, Power and Tourism

Due to Foucault's extensive theoretical contribution to the study of social power, his ideas have been increasingly evidenced in anthropological and tourism oriented studies (Urry, 2002; Hollinshead, 1999; Edensor, 2000; Maoz, 2006; Wearing et al, 2010). Foucault's perspective has particularly informed tourism studies which address the impacts of discourses on the production, practice and promotion of tourism (Bryce, 2007; Thorpe, 2008; Ahmad, 2011); the power of the gaze and surveillance on tourists and host actors (Cheong and Miller, 2000; Urry, 2002; Maoz, 2006; Welch and Macuare, 2011); the effects of tourism on the micro-level power dynamics of local communities (Bianchi, 2003; Telfer, 2003) and issues of empowerment and resistance (Joseph and Kavoori, 2001; Sofield, 2003; Wearing et al, 2010).

Tourism scholars have progressively been drawn to Foucault's ideas on power owing to his complex and flexible consideration of different features of power. His wide-ranging examination of diverse forms of power affords a range of interpretative frameworks

and theoretical lenses through which to explore power. For instance, as previously mentioned, the concepts of panopticism and invisible surveillance have been used by authors such as Urry (2002) and Edensor (2001) to discuss the power of the tourist gaze on host communities and the power exercised by tourism producers in controlling interactions between hosts and tourists. Similarly, Foucault's notions of 'technologies of the self' and 'technologies of power' where the former refers to resistance and empowerment, have been adopted in scholarly studies examining the empowerment or coercion of individuals through participation in tourism (Cheong and Miller, 2000; Tribe, 2006; Jordan and Aitchison, 2008).

Within a tourism context, Foucault's theorisation of the power-knowledge nexus has been notably illustrated in the study of the role of tour guides (Jorgensen, 2003). As opposed to tourists who are strangers to the places they visit, tour guides allegedly possess professional expertise of sites and are seen as trusted local experts by tourists; they have what Foucault terms 'accepted' knowledge (ibid). This gives them the power to construct and re-interpret the meaning of tourist sites, local histories and local communities (ibid). Tour guides are in a privileged position since they are both familiar with the tourists' culture and language as well as the host society's culture and rules. This puts them in a position of relative power vis-à-vis locals who often do not speak the language of tourists (neither culturally nor linguistically) (ibid). Therefore, both tourists and locals are often dependent on tour guides; tourists rely on guides for information and expertise whilst locals rely on guides for access to tourists (Dahles, 2002). In a similar vein, guide books and tourism marketing communication channels may be seen as technologies of power since they determine the ways in which tourist destinations are depicted, as well as the types of attractions and sites that are promoted (Hollinshead, 1996).

2.8.2. Power Expressed as Conflict in Tourism Research

Within socio-cultural studies of tourism, issues of power as relating to social conflicts between hosts and guests or amongst community host members, have been explored by a range of theorists (Jafari, 1989; Sofield, 1996; Robinson and Boniface, 1999; Dredge, 2006; 2010). Yang et al (2013, p.93) note that tourism development can potentially influence social conflict in host communities since it "brings more groups and

subgroups, varies and complicates conflict nature and forms, and therein influences social structure and cultural change of the communities”.

As argued by Robinson (1999), socio-cultural conflicts may develop at different levels and between different stakeholder groups in tourism. The author identifies four dimensions in which cultural conflict may occur: host-host conflicts, tourism industry-host conflicts, tourists-host conflicts and tourism industry-tourists conflicts. Additionally, Robinson (1999) posits that conflicts between the tourism industry and host actors may be influenced by a range of determinants, such as the degree to which local communities are economically dependent on tourism, the extent and nature of host culture commodification and the way in which host natural and cultural resources are utilised in tourism. Closely linked to this argumentation, insights gained through scholarly research suggest that conflicts are particularly likely to arise when tourism benefits are not evenly distributed between diverse interest groups involved in tourism (Church and Coles, 2007). Among others, conflicts may arise between hosts and exogenous tourism entrepreneurs over access to natural resources (such as land and water) and the distribution of pecuniary tourism benefits between different stakeholder groups (Sofield, 1996; Robinson, 1999; Yang et al, 2013).

In the context of China, current research denotes intensification in social unrest within host communities due to compulsory land purchases by governmental bodies (Feng, 2008; Shepherd, 2011; Li et al, 2012). This is due to the fact that the Chinese Government apparently sells land to private corporations without providing local communities with adequate compensation (Feng, 2008; Shepherd, 2011; Li et al, 2012). Similarly, Toop's (1992) study on the relationship between ethnic groups and Han tour guides in China found that Han middlemen accrued disproportionate tourism income to the detriment of local ethnic hosts. Studies suggest that conflicts over tourism-derived economic interests are most likely to arise in developing countries (Feng, 2008). As a result, a number of theorists have examined the impacts of tourism in developing countries through the lens of postcolonial theory (Burns, 2008; Kanemasu, 2008).

2.8.3. Tourism and Power in the Context of Postcolonialism

Espousing postcolonial theory, Burns (2008) remarks that the postcolonial nations of the global south are reliant upon industrialised Western countries for tourism

development. According to the author, the way tourism industries are typically established in developing nations displays several similarities in patterns of development; these include economies of global primary crop production, whereby developing nations are reliant on industrialised countries for economic growth. Burns contends that this leads to uneven power relations between generating and receiving countries, given that host countries may only exert limited control over the way in which tourism is developed. Tourism is often strongly encouraged by governments in developing nations not only because it yields direct pecuniary benefits at a micro level but also because it reaffirms an acceptable political image of a country (ibid). Furthermore, a strong tourism industry may serve to imply that a country embraces capitalist and conceivably democratic values, thus making it more appealing for foreign investors who may then invest in other sectors of the economy (Burns, 2008).

Following a similar line of postcolonial analysis, Kanemasu's (2008, p.116) exploration of Fijian tourism highlights how colonial legacies combined with capitalist place marketing to create expectations for hotel workers to appear and behave as "willing subordinates, eagerly smiling and anxious to please". Nevertheless, results of the study also highlighted how tourism workers resist such practices. Employees appeared to use diverse tactics such as retaining a degree of autonomy over bodily appearance and switching off contrived performed behaviours. Thus, Kanemasu (2008) denotes that even though the structures of tourism limit workers' possibilities for resistance, they were still able to exert a certain degree of agency by using a range of tactics to mitigate prejudicial expectations over their appearance and behaviour.

2.8.4. Power within the Context of Tourist-Host Encounters

Research into power relations in tourism has also paid significant attention to the examination of power through the lens of tourist-host interactions (Urry, 1990; Cheong and Miller, 2000; McGehee and Andereck, 2009; Maoz, 2006; 2008; Brown, 2013). As noted by Gibson (2009), tourism brings foreigners directly into contact with workers in developing nations, generating complex and sometimes antagonising encounters between individuals with dissimilar economic statuses (Gibson, 2009; Scarles, 2012). Relating to this argument, McNeill (2008) reflects on the problematic tensions generated when corporate business travellers pass low-paid cleaners in hotel corridors, while Pinho (2008) examines how diasporic power relationships of 'common roots' are

reconfigured when better-off African-American tourists visit Brazil. Similarly, Smelch (2003) asserts that the new wave of what Gibson (2009, p.530) christens “super-rich” tourists in the Caribbean has exacerbated existing racial and class divides by fuelling the construction of exclusive resorts only accessible to tourists and certain sections of the local population. This leads Wilson (2008, p.37) to label tourism a “de facto social and economic apartheid”.

Based on these studies, which suggest a coalescence of personal dominance and economic power in host-tourist encounters, it is understandable that most perspectives featured in the literature make deterministic assumptions about the agency, motivations and identity of hosts and tourists (Malam, 2008). These assumptions appear to suggest that where money forms the basis of host-tourist encounters, the host, who is typically pictured as custom-led, poor and underdeveloped, is bound into a submissive position vis-à-vis ‘commanding’ tourists (Dogan, 1989; Philips, 2002). As noted by Malam (2008), such analytical frameworks are limiting, since they ignore the various other conjunctures around which power is negotiated and assume that money is the main motivation moving hosts and guests. More importantly, it ignores the agency of host actors and dismisses the possibility that host actors may in fact ‘gaze back’ at tourists and negotiate their identities in exchanges with tourists (Scarles, 2012).

Nevertheless, more recent scholarly examinations have started to dismantle these dichotomies of domination and subordination by foregrounding the multiple subjectivities and agencies embedded in tourist interactions (Tucker, 2003; Doron, 2005; Campbell, 2007; Duffy et al, 2012; Scarles, 2012). These contributions have begun to explore aspects related to resistance and empowerment from both a tourist and host perspective (Scarles, 2012; Ferguson, 2011).

2.8.5. Tourism as a Platform for Empowerment and Resistance

Although limited in scope, a number of studies have examined how tourism may empower certain groups and individuals (Cantu, 2002; Ferguson, 2011). For instance, several authors have explored how gay and lesbian friendly tourist destinations can empower individuals by enabling performances, practices, and identity building which are not possible in tourists’ home locations (Church and Coles, 2007; Johnston, 2007; Cantu, 2002). Relatively recently, several contributions have also started to examine the

diverse ways in which female tourists and female hosts may resist institutional power structures through participation in tourism (Ferguson, 2011; Tucker and Boonabaana, 2012; Scarles, 2012; Ypeij, 2012).

From a tourist perspective, Berdychevsky et al (2013) explore the feelings and meanings women assign to their sexual behaviour in their experiences as tourists. Their findings reveal that women perceive tourism as a liminal space where they might resist hegemonic expectations of appropriate female sexual behaviour and explore alternative sexual behaviours. Conversely, examining the host perspective, Ferguson (2011) analyses how tourism development in Central America advanced new consumption arrangements for local women, restructuring gendered relations of consumption and production. The author notes that women's deeper integration into new circuits of global capitalist consumption increases their sense of empowerment and autonomy. This was achieved through female employment in tourism which helped women pay for goods and services with currency rather than unpaid labour (Ferguson, 2011). Nonetheless, several studies on tourism and female employment in Latin America also revealed that women were employed in positions that would not interfere with their traditional roles as domestic caregivers; thus, the extent to which their employment in tourism challenges patriarchal power structures remains questionable (Duffy et al, 2012; Ferguson, 2007; 2010; Casellas and Holcomb, 2001; Momsen, 2004; Chant, 2002; Cukier et al, 1996).

Within the context of tourism and host community empowerment, Scheyvens (1999) reported four different levels of empowerment: political empowerment, economic empowerment, social empowerment and psychological empowerment. Political empowerment may involve the presence of women in positions of authority, access to political representation and the ability to determine decision-making processes at local and national levels (Scheyvens, 1999; Stanistreet et al, 2007). Economic empowerment is generally regarded as the improvement of female access to and control over land, capital, entrepreneurial opportunities, as well as income parity with male counterparts or well-paid jobs outside the home (Scheyvens, 1999; Stanistreet et al, 2007).

Psychological empowerment is related to a sense of confidence, the conservation of valued traditions and the understanding of available opportunities by members of a community (Scheyvens, 1999; Zimmerman, 1990). Psychological empowerment has

proven particularly key for women's agency and entrepreneurship (Moya, 2013) and is likely enhanced by improved training and education (Boserup, 1970; Megarry, 2008; Scheyvens, 1999, 2000). Lastly, social empowerment may be seen as a complex combination of enhanced social standing, control over reproduction, opportunities to socialise that were formerly denied to women, safety, improved educational opportunities, marriage equality, more egalitarian laws and societal norms; as well as self-fulfilment and personal development (Hovorka, 2014; Jütting and Morrisson, 2005; Scheyvens, 1999; van Klaveren and Tijdens, 2012). There is a clear overlap between some of the conditions for social, psychological and political empowerment. This implies that empowerment categories are interactive and interweaved (Jütting and Morrisson, 2005; Scheyvens, 1999; Stanistreet et al, 2007).

Such a comprehensive view of empowerment is apposite for the current analysis, since it positions empowerment as a multifaceted construct; this has been explicitly highlighted in more recent publications (Moswete and Lacey, 2015; Jütting and Morrisson, 2005; Stanistreet et al, 2007; Desai, 2010). Such a consideration of empowerment is pertinent in the context of Pisac, since tourism may bring both benefits and complications for the local population, in some cases concurrently benefiting and disadvantaging the same group of individuals. Similarly, studies on female empowerment have demonstrated that empowerment usually entails a lengthy timeframe (Desai, 2010; Eyben and Napier-Moore, 2009). This implies that empowerment should be examined not simply as an outcome but also as a process. Following a longitudinal approach allows for the development of more meaningful insights into the mechanisms which restrict or enhance the scope of female empowerment through tourism.

2.8.6. The Power of the Tourist Gaze

Following a consideration of the sociological dimensions of tourism, Urry's study on the tourist gaze, published in 1990 and revised in subsequent years (Urry 1992; 1995; 2002 and Urry and Larsen, 2011) was one of the earliest works examining social relations of power. With a particular focus on the tourist experience, Urry (1990) draws on Foucault's idea of the panopticon and posits that the intrinsic power of the tourist gaze on host actors and local sites parallels Foucault's disciplining power of surveillance. Urry (1990) focuses on what tourists view and how they interpret people and places,

positioning the tourist as the potent actor in tourism-mediated interactions. Further to this, the author also highlights the ways in which tourist photography encompasses an active signifying practice in which knowledge and power are salient features.

Central to Urry's (1990) thesis is that an inherent and seemingly problematic power relationship is established when people and places are subjected to the surveillance of tourists. Urry (1990) posits that the tourist gaze has powerful consequences for the spatial organisation of destinations, the meanings ascribed to local culture and history, as well as the production and consumption of the tourist experience. This reasoning is based on the argument that tourists and the tourist industry, through various media (i.e. visits to particular places, tourist photographs, destination marketing), selectively classify and label people and places in the host destination, rendering some activities and behaviours acceptable or commendable whilst dismissing others as bizarre or irrelevant (Urry, 1990). For Urry, this is further compounded by tourists' constant search for the extraordinary and the exotic as they seek to escape their everyday realities through tourism.

For host destinations, this may result in a range of sites and sights being exploited and exoticised, whilst their meanings are reconstructed or deconstructed to fit the criteria dictated by mainstream tourist consumption (Urry, 1992). Equally, the presentation of a destination's culture, its history and its people may become increasingly contrived and commoditised to meet tourist expectations (ibid). Thus, according to Urry (1990), the tourist gaze tends to "other"⁶ local populations, a process which, according to Kincheloe and McLaren (2003, p.436), is particularly evidenced in postcolonial nations where citizens have presumably "been acculturated to feel comfortable in relations of domination and subordination". Consequently, the tourist gaze, both through tourists' behaviours and tourist imagery, plays a crucial role in the construction of the character of places, its people as well as its past (Urry, 1990; Palmer and Lester, 2007; Amoamo, 2011).

Further to using the concept of the tourist gaze to question the power relations between host destinations and generating countries, Urry (1990) also uses the gaze to examine the power relations between tourists and tourist brokers (i.e. tour guides, producers of

⁶ Othering is "the process in which subordinate populations are misinterpreted or reinterpreted by mainstream populations in discourse and praxis" (Amoamo, 2011, p.1254-1255, citing Tribe, 1997)

tourist imagery and narratives) who instruct tourists on what and how to see. Concerning this particular aspect of Urry's work, Cheong and Miller (2000) contend that Urry does not sufficiently elaborate on the strategies and techniques that tourism practitioners use to define, constrain, and guide the tourist gaze. The authors remark that the networks of power in tourism are constantly shifting in response to the actions of those subjected to power and the brokers and agents exercising power. It follows that, depending on the situation, the exercise of power in tourism may be both repressive and/or emancipating for locals.

Contrasting with Urry, Cheong and Miller (2000, p.383) view the tourist as the target rather than the agent of power, for "while tourists do acquire a gaze, agent-target power relations guarantee that it is the 'touristic gaze' of agents that manufactures the sociological gaze of tourists that Urry describes." A major reasoning framing this argumentation relates to the contention that tourists are vulnerable to the manipulation of locals and brokers, given their visibility (i.e. through their clothes, accent, physical features, travelling in organised groups), language difficulties and their unfamiliarity with local culture and politics (Cheong and Miller, 2000).

Drawing on Foucault's ideas on the nexus between power and knowledge, Cheong and Miller (2000) contend that local agents such as tour guides and travel agents have the power to shape tourists' decisions due to their expert knowledge of tourism and the destination. Local experts can thus influence tourists' decisions by encouraging or discouraging tourists to visit particular sites, instructing tourists to appreciate or devalue particular features of a destination or influencing what services and commodities tourists purchase (Cheong and Miller, 2000). Guides can further fulfil their personal economic agenda when they coordinate interactions with allied local brokers (such as owners of and employees of hotels, retail outlets, market stands or restaurants) in order to sway tourists to particular businesses (Cheong and Miller, 2000). Thus, according to Cheong and Miller's (2000) line of thinking, local agents construct the tourist gaze through their knowledge and expertise which is then legitimised by tourists' actions and behaviours.

Echoing Cheong and Miller's (2000) thoughts, a range of studies have examined how tourism spaces can be constructed by local elites rather than exogenous actors (Boyle and Hughes, 1991; Shields, 2003). Following this line of analysis, Malam (2008, citing

Hanna et al, 2004,) argues that local elites can manage and direct the development of the destination's image by controlling texts and representations, the performances of tourism workers and the main channels through which place meanings are circulated.

Nevertheless, Bianchi (2009) faults Cheong and Miller (2000)'s analysis and remarks that the authors fail to differentiate between the exposure of tourists to criminal acts at a micro level and the ability of institutional tourism industry actors (supported by state powers) to shape tourism spaces. Bianchi (2009) argues that while local socio-cultural relations of power differ from institutional power, micro level power relations are underpinned by wider structural configurations of power. Thus, according to Bianchi, any consideration of micro level power relations should take into account linkages to wider political power structures and discourses. This recalls Reed's (1997) argumentation regarding the need to examine institutions of power as well as individual relations of power, since both affect the outcomes and decisions of tourism planning. Cole (2012) develops a similar argument and suggests that both an actor-based and structural analysis are necessary when examining social power. This is evidenced in her approach to the examination of water equity and tourism in Bali in which the author uses political ecology, an analytical framework which examines "how environmental and political forces interact to affect social and environmental changes through the actions of various social actors at different scales" (Cole, 2012, p.8, citing Stonich, 1998, p.28).

More recent contributions have revealed how powerful local elites, tourism agents and governments may hide unattractive realities of everyday life from tourists (i.e. political unrest and social problems) (Fotsch, 2004). This may be achieved by restraining tourists' time and space or staging tourist sceneries to display a positive image of the country (MacCannell, 1999). For instance, governmental regimes can constrain tourists' ability to freely move throughout space by closing certain regions and sites or restricting tourist activities during political protests and demonstrations (Nyaupane et al, 2010). Autocratic governments may also choose to limit the number of foreign tourists or only allow pre-determined itineraries in a bid to avoid contact between local citizens and foreigners (Yu and Chung, 2001; Kim et al, 2007). For example, while North Korea opened the Mt Gungang region as a nature-centred tourist destination for South Koreans, the Government firmly controls the flow and number of visitors to avoid

contact between North Koreans and South Korean tourists (Timothy, 2001; Kim and Prideaux, 2003). The motive behind these policies is both to avoid exposing locals to the outside world and outsiders to the life of local citizens (Yu and Chung, 2001).

Following an analogous line of analysis, Goulding and Domic (2009) denote how the organisation and representation of heritage in tourism can rewrite history to favour particular perspectives. Using Croatia as a case study, the authors argue that discourses and imagery promoted in Croatian tourism represent a monocultural heritage in a multi-ethnic society, thus excluding certain ethnic groups and their heritage from national consideration. These debates also resonate with Ndebele's (1999) discussion of game lodges as enclavic spaces of cultural power in South Africa. Ndebele (1999, p.10) reasons that game lodges function as separate spaces which reaffirm the cultural power of colonialism and offer newly dispossessed white South Africans a "refuge from living in a black country". According to Ndebele (1999, p.10), lodges reproduce old power structures since there "everything...is still in place...the faceless black workers, behaving rather meekly, who clean the rooms, wash the dishes, make the fire".

However, although the power of agents may evoke negative implications related to coercion and manipulation, guides and other local actors also have the productive power to change adverse tourist attitudes by advising tourists how to observe local socio-cultural and religious norms or how to adopt ecological principles when visiting sensitive ecosystems (Cheong and Miller, 2000). Similarly, although criticised for largely conferring negative connotations to the power of tourist imagery, Urry (2000, p.129) suggests that whereas mass tourism photography has exoticised and commodified foreign cultures, it has also democratised and de-hegemonised culture by rendering "notable whatever gets photographed rather than what elites might have specified" ⁷.

Edensor (2000) also criticises Urry's ideas by noting that his conceptualisation of the tourist gaze implies that tourist performances are unilateral in nature. Instead, he suggests that tourist performances will vary according to the different stages on which they are set. The argument is made that different forms of surveillance are experienced

⁷ It should be noted that in later studies, Urry moves beyond a primary focus on the visual gaze of the tourist to incorporate a more embodied and active consumption of tourism on the part of the tourist (Rojek and Urry, 1997; Urry, 1995; 2002), thus responding to criticisms regarding the arguably simplistic conceptualisation of the embodied and sensory practice of tourism in his work.

in enclavic spaces (i.e. gated tourist resorts) than those exercised in heterogeneous tourism spaces (i.e. spaces situated outside of resorts) such as local markets or other local spaces where tourists may feel less restricted in their engagement with host actors. Closely linked to this reasoning, Jordan and Aitchison (2008) contend that Urry overlooks a further dimension of the tourist gaze: the nature and power of the gaze in tourism spaces as both sexualised and gendered.

Examining solo female tourists' experience, Jordan and Aitchison (2008) assert that the power of the gaze will vary according to whether it is being exercised by or on a female or male tourist, tourism providers or local residents. Their research looks at the effects of the gaze on women tourists, concluding that while the gaze is mostly viewed as a passive act, it perceivably influences the embodied experience of female tourists. As a result of collective cultural and social gazes, women tourists' mobility may be compromised, feelings of vulnerability reinforced and the need for self-surveillance heightened (Jordan and Aitchinson, 2008).

Since Urry's seminal work on the tourist gaze, further studies have examined the concept of power through tourist imagery, particularly focusing on the power of promotional tourism photographs to mediate aspects of tourism and reconstruct national identities (Albers and James, 1983; Scarles, 2004; Garrod, 2008, 2009).

2.8.7. The Power of Tourism Imagery and Representations

As previously mentioned, studies of power in the area of tourist imagery and tourist promotional materials have been particularly fruitful in the last decade. For example, Mason (2008) analyses tourism promotional posters to explore the representation of Indigenous groups in the 'Banff Indian Days' festival. His study concluded that tourism producers homogenised Indigenous people by representing them as a single cultural group, under inappropriately generic terms. According to Mason (2008) this representation serves to sell an image of the region as a unique 'natural' environment while simultaneously progressing capitalist economic goals.

Similarly, in the context of Peru, a number of studies have explored the intrinsic power of tourist postcards representing Andean life (Starn, 1999; Delfin, 2009; Weismantel, 2001). Delfin (2009) argues that Andean postcards project a picture of the Andes and its people as suggestible and silent landscapes, usually featuring "a picture of a llama or of

a smiling Indian child playing the flute” (Weismantel, 2001, p.19). In such images, the natural environment and Indigenous groups are depicted as interchangeable in superficial representations of Andean life which contrast with contemporary realities of shopping malls, denim-clad teenagers and skyscrapers (Delfin, 2007). Delfin (2007) argues that the oversimplified and idyllic images pictured in postcards were used by the state to reinvent an image of Peru as a nation free from political turmoil and terrorism. This was mainly achieved by portraying nature as a central theme and people as timeless guardians of ancient wisdoms (Delfin, 2007). The aforementioned examples showcase how tourism imagery can have severe implications in the social construction of places, their history and the people that inhabit them.

2.8.8. Power in Tourism Governance, Planning and the Political Economy of Tourism

Scholarly contributions have also been particularly fruitful in the fields of governance, planning and the political economy of tourism (Reed, 1997; Hall, 2003; Beritelli and Laesser, 2011). Within this broad area of research, existing tourism literature has particularly examined power as a key issue in governance and destination management (Reed, 1997; Beritelli et al, 2007; Beritelli and Laesser, 2011). As stated by Hall (2003), power gains additional significance in tourism because all decisions affecting tourism development, management, governance and community participation arise from political processes. Thus, predictably, power represents a central theme in works which critically evaluate tourism planning processes, multi-stakeholder collaboration and community participation (Church and Coles, 2007).

For instance, Judd and Simpson (2003) examined covert power dynamics in urban tourism public-private partnerships and how these act as independent foci of power, undermining local government structures and democratic processes to impose their interests. Following a similar line of analysis, Duffy (2000) scrutinises how local political elites and corrupt foreign investors use informal networks to exercise political and economic power in the development of Belizean ecotourism. Within the context of de jure and de facto power in the branding of New Zealand, Ryan and Zahra (2004) examine the power of government to influence decisions in the tourism industry through the ability to legislate and enforce regulations on the industry. Yet, within the same study, the authors conclude that individual interests and parochialism played an

equally significant role in influencing the direction of New Zealand's tourism marketing, underlining the complex power structures behind tourism destinations.

As noted by several authors (Wood and Gray, 1991; Booher and Innes, 2002; Beritelli and Laesser, 2011), actors engaged in collaborative processes exert power through different means in order to promote their particular stake or interests in the outcome of collaboration. Overt and covert conflicts may be witnessed during community participative mechanisms where multiple stakeholders will try to influence the formulation of tourism policies in divergent ways (Hall, 1994; Arino, 2002; Beritelli and Laesser, 2011). As emphasised by Reed (1997), power relations are at the centre of community based tourism planning and have the potential to either change the outcomes of tourism planning processes or act as a barrier to participation.

In this regard, numerous commentators have stressed that models of community participation in tourism tend to assume the pluralistic allocation of power within communities, assuming that all parties have an equal opportunity to voice their concerns (Millar and Aiken, 1995; Hall, 2003; Bianchi, 2003). Bramwell and Lane (2000) concur with these arguments and note that within tourism research, the nature of power, how it is dispersed among stakeholders, and its ability to frustrate or contribute to the outcomes of collaborations is only vaguely conceptualised. Reed (1997) further warns that limited conclusions on the benefits of stakeholder collaboration may be drawn if existing power asymmetries are not questioned. Thus, Reed (1997, p.657) states that "while power relations are included within collaborative theory, it is frequently assumed that collaboration can overcome power imbalances by involving all stakeholders in a process that meet their needs". Illustrating this argument, Frederick's (2010) recent investigation on ecotourism partnerships in Namibia concluded that while ecotourism enterprise partnerships generated a range of community benefits, such partnerships also entrenched asymmetric power relations between and among partners.

Further to this, Blackstock (2005) and Bianchi (2003) both assert that most participative models may not challenge pre-existing power imbalances between community actors, unwittingly reinforcing extant structural inequalities and leading to an unequal distribution of tourism pecuniary benefits. This means that the perspectives of traditionally marginalised ethnic and socio-economic groups may be excluded from

decision making processes in the planning of tourism (Holland, 2000; Hall, 2003). For instance, Hall (2007, p.309) notes that certain groups have the ability to exert greater influence than others in tourism planning or development, remarking that “Indigenous groups often do not have the same financial and technical capacities to engage in policy debates as non-indigenous business interests”. Espousing a Lukesian view of power, Hall (1994) also contends that such models of community participation fail to account for how non-decisions occur. This leads Hall (2003, p.99) to note that that collaboration and unity amongst community stakeholders “should not be romanticized”.

Such observations are echoed by Millar and Aiken (1995, p.629), who posit that communities are “complex and self-serving entities, as much driven by grievances, prejudices, inequalities, and struggles for power as they are united by kinship, reciprocity, and interdependence. Decision-making at the local level can be extraordinarily vicious, personal, and not always bound by legal constraints”.

Mair and Reid (2007) attempt to address these concerns by suggesting that power structures in tourism planning may be tackled through the application of Friedman’s (1987) social learning planning approaches, which focus on the involvement of less powerful actors and challenge inherent assumptions about participation. In line with this argumentation, numerous studies examining Indigenous participation in tourism have consistently remarked that Indigenous collectives may not benefit from equitable participative power in tourism due to uneven access to resources, unequal political representation, discrimination and limited access to investment opportunities - amongst other reasons (Scheyvens, 2002; D’Hauteserre, 2010). Nevertheless, analogous studies on the topic of Indigenous tourism document cases where the creation of new partnerships and collaboration with the public and private sector may have served to redress power imbalances between Indigenous communities and commercial tour operators (Momsen, 2004; Wearing et al, 2010). Broadly scoped, these studies underscore that partnerships can challenge structural inequalities by increasing Indigenous participation in the tourism planning process, facilitating the allocation of funding for community based tourism projects and enhancing access to new educational opportunities through community capacity building workshops (Binns and Nel, 2003; Momsen, 2004; Wearing et al, 2010).

Following a similar line of analysis, Mason (2008) argues that scholars are often too concerned with exposing exploitative practices towards Indigenous groups. In so doing, they can deny Indigenous people the capacity to subvert uneven power dynamics and dominant tourist assumptions of Indigenous culture in tourism encounters (Mason, 2008). Building on this argument, Mason (2008, p.239) argues that tourism researchers may have unwittingly denied Indigenous groups agency by failing to “acknowledge the processes by which some Indigenous peoples consciously manipulate representations of themselves to satisfy tourists’ expectations and meet non-Indigenous stereotypical perceptions of “Aboriginality” while creatively and successfully participating in capitalist forms of exchange”.

Mason’s reasoning is expounded in a number of tourism studies examining Indigenous participation in a variety of tourism settings (i.e. Canada, Australia, Indonesia, and Peru) (Blundell, 1993; Bruner, 2004; Bunten, 2011; Scarles, 2012). Although far from reaching similar conclusions regarding Indigenous agency in tourism, these studies denote that Indigenous hosts may harness dominant tourist narratives by carving and directing performances to reap the benefits afforded by tourist expectations of exotic encounters (Bunten, 2011; Scarles, 2012). According to these observations, given that Indigenous agency may be circumscribed by structural socio-economic inequalities inherent in tourist-host encounters, Indigenous actors are not mindless to tourist expectations. Indigenous actors are gazed upon but similarly gaze back, becoming active co-performers and knowing agents (Bunten, 2011; Scarles, 2012).

2.9. Conclusion and Summary

This chapter has provided an extensive and comprehensive review of the treatment of power within the extant academic literature, examining works from the field of tourism studies and other disciplines. The analysis of existing works reveals that power is a problematic concept to define, leading to different theoretical expositions being progressively developed over the years. Early exponents remained concerned with an over-fixation on the repressive aspects of power, largely equating power with coercion and force and focusing on observable expressions of power (Thompson, 1955; Rosenberg, 1957; Walter, 1964). Within later poststructuralist and pluralist perspectives of power, a more elaborated consideration of power was developed whereby exponents acknowledged that power may act in an invisible manner, and that

although there is a structural dimension which shapes individual activity, social actors also have agency and a degree of discretion in the power relations in which they participate. More recent literature in tourism studies has expanded upon poststructuralists' body of work by further incorporating the idea of the gaze, technologies of power and empowerment in the analysis of host-tourist interactions and power relations between host actors.

It is argued that the use of a primarily poststructuralist or pluralist perspective, which espouses a more complex and dynamic treatment of power, aligns well with the objectives of this thesis. Notably, this is due to the fact that this study aims to examine local power relations and the processes that take place through tourism in order to maintain existing socio-political hierarchies. This thesis also questions the extent to which tourism development may create new possibilities for resistance and transformation. For this reason, a pluralistic perspective which challenges simplistic understandings of power as a purely top-down process is preferred. A poststructuralist stance acknowledges power from below and provides a means to analyse power contestation in which resistance and dominance are intertwined in daily interactions. It also acknowledges that existing socio-cultural structures are constantly rearranged by both host actors and exogenous tourism operators.

Given that ethnic identity, along with class and culture, plays a key role in social categorisation in Peru and that the marketing of the 'ethnic subject' is pivotal to attract tourists to the country; the next chapter will provide a critical analysis of ethnicity as a social construct that influences the distribution of power in tourism and in Peru as a country.

CHAPTER 3: THE INTERPLAY OF ETHNICITY, POWER AND TOURISM

3.1. Introduction

The concept of ethnic identity has been widely explored in scholarly literature emanating from diverse disciplinary contexts (Geertz, 1963; Barth, 1969; Jenkins, 2008). Examining these works, it is possible to discern two broad schools of thought: the essentialist tradition (also known as the primordial perspective), which views ethnicity as a non-cognitive static category, or the broadly grouped situational perspectives (which include instrumentalist and constructivist paradigms) (Geertz, 1963; Weber, 1978; Fishman, 1980; Connor, 1994; Smith, 1991; 1994). As opposed to the essentialist school of thought, a situated perspective considers that ethnic identity is socially and temporally constructed; it is built through human interaction and is not an inherent quality with which human beings are born (Barth, 1966; 1969; Wolf, 1982; Jenkins, 1996; Bader, 2001; Verkuyten, 2005; Nayak, 2006).

Present day scholars have largely discarded an essentialist consideration of ethnic identity and have shifted discussions towards obtaining an understanding of the processes involved in the construction of ethnic categories (Barth, 1966; Wolf, 1982; Jenkins, 1996; Bader, 2001; Verkuyten, 2005; Nayak, 2006; Jeuring, 2016). Examining these debates is central to the study of power relations in a tourism context, given that tourism capitalises on ethnic identities and frames them through discursive narratives (i.e. in marketing campaigns and tour guides' interpretations of host cultures), critically impacting local stakeholders' equity and power vis-à-vis tourism producers (Dredge and Jenkins, 2003; Dahles, 2002; Cousin, 2008; Jeuring, 2016; Salazar, 2012).

Scrutinising ethnicity within a Peruvian context also brings to the fore key issues of power and social equity, given that race and ethnicity are key determinants of the distribution of power within Peruvian society and can determine access to political posts (Canepa, 2008; De la Cadena, 2000). Based on these arguments, this chapter will provide a critical review of ethnic identity construction, initially reviewing the main theories related to ethnicity, followed by a discussion on ethnic categories in Peru and their role in socio-political power distribution and tourism.

3.2. Ethnic Identity: Primordial and Situational Perspectives

A review of existing literature reveals that ethnic identity has been broadly examined either through the espousal of essentialist (i.e. primordial) standpoints or situational perspectives (i.e. instrumentalist and constructivist standpoints). Within an essentialist tradition, ethnic identity is conceived as a non-cognitive static category, fundamental in nature, and derived from specific cultural traits acquired at birth, such as race, language or nationality (Geertz, 1963; Weber, 1978; Fishman, 1980; Connor, 1994; Smith, 1991; 1994). Owing to this logic, ethnic identity does not surface as a result of social interaction, but rather precedes cultural encounters and is thus a pre-given ontological condition resistant to class divides (Isaacs, 1975). Thus, an essentialist perspective may be seen to espouse a non-agent oriented and normative discourse of cultural identity; since it posits that individual and group identities stem from unchanging cultural norms and historical legacy (Jenkins, 2008). Alternatively expressed, individuals or groups do not have the agency to alter their pre-established identities, given that these cannot escape the historical and foundational origins from which they derive.

This line of argument poses several theoretical and methodological limitations. An essentialist approach assumes boundary maintenance between groups is unproblematic because social groups possess measurable and discrete cultural features (i.e. language, religion, race) which can be logically isolated to describe and bound societies (Barth, 1969). This logic limits and simplifies the variety of factors that may further explain cultural diversity; more alarmingly, it establishes typologies of ethnic groups which may separate and isolate societies (Barth, 1969). One of the key criticisms of a primordial conceptualisation of ethnicity is that it legitimises and naturalises radical nationalistic ideologies of racial and cultural superiority, with grave implications for society (Smith, 1986; Bauman, 1992; Jenkins, 2008). A further consequence of an approach that seeks to assign measurable, objective and unchangeable ethnicity markers to cultural groups, is that it fails to examine the complex contextual and historical nature in which identities are produced. In this sense, adopting a primordial stance does not allow for the examination of the politics and creative strategies inherent in the production and representations of different cultural identities (Canepa, 2008).

A further caveat of the primordial approach is that it does not acknowledge that cultural difference is not solely linked to observable and persistent group features, but may also

be maintained through shared codes of interaction, where specific socially relevant markers (i.e. class, lifestyle, geographic origin) surface to condition inter-ethnic group encounters (Barth, 1969). Put differently, although individuals may improve their economic condition or further still, adopt cultural features of other ethnic groups who hold superior power positions in society, ethnic differentiation may still persist precisely because ethnic boundaries are continually redefined to protect the dominant group's cohesiveness (Canepa, 2008).

On account of the aforementioned theoretical limitations, scholars shifted debates away from an examination of cultural groups as bounded entities to discussions centred on ethnic groups' interfaces (Barth, 1966; Wolf, 1982; Jenkins, 1996). This eventually led to the development of new perspectives on ethnic identity which may be largely grouped under 'constructivist' or 'situated' paradigms (Nayak, 2006). The constructivist and situated perspectives contend that ethnic identity is a constructed category which emerges as a result of context-bound social interaction and is therefore not a universal pre-established quality inherent to human groups (Barth, 1966, 1969; Wolf, 1982; Jenkins, 1996; Bader, 2001; Verkuyten, 2005; Nayak, 2006). These perspectives of ethnic identity may also be categorised within the rubric of poststructuralist theories of the self, prominent in cultural studies and greatly influenced by 20th Century French philosophers such as Foucault (1969), Derrida (1985) and Lacan (1997). Poststructuralist scholars shared a similar understanding of identity to that of proponents of a situated ethnicity, whereby the 'I' of the self is engaged in a continual practice of crafting itself, implying the impossibility of a pre-social sense of self (Giddens, 1991).

Thus, following a poststructuralist perspective, the attainment of a complete and 'finished' identity is an impossible project, since the self is continuously being built through the fluxes and complexity of the discourses to which it is exposed (Butler, 1990; 1993; Hall, 1996). Mouffe (1992) in particular suggests that the self is instituted at the intersection of fluid and multiple positions of identities, which do not concurrently coexist within the self but are partially fixated and are rendered salient depending on the demands of particular circumstances. Along similar lines, Hall (1996) observes that identities are always fractured and fragmented because these are constructed across diverse, interconnected and often antagonistic practices and positions. Drawing on the

work of Derrida, Hall (1996, p.6) highlights the need to consider identity as a construct crafted through difference and in opposition to “the other” from which it seeks to distinguish itself.

Within the situated approach, leading contributions mainly emerged from the works of Fredrik Barth (1966; 1969) who shifted the focus of debates around ethnicity away from primordial theorisations of internal ethnic constitutions to a more critical consideration of ethnic boundaries and boundary maintenance. In opposition to the primordial approach, Barth (1966) sustained that shared culture was produced through processes of boundary maintenance between groups. Building on Barth’s line of argumentation, proponents of a situational perspective, notably Cohen (1978), Eriksen (1998; 2001), Hall (1996) and Hawthorne (1983), advance that ethnic identity is politically situated and thus may be instrumentally mobilised for socio-political gains, including or excluding subjects from communities of practice (Wenger, 1998). As stated by Cohen, (1978, p.387) ethnicity is “a *series* of nesting dichotomizations (sic) of inclusiveness and exclusiveness” (Cohen’s emphasis), implying that the process of ascribing individuals to ethnic groups may entail both subjective and objective actions, similarly executed by group members or by others. Differently put, ethnic identity can be an equally self-ascribed or externally attributed classification. Hence it reasons that ethnic communities are shaped and redefined in accordance with changing social and environmental conditions.

Additionally, according to a situated perspective, cultural differences and group boundaries endure in spite of inter-ethnic interaction because these can also be maintained through symbolic border guards (Barth, 1969). This implies that ethnic differences can be sustained through the use of symbols, myths and visual representations (Barth, 1969; Anderson, 1991; Hall, 1994; Santos, 2004). It has long been recognised that pictorial cultural representations can visually fix economic and social identities, telling groups where they belong in society (Ruffins, 1997; Billings and Eastman, 2002). By endorsing values and attitudes embedded in dominant ideologies, visual representations can legitimise the social realities of ethnic majorities and consequently diminish those of minority groups (Woodward, 1997; Smith, 2006). As will be discussed further in this study, synthetic ethnic difference has been recurrently constructed and reproduced in tourism imagery, particularly within visual narratives

designed to attract foreign tourists to developing countries (Hennig, 2002; Echtner and Prasad, 2003; Delfin, 2009). Equally, tourism imagery has also been reportedly harnessed by state agencies to target domestic audiences (Franklin, 2003). In this regard, examining ethnicity through a situational lens facilitates the examination of a wider range of debates concerned with Andean Indigenous identities and the use of ethnic difference in tourism. The adoption of a situational approach is justified on several grounds.

Firstly, the situational perspective allows the researcher to analyse ethnic identities focusing on the social actor, taking into account his or her position within a wider system of inter- and intra-ethnic relations, questioning the relativity of this position vis-à-vis different interlocutors and spaces (Canepa, 2008). Such an approach aptly fits the examination of ethnic identity constructions in a postcolonial and ethnically diverse nation such as Peru, where ethnic consciousness and self-definition is embedded in a wider social structure of power dynamics (i.e. class, gender, cultural traditions, language) (De la Cadena, 2000; Degregori, 2000; Hunefeldt and Zamosc, 2011). As will be further examined, in Peru, prevalent social power structures have been shaped and restructured persistently following criteria of social distinction framed around cultural difference (De la Cadena, 2000; Canepa, 2008). Consequently, in the Peruvian Andes, cultural, individual and community identities have been subject to constant reconstruction and revision as different actors have attempted to expand or narrow the boundaries of ethnic identification, giving rise to multiple and flexible identities (Canepa, 2008). With this reasoning in mind, the espousal of a situational perspective, which acknowledges the mutability and multiplicity of ethnic identities, provides a valuable lens through which to analyse how and why individuals ascribe or are ascribed particular identity categories.

Furthermore, a discussion of ethnicity which focuses on the processes of ethnic boundary construction, as opposed to the internal constitution of the ethnic members (i.e. the identification of objective ethnic markers), is especially apposite to a critical consideration of social power relations and inequalities. This holds particular resonance in Peru, where the division of labour and social structuring along class lines has been consistently linked to ethnic classification (De la Cadena, 2000; Canepa, 2008). Accordingly, following a situational stance, ethnicity can be interrogated to explore a

number of pertinent debates which cut across issues of class, culture and mobile identities in the Peruvian Andes.

Further scrutinising the aforementioned lines of enquiry is a necessary first step to reach a sound understanding of hierarchies and social differences in Peru (Canepa, 2008). As denoted by Canepa (2008, p.8), who draws on Barth's reasoning: "it is the function of ethnicity to frame asymmetrical structural positions and relations as cultural distinctions". In other words, when ethnic markers are linked to innate cultural differences, culture becomes a discursive resource which dominant actors can draw on to legitimise and naturalise social exclusion of traditionally disenfranchised individuals or collectives. As will be further expounded in this study, there is evidence to suggest that whilst Andean Indigenous actors may be attempting to destabilise social asymmetries by repositioning themselves as entrepreneurs in the spheres of cultural media and informal economies, this does not appear to have erased discriminatory practices against Andean groups in political spheres (Bruce, 2007).

Lastly, given that discourses around ethnic difference are particularly replicated in tourism narratives (i.e. media campaigns, host performers, handicraft and souvenir markets) (Guneratne, 2001; Henderson, 2003), impacting the social dynamics of host communities, it appears apposite to use a situated theoretical lens to scrutinise the diverse myths and narratives around which tourism constructs the ethnic host. Having outlined the theoretical stance which will underpin the examination of identity throughout this study, the following sections will critically examine the negotiation of ethnic identity in the context of Peru and the Andean region.

3.3. The Negotiation of Ethnic Identities in Peru

As expressed in a number of Latin American countries, contemporary Peru is characterised by an ethnically and culturally diverse demographic in addition to being a nation with a high degree of socioeconomic stratification (Ewig, 2010). Following this premise, recent research underscores that, in Peru, racial-cultural categorisation still has a fundamental impact on political action, public representation of ethnic groups and everyday social interactions (De la Cadena, 2000; Garcia, 2005; Ewig, 2010). As observed by several authors, race, class, culture and geography are interlinked in a number of ways in Peru (De la Cadena, 2000; Fuller, 2001; Weismantel, 2001; Ewig,

2010). Within a Peruvian context, and the Andes in particular, race is understood through a series of particularities whereby cultural capital rather than biology is seen as a defining marker of race; the belief that one can inherit acquired characteristics still prevails (De la Cadena, 1998; 2000). Persistent in Peru, racial-cultural categories and ethnic identities operate in a fluid and relational manner, in the sense that their meanings are not immutably singular but constantly shifting depending on the anointing actor and the socio-cultural context in which the latter takes place (Alcalde, 2009).

For instance, the category of 'Mestizo', which technically refers to mixed Indigenous and 'White' (i.e. European) parentage, may be rejected by someone who despite having a mixed biological background, is in fact highly educated and thus prefers to self-anoint as White (given that Mestizo would denote a lower socio-economic status) (De la Cadena, 2000; Ewig, 2010). Conversely, when someone with primarily Indigenous ancestry self-describes as 'Mestizo', it may imply that he or she has attained a higher social status through education or wealth (De la Cadena, 2000; Ewig, 2010). Based on this observation, it is possible to argue that in Peru, aspects linked to culture (i.e. ancestry, food, language), class (i.e. accumulated wealth) or geography (i.e. being from the countryside or the city) strongly play into the social construction of race. In this sense, socio-cultural capital rather than biology acts as a defining marker of race (Ewig, 2010).

Given that racial categorisation does not apparently discriminate on the basis of phenotype, the existence of racist practices is largely dismissed by the general population; thus, negative stereotypes of cultural superiority are naturalised as truisms which justify social stratification (Ewig, 2010). Unsurprisingly, the use of cultural capital as a defining racial marker fits well with a postcolonial Latin American reality where, following Spanish independence, elites were in fact of mixed lineage (Ewig, 2010). This meant that in order to maintain a system of hierarchical social stratification, political elites had to relocate defining racial markers outside of biology, instead linking race to socio-cultural capital (De la Cadena, 1998; Ewig, 2010), a practice still evident in contemporary Peru (De la Cadena, 2005; Garcia, 2005).

Within a national context, commonly used ethnic categories include 'Mestizo' (individuals with a mixed Indigenous and Spanish cultural background), 'Campesino' (translated as 'peasant' but referring to highland Indigenous individuals), Indigenous

(referring to Indigenous Amazonians), White, Black, or 'Cholo' (a foremost pejorative label which refers to individuals transitioning from being Indigenous to becoming Mestizos as a result of urban migration or improved economic status) (Greene, 2006). However, as previously mentioned, not only do these racial categories acquire different meanings according to the particular socio-cultural setting, but they also coexist with a number of hybrid regional identities which may, like multiple languages with a single speaker, incorporate Indigenous and Mestizo cultural elements into a single heteroglossic construct (Bakhtin, 1981, p.273).

As may be deduced from this discussion, present-day Peruvian identity constructs and taxonomic social categories have been shaped by complex historical and intellectual projects (De la Cadena, 2005). In this regard, out of the various intellectual and political projects to emerge during the last century, the Mestizo-led 'Indigenismo' movement has been widely recognised as the ideological movement which most strongly influenced subsequent regional and national identity constructions (De la Cadena, 1998).

3.3.1. Racial Renegotiations in 20th Century Peru and the Rise of Indigenismo

By the mid-1920s, Peruvian Andean intellectuals who had entered the political sphere, began to align their discourses with those promoted by an emerging socio-intellectual undercurrent known as 'Indigenismo' (De la Cadena, 1998; 2001). This was led by highland Cuzco scholars who in line with turn of the century Andean scholars rejected the concept of 'Mestizaje' and racial hybridism (De la Cadena, 2000; Garcia, 2005). 'Mestizaje' was an intellectual movement that became popular in most of South and Central America at the beginning of the 20th Century (Graham, 1990). Mestizaje espoused the idea that in order for Latin American countries to progress, they needed to develop homogeneous national societies and identities. This meant that national progress could only be achieved through 'racial progress' and diluting the 'inferior' races (i.e. Indigenous populations) into a mix with European descendants (Graham, 1990; Skidmore, 1993; De la Cadena, 1998).

Contradicting this argument, Indigenistas posited that the essence of the Peruvian nation lay in Andean regional culture and more specifically in its pre-Hispanic Inca past. As such, the source of Peruvian identity necessarily had to be shaped around Andean and Inca-centric discourses and imagery (Arellano, 2008). Following this

argumentation, Indigenistas also claimed to defend the “Indian race”, which they viewed as the essential embodiment of Peruvian culture (Arellano, 2008, p.39). This explains why Indigenistas were largely viewed as progressive thinkers by the general population given they were largely seen as ‘pro-Indian’ since they privileged racial and cultural purity against hybridity. Owing to this reasoning, the counter movement of ‘Mestizaje’ which briefly entered the political and academic spheres during this period, failed to gain popularity with academic circles precisely because support for racial and cultural hybridism was construed as racist and more gravely, was perceived as an attempt to eradicate Indigenous culture (De la Cadena, 1998).

However, Indigenistas’ plans for Indian emancipation were arguably narrow and deterministic, in the sense that while Indigenistas proclaimed Indians should be freed from unfair working conditions and illiteracy, they also believed that in order to preserve Indigenous cultural purity and decency, Quechua groups had to remain confined to their natural habitat, the “Ayllu”, (Mariategui, 1929). Related to this point, Indigenista supporter, Mariategui (1968, p.33), declared that “to remove the Indian from the land is to vary profoundly and possibly dangerously the race’s ancestral tendencies”, further adding that “the Indigenous race is a race of agriculturalists. The Inkaic people were peasant people dedicated to agriculture and herding” (Mariategui, 1968, p.45).

The Indigenista project also endorsed the idea that culture had the power to alter and positively transform races. Therefore, national unity and a homogenous stable cultural identity would be foremost achieved through the cultural sphere, and specifically through the promotion of Andean regional artistic expressions (De la Cadena, 1998). Following this reasoning, the promotion of artistic manifestations with predominantly Inca or Andean related themes would be strategically deployed to build a new national identity framed around a pre-colonial Inca past. However, numerous authors have argued that Indigenistas reclaimed Inca cultural legacy for themselves and by way of this appropriation dissociated Indigenous communities from Inca civilisation (De la Cadena, 2000; Hill, 2008; Gomez-Barris, 2012). In effect, Indigenistas legitimised themselves as the lawful heirs of Inca patrimony (i.e. rituals, customs, and Quechua language) on the basis that Indigenous groups did not possess the education and

capabilities to adequately safeguard and represent the legacy of the Incas (De la Cadena, 1998; Ewig, 2010).

In order to justify their position, Indigenistas paradoxically claimed that centuries of colonisation and servitude had dwarfed the natural racial evolution of Quechua collectives who, instead of progressing, had culturally regressed into a group of illiterate, non-rational (i.e. lacking intelligence) and docile individuals (De la Cadena, 2005). This leads De la Cadena (2001, p.3) to state that the Indigenista discourse resulted in “culturalist forms of discrimination” which were never without race but rather generated a notion of race through which culture was implicitly racially and biologically defined. This logic parallels what Hardt and Negri (2000, p.191) label “imperial racism”. The authors posit that in an age of globalisation, racial categorisation is now defined through socio-cultural aspects as opposed to biology.

Nevertheless, according to Indigenismo, Indians still held culturally redeemable qualities, mainly linked to their Inca roots and thus deserved the help of the more educated classes to alleviate them of their ignorance (De la Cadena, 1998; 2001). This implied that Indigenous individuals lacked the capacity for leadership and self-determination, and as such required the help of Indigenistas to enhance their socio-economic living conditions and manage their cultural representation (De la Cadena, 1998). In tandem with this logic, Indigenistas also presented themselves as heirs and defenders of the Quechua language (ibid). According to Indigenistas, Indigenous and non-educated rural Mestizo populations had degenerated and hybridised the Quechua language (i.e. mixing it with Spanish) and as such it was the Indigenistas’ mission to reclaim Quechua cultural purity and shield it from Spanish contamination (De la Cadena, 1998; Ewig, 2010).

To all intents and purposes, ‘Indigenismo’ entailed the veneration of a glorified Inca past and the simultaneous devaluation of contemporary Indigenous societies, effectively relegating Andean Indigenous groups into a cultural and political void for the rest of the century⁸ (De la Cadena 2000; Gomez-Barris, 2012). During this period, with the rise of

⁸ Recent scholarly investigations appear to suggest that “De-Indianisation” is still a phenomenon evidenced in contemporary Peru, particularly within the tourism industry. Authors such as Gomez-Barris (2012) talk about the representational appropriation of Indigenous history by Peruvian tourism promoters who “De-Indianise” Peru by promoting Inca cultural patrimony but simultaneously erase any signs of contemporary Indigenous realities of poverty and informal economies from marketing materials and key visitor sites (Hill, 2007; 2008).

Indigenismo and tourism to the Cuzco region, Mestizo photographers such as Juan Manuel Figueroa Aznar established their reputation by taking choreographed portraits of Quechua individuals, presented as either idle characters living in harmony with nature or as Inca characters in historical re-enactment postcards (see figure 2.6.3) (Delfin; 2009; Spitta, 2013). In this sense, visual representations differentiated Indigenous collectives from the rest of Mestizo and white populations and tended to frame Quechua individuals as idle, archaic characters ossified in romanticised pre-colonial times (Delfin, 2009).

Figure 3.3.1: Figueroa Aznar Quechua portraits from the 1920s



Sources: (Spitta, 2013; Numitor Hidalgo blogspot, 2013)

3.3.2. Indigenismo, Class Rhetoric as Social Classification and Tourism

The rise of Indigenismo in the mid-1930s also saw cultural and geographical conceptualisations of race intertwine with class rhetoric to classify Peruvians into hierarchical social categories (De la Cadena, 1998). Based on arguments inspired by Marxist theory, Indigenista scholar Mariategui (1981)⁹ asserted the belief that races not only change according to their geographic milieu but also according to the environmental material conditions to which humans are exposed. More specifically, Mariategui (1981) argued that salaried relations of production impacted the favourable

⁹ Mariategui first presented these arguments in a paper entitled “El Problema de las razas en America Latina” (translated to the problem of races in Latin-America) presented in 1929 at the first “Latin-American communist conference”. It was only officially published in 1981 as part of his book “Ideologia y politica” (Ideology and politics)

evolution of races by building class consciousness. Following this reasoning, class consciousness would help build a more equitable society by cancelling racial prejudices between ethnic groups and uniting citizens around a common struggle: the improvement of the nation's socio-economic conditions (De la Cadena, 1998). Nonetheless, Indigenistas still believed this struggle should be led by the more 'educated' classes since illiterate Indians were incapable of creating leadership in a literate society (De la Cadena, 1998). Owing to this logic, Mestizo intellectuals who derived their authority from formal education and a superior knowledge of Marxist theory undertook the leadership of leftist parties and rural labour syndicates (Renique, 1991; De la Cadena, 1998).

Throughout this period, state-promoted Indigenismo (which lasted from the mid-1930s up to the end of the 1960s) combined with consecutive left-wing ruling governments, witnessed the continuance of a de-racialisation of identities which shunned physical characteristics as defining traits of race and replaced these with class, educational, geographical and cultural markers (De la Cadena, 1998). Following this logic, in the 1960s, the military regime of General Velasco instituted a series of state-led reforms designed to improve the socio-economic conditions of Indigenous and peasant communities (Zibechi, 2006). A key restructuring included the agrarian reform which redistributed privately owned land to Andean Indigenous workers and tenants, and similarly saw Velasco change the official designation of Indigenous Andean groups from Indians to 'Comunidades campesinas' (i.e. peasant communities), arguably fixing Quechua identities to land and agricultural activities (Hill, 2007).

Velasco also carried a series of educational reforms especially targeted at bringing Spanish literacy to rural Indigenous communities (De la Cadena, 2005). Paradoxically, although Velasco purported to champion Quechua identity, the literacy book used during his alphabetisation campaign, 'Pedro', portrayed Indigenous children characters as having shed any markers of Indigenous culture following their alphabetisation (i.e. no longer wore braids and sandals, cultural artefacts characteristically associated with Indigenous communities).¹⁰ Relatedly, Velasco also passed a law making Quechua (the most widely spoken Indigenous language of Peru) one of the two official national

¹⁰ For further details on the analysis of the "De-Indianisation" of Indigenous identities in the alphabetisation book "Pedro", see De la Cadena (2005).

languages along with Spanish. However, as remarked by Garcia (2005, p.75), “for Velasco, what was valuable about Inca imagery and the Quechua language was not that they were “Indian” but that they were Peruvian”.

Following the end of Velasco’s military government in 1978 and the rise of anti-Government Maoist militias in the 1980s, a civil war emerged between the state and insurgency groups. Militia such as the ‘Shining Path’ and ‘Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru’ (MRTA) adhered to a similar rhetoric as the Indigenista politicians preceding them, privileging rational education over so-called irrational Indigenous knowledge (De la Cadena, 1998). In this regard, Maoist militias who claimed to defend the rights of marginalised rural collectives, differentiated Indigenous groups from the rest of the rural population on account of their irrational cultural beliefs, innate agricultural nature and their lack of formal education. This meant that, once again, only Mestizo intellectuals instructed in Marxist theory were destined for political leadership of militia groups (De la Cadena, 1998).

Accordingly, since Indigenous individuals were incapable of taking rational decisions concerning politics, they were expected to either willingly join insurgency groups or face forced membership (Ewig, 2010). This logic was eventually used to justify the murders and disappearances of thousands of Indigenous individuals who refused to join militia groups during the Peruvian civil war (Thorp et al, 2006). According to the final report published by the Truth and Reconciliation Committee in 2003, 75% of the victims who died during the internal armed conflict spoke Quechua as their mother tongue (Muñoz et al, 2006; CVR, 2003), implying that these were most likely Indigenous individuals.¹¹

Based on this premise, what may be observed is that new understandings of race as culture did not eliminate credence in racial differences or indeed erase previous colonial-based racial taxonomies. On the contrary, the conceptual renegotiation of race throughout the 20th Century merely replaced understandings of racial differences based on phenotype with racial differences based on culture and class (De la Cadena, 2001). This may explain why copious scholars still refer to ‘Mestizo’ and ‘Indian’ as racial

¹¹ It should be noted that during the armed civil conflict between Militias and paramilitary state forces, the latter employed similar tactics to force Indigenous individuals to cooperate with the state. As such, it is estimated that State forces also murdered thousands of Indigenous individuals (Burt, 2007).

categories since even though taxonomic classification appears to be contingent on internal qualities (such as education, intelligence and morality), these are still implicitly linked to racial phenotypes in which 'Indigenous' equals ignorance and 'White' is equated to intelligence (Young, 1995; De la Cadena, 1998; 2001; Ewig, 2010).

Linked to this observation, a number of commentators have remarked that, while wealth and education may currently afford Indigenous actors with social mobility in Peru, this has not erased the existence of racial prejudice based on phenotypical traits and habits which denote Indigenous roots (Canepa, 2008; Alcalde, 2009). Commenting on this argument, Alcalde (2009, pp.42-43), states:

“to state that among the wealthy physical features (skin color (sic), facial features, hair texture) have less influence than social status (socioeconomic status and cultural background) on an individual's social race does not imply, however, that physical indicators of race are unimportant in Peru. In the absence of clear indicators of high social status, physical features are emphasized (sic) in racist remarks”.

Congruent with this remark, Canepa (2008) comments that even though Andean and Indigenous urban migrants have achieved considerable success as micro-entrepreneurs in cultural industries (i.e. popular music and television circuits) and market economies (i.e. street markets, small grocery store merchants), making up the city's largest population groups¹², they are still commonly referred as 'Limeños Emergentes' (Emergent Lima citizens) or 'Emergent Andean Bourgeoisie' (Tucker, 2010, p.141) by the press and scholars alike. Notwithstanding that this label acknowledges Andean migrants' economic success; it still obliquely places these collectives in a transitional space where they are never fully capable of achieving the position of 'real' entrepreneurs or legitimate middle classes members (Canepa, 2008). A further example which may evidence that Andean phenomenological features are still used in racist remarks may be observed in the recent appearance of the “Anti A-mixer” online bullying phenomenon (La Republica, 2011).

¹² According to Arellano and Burgos (2010) and Arellano Cueva (2005), rural immigrants from the Andes and Amazons now account for 87% of Lima's population

A recent article published in Peruvian newspaper 'La Republica' discussed how young teenagers of Andean origin, residing almost unanimously in East Lima 'conos' (the neighbourhoods largely populated by Andean entrepreneurs) are apparently being racially discriminated against and bullied by White-Mestizo teenagers through online social networks. The slurs are primarily targeted at mocking the urban clothes and musical tastes exhibited by Andean teenagers whereby White-Mestizo teenagers ridicule what they view as a failed attempt by Andean youth to look trendy and modern or otherwise put, to look like urban, White-Mestizo teenagers (La Republica, 2011). Owing to this observation, it may be possible to argue that White-Mestizo teenagers' disapproval may be linked to what they perceive as a transgression of established social hierarchies. In line with this argumentation, Peruvian psychoanalyst Jorge Bruce (La Republica, 2011) comments on the 'Anti-A-mixer' phenomenon and states:

"We are still a profoundly hierarchical and stratified society. These persons reject those who display what they dream of themselves, how they live...but the question is why does this rejection take place? On a first instance, I think, it's to maintain the barriers, the social stratification. Like we used to say in the past, so that they don't think they are equals"¹³

On the other hand, it may be argued that the fact that this story was published in a national newspaper under a heading which explicitly labels the 'Anti-A-mixer' phenomenon as racist, may signal that cultural discrimination is starting to be formally labelled as racism in Peru. However, public condemnation of racist practices is not commonplace in Peru, a country where media channels recurrently mock Indigenous figures on account of their racial and cultural traits (Canepa, 2008; Paredes, 2008). Examples include the character of 'Paisana Jacinta', a popular comical TV character who represents a toothless, filthy and idle Quechua woman prone to brawling and public urination (Paredes, 2008). Equally, Indigenous members of congress have been repeatedly ridiculed by the national press due to their physical appearance and poor literacy skills (Canepa, 2008; Paredes, 2008; El Correo, 2009).

Based on these observations, it may be possible to question the inclusion of Andean and Indigenous individuals in socio-political and economic national circles. As will be

¹³ Translated from Spanish by the researcher.

further expanded upon in this study, although Indigenous cultural heritage is seemingly celebrated by different sectors of Peruvian society and tourism campaigns in particular, this does not ineludibly imply that Indigenous collectives are accepted in political spheres. As remarked by Canepa (2008), ethnic fashion may be celebrated in the cultural and entertainment fields but it loses recognition and public authority when entering hegemonic spaces of political power. Otherwise put, there are limits to socio-political inclusion and, in the case of Peru, Andean and Indigenous cultural identities still appear to be seen as less valid than white or Mestizo identities, especially in political and business spheres (Canepa, 2008). In this regard, tourism is a sector that appears to contradict this trend of ridiculing Quechua individuals, seemingly celebrating Quechua culture in tourism advertising campaigns.

3.3.3. Tourism and Quechua Ethnic Identity

Tourism in Peru is heavily reliant on cultural markers representing Andean and Quechua collectives to draw international tourists (Van den Berghe, 1980; Silverman, 2002; Hill, 2007;2008). As previously mentioned, most international tourists visit Peru due to its many Inca archaeological sites and the promise of encounters with Quechua culture (Hill, 2017). Nonetheless, although tourism marketing campaigns and tourist souvenirs appear to celebrate Andean culture, they also perpetuate similar stereotypes as those promoted by Indigenistas. Designed for metropolitan tourist consumption, performances of Indigeneity such as the one portrayed in the below pictures (see figure 3.3.3.) present an image of Quechua actors as bound to an idealised Inca past. This arguably perpetuates the exoticisation and stereotyping of Indigenous groups much in the same way as the Indigenistas' campaigns at the beginning of the Century.

It may be argued that that these practices undermine the right of contemporary Quechua groups to construct new ways of defining Indigenous heritage and depoliticises them in the process (Gomez-Barris, 2012). By framing contemporary Quechua groups within an 'Inca' cultural frame of reference, tourism promoters erase any signs of existing realities of poverty and political disenfranchisement that Quechua actors face in Peru (ibid). Presented as static, ordered subjects bound to a romanticised past, Quechua actors are thus dissociated from their current socio-economic struggles.

Figure 3.3.3: PROMPERU promotional image and tourist souvenirs representing Inca men

An image has been removed due to copyright restrictions



Source: PromPeru Agent, 2017 and photograph taken by researcher

This recalls Fabian's (1983, p.31) concept of the "denial of coevalness". Fabian (1983) argues that anthropology has typically employed a particular reading of time in the shaping of its studied subject: 'the other'. Early anthropological research denied its object of study the possibility of existing within the same time period, shaping its object through the mapping of difference as 'distance' (Fabian, 1983). Following this logic, distancing functioned as a temporal dismissal of the other, a defining barrier between the other and the anthropologist rather than a complete exclusion of the other from the coeval world (ibid).

Similarly, Bhabha (1994, p.122) speaks of "colonial mimicry" as "the desire for a reformed recognizable 'Other', as a subject of difference that is almost the same, but not quite". In other words, the colonised, in this case Indigenous communities, are meant to become like the coloniser (i.e. Mestizos, tourists) through different civilising discourses (for instance tourism) but must always maintain some aspect of otherness or difference, in order for the coloniser to be able to exercise power as domination. Touristic spaces are well documented in the literature for creating temporal spacing and turning host actors into exotic 'relics' of past times (Goering, 1990; Fotiou, 2010). To some extent, this is replicated across the Peruvian tourism industry which still positions Peru as a destination where tourists can come face to face with living past civilisations (Go2Peru, 2017). Cultural authenticity is thereby linked to a temporal position whereby the more 'unmodern' toured subjects are; the more 'authentic' they appear to tourists. As highlighted by Zorn (2004), modernisation can never be so complete that the past of the host subject can no longer be located. Although Indigenous groups certainly do follow some pre-Columbine practices, as formerly discussed they have concomitantly

incorporated contemporary influences in their daily lives (i.e. the use of cars, mobile phones, brick houses). Any attempt from tourism producers to conceal this reality is deceitful to tourists and disempowering for Indigenous groups trying to challenge patronising and stigmatising views of Quechua collectives.

It is also a dangerous picture to paint, as tourists may mistakenly assume that Quechua communities are content to live in economic poverty. This is especially misleading in the current Peruvian political climate, in which Andean Indigenous groups are increasingly mobilising themselves against neoliberal economic policies and analogous increases in extractive industries activity (Reuters, 2013). With the expansion of governmental liberal economic policies, increasingly excluding more of Peru's Indigenous groups, Quechua groups have started to mobilise against unprecedented threats to rural land and resource rights (Reuters, 2013). What is particularly striking is that whilst class-based political organisation dominated Quechua mobilisation in the second half of the 20th Century, Quechua groups are now choosing to rally around a distinctly articulated Indigenous ethnic identity (ibid). This is largely due to the globalisation of Indigenous rights discourse and an increasing recognition of Indigeneity in emergent legal international mechanisms and national multicultural policies (ibid). Even if Quechua is not recognised as 'Indigenous' by the Peruvian state¹⁴, by self-defining as Indigenous, Quechua groups lay claim to a new set of political rights which are not available in other class-based or cultural categories (i.e. Campesino or Andean). Independent of the motivations behind a greater Quechua mobilisation along ethnic lines, the surge of Indigenous identification in public demonstrations appears to indicate a considerable shift in the political identities of Quechua highland communities.

In light of these recent advancements within Quechua political mobilisation, the framing of Quechua actors as distant others outside of modernity (and thus the present time) appears particularly incongruous with the contemporary reality of Andean Indigenous groups. More importantly, the argument may be made that such representations of Quechua groups in tourism chiefly undermine current advancements by Quechua actors in gaining recognition within national socio-political processes.

¹⁴ The Peruvian state recognises as 'Indigenous' Amazonian ethnic groups or tribes as well as Andean Quechua and Aymara groups. However, Andean Quechua and Aymara groups are recognised as 'Indigenous', under a different category "campesinos" (literally translated to farmers in English) which in Peru is synonymous with Indigenous and affords Quechua and Aymara groups rights to rural lands, resource rights and cultural sovereignty (Garcia, 2005).

3.4. Conclusion and Summary

This chapter has sought to unpack some of the key theoretical debates and most current contributions to the understanding of ethnic identity and its links to tourism and power related issues. A review of past studies and theoretical perspectives from different disciplines indicates that present-day scholars largely view ethnic identity as a socially constructed fluid concept that may be self-ascribed by individuals or imposed by others. The chapter also provided an in-depth analysis of the construction of ethnic categories in Peru throughout the 20th and 21st Century, revealing that the conceptual renegotiation of race replaced colonial-based understanding of racial differences based on phenotypes with racial differences associated to culture and class. This means that in Peru, individual qualities such as education, morality or intelligence are still implicitly linked to ethnicity by the general public and the media in particular. Ethnic markers are associated to innate cultural differences between Andeans and the rest of the Peruvians, rendering culture a discursive resource which can be drawn upon to perpetuate and legitimise the social exclusion of Andean collectives and other traditionally disenfranchised groups.

Although tourism in Peru is an industry that seemingly celebrates Indigenous heritage and Andean culture, there is also a danger that the narratives of Indigeneity and the Andes promoted by tourism producers narrowly frames Quechua groups as ethnic subjects tied to rurality and an idealised past Inca civilization. This in turn may disempower Indigenous groups by depoliticising their demands for greater socio-economic equity and refusing to see them as contemporary equals.

Having firmly established the theoretical underpinnings linking ethnicity, power and tourism, the following chapter will provide a comprehensive discussion of the methodological choices that have guided this study.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

This chapter sets out the philosophical and empirical elements that underline the methodological basis of this study. It provides a practical understanding of the research methods used in this thesis, lays out a rationale for their selection and explains the ontological and epistemological positions adopted by the researcher. Lastly, this chapter explores ethical considerations, issues related to representation and the practice of reflexivity. With regards to the rhetorical structure, in order to remain faithful to the underlying interpretivist philosophy of this study which places particular emphasis on researcher reflexivity, I will use the first person throughout this chapter.

4.2. Research Aim and Objectives

Prior to undertaking a discussion of the methodological underpinnings of this study, it is necessary to first revisit the main aim and objectives of this study. This research aims to critically examine the role of tourism on local power relations in the Andes of Peru and the extent to which tourism may be used to enhance the socio-economic equity of host actors. With this aim in mind, the following specific objectives were set:

1. To conduct a critical review of the literature identifying and examining the links between ethnicity, local power relations and tourism.
2. To conduct an ethnographically based investigation in Pisac, assessing the role of tourism on local power relations and bringing socio-economic equity to community actors.
3. To assess local actors' perceptions of power dynamics within the Pisac tourism industry by conducting observation and semi-structured interviews with key informants.
4. To contribute to an understanding of the way in which local power relations impact the distribution of tourism benefits in host societies.

4.3. Research Philosophy

Research philosophy, also known as epistemology, refers to “the relationship between the researcher and the phenomenon being studied” (Veal and Darcy, 2014, p.36). Epistemologies have also been articulated as “methodological perspectives”, which serve to explain the philosophical and practical choices made by the researcher when studying his or her chosen phenomenon (Gilgun, 1992, p.26). There have been numerous philosophical paradigms which have influenced social science research. Notably these include positivism – research concerned with objective facts and “rigorous, exact measures” (Neuman, 2000, p.66) – and alternately interpretivist and critical approaches (Veal and Darcy, 2014). Interpretive and critical approaches emerged during the 20th Century as alternatives to the positivist approach (Bryman, 2004; Veal and Darcy, 2014). These approaches question whether research can ever be value-free and whether the researcher’s self can truly be left behind when conducting research. They share the view that study subjects in the social sciences (human beings and their institutions) are inherently different from those of the natural sciences (Bryman, 2004; Veal and Darcy, 2014); as such, the social studies require a different set of research processes. Unlike the natural sciences, wherein researchers seek general laws to explain all empirical phenomena, social scientists are arguably concerned with manifestations of reality rendered significant through their own values (Root, 1993; Christians, 2008).

Popularised by the Frankfurt School in the early 20th Century, the critical approach suggests that the sociologist’s role is to challenge, provoke and ultimately effect change in social orders such that they might become more democratic or egalitarian (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2002). The critical researcher is inherently concerned with what Berger (1963, p.38) calls “debunking” or “unmasking”, challenging those accepted social status quos, on an academic and empirical basis, which might otherwise go unquestioned. According to an interpretive approach, the aim of any research must be to understand the meaning of social action in a particular context, thus attaining an “empathetic or appreciative accuracy” (Weber, 1978, p.5; Brownhill, 2008). In order to achieve this aim, the interpretive researcher must be able to empathise with the study subject at hand and this research cannot be free from the influence of personal values (Veal and Darcy, 2014). An interpretive approach will nevertheless still be concerned with issues

of validity and reliability, but it allows the researcher to adopt a different set of criteria, notably triangulation and personal reflexivity, to reduce uncertainty and assess the quality of qualitative social research (Payne and Payne, 2004; Carey, 2013). Given that this study deploys qualitative research methods and is concerned with the study of social actors and unstable social relations, an interpretive phenomenological position is adopted.

An interpretivist stance posits that research can never be fully value-free (Saunders, 2007). This consideration was particularly important for the data analysis of interview scripts and observation notes of both personal reflections and the statements and behaviours of study participants. There were several instances when I found that my personal bias as an individual with a particular life experience and set of beliefs (i.e. set of meanings), different from those of my research participants, inevitably affected the way in which I interpreted the comments and actions of study subjects. Therefore, it was important to regularly question whether my personal bias as a researcher might in some instances prevent the consideration of alternative interpretations of social phenomena¹⁵.

Interpretivism as an epistemological approach may be considered an umbrella term for a number of associated philosophical approaches such as symbolic interactionism, phenomenology or phenomenography - among others (Guba and Lincoln, 2005; Veal and Darcy, 2014). This research in particular adheres to a phenomenological position akin to symbolic interactionism (SI). Key aspects of SI include interpretation, meaning and the dynamic nature of the self (Mead, 1934). Within this paradigm, meaning and behaviour are seen to result from an interaction between the self and other human beings, objects and institutions (Blumer, 1969; Plummer, 2000; Burbank and Martins, 2009). Such a stance fits with the consideration of power espoused in this research, which is informed by poststructuralist and feminist approaches. Unlike structuralist considerations of power, which suggest that power may be located and isolated (Coles and Church, 2007), power in this thesis is viewed as a fluid and mobile medium that may represent both a capacity and a relational effect of social interaction (Allen, 2003; McLeod and Carrier, 2010).

¹⁵ Further consideration of researcher reflexivity and issues of validity and reliability will be provided in the penultimate section of this chapter.

Agency is also a central tenet of SI, since it acknowledges that individuals are not passive beings but rather active agents in a dynamic social world, constantly adjusting their behaviours according to their interactions with others (Plummer, 1991). In so doing, SI concedes that there is scope for change in the course of constructing and interpreting meaning (Cocozza et al, 2011; Plummer, 1991) given that humans may “regularly create habitual, routine, and shared meanings, these are always open to reappraisal and further adjustment...Lives, situations, and even societies are always and everywhere evolving, adjusting, emerging, becoming” (Plummer, 1991, p.10). Following an SI perspective, meanings and situations may be changeable through interactions with other individuals; meaning that it “is possible that a group of people with little power may organize [sic], redefining the situation for themselves and others in power, and thus increase their own power base within the social structure” (Burbank and Martins, 2009, p.35).

The ideas of agency and the possibility that power relations may change through social interaction are valuable to this thesis, as these are chiefly related to the notion of empowerment. In this thesis, empowerment and the possibility for change are especially relevant to the analysis of market women directly or indirectly involved in tourism. The case of market women underlined how generative power is produced through social interactions and consequently emerges as a result of how individuals interpret the actions of others and adjust their own behaviours.

Symbolic Interactionism has nevertheless been criticised for chiefly focusing on the micro level (i.e. individuals) while overlooking macro structures (Cocozza et al, 2011; Crotty, 1998; Snow, 2001). Snow (2001) caveats that SI only deals with the meaning produced in social life, ignoring in the process that meaning may be already entrenched in structure and culture. However, Plummer (2000) argues that SI does not ignore macro-level social structures and suggests that rather than seeking to dichotomise agency and structure, SI instead aims to disband these dualisms by analysing how they may be intertwined in practice.

Adhering to Plummer’s (2000) argument, in this study, power is viewed as a multi-level construct, which manifests not only in micro-level interactions, but is also influenced by wider structures related to politics and culture (Allen, 2003). Although the focus of this thesis may be on day-to-day interactions of local actors (i.e. those living in the district of

Pisac) consideration is given to both the micro- and macro-levels. As such, this study recognises that power relations are influenced by macro-level actors such as government agents (interviewed in this study) and socio-cultural structures at a local, regional and national scale. The individual is considered to be socially constructed and whilst agency is understood to be a key component of social life, it is inherently constrained by structure (including culture) and power relations with others (Sundin and Fahy, 2008). In so doing, this research addresses the criticism levelled at SI for being too uncritical of structure and culture and disregarding their impact on the social world.

4.4. Research Ontology

Ontology is concerned with the study of being and the nature of social reality; it raises questions regarding the assumptions held by the researcher about the way the social world operates (Saunders et al, 2007; Carey, 2013; Guba and Lincoln, 1998). The ontological position of the researcher is closely linked to the adopted research philosophy and what the researcher believes to constitute acceptable knowledge in his or her field of study (Saunders et al, 2007). Following this logic, research led by an interpretivist paradigm typically assumes a relativist ontological position, which adheres to the belief that there are multiple social realities (Jennings, 2001). This ontological position is also described as a subjectivist perspective associated to social constructionism (Charmaz, 2000; Goodson and Phillimore, 2005). Subjectivism posits that reality is socially constructed and does not exist independently of social actors (Bourdieu, 1987; Saunders et al, 2007; Goodson and Phillimore, 2005).

Following this viewpoint, a subjectivist ontological position calls for research to be carried out collaboratively, meaning that research participants are viewed as partners in the process of knowledge production and the interaction between research subjects and researcher is viewed as pivotal for research and its understanding (Schwandt, 1998 cited by Goodson and Phillimore, 2005). Concurring with proponents of interpretivism and/or critical paradigms (Holland and Ramazanoglu, 1994; Guba and Lincoln, 1998; Coffey, 1999; Pillow, 2003; Guillemin and Gillam, 2004), the findings of this thesis are viewed as the product of an interaction between research subjects and the researcher; thereby findings are considered to be necessarily value-mediated (by both the researcher and the researched). From this viewpoint, this thesis adheres to the notion

that validity in research can only be claimed through an openly reflexive approach (Goodson and Phillimore, 2005; Holland and Ramazanoglu, 1994).

As part of this approach, I acknowledge the feelings of discomfort that emerge when using reflexivity to know myself and research participants (Pillow, 2003). This stands in opposition to the notion of reflexivity as a tension-free exercise and instead acknowledges the failures, messiness, contradictions and multiplicity of answers that arise when engaging with reflexive practices. As part of this exercise, the later stages of this chapter comprise a reflexive account of my own emotions during and after fieldwork. Following Feighery's (2006) suggestions in relation to reflexive practice, I acknowledge how my own social background (i.e. Mestiza Peruvian female from Lima) and political views impacted my relationship with respondents and the analysis and writing up of empirical data.

Based on the adoption of a subjectivist ontological position, this thesis views emotion as essential to make sense of the social world being studied and not as something that contaminates fieldwork and needs to be managed to yield more valid results (Coffey, 1999). Field research cannot be accomplished merely by cognitive acts; emotional involvement is necessary to some degree in order build relationships with interview participants and with the field location itself. The emotional elements of these processes need to be contemplated, as they have a key impact in the way findings are examined and written (Monchamp, 2007). However, whilst existing literature deals with emotion in relation to research participants (i.e. how to deal with vulnerable groups or sensitive issues), the impact of ethnographic fieldwork on the researcher is largely ignored (Hubbard et al, 2001; Koning and Ooi, 2013). As Irwin (2007) denotes, feelings experienced by the researcher during fieldwork, such as culture shock, isolation, depression and health problems, necessarily impact the data collection process.

As will be further discussed in this chapter, conducting research in Pisac, a relatively remote setting with different socio-cultural codes, did lead me to experience a certain level of cultural shock, isolation and loss of personal stability. These issues, together with the way that respondents perceived my identity, influenced data collection insofar as they at once limited who I was able to approach for interviews and concomitantly facilitated access to some research participants. Similarly, these positions influenced the type of stories and information respondents were willing to share with me. As a

consequence, in this thesis, particular attention will be paid to discussing positionality vis-a-vis research participants.

4.5. Research Approach and Methodology

As Jordan and Gibson (2005) note, it is essential that the methodology chosen for any study is appropriate for the goal of the research project, rather than making methodological choices based on convenience or what is most familiar to the researcher. The goal of this research project was to achieve an in-depth understanding of the role of tourism on local power relations whilst generating new knowledge about complex social phenomena. Aspects relating to power dynamics remain an underdeveloped research area in tourism studies and several authors have highlighted the need for the generation of new theories in this area (Ryan, 2005; Wearing et al, 2010; Tribe and Liburd, 2016). With this in mind, a qualitative methodology was chosen since it “allows researchers to get at the inner experience of participants, to determine how meanings are formed through and in culture, and to discover rather than test variables” (Corbin and Strauss, 2008, p.12). Moreover, qualitative research is aptly suited for studies which aim to gather in-depth information about the social world through the use of a small number of participants; this has been described by Geertz (1973) as the generation of thick descriptions. Given this study does not aim to generalise findings or to represent the wider population, a qualitative methodology, which enables the researcher to provide in-depth and detailed snapshots of the study participants, was deemed appropriate.

Current scholarly understanding also highlights that qualitative research allows investigators to better understand people’s complex value systems, given that it recognises that there are multiple, fluctuating constructions and interpretations of reality changing over time (Ghuri and Gronhaug, 2005). Thus, a qualitative methodology is apposite to an interpretivist-led research study which embraces the notion of a subjectivist, rather than objective reality (O’Connor and Netting, 2009). In this regard, interpretivism posits that “the social world exists in an emergent process that is created by the individuals concerned...[and] intersubjectively shared meanings that are always in flux due to the shaping of multiple individual perspectives” (O’Connor and Netting, 2009, p.216).

Whilst collecting primary data, there were several instances that highlighted the preceding thought. For instance, interviewed local actors from different cultural and socio-economic groups would give different interpretations and accounts of the same incident. When interviewing market sellers, various reasons were given to justify the violent protests that took place against tour guides, whilst jewellery owners (generally offering commissions to tour guides to receive more tourists) would largely condemn the actions of market sellers and paint tour guides in a more favourable light.

Issues relating to tour guides and protests were also unknown to me as a researcher and meant that the focus of the investigation had to be somewhat shifted to reflect the impact of these events on local social dynamics. As Liamputtong and Ezzy (2005, p.258) highlight, “qualitative research allows chaos...if the problem could be precisely defined, if the meanings of the participants were known completely beforehand, if it were clear that a theory would explain a particular experience...qualitative research would be irrelevant”. The strength of qualitative research and its associated methods (such as in-depth interviews and participant observation) lies precisely in the fact that it allows theory to be built throughout the course of fieldwork, as events unfold and pre-held assumptions are destabilised.

Given that this thesis is informed by a qualitative methodology and an interpretivist philosophy, it follows that an inductive research approach was used to meet the study aims. As Neuman (2000, p.61) points out, “inductive theorizing begins with a few assumptions and broad orienting concepts. Theory develops from the ground up as researchers gather and analyse the data”. Within this study, a literature review of broad guiding theoretical orientations and advances in germane tourism research was performed prior to commencing field work. This practice proved helpful to building a picture of possible issues for exploration during fieldwork and also informed the process of drafting guiding questions for interviews and exploring phenomena for observation. As part of following an inductive research process, theoretical constructions generated prior to fieldwork were at times destabilised and modified. For example, whilst the literature review appeared to indicate that exclusionary practices in the Pisac tourism industry were mainly based on ethnicity and prejudice against Indigenous culture, primary data revealed that there were other significant factors at play. With this in mind and given that the epistemological composition of this project is

centred on a holistic approach which acknowledges the interpretative nature of social science, an inductive ethnographic approach was used to answer the research question.

4.6. Reflexivity of the Process of Fieldwork

Given the ethnographic nature of this study, this section provides a reflexive account of my experience of collecting primary data in Peru, reflecting on limitations and challenges encountered throughout the process of fieldwork (from entering, being in the field and leaving). More particularly, it analyses how the power relationships and inter-subjectivities between me and my research participants shaped our interactions and, consequently, the data collected and the way these data were understood and analysed. It should be noted that whilst I may be able to provide a fairly reflexive and comprehensive picture of my own fieldwork experiences, my participants' reflections will always remain limited; I can only write a situated interpretation of their actions and reactions (Clifford, 1983; Borneman and Hammoudi, 2009)

4.6.1 First Field Trip to Peru and Access to the Field:

The first field trip took place in March 2013. Prior to moving to Pisac, I spent around one month in the city of Cusco with the aim of taking Quechua lessons and initiating contact with local tour operators and ANDES, the NGO managing the Indigenous community-based tourism project 'Parque de la Papa'. The stay in Cusco allowed me to familiarise myself with key tourism actors such as tour operators, 'Tomame fotos'¹⁶ (Quechua women who pose with tourists in exchange for money), souvenir street sellers, 'Jaladores' (people employed by restaurants and bars to convince tourists to visit their establishments) and 'Bricheros' (individuals who seduce tourists with the hope of having a romantic encounter or relationship). Since Cusco is the main tourist hub of the region, the one month stay provided me with a contextual understanding of the structure and components of the tourism industry in the Sacred Valley (of which Pisac is part). It was during this time that I realised many Pisac natives worked in Cusco in different sectors of the tourism industry. They worked selling pottery in handicraft markets, as tour guides, hotel employees or even as 'Tomame fotos' and 'Bricheros'.

¹⁶ Tomame-fotos' (translated as 'Take a picture of me') are Indigenous women who earn a living by posing for photos with tourists in exchange for petty cash.. They typically wear traditional dress and are sometimes accompanied by their Alpacas or Llamas.

My days in Cusco were usually spent conducting observation in the city centre, visiting markets (fresh produce and handicraft markets) or tourist shops and talking informally to sellers. What became evident from the onset was that several tourism activities and important tourist actors worked on the margins, in the informal tourism sector. Lastly, my stay in Cusco also facilitated access to regional governmental tourism officials and NGO managers, all of whom were based in the city of Cusco. It was during this stay in Cusco that I was invited by NGO managers to visit the 'Parque de la Papa' project, something I was not planning to do until moving to Pisac. However, during one of my visits to the NGO's office in Cusco, I was unexpectedly invited to join a group of German visitors who had donated money to the project. The visit proved fruitful in obtaining a contextual understanding of the management and functioning of a community-based tourism/conservation project.

4.6.2. Illness, Return to Lima and First Stay in Pisac

Towards the end of my first month in Cusco, I fell ill with a serious bacterial infection. I experienced the first signs whilst walking on the streets of Cusco and ended up in the emergency room of the regional hospital. The experience was daunting, but served to expose me to a social reality with which I would have been unlikely to have been confronted had I not fallen ill. Coming from a middle class urban Peruvian background, I had always been able to visit private clinics when needing medical assistance. I had never entered a public hospital. The deteriorating conditions of the hospital, the lack of supplies, the shortage of doctors and nurses and the inadequate level of medical attention I experienced gave me a small insight into a reality experienced by the majority of Cusqueños (i.e. Cusco residents) and Sacred Valley residents.

Given the dire state of the public hospital, this incident also helped me understand why local residents had mostly lost trust in public authorities. In many ways, it helped me to empathise with Pisac residents and particularly market sellers. The latter were frequently accused by NGO workers of being excessively greedy and overly focused on earning money at the expense of others. However, my particular hospital experience disclosed that having 'cash in hand' could mean the difference between life and death in Cusco; even though it was a public hospital, I still needed to pay for blood tests in cash. I began to recognise the underlying reasons that perhaps drove market sellers and Pisac

residents to focus on generating a profit, even if this sometimes happened at the expense of others (i.e. Indigenous actors).

Within a few days of being diagnosed with brucellosis, a bacterial infection which has been eliminated in my country of residence (the UK) and the majority of the developed world, I deteriorated quickly and returned to Lima in order to get proper medical treatment. I stayed in Lima for one month and after achieving a partial recovery, I decided to go back to the Sacred Valley; this time I went straight to Pisac. I was still undergoing medical treatment at the time, so when I arrived in Pisac I was still feeling insecure about the state of my health and I was unable to walk and move around as much as I would have liked. Looking back at my notes, I was not pleased about returning to the Sacred Valley; I felt wary of my surroundings and anxious about having to stay in the Sacred Valley again.

However, my local contact with whom I had been in touch for the last several months, immediately put me at ease when we first met in Pisac. Natalia, a woman in her thirties, managed her family owned restaurant on the outskirts of Pisac and proved to be a key gatekeeper, since she was well known locally. On my first day in Pisac, she took me to the fruit and vegetable market and introduced me to most of the women there. I was subsequently able to build social bonds with these women myself as I shopped for fruits and vegetables on a daily basis. The women then introduced me to some of their relatives working in the handicraft market, and so the chain of connections continued throughout my field visit. As suggested by several theorists, entering the field entails “striking a bargain” (Sultana, 2007, p.380; Taylor, 1987, p.289) but this is not a one-time event (Bondy, 2013). Researchers must continue to negotiate multiple bargains through the fieldwork process in order to maintain access to participants. As stated by Bondy (2013, p.582), as the research continues, “the researcher negotiates this bargain based on an understanding of expectations of behavior (sic) within the research site”.

Thus, although Natalia proved key in establishing initial trust with Piseños, I then cultivated relationships with participants myself. This took place because I deliberately made myself visible every day, either visiting markets or the many souvenir shops and artisanal workshops in the town centre. I knew that it was important for people in the town to get to know me and ask questions about me and my research (Pitts and Miller-Day, 2007). The aim was also to indicate that I had no alternative agenda, since I learned

from residents that governmental agents had previously posed as journalists or researchers in order to gain covert access to the community. I also believe that my illness led to my fearing being alone for extended periods of time. To an extent, this worked to my advantage, as it pushed me to leave my accommodation every day and interact with others in a bid to feel safe and comforted. Had I not been ill and felt the need to be in the company of others, I most likely would not have tried so hard to socialise and build relationships with others in such a short time frame.

I met several of my future interview participants by coincidence, when I was either visiting a shop or talking to market traders. Since I was staying at a family-owned guest house, I also developed friendships with the family, especially their younger son, Juan Luis. He was an artisan and painter by trade but also worked as the guest house administrator. He became a key gatekeeper, especially concerning the negotiation of access to Indigenous communities and artisans. It was thanks to him that I was eventually able to interview the head of one of the largest market trader associations in Pisac. He also became a major source of information about life in Pisac and helped me to understand local social dynamics and the evolution of tourism over the years. He was someone who also became a friend, and with whom I could enjoy engaging conversations about issues ranging from politics to Quechua culture.

Natalia and Juan Luis became especially important during this time, as they both took turns caring for me during the day time and evenings. I obtained a great deal of knowledge about Pisac and its history during that short period of time, largely because I was afforded access to a private space in which I could not have expected to find myself under normal circumstances. However, the close bond I formed with Natalia would eventually result in some ambiguous and awkward moments when trying to interview her. My dual identities as researcher and friend sometimes clashed, and I experienced moments of discomfort and awkwardness when moving in and out of these roles. As aptly noted by Koning and Ooi (2013), the role of a friend is of a personal nature; friends share thoughts, feelings, and are supportive of each other. A researcher, on the other hand, is distant; he or she is prying and probes for information (ibid), thus it is not surprising that researchers may experience a personal conflict when trying to reconcile both roles.

Towards the end of my two-week stay in Pisac, it was clear that my symptoms were worsening, so I started visiting a private clinic in Cusco. Although I was frustrated that I was 'wasting' excessive time visiting doctors and not actively undertaking fieldwork, the trips to Cusco and the nearby village of Coya (where a clinic run by foreign volunteers had been set up) also proved useful for my fieldwork. I realised that shared taxi rides (in minivans) were a convenient way of meeting local residents commuting to Cusco. Eventually, I ended up interviewing many of the individuals I met during those journeys to the Cusco clinic. My illness and the accompanying fatigue meant that I was eventually unable to write field notes, but I used my camera to take photographs of places or objects which were connected to a particular theme I wanted to explore. Photographs later acted as memory prompts during analysis and the camera itself became a topic of conversation with locals, who often wanted their picture taken or the chance to try the camera themselves.

Even though I was not conducting interviews, this initial observation phase was key in helping me to understand local social dynamics and politics. As Borneman and Hammoudi (2009) note, moments outside of interviews are equally valid in supporting the derivation of knowledge about the local context. Essentially, I was collecting views of village life from various perspectives; it was a learning process which would ultimately help me to better engage with the research context. Hence, the hours I spent outside of conducting interviews were equally valuable for my understanding of the field setting. Once I acknowledged that navigation through the field would not be as straightforward as I had anticipated, I started to deal with challenges as they surfaced, and gradually embraced the messiness that, finally, made my fieldwork so vital for obtaining an understanding of local power relations.

Eventually, my health deteriorated and after three weeks of being in Pisac, I returned to Lima to rest and convalesce. Although during my three months' stay in Lima I mostly focused on getting back to health, my stay in the capital also gave me the opportunity to interview governmental officials in charge of community tourism and sustainable tourism. Thus, although falling ill delayed my field work considerably and at the time made me feel deeply frustrated and disappointed with myself, in retrospect, it helped me establish relationships and come across valuable knowledge which would prove key to the success of my second fieldwork trip in 2014.

Each field experience during that first trip, be it negative or positive at the time, offered me another piece of the puzzle and helped me to understand the greater picture of power relations, tourism and empowerment in Pisac. As Koning and Ooi (2013, p.27) argue, it is natural for researchers to occasionally lose control of circumstances during fieldwork: “being taken by surprise leads to awkward experiences, but this actually enriches the understanding of the field by being an active participant in it”. Similarly, difficult experiences such as illness may also enrich the understanding of the field as it may be enable researchers to be exposed to social realities and spaces they might not otherwise have accessed.

4.6.3. Second Field Trip: February-April 2014

My second field trip took place between February and April 2014 (two months’ duration). Having built relationships during my previous visit and having kept in touch with these contacts, I was able to start interviewing participants almost immediately. Furthermore, since I had made myself known to the community, a certain degree of trust had already been established and it was easier for me to talk about more sensitive issues such as local politics, racism and domestic violence. In total, I conducted 37 interviews in little under a month and conducted participant observation during most days of my stay in Pisac. I would leave my accommodation irrespective of whether I had an interview scheduled and this often led to meeting new research participants. Being out and about often led to impromptu invitations to workshops, private celebrations or interview opportunities.

Field notes were key to maintaining a record of observation, but unlike anthropologist Michael Agar (1996,p.2), who maintains that field notes are merely “working notes” which ethnographers can eventually stop making, field notes helped me to reflect on the data collected and familiarised me with my study participants. Moreover, field notes were vital during the “writing up” stage, as they prompted me to remember the context of certain interviews or events, especially given the fact that my fieldwork took place over two separate field trips in a period of two years and involved numerous participants and activities.

The public nature of tourism meant that interviews were mostly conducted in outside spaces, such as markets, shops or artisanal workshops. This meant that some

participants felt that they needed to be careful with what they disclosed during interviews, given that other sellers might eavesdrop on our conversations. Notwithstanding this limitation, market sellers were often either related to each other or close friends, thus they were able to speak relatively openly about certain topics to one other. Interviews were often interrupted by shoppers and tourists and therefore could end up lasting up to two hours, depending on how many tourists visited that day. This sometimes meant that interviewees' trains of thought were interrupted; at times it was difficult to get the flow of conversations back. When these interruptions happened, I would make a quick annotation in my notes to ensure that I would later remember exactly where we left off. In an effort to minimise disruption, I would usually ask sellers to be interviewed during times of the day when they knew they would receive fewer tourists.

Interviewing participants outdoors, in their place of work (i.e. shops, jewellery, markets), also had its advantage. In the case of the fruit and vegetable market, where sellers work in very close proximity to each other, I was able to interview several women after they saw me interview Magda, one of the most senior and respected sellers of the market. When interviewing Magda, the rest of the sellers listened attentively to our exchange, with some even contributing spontaneously at different points. As soon as I completed this interview, a few of the adjoining female vendors approached me to ask to be interviewed as well, perhaps feeling compelled to express their point of view on some the issues I discussed with Magda.

My physical appearance and social background represented both a limitation and an advantage when trying to interview locals. Among other factors, marital status, education, appearance, gender, ethnicity, class, religion and age affect the ethnographer's fieldwork (Van Ginkel, 1994; Altorki and El-Solh, 1988; Narayan, 1993). This includes his or her relations with participants, the information sought and gained, and consequently, the final ethnographic product (ibid). Local actors I engaged with tried to make sense of my identity, and in so doing allocated particular roles to me. To some I was a researcher, a tourism 'expert'; to others I was a 'white' Limeña (woman from Lima), an urbanite, and finally to some I was a tourist. To an extent, I adopted these roles and performed them in various situations so as to ease my entry into the field. This brought some ethical issues to the surface, as I was sometimes inclined to

enhance certain aspects of my identity in order to facilitate local interlocutors' engagement with my research. Unlike traditional ethnographers, researchers conducting research in their own country must juggle identities, undergoing a process of "keeping and losing identity" (Coffey, 1999, p.35) as well as trying to find a balance between professional distance and deep personal involvement (Anteby, 2013).

Hence, I chose to frame myself and my study in ways that corresponded with the approaches of each participant. For instance, when talking to Indigenous communities, I framed my research as an exploration of socio-cultural tourism impacts in the district of Pisac; when talking to Piseños, the frame of the study concerned tourism and how it had affected community relations. Both frames were part of my research but they were also constructed in ways which facilitated informants' engagement with my research. I did show participants the title of my research but limited the use of the term 'power' in my interviews in order to avoid negative bias in questioning: I did not want interviewees to think that I was seeking only to discuss problematic issues. The word 'power' carries negative connotations for many people (Wetzell, 1993). As Barron (1999) contends, in social science research, there is always a tension in how much to share with participants; although openness is expected, researchers should not bias participants and encourage them to say what they think the researcher wants to hear.

It is worth noting that older members of the community were more apprehensive to talk to me, as they initially thought that I was part of the new-age expat community who had come to Pisac to engage in Ayahuasca ceremonies and/or recreational drug-related activities. Many locals confessed that they initially thought I was American, and one of 'those' tourists (i.e. Ayahuasca tourists) since I looked 'foreign' and they had seen me visiting a coffee shop almost exclusively frequented by foreigners. When I told some of the senior interviewees that I was actually Peruvian and from Lima, another set of preconceptions were also visibly assumed about me. Notably, this included the belief that I could not be trusted and that I might be spying for some sort of governmental organisation.

Nevertheless, given my particular background as someone who was raised mostly outside of Peru and lived in the UK, I was not a typical Limeña to them. This was an advantage, as I stood somewhere between a foreigner and a Peruvian. Although we spoke the same language and shared many cultural references, I had not lived in Peru

for many years and I was new to the Cusco region, which meant I was unfamiliar with many aspects of local culture. On the one hand, I was highly educated, 'white' and lived abroad, whilst on the other hand, I lacked the cultural capital and life experiences equivalent to those of the adult women in the community (i.e. I was not a wife or a mother). Thus, although initially my educational background as a researcher might have brought with it an imbalance in power relations (Naples, 2003; Soni-Sinha, 2008), the fact that I lacked local cultural and social capital compared to my study participants made the power differences more nuanced and less asymmetric.

As Brunt (1975) stresses, it is fundamentally erroneous to assume that ethnographers conducting fieldwork in their own societies will always deal with people who hold matching values and cultural codes. Sharing a language with participants is undoubtedly an advantage, since it aids communication, saves time and avoids possible distortions by interpreters (Jones, 1970; Hayano, 1979; Van Ginkel, 1994). Nevertheless, the use of one's mother tongue does not always mean that communication is unequivocal; dialects, occupational lingo or regional expressions may distort communication significantly (Van Ginkel, 1994). As Shami (1988) caveats, societies and cultures should not be conceived as homogeneous pillars, nor should native anthropologists assume that they possess indisputable knowledge of their own society.

In my case, although I am Peruvian, I am originally from the coastal region of Peru and therefore unfamiliar with Andean culture. Although researchers may not experience a "culture shock" whilst researching social actors in their home country, there is certainly the possibility that they will encounter a "subculture shock" (Van Ginkel, 1994, p.13). As noted by Leigh (2014), it is possible for ethnographers to carry out research in their own society, as long as they recognise that they can also be outsiders in their own culture. Notwithstanding that I shared with informants a language and certain cultural references related to Peru as a country, we certainly did not share a frame of reference in relation to religion, gender expectancies or even ethnic relations. This sometimes caused both shock and surprise in interviews, which occasionally led to moments of awkwardness. Though native researchers may "share some cultural codes with members of such a subculture, other conventions, rituals, and taboos of the latter will strike them as idiosyncratic" (Van Ginkel, 1994, p.14).

When interviewing Indigenous communities, the fact that I was a 'white' female represented an entry barrier. I would later discover that this was mainly due to the fact that some foreigners in the past had impersonated NGO workers in order to set up fake NGO projects. These impostors were allegedly using photographs taken with Quechua communities to set up false NGO projects, keeping donations for themselves. Thus, I knew that if I were to interview Indigenous community members, I needed to make sure I had my University identification and official research documents whilst also being accompanied by a trusted gatekeeper. Juan Luis, the guesthouse administrator and friend, acted as a broker between me and community members. Juan Luis' mother was from an Indigenous community, and therefore he was well known in most Indigenous communities. He was able to brief me about Quechua cultural conventions and norms of conduct, which I was expected to follow. It was also thanks to him that I was invited to visit a community celebration during carnival season.

Aside from interviewing community members, I also interviewed governmental officials and tour operators. I was able to obtain access to these participants through personal contacts in Lima. Their contribution to the study was valuable since it allowed me to obtain a broader perspective of tourism in the Sacred Valley and an overall view of tourism in the country. There were several occasions when regional and national governmental officials contradicted some of the statements given by Pisac tourism officials in regard previous tourism initiatives. In this sense, interviewing governmental tourism officials was also useful to cross-check some of the facts and actions discussed by Pisac tourism officials.

During most of the interviews that took place, there were both moments of complicity and deep empathy, whilst similarly there were instances when participants would express views that clashed with some of my personal beliefs. Moments of empathy took place particularly when interviewing women working in the market, as they recalled their experience of working in tourism whilst coping with family responsibilities. Although not a married woman myself, I was raised by a working mother who faced similar challenges and thus could empathise to some extent with their experiences.

As Hammersley and Atkinson (2007, p.3) aptly point out, unlike other types of research, ethnographic work is about "participating, overtly and covertly, in people's daily lives", and thus inevitably is bound to be relational and emotionally laden. Much of

ethnographic fieldwork is about trying to find a balance between seeking to belong and trying to keep distance with participants. This in turn necessitates an ongoing process of negotiating feelings related to “trust and fear” by both the ethnographer and informants (Koning and Ooi, 2013, p.18). Likewise, I felt that many of the local interviewees wanted to be interviewed because they seldom had the opportunity to communicate their concerns regarding tourism in Pisac. This was especially true for market sellers who were becoming increasingly frustrated with tactics used by tour guides to control the flow of tourists in Pisac. Most of them felt that their concerns were being ignored by local authorities. Although I did make it very clear that my research was conducted for academic purposes and was not specifically directed at changing local policies, many Pisac residents still appeared compelled to voice their opinions through interviews.

It was particularly difficult to keep my opinion to myself during certain interviews. This was especially true when interviewees expressed disdain towards Indigenous communities. However, I was aware that these incidents were inevitable due to the nature of my investigation and moreover I recognised it was important these views were expressed as they evidenced prevalent beliefs which helped me understand local power relations. In ethnographic fieldwork, it is precisely these awkward encounters which give valuable insights into the key issues of the research (Koning and Ooi, 2013). As stated by Koning and Ooi (2013), “awkwardness accentuates difficult social encounters” and it is only natural that as social beings we may try to avoid such encounters, since they may represent a threat to our professionalism (ibid). However, as researchers we should not evade these encounters but rather acknowledge that these took place and reflect on the way they impacted the research.

In retrospect, initially, I may have become emotionally closer to those informants who shared my own core values, but this changed as fieldwork progressed. Indeed, “presentation of self as well as the research are not organized in a vacuum but are shaped by the people in the setting with whom the researcher interacts” (Shaffir, 1991, p.78) and as Wolf (1996) points out, the positionalities that the researcher adopts in relation to participants are fluid. Ultimately, I was confronted with interviewees who did not share my beliefs but nevertheless were honest about the personal reasons which underlined their way of thinking. The fact that they were honest and willing to

share their views during interviews, even though they may have anticipated that my own views might be in opposition, was a generous gesture and one which showed honesty and trust. In the end, it was these moments of difference and conflict that provided me with the most knowledge about my topic of research. The data presented in the next chapter emerged precisely out of these complex intersubjective exchanges and negotiations (Behar, 2003).

4.7. Research Strategies

4.7.1. Single Case Study

Case study research is a “strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context using multiple sources of evidence” (Robson, 2002, p.178). Yin (2003, p.13) further remarks that case studies are especially useful “when the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are not clearly evident”. This fits well with this study, in which the phenomenon being studied is local power relations; although influenced to an extent by wider socio-economic processes, power relations cannot be detached from the local context in which they are played out on a daily basis. Thus, the case study strategy facilitated the faithful capture of meaningful and holistic characteristics of real-life events (i.e. events taking place in Pisac) and in so doing produced in-depth comprehensive data to shed light on the intricacies of the social phenomena being examined (Yin, 2003).

A single case study approach was selected with a view to facilitating a more focused and in-depth inquiry which considered endogenous features, and also allowing for an in-depth investigation of these issues through a prolonged stay in a specific location. As posited by Denscombe (2003, p.30), the logic behind choosing a single case study is that “there may be insights to be gained from looking at the individual case that can have wider implications and, importantly that would not have come to light through the use of a research strategy that tried to cover a large number of instances”. Therefore, by concentrating on a single case study, it is possible to “illuminate the general by looking at the particular” (Denscombe, 1998, p.30).

The advantage of case study research for an ethnographer is that it can close in on real life situations in relation to the phenomena being studied, as they unfold in practice.

This means that everyday events and critical incidents may be observed as they occur; in this way, the researcher can obtain a more comprehensive picture of the phenomena at hand. Unsurprisingly, researchers who have conducted in-depth case study research (Campbell, 1975; Geertz, 1995; Flyvberg, 1998; 2001), often report that their preconceived notions, assumptions and concepts were proved wrong after examining case study material. This was the case in this study, where the prolonged stay in Pisac during two separate field trips disclosed information hitherto unexplored in extant published research undertaken in Pisac. Case study field work dismantled some of the preconceived assumptions I had made based on the existing literature on the subject of tourism in Pisac. One such assumption was related to the impact of ethnicity on the inclusion or exclusion of host actors in tourism participation. The time spent in Pisac revealed that although ethnicity and culture did influence whether social actors were included or excluded from tourism decision-making processes, there were other aspects which equally influenced power dynamics in tourism. These included factors such as kinship, social and political connections, class, gender and whether or not individuals collaborated with tour guides. The role played by tour guides within the local tourism industry was particularly unanticipated and consequently shifted the focus of observation and interview questions.

Notwithstanding these features, case studies that are inductive and humanistic in nature lack a defined structure compared to positivist research strategies; therefore, they tend to attract criticism for their supposed lack of rigour and poor suitability for generalisation (Willis, 2007). Attending to this criticism, Meyer (2001) and Hyett et al (2014) amongst others, note that rigour, consistency and credibility can be improved in qualitative case studies through the development of a well-informed theoretical framework. This also heightens the researcher's ability to interpret the data collected and link it to the study aims and objectives (Hyett et al, 2014; Meyer, 2001; Morse, 2011). In line with these recommendations, in preparation for field work an extensive literature review of theories and concepts around power relations, tourism, ethnicity and ethnographic field work was conducted as well as conversations with supervisors and colleagues to clarify the issues being studied, the knowledge gap being filled and the potential original contributions to knowledge that the study was expected to make. It should be noted that, when writing up findings, I avoided linking the case with theories of any one particular academic specialisation, paying particular attention to link

findings to wider philosophical and theoretical positions that cut across different disciplines. Thus, I used a set of guiding theories rather than a fixed theoretical framework. This was a particularly useful approach for this study as case study data often uncovered complex and at times contradictory issues which could not be examined by pointing down to a single theoretical path.

Qualitative case study research usually employs several research methods, which through triangulation facilitate the validation of the data collected (Gillham, 2000; Yin, 2003). The use of different methods allows the findings from the various selected methods to be compared against each other and findings to be supported or questioned (Denscombe, 1998). Given that a key characteristic of case study research is to seek multiple and complimentary sources of evidence (Gillham, 2000), observation, semi-structured interviews, and field notes (written and visual) were used in order to collect qualitative data. These data were then triangulated to analyse research findings (O'Donnell and Cummins, 1999; Yin, 2003).

4.7.2. Participant Observation

Observation of host actors in Pisac provided an opportunity to gain in-depth insights into local culture and issues, explore host perceptions, and become familiar with the local context. Considered the “central methodology of ethnographic fieldwork” (Cole, 2005:64), participant observation can yield key data about both theoretical and practical facets of human life, as it is grounded in the realities of daily existence Jorgensen (1999). The researcher’s practice of participant observation may range from complete observer, in which the researcher does not take part in the daily activities of observed actors, through to full participant; this role may be adopted either overtly or covertly (Jorgensen, 1999; Decrop, 1999). In this study, I adopted the role of complete observer; even though I interacted with host actors on a daily basis, I did not participate in their daily activities such as selling in the market or working in souvenir shops and restaurants.

The initial objective of the first field trip in 2013 was to gain insights into the local context and become familiar with the host community. As a research approach, observation readily facilitated this familiarity and was thus used again during the second field trip in 2014. The aim of observation in the second stage of research was to

collect evaluative data about the interactions between host actors in the handicraft market and fruit and vegetable market, as well as tour guides and tourists. I observed how these stakeholders moved within different spaces, focusing on when, how and why, practising a “comprehensive ethnography” (Hymes, 1996, p.4). Although this does not require the researcher to set up an agenda in advance, the choice of what to observe demands careful consideration. Therefore, in order to organise and guide my observation practice, I developed a semi-structured observation schedule with potential explicit and implicit questions to ask myself when undertaking participant observation (Spradley, 1980:31) (see table 4.7.2).

Table 4.7.2: Observation schedule

Observation schedule for handicraft market sellers	Observation schedule for fruit and vegetable traders
Who sells in the market? (gender, ethnicity, age)	Who sells in the market? (gender, ethnicity, age)
When do market traders set up their stalls?	Who visits the market? How long do they stay?
When do they leave the plaza?	What is the nature of interactions amongst market traders? Do they collaborate with each other in any way?
Are other residents able to use the plaza during the day?	How do market traders interact with tour guides and tourists?
Are there any times when the plaza is vacated by market traders?	
What is the nature of interactions amongst market traders? Do they collaborate with each other in any way?	
How do market traders interact with tour guides and tourists?	
Who visits the handicraft market and how long do they stay? Is there anything that limits tourists’ movements and length of stay in the handicraft market?	

I purposefully practised observation at a close range, observing individual actions of host actors, to the wider angle of observing whole settings and scenes. For instance, when interviewing participants, I would pay close attention to the space where I was interviewing them, in order to obtain potential clues about their lives and socio-cultural backgrounds.

Observation also helped me to collect key data related to the practices of tour guides in Pisac. In order to gain an initial insight of the roles and operations of tour guides, I conducted observation during the times of the day when tour buses would arrive in Pisac, and then observed the movement of tour guides and tourists. This revealed that tour guides appeared to provide tourists with specific instructions regarding which shops to visit (sometimes taking them directly to the shops themselves) and which itinerary to follow when walking around Pisac. It also exposed that most tourists were day tourists, travelling as part of a tour group who did not stay in Pisac for more than one or two hours.

Observation took place entirely in public spaces which represented key locations for tourism activity or social interactions amongst host actors. Key locations within these settings included the main town square (also the location of the handicraft market), town centre streets, residential areas, shopping areas, events and the fruit and vegetable market. I visited these settings on a daily basis as I went about my routine activities, moving between tourist and non-tourist areas of Pisac to gain a broader understanding of the local context. The periods of time spent in these locations varied between one and six hours, depending on what was happening that day and whether I was conducting interviews.

4.7.3. Semi-structured Interviews

In total, 40 semi-structured face-to-face interviews lasting between 60 and 90 minutes, were conducted with a diverse range of stakeholders. Semi-structured interviews were chosen as a research strategy as they are best suited to a study in which rich, detailed and in-depth data is needed to understand a social phenomenon (Bryman, 2008). Semi-structured interviews also offer enough flexibility to adapt questions according to participant responses (Sreejesh et al, 2014). They further allow researchers and participants to engage in an active dialogue and elicit detailed accounts of the experiences, views and thoughts of respondents (Smith et al, 2009; Bryman, 2008; Robson, 2002). Consequently, interviews are thought to assist interpretive studies, since meaning is co-constructed by the researcher and respondents and participants are seen as partners in the research process rather than subjects to be tested (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow, 2012; Gubrium and Holstein, 1998)

A key initial step to prepare for semi-structured interviews is to develop an interview schedule with a set of guiding questions (Bryman, 2008; Robson, 2002). In accordance with recommendations from existing qualitative theorists (Bryman, 2008; Robson, 2002) I developed a short interview schedule with a set of questions for each group of interview participants (see appendix B for a copy of an interview schedule). These schedules were originally developed to obtain ethical approval by Oxford Brookes University's Ethics Committee prior to the onset of fieldwork but were reviewed and adapted after the first field trip in 2013. Initially, in order to develop the interview schedules, I identified and ordered themes relevant to the research aim and objectives based on the literature review. However, following the first field trip, I realised that new questions needed to be added and existing ones reworked, in order to reflect themes and issues which had only become apparent to me once I had completed an extended stay in Pisac. Accordingly, the interview schedule was revised to incorporate new themes and stakeholder groups.

The aim was to reach a certain degree of shared engagement with interviewees and to facilitate a participant-led approach. As observed by Spradley (1979) and Rubin and Rubin (2005, p.13), the purpose of qualitative interviews is not to interrogate respondents but rather to have informative conversations in which the interviewer listens "to hear the meaning of what interviewees are telling them". Nevertheless, Kvale (2006) warns that qualitative interviews are still hierarchical and instrumental in nature as far as the interviewer is responsible for setting the stage and the questions in line with the study's objectives. For this study, the questions were developed broadly in line with the research objectives set out at the beginning of this thesis. The focus of the questions was mostly placed on sense-making and meaning with the aim of eliciting examples from participants' everyday lives in the context of tourism and local social dynamics. The schedule was kept short, with usually no more than ten questions and a few potential probes phrased differently according to the sample group. The aim was to develop a fairly loose and flexible interview schedule in line with Hefferon and Gil-Rodriguez's (2011) recommendations. The authors state that interview schedules should start with "general questions that allow the participant to set the parameters of the topic, not the other way round" (Hefferon and Gil-Rodriguez, 2011:757).

Thus, all interviews started with broad, general questions, where informants were asked to describe their experience with tourism to date and slowly moved to more specific questions, allowing participants to become comfortable with the researcher and progressively build up their thoughts and narratives. This is in line with Smith et al's (2009, p.68) recommendations regarding the development of an interview rhythm, whereby as the interview develops, the interviewee starts feeling more comfortable and can "move from the descriptive to the affective, from the general to the specific, and from the superficial to the disclosing". For most interviews, two types of questions were incorporated: open questions, which allowed participants to provide more lengthy answers with as much detail as they wished, and closed questions for which the answers were mainly yes or no. These closed questions were then followed by probing questions such as 'why' questions so as to encourage respondents to explain the reason for their responses.

Where deemed appropriate, I probed participants to elicit more detailed explanations of their opinions, feelings, views and behaviours about their experiences of tourism, social exclusion or gender/ethnic dynamics. I listened attentively and paid close attention to their responses. Depending on who I was interviewing, I also made notes which identified links between particular issues or "trigger words" about key pieces of information (Anderson, 2004, p.153) and used these as reminders to revisit specific items later on in the interview. It was not always appropriate to take notes in front of participants; more particularly this applied to interviewees who had little experience of being interviewed and appeared shy in the first stages of the interview. Taking notes during interviews might have inhibited their responses, and reinforced the idea that I was a researcher looking for particular right or wrong answers, thus skewing participant's accounts to fit my perceived needs. Not taking notes in these instances facilitated the interaction between myself and participants and moreover eased the spontaneity of informants' responses, thus generating data that reflected more personal and in-depth accounts of participants' relationship with tourism. This was especially applicable to Pisac-based interviewees who had little experience of being interviewed by researchers. By favouring semi-structured interviews, with mostly open questions and limited note taking, I enabled a more relaxed style of interviewing to take place, with less interference on my behalf and more openness from respondents. The broad and open discussion of themes helped me to gain a more comprehensive and wider

understanding of the host's culture and context as well as their relationship with tourism.

However, there was a noticeable difference in the approach to interviewing between interviews with governmental officials and Pisac residents. Interviews with government officials followed a more structured set of questions and although there was a short introduction about the study and my role as a researcher, I delved into pre-planned questions much faster than with Pisac residents. This was understandably due to the fact that my time with government officials was limited, and I would only get one chance to interview them (as opposed to Pisac residents whom I could always revisit if I needed clarification or more information) as well as the more formal context in which these interviews took place. Whereas with Pisac residents, it was essential and appropriate to firstly engage in a casual chat about their everyday lives in order to build rapport, it would have been unprofessional to ask governmental officials about their lives outside their work sphere.

4.8. Selection of Interview Informants and Sampling

As previously stated, the aim of the study was to obtain a wide and in-depth understanding of the role of tourism on local power relations in Pisac. Given that tourism is a complex phenomenon and is influenced by a range of local and exogenous stakeholders, the views expressed in interviews needed to stem from diverse stakeholder groups. Based on this consideration, interviews were conducted to include six main stakeholder groups: Pisac natives (i.e. individuals raised in Pisac) working in tourism locally, local government representatives, government officials in charge of managing tourism regionally and nationally, Indigenous individuals (i.e. belonging to the Quechua communities located in the district of Pisac), migrants working in the Pisac tourism industry, foreigners (i.e. non-Peruvians) living in Pisac and private tour operators (see table in appendix H for further details of participants' characteristics).

Since this is an interpretive study, respondents were not selected as part of a statistically representative sample of the population; rather they were chosen based on their potential knowledge of tourism and Pisac. This is akin to non-probability sampling whereby each element in the population does not have the same chance of being included in the study, and is thus appropriate for research that does not seek to

generalise findings (Schutt, 2012). Non-probability sampling is commonly used in case study research which follows an inductive rather than deductive approach. This means that case study units (respondents) are usually chosen by the researcher once he or she enters the field and becomes familiar with the setting and the population. As put forth by Denzin (cited in Schofield 2002, p.173) “the interpretivist rejects generalization as a goal and never aims to draw randomly selected samples of human experience...Every instance of social interaction...represents a slice from the world that is the proper subject for interpretive inquiry”.

Following qualitative theorists’ recommendations (Arnould and Price, 1993; Hottola, 2004; Ryan, 1995), based on the number of respondents in previous studies of a similar nature, a provisional figure of 30 to 40 interview respondents was decided upon as a starting point. In exploratory studies, it is not recommended to determine a fixed number of respondents in advance as it is impossible to predict when saturation point will be reached (Gummesson, 1991). This refers to the point when interviews no longer generate any new or significant data and the matters raised by respondents start to become redundant with data from previous interviews (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Guba, 1978). Therefore, the figure of 30 to 40 planned interviews was used as a guide to help plan the timescale of fieldwork, rather than a fixed figure.

Informants were chosen through purposive and snow-ball sampling. Purposive sampling entails that the researcher selects sample units based on his or her judgement of what units will facilitate an investigation (Schutt, 2012). The researcher purposely chooses respondents who are believed to be relevant to the research topic due to the having specialist knowledge or characteristics that are of particular interest to the researcher (Hall, 2008). For instance, handicraft market traders were initially chosen due to representing one of the stakeholder groups with the longest standing experience of working in the Pisac tourism industry. Aside from being able to provide in-depth information about tourism-linked present-day issues faced by residents, they could also provide a historical perspective of the tourism industry in Pisac.

Similarly, tourism government officials were selected based on their specialist knowledge of existing tourism policies and practices at a macro level (regional and national spheres). Although local hosts could share valuable information about place-based issues, they had limited awareness of macro-level policies and practices affecting

tourism locally; as such, it was deemed appropriate to interview government officials. Indigenous individuals with different roles in tourism were interviewed since their cultural heritage represents a key tourist motivation for visiting the Sacred Valley and they also participate in community-based tourism, an increasingly important tourism segment in the area of Pisac. Hence, it was important to include their views and experiences of tourism in a study which aims to examine the impacts of tourism on host societies. Lastly, tour operators and travel agencies were also consulted for their expert knowledge of the private tourism sector in Pisac and the Sacred Valley.

Initially, the aim was to interview a number of tour guides and travel agency managers, however obtaining access proved complex when I mentioned the aim and objectives of my study. Most tour guides I approached directly or through local contacts declined to participate in the study. Although they did not mention specific reasons, given the problematic relations with Pisac residents, they might have been afraid to make statements which could have further aggravated tensions with hosts (even though confidentiality of responses was assured in participant-information sheets). Eventually, through a local contact, I was able to interview the manager of one of Cuzco's largest travel agencies (who had been involved in tourism locally for over 30 years) and a Cuzco based tour operator. Thus, notwithstanding that the views of tour operators and travel agencies are underrepresented in the study sample, the interviewed travel agent and tour operator were able to deliver rich data and in-depth insights related to the practices and operations of tour guides and travel agents, due to their extensive experience of tourism in the Sacred Valley.

Aside from purposive sampling, snowball sampling was also used to gather research participants. This type of sampling method entails interviewees suggesting acquaintances to the researcher whom they think might be suitable for the study and willing to take part. Given that a number of participants were selected due to their willingness to take part, this indicates a degree of bias. Nevertheless, since the aim of the study was to access and collect rich data relating to a particular social phenomenon, bias is an accepted dimension of this research process. Snowball sampling was particularly helpful to access local Pisac respondents and Indigenous communities since most respondents were unlikely to trust me unless I was introduced to them through someone known to them. Snowballing sampling is commonly used in ethnographic case

study research where participants are difficult to locate (Babbie, 2011). In more general theoretical terms, as argued by Noy (2008, p.329), the process of selecting respondents through snowball sampling may also reveal important characteristics of the sampled population such as “the dynamics of natural and organic social networks”. In this study, snowball sampling provided important insights into the nature of tourism participation in Pisac. This sampling process revealed that a large number of handicraft market traders were related through kinship and that jewellery shops were businesses largely owned by migrant families from other parts of Peru. Thus, snowball sampling proved more than a technique for recruiting participants; it ended up being a revealing part of the inquiry.

4.9. Qualitative Data Analysis

As previously mentioned, the primary data analysed in this study stemmed from multiple sources such as interviews, diary entries, observations, emails and visual data. As a result, I was confronted with a large amount of data to analyse and make sense of, a common occurrence in qualitative research (Saunders et al, 2007). The process of data collection and analysis was not a linear process but rather an interactive one where an initial analysis of data began to take place as the interviews were being carried out. Although this analysis was not exhaustive, it was essential to listen back to the interviews and examine observation notes during fieldwork itself; this helped to identify data saturation and adjust interview questions where it was found that aspects of the study’s objectives were not being answered.

Notwithstanding that this process was primarily inductive in nature, some of the provisional themes emerging from interviews were also connected to themes identified in the literature review chapters; this helped to structure the data and theorise findings. Initial themes included the power of tour guides, the spatial transformation of Pisac through tourism, the impact of tourism on local ethnic relations (i.e. the relationship between Pisac Mestizos and Quechua actors); empowerment of women and the role/impact of government actors in tourism. These themes were linked to issues identified in the review of the literature but also emerged directly from the data. This was especially the case concerning the power of tour guides, a phenomenon which had not been extensively explored in the examined literature.

This initial analysis also allowed me to recognise important patterns and relationships as I collected the data and explore themes that I had not previously considered. Whilst accepting the deductive nature of creating categories linked to pre-existing themes from reviewed literature, the interactive process of concomitant data collection and analysis also facilitated the emergence of new theory from the data collected. As suggested by Saunders et al (2007), in practice, most inductive qualitative data analysis will combine some elements of a deductive approach, given that most studies will develop some kind of theoretical position or framework prior to data collection. Thus, primary data will generally be linked to pre-existing theory to some extent.

Rather than making use of qualitative data analysis software such as NVivo, I carried out the analysis of data manually with the help of Microsoft Word. Having made use of manual coding during my undergraduate and postgraduate dissertations, I was familiar with this process and thus confident that I would achieve appropriate results. I created one document, which focused on interview data and was broken down into themes and categories as these emerged through data analysis, and subsequently referred to extracts from observations, personal reflections in diary entries and emails to supervisors. This process proved particularly useful for my reflexive writing as it helped me to recall events and reflections which I would not have remembered in such detail had I not kept these notes and emails.

For interview data, I transcribed the interviews in Spanish, the language in which most respondents were interviewed. This decision was taken so as to safeguard against critical aspects of the empirical evidence, such as the meaning of expressions specific to the Peruvian context, texture of the language and other symbolically-laden terms against becoming lost in the process of translation (Silverman, 1993) (see appendix J for a sample of an interview transcript¹⁷). Once the data were analysed and categorised, interview extracts to support findings were translated into English and used in the ensuing discussion of findings chapters. I transcribed interviews myself without the use of a transcriber, and although this proved to be a lengthy and tedious process, it also had its advantages. The transcription of interviews enabled me to familiarise myself with the data and to find features I had previously overlooked in the initial data analysis

¹⁷ The interview transcript provided in the appendix belongs to an interview which was conducted in English since the participant was from the U.S.A.

conducted whilst in the field. Transcription thus helped me to engage with my data more closely and further develop my analysis (Silverman, 1993).

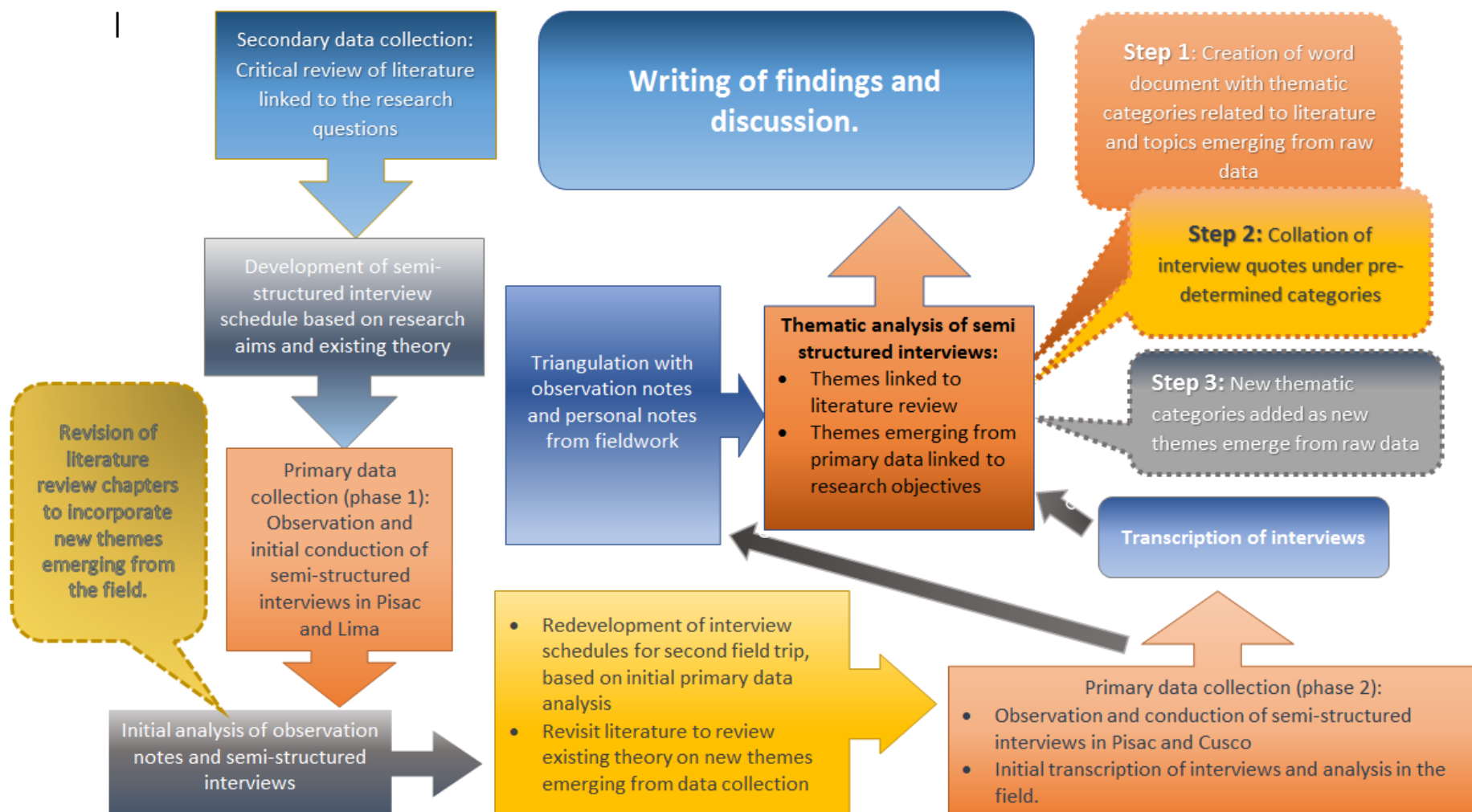
Following the transcription process, I undertook a qualitative thematic analysis of the data, whereby the researcher seeks to derive meaning from themes arising from corpuses of data (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Seale, 2004). I then made use of template analysis to organise and code interview data according to themes both emanating from the data themselves and those identified in the literature review. A template effectively stands for a list of the codes or categories that represent the themes emerging from primary data (King, 2004). Based on the work of King (2004), Saunders et al (2007, p.505) define template analysis as combining “a deductive and an inductive approach...in the sense that codes can be predetermined and then amended or added to as data are collected and analysed”. Template analysis involves creating categories or codes and subsequently attaching these to the units of data (in the case of this study, these were interview quotes) (ibid). Data are coded and analysed in order to recognise and explore themes, patterns and relationships (ibid). In this study, the first round of in-depth data analysis, which took place after all interviews were transcribed, started with the preliminary categories developed during the initial analysis carried out during fieldwork. This first analysis led to some of the initial codes being revised and allowed for new categories to emerge out of the data. This coding procedure was performed using Microsoft Word whereby one document with categories and sub-themes was created using the Table of Contents function and subsequently data from interviews was copied and pasted under each category and sub-themes.

As the data analysis progressed, further codes, which were part of wider themes, started to surface, and thus sub-categories were created and wider themes were revised and renamed accordingly. For instance, a new category called “Power dynamics amongst Pisac residents” was created to include a number of sub-themes such as “power dynamics between Pisac Mestizos and Indigenous actors”; “power dynamics between market sellers and souvenir shop owners”; “power dynamics between migrant jewellers and market traders”; “power dynamics between migrant jewellers and Pisac residents” and “power dynamics between market traders and Pisac residents” (see appendix I for an illustration of coding). In some instances, one interview quote was

given different codes and placed under several categories as the same quote illustrated different arguments and aspects of theory.

One of the drawbacks of this approach, as in most approaches to coding, is that the data may become de-contextualised (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996). By pulling chunks of interviews out of the interview transcript, the social setting and the narrative flow of what respondents expressed may be lost (ibid). I was conscious of this limitation and attempted to mitigate this to an extent by verifying my data through data triangulation; I checked the themes I had identified against a number of different sources (i.e. respondents) and methods (i.e. field notes with personal reflections and observations) (Decrop, 1999; Olsen, 2004). Thus, whilst writing the chapters findings I regularly referred to my field notes relating to each interview and observations made in the field in order to ensure that the social context was not lost. Once my data were organised, interpreted and some first conclusions had been drawn, I started to write up the data and draw further connections to the literature. This enabled me to more closely interpret the data in relation to the guiding theories identified in the literature review chapters (Ely et al, 1997; Creswell, 2013). The following diagram summarises the process leading up to the writing and discussion of findings, from secondary data collection to primary data collection and data analysis:

Figure 4.9: The process of data collection and writing of findings



As underlined earlier in this chapter, based on the argument that the interpretation and writing of qualitative data must aim to be more reflexive, I considered my own position and assumptions as a researcher (Fontana and Frey, 2000), making reflexivity a key part of the data analysis process. This process included paying close attention to the relationships and exchanges with respondents as well as my own emotions at the time (Angrosino and Mays de Perez, 2000). Interactions with participants also form part of the process of meaning-making and the nexus between what respondents say and how it relates to their own lives is just as important as statements in themselves (Holstein and Gubrium, 2003). The critical reflection and discussion of my assumptions and interactions with respondents formed part of my reflexive writing in this methodological chapter and as will be further illustrated, also helped to strengthen the trustworthiness of my data.

4.10. Ethical Considerations

During the course of this research, a number of ethical issues became apparent from the onset of the study. A primary concern was the privacy and anonymity of participants, as well as the need to ensure that informants were not harmed or negatively impacted in any way as a result of taking part in the study. As succinctly put by Bulmer (1992) “ethics are a matter of principled sensitivity to the rights of others”; it is up to the research community to act in ways that are just and are not harmful to participants (Israel and Hay, 2006; Miles and Huberman, 1994). For this research, a balance had to be found between being an inquisitive researcher but concomitantly not unduly interfering with participants’ lives.

4.10.1 Ethical Considerations Regarding Interviews

Prior to the onset of fieldwork, ethical approval was obtained by Oxford Brookes University’s Ethics Committee (see appendix D for a copy of the ethical approval letter), and consent forms as well as participant information sheets were developed and translated into Spanish (see appendix A and C for copies of the participant information sheet and consent form). When conducting interviews, firstly I introduced myself and my role as a PhD researcher (although informants already had informal chats with me and knew I was in Pisac to conduct doctoral research); then I covered ethical issues and gave reassurances to participants on confidentiality. In all instances participants were

told that they had the right to leave or stop the interview at any given moment, ask for questions to be repeated or rephrased and refuse to answer any questions if they did not wish to do so. I also explained to participants that I had selected them to take part in the study because I was interested in their experiences and their views, rather than looking for right or wrong answers.

The information regarding the confidentiality of participants' data and their right to withdraw from the study was also reinforced in the consent form that all participants signed prior to the onset of interviews. In following these steps with all interview participants, I adhered to Wiles' (2013) ethical considerations regarding qualitative data. This includes gaining consents from participants to record the interview, ensuring the confidentiality of participants' data and providing the necessary information to respondents to ensure informed consent. I also observed the regulations set up by the Oxford Brookes Research Ethics Committee and obtained ethical approval for my study in June 2012. As part of following the guidelines set up by the Oxford Brookes Research Ethics Committee, I established pseudonyms to protect participants' real names and confidentiality as well as ensuring that they were comfortable with interviews being recorded. With regards to interviews with government officials and non-Pisac residents involved in the private tourism sector, the same procedure previously delineated was followed regarding informed consent and protecting participants' rights to anonymity and withdrawal from the interview.

In the case of Indigenous Quechua respondents interviewed in their own communities, a different protocol had to be followed. Firstly, in order to conduct interviews in an Indigenous community, prior consent needed to be obtained from the village chief. This is usually granted after one is introduced to the chief by someone known and trusted by the village chief. I was made aware of this protocol through one of my close informants, Juan Luis, who also acted as a gatekeeper between myself and Indigenous groups. As previously noted, Juan Luis was born and raised in the village of Pisac but his mother was from an Indigenous community; he therefore spoke Quechua fluently and was well known to the different Quechua communities around Pisac.

I interviewed Quechua individuals on two separate occasions. The first time was when Juan Luis invited me to the annual carnival celebrations in the Indigenous community of Chahuaytiri. I visited in the company of Juan Luis, since a lone arrival would likely have

been interpreted as a disrespectful intrusion. On arrival to Chahuaytiri, I was introduced to the village chief, explained that I had been invited by Juan Luis, and shared details of my study. Following our conversation, I was given permission to conduct interviews with community members, provided that individuals consented. On that day, I conducted interviews with two Indigenous community members and followed the previously delineated ethics protocol.

The second time that I interviewed two Indigenous individuals was in the community of Paru-Paru, one of the most isolated and remote Quechua communities in the district of Pisac. As with my visit to Chahuaytiri, I travelled to Paru-Paru with Juan Luis, who introduced me to the village chief. I presented myself and explained the purpose of my visit as a researcher looking to interview Indigenous individuals involved in tourism-linked projects. It was especially important to take the time to introduce myself and my project properly since, as previously explained, these communities had been targeted by 'false' NGOs in the past. In this case, the village chief and his brother spoke little Spanish and could not read or write. Thus, Juan Luis acted as my interpreter throughout the interview and read the consent form and participant information sheet out loud to interviewees in Quechua (Juan Luis was able to live-translate the forms into Quechua on the spot).

Lastly, as pointed out by Miller and Bell (2012), it is important to question the nature of participant consent in the long term. Whilst I favoured a participant-led approach during my interviews and co-constructed meaning and findings with interviewees, the interview is ultimately a momentary social exchange in which participants give information that stays with the researcher beyond the transitory moment of the interview. Interview data for this research needed to be transcribed and translated, a process through which the data loses some of its context. Interview data is subsequently interpreted against scholarly debates on different topics of analysis as well as my own recollection and experience of the interview context. This inevitably increases the chance of interview findings being misinterpreted by the researcher. In order to moderate these issues, informants were offered the chance to access interview transcripts and a summary of findings, although none has yet asked for a copy of their interview. Misinterpretation of participants' voices was also considerably diminished by

the fact that I had spent several months living in Pisac interacting with locals and gaining in-depth knowledge of the local socio-cultural context.

4.10.2. Ethical Considerations Regarding Observation

Participant observation, which was carried out in the village of Pisac, also carried with it a number of ethical issues. Informed consent is somewhat problematic to obtain when conducting participant observation in public or semi-public venues such as public streets or markets, as was the case for this study. This is because these venues are much more complex physically and socially due to the large number of people involved; moreover, observation usually takes place during a number of different occasions over a period of weeks, with a different combination of people each time (Ransome, 2013). In such cases, it is often impractical or impossible to obtain informed consent from all participants with whom the researcher interacts or observes. However, even when informed consent cannot practically be obtained from all participants, the researcher still has a responsibility to follow certain guidelines which ensure that participants' rights are still being protected (Given, 2008).

Firstly, it is important to ensure that the information collected during observation in public settings is at the level of public behaviour, as well as confirming that privacy or partial privacy is not expected (Ransome, 2013). In this regard, I only collected information relating to public behaviours such as movements of people through space, how different people used a particular space, as well as general interactions amongst residents, tourists and guides. I did not eavesdrop on private conversations or if I happened to come across individual conversations, I did not record any of this data, since it would be reasonable for participants to expect that this information remained confidential.

I was also introduced to several key residents during the first few days of my first research trip to Pisac and continued to meet and interact with residents during the first week of my stay. With Pisac being a small town with a close-knit community, word quickly spread of my presence. This meant that prior to engaging in observation activities, many people in the town (particularly the handicraft and fruit and vegetable markets) already knew that I was a researcher collecting data about the impacts of tourism. To further highlight my role as a researcher, my actions as an observer-

recorder-interviewer were made openly visible during the process of data collection. I interviewed participants in public spaces and also took notes intermittently when carrying out observation activities. Although this may have contrived participants' behaviours and actions around me, conducting overt observation in this way also meant that I mitigated, to an extent, problematic ethical issues such as those of deception and lack of informed consent.

4.11. Evaluative Criteria: Establishing Trustworthiness

Qualitative studies have been subject to some criticism due to their supposed limited scientific value (Saunders et al, 2007). However, this claim is usually based on the fact that case studies cannot be justified by applying the same credibility criteria as deductive positivist studies. Qualitative studies are concerned with trustworthiness rather than validity and developing theory as opposed to generalising findings and testing hypotheses (Gummesson, 1991; Miles and Huberman, 1994; Flyvbjerg, 2006). Thereby, attempting to justify case study research by using standards of positive inquiry would be misguided.

A common strategy to build credibility in qualitative studies is for the researcher to disclose information that readers can use to assess the accuracy of the study and findings (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). This entails providing as much information as possible about the study background and the choices that were made throughout the research process (Markula and Silk, 2011). A good starting point is to include open disclosure of assumptions and preconceptions that may have influenced the process of data collection and analysis; access to interview transcripts or field notes (so that readers may assess the veracity of the claims made), as well as the purpose of the study and how it was realised (Flick, 2007). Thus, the intent is to be transparent with readers.

Independent of the type of research undertaken, reliability and validity concerns can be approached by carefully considering the way in which data are collected, analysed and presented (Merriam, 2009). However, the standards for rigour in qualitative studies inevitably differ from those of quantitative investigations, given that both hold different philosophical assumptions about the nature of reality and employ diverging rhetoric to convince readers of their trustworthiness (ibid). As a result, authors such as Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue that qualitative studies should consider reliability and validity from

a different perspective which is more in tune with its own philosophical assumptions. The authors propose that considerations for credibility standards in qualitative studies should be based around trustworthiness, which comprises four criteria: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Lincoln and Guba, 1985:314). These measures are considered equal in their thoroughness to the components of credibility in the positivist tradition, made up of internal and external validity, reliability and objectivity (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Hirschman, 1986). Based on these recommendations, this study's trustworthiness standards will be assessed following Lincoln and Guba's (1985) propositions.

4.11.1. Credibility

The philosophical assumptions underlying the qualitative paradigm maintain that research can never grasp an objective reality, since there are no fixed or single realities waiting to be discovered (Saunders et al, 2007). Reality is viewed instead as ever-changing, multidimensional and holistic. Based on this contention, validity must be assessed "in terms of something other than reality itself" (Merriam, 2009, p.213). This is what Lincoln and Guba (1985) refer to as 'credibility', which assesses whether findings are credible based on the data presented. Notwithstanding that qualitative studies cannot and do not aim to capture an objective reality, there are a series of strategies that can be used to increase the credibility of research findings (Wolcott, 2005, p.160). One of these strategies is what is known as triangulation of research methods, where multiple methods are used to confirm emerging findings (Denzin, 1978). As Denscombe (1998, p.84) notes, through triangulation, "different methods can be used to collect data on the same thing. Each can look at the same thing from a different perspective – and these perspectives can be used by the researcher as a means of comparison and contrast".

In this study, interviews, on-site observation over two different field trips, and critical examination of literature pertinent to the study aims, were used to increase the credibility of findings. Data emerging from these three different research methods were triangulated and checked against each other. This exercise was enhanced by the fact that data were collected during two different time periods and collected from actors with different perspectives, which follows Denzin's (1978) suggestions for credibility enhancement. By comparing the data against each other it was possible to check for

inaccuracies and/or contradictions, which indeed did take place when examining interview findings.

For instance, market sellers, migrant jewellers and foreigners living in Pisac all expressed contradicting views about the social relations and tourism-related concerns at one point or another in interviews, based on their own experience of such issues. It would have been erroneous to try and single out one perspective as the 'truth' or a 'lie'. In its place, findings try to portray the different perspectives of interviewees contrasted with my observations as a researcher in Pisac (with my particular bias) to ultimately leave the interpretation to the reader. Further to this, internal validity or credibility was enhanced by ethnographic research practice which includes living amongst study participants, collecting data for extended periods of time and self-reflexivity practice (Le Compte and Preissle, 1993). As asserted by LeCompte and Preissle (1993), these practices enhance the credibility of ethnographic research in different ways. Collecting data for long periods of time (in this study over two separate field trips each lasting one month and a half and two months respectively) ensures that categories created by the research match participant realities as much as possible, whilst simultaneously facilitating the continuous analysis and comparison of data.

Ethnographic studies also incorporate a high degree of researcher introspection and reflection as well as self-monitoring, which collectively expose all phases of the research process to continuing re-evaluation and questioning (LeCompte and Preissle, 1993: 342). In this respect, the present chapter and the subsequent findings chapters are embedded with accounts of reflexivity which make my beliefs, interpretations and choices as a researcher explicit. In this study, I have reflected about my own culture-based assumptions and how my social embeddedness and different aspects of my identity impacted the complex interactions between myself, the research context and the participants. For instance, I examined the way in which my identity, perceived by Pisac residents as a white, middle-class Peruvian urbanite subsequently affected the way participants engaged with me and the type of data I was able to collect. Finally, I have also been transparent with the choices I made when analysing primary data and how these shaped the framing of the narrative and knowledge that were presented in the findings chapters.

4.11.2. Dependability

Dependability in qualitative research refers to whether the results of the study are consistent with the data collected (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Rather than aiming to prove that the same findings will be found again if the same study was repeated (as in the reliability concept of quantitative studies), the aim is for “outsiders to concur that, given the data collected, the results make sense - they are consistent and dependable” (Merriam, 1988, p.172). In qualitative research, the dependability of personal accounts may be assessed through a number of strategies, such as multiple data collection techniques and triangulation, researcher’s positions and the audit trail. The first two have been previously discussed under ‘trustworthiness’ but can be equally applied to dependability. For instance, the use of multiple data collection methods used in this study may be viewed as a strategy for obtaining data that is more congruent with reality as understood by participants (particularly the use of prolonged participant observation), thus resulting in more dependable data. Similarly, researcher reflexivity through the exposition of researcher bias, assumptions, worldviews and theoretical orientations entails a high level of transparency with the reader in regard to how the researcher came to interpret findings.

The audit trail is a further strategy to ensure the dependability of data in a study. In a qualitative inquiry, the audit trail provides a detailed description of how data were collected, how categories and themes were developed and generally how decisions were made by the researcher throughout the study (Creswell and Miller, 2000). In order to construct an audit trail, the researcher is advised to keep a journal where he or she records notes on the inquiry process (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Carcary, 2009). These might include personal reflections, challenges faced during fieldwork as well as observations and ideas encountered in the process of data collection (Richards, 2005). Further to this, a record of the researcher’s interaction with the data when engaging in data analysis and interpretation is also recommended (Lincoln and Guba, 1981; Glaze, 2002). In this thesis, I have included a detailed account of my personal research journey in Pisac, making explicit the challenges I encountered as well as the thoughts and reflections that emerged during my interaction with place and participants. This was made possible through keeping a log journal throughout the fieldwork process and is an

example of an audit trail. I have also detailed the steps involved in the analysis and interpretation of primary data.

4.11.3. Transferability

Notwithstanding that qualitative research cannot - and does not seek to - obtain the kind of statistical generalisability achieved within random sample quantitative research, this does not mean that no meaning and insight can be extrapolated from a qualitative study. Lincoln and Guba (1985, p.298) are instead concerned with “transferability”, in which “the burden of proof lies less with the original investigator than with the person seeking to make an application elsewhere...the investigator needs to provide sufficient descriptive data” in order to facilitate transferability. Rather than making generalisations out of qualitative studies, it is possible to make problem-orientated extrapolations from findings which may be applied to other situations under parallel, but not identical conditions (Patton, 2002). Thus, in qualitative research the general resides in the particular; what is learned in a specific situation, such as in a case study, can be transferred to similar situations encountered in the future (Yin, 2003).

To increase the chances of qualitative results being transferred to another subsequent setting, several strategies may be used. The most common strategy is the use of rich thick description (Myers, 2000; Lincoln and Guba, 1985). “Thick description” refers to a detailed description of the study setting and participants, as well as a comprehensive description of findings with adequate evidence presented in the form of interview quotes, documents and field notes (Geertz, 1973, p.3-5). This thick description of the sending context then enables “someone in a potential receiving context [to] assess the similarity between them and...the study” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p.125).

In this study, a thick description of Pisac and its residents has been provided both in the methodology chapter and the presentation of research findings. In the methodology chapter, I have described in detail my experience of conducting research in Pisac as well as my relationship with participants and their life stories. I have also provided information about their age, gender and relationship with tourism (see table of participants in appendix H). This enables readers to situate the multiple voices of participants within the particular socio-cultural and historical context in which these views and opinions were shared. For instance, tensions between market sellers and tour

guides had been escalating for some time prior to interviews taking place - to the point that tour guides had recently been the target of violent protests by market sellers. This story is detailed in the findings chapters and is useful for readers to situate the accounts given by market sellers and understand how this context influenced the focus of interviewees' accounts.

4.11.4. Confirmability

The concept of confirmability is often compared to objectivity and reliability in quantitative studies (Jensen, 2008). Objectivity and reliability measure the accuracy of the truth being expressed in the findings of the research (ibid). The epistemological assumption is that truth and meaning are reliable only to the extent where they can be verified beyond a particular event pertinent to that specific research project and researcher (ibid). Therefore, confirmability is put forward as an accurate means through which to verify the reliability of findings in qualitative research (Jensen, 2008; Yin, 2003). Confirmability is mainly concerned with ensuring that evidence is provided to verify that the researcher's interpretation of the phenomenon of interest reflects and is grounded in the perspective of informants and is not altered due to the preferences or bias of the researcher (Yin, 2003; Eisenhardt, 1989). Within the context of this research, confirmability implies that the conclusions drawn about the role of tourism in local power relations reflect the perspectives of interview participants and are not altered by the previous knowledge or experience of the researcher. One way to address confirmability in qualitative studies is the use of reflexive practice (Houghton et al, 2013). As previously stated in this thesis, reflexivity was achieved through the presentation of an extensive reflexive account of my experience of doing research in Pisac as well as transparency of my own individual predispositions related to my particular life experiences and circumstances.

A further approach through which to address confirmability is to keep a record of all the steps involved during the process of data collection and interpretation (Riege, 2003). This is akin to an audit trail, which assists the reader in tracing every step of the research process and thus confirms that extrapolations made from data are plausible (Shenton, 2004). Part of maintaining an audit trail includes the retention of raw data sources so that the reader and the researcher can return to the raw data at any time for reassurance and possible re-analysis (Miles and Huberman, 1994). In this study, the

research design process - including methodology, methods and underlying philosophical assumptions - has been thoroughly discussed so as to enable the reader to track the different decisions made by the researcher throughout the entire research process. Furthermore, examples of interview scripts, observation and personal notes, as well as documents that illustrate the process of data analysis and coding, have been provided (see appendices E, F, G).

4.12. Conclusion

This chapter has introduced and explained the research strategies and methods used in this study, as well as the epistemological position adopted by the researcher. Particular emphasis has been placed on a reflective examination of the research process, taking into account the background and assumptions of the researcher and informants respectively. The aim of this exercise was to strengthen the trustworthiness of the study's findings. Similarly, transparency regarding research methods and procedures in the field and the analysis of data has illustrated the logic and coherence of the different stages of the research process. The next chapters will critically explore the role of tourism on local power relations in Pisac as recounted by Pisac local actors, government stakeholders and observations made by the researcher.

CHAPTER 5: THE SOCIO-SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION OF PISAC THROUGH TOURISM

5.1. Introduction

As previously discussed in this thesis, tourism was first introduced in Pisac during the late 1960s as part of a national tourism development project which aimed to train artisans in ceramic manufacturing (Henrici, 1999). The plan aimed to develop a tourist circuit around the city of Cusco, in the Sacred Valley of the Incas. A government-sponsored training programme was set up to train local residents in ceramic manufacturing for both tourist and export sales with the aim of stimulating regional development (ibid). Pisac then became a popular tourist destination known mainly for artisanal ceramic production, its weekly Sunday barter market and the procession of the Varayocs (Mayors of the outlying Indigenous communities).

As tourism progressively overtook agriculture as the basis of the local economy, the town began to experience significant socio-economic changes, alterations to public spaces and infrastructure, as well as the arrival of exogenous tourism stakeholders. This consequently impacted the everyday lives of residents and concomitantly affected the way that local hosts interacted with each other and with tourists. This chapter will examine these issues in greater depth with a particular emphasis on the impact of these changes on local social relations of power. This chapter also aims to provide an introduction to the field settings and local stakeholders involved in this study. This will lay the foundation for a more detailed discussion of local power relations and tourism in the succeeding chapters.

5.2. The Spatial Transformation of Pisac through Tourism Development

Nowadays, tourism in the town of Pisac is the main economic activity and has seemingly acted as a catalyst for development. Notwithstanding that improvements in the provision of electricity, technology and transport have taken place all over Peru in the last 15 years, regardless of tourism (Beuermann et al, 2012; Oxford Business Group, 2014), revenue from tourism and the demands of providing tourism services have accelerated the introduction of Wi-Fi Internet and improved transport links as well as

general infrastructure improvements in Pisac. These points were elucidated by several interviewees, who acknowledged that tourism had played a key role in the development of local infrastructure and had positively contributed to the local economy:

Cristian: *The impact of tourism in Pisac has been very important; perhaps it has been transcendental in the life of the district of Pisac. Thanks to tourism a lot of people, families have advanced and have seen an improvement in their lives. So, we thank the tourists that come here, we receive them well, because we have been born into and grown up around tourism and it is thanks to tourists that families have been able to evolve. Life in Pisac before tourism was not how it is nowadays, the way of life was very different, we still had some houses that were straw covered huts, right? That's how it used to be, but now we have evolved and we have bathrooms, we have actual streets, before it wasn't like that, everything was mud. (Cristian, male, age c.40 years, born and raised in Pisac)*

Several interviewees also noted that tourism had grown exponentially in the last ten years, and had brought rapid spatial and economic changes to the district. One interviewee, Margaret, an American woman in her sixties, owner of a spiritual retreat on the outskirts of Pisac and a Pisac resident for the last 14 years, particularly emphasised how tourism had improved the life of villagers:

Margaret: *My caretaker, he grew up in this town, and his wife she grew up in this town and her parents...her mom had a house here, they owned that house and so she inherited that house and they still own that house but it was dirt full [dirty], but because she's worked all these years here with me and has had a steady income, they have made many nice improvements to that house. And that's not only Sandro (caretaker), it's many people in this town*

More specifically, she mentioned that the incorporation of the Pisac Inca ruins (located on the outskirts of the main town) into the 'tourist boleto' (a ticket that provides tourist access to different sites in the Sacred Valley), had brought significant revenue for local authorities. According to her account, it seemed that the local council had invested some of the revenue from the 'tourist boleto' into the construction of roads and other local infrastructure, providing jobs for local residents in the process:

Margaret: *When I moved here, I moved to Peru in 2000...when I moved to Pisac there were maybe 200-300,000 tourists per year that came to Peru, hardly any of them stayed in Pisac, there was only the Royal Inca and the Pisac Inn [hotels] and then some backpacker places with no hot water, that's how it was... going back to when they made the law that the percentage of the 'tourist boleto' went to each place that was on the 'tourist boleto' so Pisac was included. Now in this valley I can't find a worker that will work for me for even 50 soles [approximately £11] a day because the employment is high here...the big offshoot of tourism that I see is employment in construction...all of those people who have nothing to do with tourism frankly, are all benefiting from what you might call tourism, indirectly... And not only that, this town, anybody who works for the town council maybe never says anything to a tourist but they are benefiting because of the 'tourist boleto' and hundreds of thousands of people come to visit our site [Inca ruins], whether they stay in a hotel in Pisac or not. So, it's so multifaceted the changes in this town... this latest project, I don't know if you are aware of it, they've been digging out the roads here in Pisac because they want to bury the electric wires. This is a project of them [the town council] and of course it never could have been something this town could have entertained doing without the money from the 'tourism boleto'.*

She also pointed out that Indigenous communities had apparently strongly benefited from the revenue generated by the 'tourist boleto', since part of the profits had been invested in the improvement of roads leading up to Indigenous communities and the provision of electricity:

They are building roads, everything up there has roads, has electricity, has postage, has you know, the quality of the communities has improved dramatically...you know that road...the one that goes to the ruins (Inca Ruins) was always there but not graded...everything else was little pathways but now they have been widened and graded and all the way out to 'Cuyo Grande' (Indigenous community), on the other side and up to 'Amaru' (Indigenous community) on this side. And you can even go up to 'Chahuaytiri' (the most remote Indigenous community), I've driven up there with my car and not only can you drive there, which you couldn't drive there period, but now if you drive there, the road is pretty good...and then if you see people's houses...

Another interviewee and former artisan, Maria, a Peruvian woman in her sixties who had moved to Pisac in the early 1970s, also noted the changes that the town had undergone since the introduction of tourism:

***Maria:** Oh my goodness has Pisac changed! It's changed a lot since I first got here. There were very few people, houses were very rustic, and the simplicity of the town was still kept. Now, as years have gone by, a lot of changes have taken place, the town is renewing itself, and houses are not made with adobe (mud brick) anymore but with cement. Oh yes! It's changed...when I first came here I didn't like it much because there was no electric light, you only had light from 5pm to 10pm, after that everything was dark.*

It was clear from interviews that tourism development had brought significant changes to the local landscape and population over the last 50 years. This is not surprising, given that prior to the arrival of tourism, Pisac was mainly an agricultural-based society with poor infrastructure, restricted employment options outside of agriculture and low economic revenue. It has long been recognised that tourism can be used as a catalyst for regional economic development, since it is a labour-intensive industry which can create an effective employment source (whether through direct employment or indirect/informal jobs) (Farer, 1984; Cukier and Wall, 1994; Sharpley and Telfer, 2008) and requires the building of new infrastructure (i.e. roads, shops, electricity, telecommunications) (Jeffries, 2001; Sharpley and Telfer, 2008). Understandably, tourism has most often been promoted as a developmental catalyst in destinations in the developing world. However, it is precisely in developing nations where the “development fails to materialize, benefits only local elites, or is achieved at significant economic, social or environmental cost to local communities” (Sharpley and Telfer, 2008, p.4). As the rest of this thesis will outline, tourism growth in Pisac has also introduced a number of new challenges and problems to which the local population finds it hard to adapt. These changes in turn have shifted the distribution of economic power amongst local residents. This chapter will examine these issues in greater depth.

5.2.1. Tourism Growth, Organised Tourism and the Spatial Reorganisation of Tourism

Although tourism in the Cuzco region declined in the late 1980s, mainly due to insurgent and counterinsurgent violence on a national scale (Meish, 2009; Babb, 2012),

by the late 1990s, following the end of civil conflicts, tourism arrivals in Peru began to recover (Mintel, 2010; Ypeij, 2012) and tourists returned to the Cuzco region (Ypeij, 2012; Babb, 2012). Albeit that international tourist arrivals have consistently risen in the last 15 years at the national level (Mintel, 2014), data emerging from the interviews revealed that Pisac had not benefited from this upsurge in tourism in comparison with other destinations in the region.

As is the case in many parts of the world, tourism development and the succeeding economic growth it often generates, also result in increasing competition amongst regional destinations with similar attribute settings (Cracolici and Nijkamp, 2006). In the case of Pisac, interview findings revealed that although visitor numbers had not plummeted, the amount of time tourists spent in Pisac had significantly reduced over the last ten years, partially due to competition from neighbouring towns offering similar handicraft markets and partly owing to the increasing popularity of packaged tours. According to several interviewees and observation data, following the arrival of organised tourism, visitors tended to stop in Pisac for a few hours (two or three hours at the most) and generally travelled as part of an organised package tour visiting key attractions in the Sacred Valley in a short period of time (one or two days).

This meant that Pisac mainly catered to day-trippers or *turistas de paso* (translated as 'tourists who just pass by'), as they are known locally. Tourists thus have limited time to visit the artisanal market and surrounding shops (usually one hour). As stated by market sellers and other local interviewed residents, this was not the case 15 years ago when the Pisac artisanal market was still being pitched to tourists as a unique handicraft market in the region. Pisac was known for its high quality Indigenous textiles, artisanal pottery and the Sunday barter market between Indigenous communities and Piseños (residents of Pisac) (Simon, 2009). Based on the account of several older market sellers, in the past (the early 1970s up to the late 1990s), the artisanal market would take place only twice a week - during traditional market days (called 'feria' days). As they put it, the influx of visitors was such that sellers would gain substantial earnings and there was no need for the market to take place with more regularity. As Juana, a female seller in her forties born and raised in Pisac, recalled:

Juana: *The market would only take place Thursday and Sunday, then it became three times a week, and now out of necessity we have to keep the market open every day.*

This was echoed by Maria, the former female pottery artisan in her sixties, who also pointed out that the former bi-weekly market was once a coveted attraction with international tourists.

Maria: *The market used to take place only Thursdays and Sundays, it was well known internationally! But then it became Tuesdays, Thursdays and Sundays and now it's Monday, Tuesday, Wednesdays, Thursdays...now they don't take a break! They go out every day of the week!*

Market sellers justified the need to keep the market open seven days a week through several arguments, mostly relating to falling profits and the prevalence of day visitors who did not spend much time or money in the market. According to merchants, up until 15 years ago, tourists would usually spend the whole day in Pisac and a greater number of independent tourists (i.e. not part of a tour group) would visit the town. This was highlighted by Juana:

Juana: *I would see how the cars would park in front of "Grau Street", where my house used to be, all cars would stop there, even tourist cars. Before tourists didn't come in buses, they came with cabs. They would stop right there in front of my house and ask for water for instance, and me and my brothers would also wash the cars for some petty cash or we would lend the taxi driver a bucket or water. They would also ask us to watch over their cars and they gave us a tip for it. Back then, they would leave their cars there and roam around town all day, they were free, right? Now we don't have "free" tourists anymore.*

Juana reminisced about past times when tourism was still in its infancy and largely spatially unstructured and unorganised. She associated this time positively with a period of perceived freedom both for tourists and locals. Tourists did not have to adhere to a set itinerary or time cap established by tour guides and thus had greater autonomy to wander around Pisac. Likewise, locals appeared to have a more easy-going and unmediated relationship with tourists and taxi drivers who provided children with petty cash for menial chores. It is important to underline that Juana did not appear to

feel exploited, but on the contrary, saw these practices as helpful for her and her siblings. For Juana, the absence of tour guides and organised tours, which presently curtail tourists' spatial itinerary, meant that tourists could engage in more genuine exchanges with locals, visit a wider variety of shops and stalls, and ultimately have greater freedom of choice.

In Juana's view, this made tourism a more egalitarian industry since tourists were not steered towards particular shops by tour guides and tourism revenue was more equally spread across traders. Following Juana's reasoning, without the presence of organised tours with fixed itineraries, locals had more control over tourism activities and thus more control over their own economy and livelihoods. Similar views were expressed by Maria (the former artisan in her sixties), who described how, in the past, artisans would not only sell in the market but also had their own studios and workshops in one of Pisac's main streets, Avenida Bolognesi. Her account recalled how tourists used to walk around Pisac, visiting ateliers and buying local pottery crafts:

***Maria:** Bolognesi street used to be full of shops/workshops, tourists did not come by bus to the plaza, they would be dropped at Amazonas avenue, around that area [this street is on the outskirts of town], that's where the cars would park. So, in order to get to the plaza, tourists had to go through Amazonas avenue and they would walk and look at the shops, the workshops, observing how crafts were painted and at the same time they would buy from us, it was much better that way, we didn't even need to go to the plaza, we would stay in our workshops calmly, tourists would take pictures of us...*

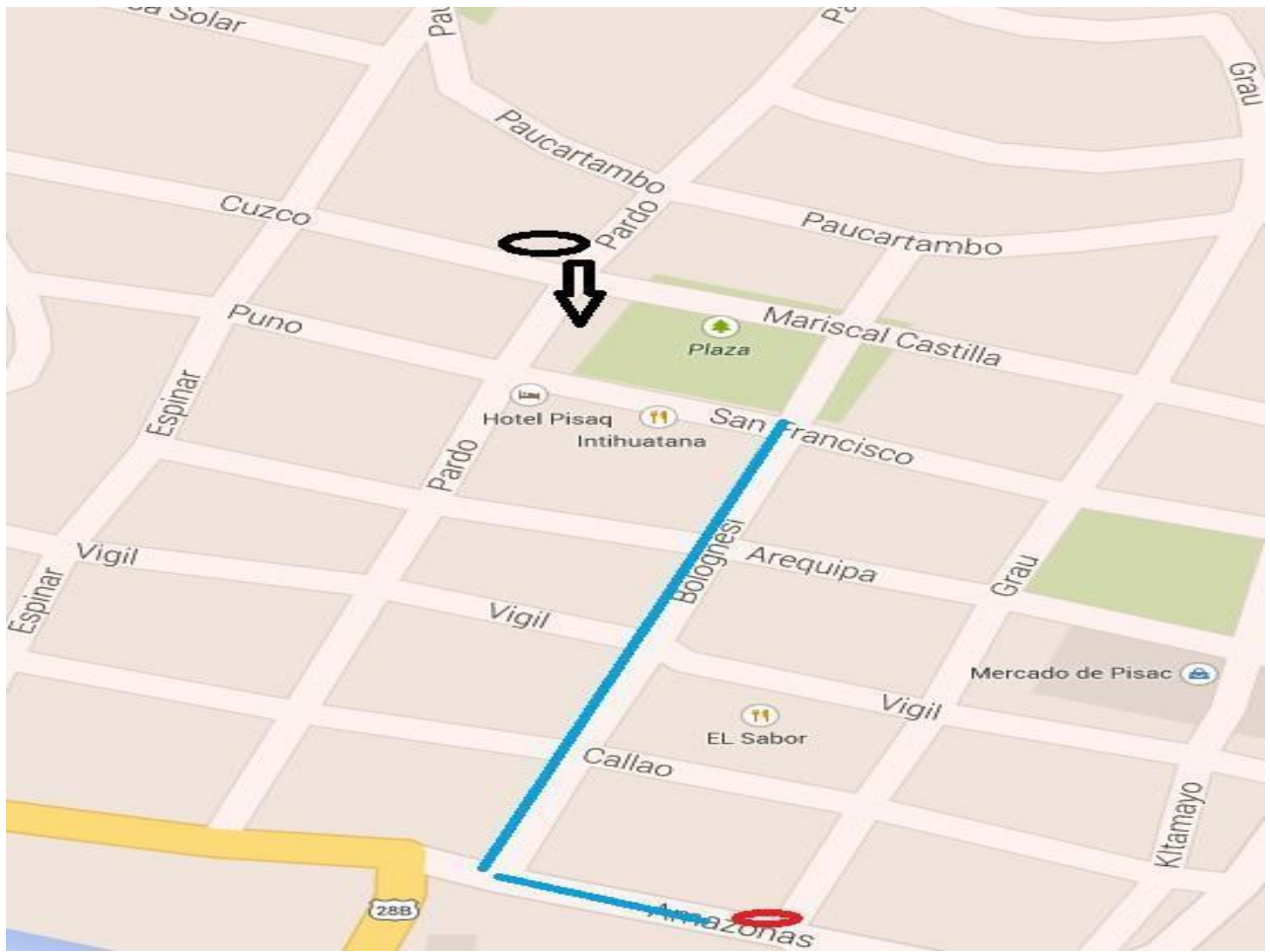
As may be evidenced in her account, the change in the way tourism is organised by travel agencies and tour operators curtailed the length of time tourists spend in Pisac. As a consequence, albeit that tourists still visited the market, they had far less time to walk around the market and interact with locals. According to several interviewees, limited visitation times had seemingly curtailed tourist spending in the market and handicraft shops. These accounts revealed how the arrival of organised tour groups and tour guides changed the nature of host-guest interactions and the way tourists experienced the toured space. With the arrival of organised tourism, tourism brokers, in the form of tour guides and travel agencies, entered the field. In the eyes of local actors,

tour guides became agents of power insofar as they were able to gain control of the temporal and spatial distribution of tourists around Pisac.

As may be elucidated from the above interview extracts, many local vendors felt that guides took away the “freedom” of tourists to decide where to go, and in so doing also took away the “freedom” of locals to interact with tourists without the mediation of guides. As will be further discussed in this thesis, tour guides used a series of spatial and narrative strategies to control the tourist space, shifting material rewards to themselves and a select group of stakeholders. Although not extensively explored in the literature, authors have examined the role of tour guides as negative mediators, who inhibit cultural understanding (Dahles, 2002; Mitchell, 1996) and limit tourists’ interactions with local hosts (McGrath, 2007; Holloway, 1981; Cohen, 1985). In Pisac, tour guides used spatial tactics to limit the places tourists could visit and consequently inhibited social exchanges and cultural understanding between hosts and visitors. The role of tour guides will be further discussed in Chapter Six. The arrival of mass tourism and packaged tours also produced spatial changes due to a sharp rise in the number of tour buses and vehicles. Initially, tourist taxis parked in ‘Amazonas street’ (see red circle in figure 5.2.1) but this narrow street could no longer accommodate tour buses in ever-increasing numbers. Thus, about 15 years ago, local authorities decided to build a parking lot for buses next to the central square. As stated by Maria, this had unexpected impacts on artisanal shops:

***Maria:** A new mayor came in and changed everything, he moved the place where the buses used to park to where the cemetery is, closer to the market, so the tourists didn’t want to walk all the way to our shops anymore, it was chaos.*

Figure 5.2.1: Map of central Pisac



Source: Adapted from Google maps

This spatial reorganisation, which shifted the buses' parking spot from the corner of 'Avenida Amazonas' with 'Grau Street' (see red circle in figure 5.2.1) to an empty terrain closer to the plaza market (see black circle in figure 5.2.1), significantly changed the spatial flow of tourists in Pisac. As can be seen in figure 5.2.1, the new parking spot left tourists in close proximity to the market and according to several interviewees this led to tourists no longer visiting 'Avenida Bolognesi' (see blue line in figure 5.2.1). In keeping with Maria's account, this is when tourists stopped visiting artisans' ateliers and workshops, mostly situated in 'Avenida Bolognesi', preferring to spend what little time they had in the market and adjacent streets. Maria underlined that this spatial reorganisation was one of the factors which contributed to the disappearance of artisanal workshops/ateliers and forced many artisans to become market sellers.

Artisans then started selling pre-fabricated souvenirs and textiles since this is less costly, time-wise, than crafting pottery.¹⁸

This example illustrates how a simple change in the spatial arrangement of parking spaces can considerably affect which places tourists visit and consequently impact power dynamics between local traders in significant ways. In this case, the alteration in the spatial flow of tourists played an important role in shifting power dynamics between workshop/atelier owners and market sellers. It did this by giving market sellers privileged access to tourist groups whilst similarly limiting artisans' access to visitors - even if this was only a temporary shift, as will be further examined in this thesis. This embodies Aitchison and Reeves' (1998, p.51) contention that spaces are not neutral arenas; it is precisely through space and place that "power, identity, meaning and behaviour are constructed, negotiated and renegotiated". Illustrating this thought, this rearrangement of the 'toured space' contributed to the creation of new rivalries between market sellers and artisan shop owners. As Maria revealed, in some cases, family members became estranged due to competition between their respective tourist shops:

***Maria:** It's sad, sometimes it makes you angry because, how can I put this into words? Brothers feel envy of each other. They want to be the only ones selling out there.*

The majority of local interviewees acknowledged that the arrival of packaged tours had drastically changed the way tourists experienced Pisac as a tourist destination, but also revealed other underlying factors which blamed market sellers for poor visitor numbers. Likewise, it soon became apparent that the handicraft market itself had begun facing competition from new souvenir shops and jewelleries. These businesses first started to emerge around ten years ago within different streets around the town centre and then expanded towards the outskirts of town. After conducting a number of interviews with residents both employed and non-employed in tourism, two major issues appeared to cause the greatest concern and tensions amongst local residents: the expansion in trading hours of the handicraft market (moving from a two days a week

¹⁸ It should be noted that findings revealed that other factors related to globalisation, such as competition from Chinese producers and the mass production of pottery also played a significant role in the demise of Pisac artisans.

market to a seven days a week market) and the growth of jewellery shops in and around the centre of town. Given that these spatial changes have significantly impacted local social dynamics, these issues will now be unpacked at greater length and detail.

5.3. The Social Impacts of the Daily Handicraft Market

The Pisac market is situated in the town's main square (plaza) and is made up of ad hoc stalls covered in white plastic tents which protect merchants and their merchandise from adverse weather conditions (see figures 5.3.a and 5.3.b). Merchants mount their stalls in the early hours of the morning, (around 5am) and take them down in the evening (around 7pm). This means the market dominates the space of the main square, traditionally used by residents to socialise and engage in recreational activities, for much of the week. With the passing of time, the numbers of stalls have gradually increased and the market has started to expand outwardly, to the extent that it presently takes up almost the entire plaza (some space is left for coffee shop terraces and tourist buses which sometimes park in the main square) and surrounding side streets (see figures 5.3.a. and 5.3.b. and 5.3.c). This expansion has created numerous tensions among many local residents, who fear that the congested handicraft market not only gives a negative image of Pisac but also deprives residents of a community space where they can socialise and engage in traditional recreational activities.

Figure 5.3.a: Aerial view of the Pisac Handicraft market



Source: Photograph taken by researcher

Figure 5.3.b: View of the Handicraft market from terrace:



Source: Photograph taken by researcher

Figure 5.3.c: Handicraft market side street



Source: Photograph taken by researcher

Historically, throughout Andean prehistory, colonisation and post-colonial times, central squares (known in Peru as a ‘Plaza’ or ‘Plaza de Armas’) have been a key feature of any village, town or city in Latin America (Gade, 1976; Moore, 1996). As Moore (1996, p.792) points out, throughout the *Tawantinsuyo* period (the period of history during which the Inca Empire ruled), plazas were “the arenas of key rituals combining speech, music, dance, and display in ceremonies that fused communities, validated social distinctions and restated cosmogonies”. To this day, plazas have multi-layered meanings and functions for communities (Kent, 2006).

Physically, they function as spaces of encounters which bring together different segments of society, thus facilitating civic engagement and social life in public spaces (Moore, 1996). Symbolically, as one interviewee mentioned, the plaza acts as the “living room” of the town (Juana, female market seller), and symbolises a democratic space that belongs to the whole community. Gade (1976, p.16) remarks that as far back as the 1970s, the “plaza” in Latin America tended to be “the psychologically central focus of the community, its common landmark and crucial point of orientation”. Kent (2006, p.265)

echoes Gade's (1976) observation and notes that in Latin America, the central plaza "still defines the majority of urban spaces...and constitutes perhaps the single most significant public social space in a small to medium-sized Spanish American city today". Thus, plazas represent the social, political and religious centre of towns and are usually where the church and the local government authorities are situated (Kent, 2006). This can be evidenced in Pisac, where the plaza accommodates the church and until 2012 also accommodated the municipal offices. It may be reasoned that the plaza is a key space, both symbolically and functionally for any town or city in Peru. Hence, due to their loaded historical meaning, plazas legitimise agglomerated settlements as towns or cities, and more importantly denote the existence of a 'civilised' society (i.e. a society with laws, rules and religion).

Taking into consideration all of the above, it becomes apparent why the inaccessibility of the plaza to local residents is such a contentious issue amongst community members. The vast majority of interviewees, including some market traders, acknowledged that the lack of a 'functioning' plaza was impinging on the residents' quality of life and played a key role in exacerbating local tensions between market sellers and the rest of the community. Local residents (both working within tourism and outside of tourism) expressed their concerns about the daily market in several interviews and it soon became apparent that market sellers were often seen as a powerful local elite by the rest of residents. They were perceived as an elite¹⁹ because they had been able to defy governmental ordinances to remove them from the plaza and, unlike tourist trade shops, were allowed to sell without paying any taxes or rents.

Maria, a former artisan who had also sold at the plaza in the past, was particularly critical of market sellers. She asserted that most market sellers inherited spaces to sell at the market from their parents, even though the plaza is a public space and cannot be owned by any individual or groups of people. She was especially annoyed that merchants used the plaza as if it were their personal property and did not pay any fees to local authorities for their stalls:

Maria: *Those families have inherited the square, that's not right! They don't even pay a cent! The state doesn't receive anything from them, not a cent! And they've*

¹⁹ An elite is defined as "a minority made up of powerful people who, through their control of social institutions, bring about effects of broad significance for society at large" (Inomata, 2007, p.129)

gotten used to that, they've been told to get stores instead of selling at a market but they don't want to, why? Because when you have a store you have to pay taxes to the state...because they don't even pay anything to the local council... I don't agree with the plaza being occupied by the market 7 days a week because it makes me feel ashamed. The tourists who come to Pisac ask me "where is Pisac's Plaza?" and what can I say? "No, we don't have one", right? And it gives me great sadness, we don't even have benches to sit in like in other small towns where people just go to the plaza to sit down and watch the world go by, here we don't have that...The artisans who are not artisans anymore but are actually commercial sellers, have taken over the square, they don't want to leave, they want to stay by any means. They've taken the square as if it's their own private property. And this has been going on for years; I've always seen that attitude from them since I came to Pisac.... When is the town square empty? When there are parades, patronal festivities of the Carmen Virgin, only those days! it shouldn't be that way because the plaza does not belong to one person or a group of people, it belongs to the whole town!... because the square is hereditary. When one of them gets too old, they give their stall to their children, and then their children will pass it on to their children and so on

As may be evidenced in her account, aside from feeling that residents were being deprived of a communal space, Maria felt 'ashamed' and resentful of the fact that Pisac effectively had no plaza as a result of the market expansion. She appeared to see market sellers as a group who portrayed an uncivilised image of Pisac and a powerful elite who "inherited" the plaza due to their kinship ties. Further to this, she pointed out that the daily market had increased conflicts amongst community members who were tired of market sellers not willing to give up the space of the plaza:

Maria: *There's conflict all right! Because it's not fair, the years go by and we are entering other times and they are still carrying on, that's not right.*

Her account also suggested that market sellers were a collective who harmed the community. This became especially pertinent when she discussed concerns regarding the waste generated by the daily market. Once more, she underlined sellers' lack of economic contribution by stating that merchants did not contribute to the cleaning of the plaza, even though they worked there every day:

Maria: *They don't even pay the city council anything, they finish selling their stuff and leave the plaza a mess, and everything is dirty. The council has to send sweepers to clean the plaza and that's a cost! But they don't even pay for that, not even 50 cents...In other words they have become used to gaining money too easily, they just earn money but don't give anything back...*

A similar critical viewpoint towards market sellers was expressed by Manuel, a Pisac native bookshop owner in his sixties. He denoted apprehensions regarding the expansion of the market, issues of ownership, noise pollution and concerns over cleanliness:

Manuel: *There have been cases where they have acted as if they owned the plaza, some have sold or rented spaces in the plaza, but that belongs to the local council! nobody should be able to sell or rent public spaces! If you go through some streets close to the plaza you will notice a lot of market sellers retailing in stands in front of shops and other buildings, they don't allow for other shops to open because they have settled in those spaces for years, now they think they have rights, which is not the case, the law doesn't allow someone to own a public space...a friend of mine who owns a hotel here told me that market sellers come to the plaza around 3 or 4 am to set up their stalls and wake the tourists up with the sound of their motorcycles. That takes place every day, in the early hours of the morning and at night when they pack their stuff, so that's a problem. They use the streets as if they belonged to them, so pedestrians are not important here, there's a lot of disarray in that sense...the plaza should be respected, it's a public space that belongs to everyone, they can't become owners of the plaza...and how does the plaza end up after the Sunday market when the vegetable and fruit sellers come in? It's full of garbage! Do(es) any one of them pick it up? No, the town council has to pick it up!*

As may be deduced from the above interview extract, following a similar reasoning to Maria, Manuel was keen to highlight that the plaza is a democratic space which belongs to all community members and not only to a select few. Of particular resonance in his account is the statement regarding market sellers, whom he saw as illegitimate owners of the plaza who do not “respect” that space. In his account, market sellers are portrayed as a dominant local elite whose power has largely become established through time and customary rights as opposed to legal rights. It may be possible to

argue that, following Manuel's logic, the spatial expansion of the market and the shift from a casual to an everyday market had consolidated the power of market sellers within Pisac. Interviewed residents mostly expressed concern over how the lack of a public space for social interaction had negatively impinged on their quality of life. This was notably expressed by one interviewee, Natalia, a female restaurant owner in her thirties who recalled how she used to play in the plaza when she was a child and mourned the loss of that space for the current generation of children:

***Natalia:** In the past, in Pisac, playing meant playing outside, games like 'matachola' which involved playing with a stick with a small ball attached to it, you would wind it around, we also called it 'chapa-chapa'... we built our own world, it was simple things, now all you see are children playing play-stations, watching DVDs, you see them involved in negative things...the space is not there anymore, why? I mean there are negative and positive things, but what has happened is that market sellers don't tuck their stalls away anymore. Before, market sellers used to put their stalls away in houses or garages, the central square was kept cleaned, and there weren't so many traders. I still got to enjoy playing in the square, we would go out in the evenings and we would be able to play and go out for a walk...Now this is not the case anymore, the square is full of stalls, you can't create a "world", you can't play 'matachola', you can't make a plan, you can't do anything, why? Because the square is occupied and the market sellers don't want to leave, the places where they use to store their stalls are now hotels; restaurants or shops, there are no empty spaces where they can actually store their stalls!*

Natalia bemoaned the loss of the plaza as a space where children could socialise and create their own imaginary "world[s]". She also seemed to associate the loss of the central square with the loss of a certain sense of tradition and freedom for existing children who no longer engaged in traditional pastimes. Her account strongly linked the vanishing of traditional cultural and leisure pursuits to the expansion of the handicraft market and tourism businesses. She further denoted how tourism businesses appeared to have encroached exceedingly on the small terrain of the plaza, leaving almost no space for anyone other than tourism traders. According to Natalia, spatial changes instigated by tourism served to limit social interactions between community members and were partly responsible for the erosion of traditional childhood experiences such as

playing 'matachola'. In so doing, Natalia appeared to suggest that locals had lost a degree of agency over their own environment, now dominated by tourism and exogenous influences.

However, Isabel, an administrator of her family's guesthouse in her twenties, articulated a different perspective of tourism and the handicraft market. She maintained that the plaza was still a place for social interaction for Piseños, since most local residents either worked in the market or else had a family member working there. By selling in the plaza, not only did sellers constantly interact amongst themselves but residents knew that they could always find a relative or acquaintance in the plaza to talk to. Thus, following her line of thought, the seven-day market contributed to the maintenance of community cohesion. Isabel maintained that the daily presence of the market helped to maintain a sense of continuity and familiarity for the whole community.

Researcher: ... do you think in some way the fact that the plaza is engaged by the market every day of the week has any sort of impact in terms of people of the community? What do you think about that?

Isabel: Well, for me really the market is a space of reunion because people can see each other there all the time and the people who sell are families from Pisac, they are local families so you can recognise them. In a way, it's a sort of communication tool for all because you know you will always find them there, it's a place where you know you can always see somebody you know

A similar point of view was expressed by Valeria, a female handicraft market seller in her twenties, born and raised in Pisac. She denoted that in her view the market gave the town a sort of vibrancy, and if the market was not in the centre of town, the place would be lifeless:

Researcher: Have you experienced any tensions with other Pisac residents who perhaps don't agree with you being in the plaza every day? Have you experienced any problems with other residents?

Valeria: No, we don't have problems with local residents because the whole town is here, even if they are not here directly, they are here indirectly. You may have nephews who sell in the market or perhaps someone who has a very nice store in

the avenue, their mom or their aunt is selling at the market, so if everyone is related, that problem can't exist.

Researcher: *Because everyone knows each other here?*

Valeria: *Yes, we all know each other.*

Researcher: *And what do you think about the plaza being engaged every day? How do you feel about that?*

Valeria: *Well, myself I've practically seen the market here all my life, I think it's something ordinary and anyway if the market wasn't in the plaza and in the centre of town, the whole town would be dead, right?*

Thus, according to both Isabel and Valeria, possibly representative of the younger generation as a whole, the handicraft market was not a source of conflict for residents, as most Piseños were directly or indirectly involved in its running. In their view, the handicraft market was not taking the plaza away from residents since the market provided a space for local interactions and kept the town alive. Based on this reasoning, far from representing a source of conflict and an impediment to community interaction, the handicraft market was a reliable meeting space for the community. Based on observation notes, the market seemed a lively space where traders could regularly be seen talking and interacting with each other. The children of market traders could also be seen regularly running around the plaza and playing with each other. Nevertheless, social interactions were constantly interrupted by the arrival of tourists who visited the market at different times of the day.

Notwithstanding that the plaza may have been a place for local socialisation, it could only function as a local social space intermittently. Tourists, buses and guides regularly encroached on the local space and made social interactions amongst Piseños difficult. The plaza thus could scarcely perform its function as a public space for local congregation and communication; rather it appeared to be mostly a space dominated by tourism. Moreover, observation findings revealed that even though many Piseños still sold in the market, the majority of the town did not work in the plaza. Increasingly, locals were choosing to open hotels and guesthouses whilst the younger generations were opting to go to University and were taking on professional occupations. Adding to this, the market had lost much of its popularity with tourists and no longer represented

the main pull factor for foreign visitors. Having seen a downturn in its tourist appeal and relevance as a source of local employment, the daily presence of the market annoyed most residents who, as illustrated in interviews, felt that the daily handicraft market had illegitimately deprived the community of a vital local space.

The contestation of the communal space of the plaza amongst market traders and residents presents an interesting opportunity for analysis regarding the way in which tourism impacts the spatial relations of tourist destinations. Cultural geographers propose that space and place are “in a constant state of transition as a result of continuous, dialectical struggles of power and resistance among and between the diversity of landscape providers, users and mediators” (Aitcheson, 1999, p.29). In the field of tourism studies, numerous scholars have suggested that tourism can expedite gentrification (Fotsch, 2004; Hall, 1994; Marks, 1996; Meethan, 1997; Middleton, 2003; Philp and Mercer, 1999; Zukin, 1995). It can do so by designating places as ‘historic landmarks’, leading to a rise in the price of rents and subsequently resulting in a contestation of space between residents and those attempting to ‘appropriate’ and ‘consume’ the neighbourhood (Aitcheson, 1999).

Nonetheless, the contestation of space between residents as a result of tourism development remains under-theorised. The case of the handicraft market reveals that tourism may bring forth contestation of spaces not only between tourists or exogenous tourism developers and residents, but also amongst host actors themselves. Communities are rarely homogeneous entities (Kumar, 2005) and tourism as an external agent may bring forth the contestation of local spaces and places to which diverse local stakeholder groups may ascribe different meanings. For instance, Natalia associated the plaza with local traditions (i.e. the game of “matachola”) and a perceived sense of ‘freedom’ (i.e. the freedom of children’s play), whilst Maria and Manuel foremost linked the plaza to an outward image of civility and morality, as well as a place for communal socialisation. Maria felt ‘ashamed’ that Pisac did not have a plaza to welcome visitors and was visibly upset at the lack of space for communal socialisation. Manuel felt that handicraft sellers ‘disrespected’ the space of the plaza by leaving the council to pick up their garbage and insisted that market traders had usurped a space that belonged to the whole community.

This discussion highlights that touristic spaces may be arenas through which power; social identity and cultural meaning are renegotiated amongst community members (Aitcheson and Reeves, 1998; Pritchard and Morgan, 2000). It also denotes that space is fundamental to maintenance of identities since it provides the medium through which hosts may strengthen their group identities through the repeated performance of the latter (Lefebvre, 1974). When market sellers virtually 'seized' the plaza to set up the week-long market, they took away a vital 'lived space' in which locals could repeatedly 'perform' their identities as Piseños part of a cohesive community. As Krase and Shortell (2015, p.66) denote, "to be seen in a public space is a means of 'taking possession' of that space". Collective identity and ownership of spaces is also performed through visibility in public spaces by "both dramatic and mundane acts...from individual actions...to collective behaviour" (ibid).

Identity is performed by dwellers through quotidian mundane routines in public spaces, and thus individuals may appropriate social spaces simply by walking and interacting in them on a daily basis (De Certeau, 1985). Public spaces become a medium through which social actors can communicate both identity and moral claims (Edensor, 2001; Krase and Shortell, 2015;). In Pisac, market traders appropriated the space of the plaza by gradually increasing market days until their presence became normalised amongst tourists and locals. Through these actions, they also deprived many local residents of a vital space for the performance and consolidation of collective identity. This led several residents to blame market traders for the loss of community cohesion and cultural traditions. However, since market traders are inherently connected to tourism, interviewees blamed tourism for community disintegration and the gradual erosion of cultural customs.

Tourism was also blamed for the breakdown of family values and a shift in the power dynamics of family members. Several interviewed villagers, including non-market workers, denoted that due to most shops and the market opening seven days a week, local residents, who mostly worked in tourism, had little leisure time for themselves. This had seemingly affected family dynamics due to workers being unable to spend much time with their partners and children. Juana noted that market traders usually had little time to spend with their families since they started working early in the morning and finished late in the evening:

Juana: *We get tired having to tie up and take up our tents every day, selling and then having to gather and store all of our merchandise and then taking down the tent. It's hard work, it's exhausting, you have to get up early. Some come here at 4 o'clock in the morning, they take down their tent at around 7pm and so by the time they are done, they get to their homes to sleep, there is no time for anything else.*

In several interviews, the apparent lack of quality time between family members was often linked to the breakdown of traditional family bonds and the rise of alcoholism and drug use amongst local residents, especially youngsters. In turn, since most local families worked either directly or indirectly in tourism, the introduction of tourism was often blamed for the aforementioned social problems. This was most explicitly articulated in the interview with Maria. She recalled with sorrow how she felt her family had been affected due to her work in the market:

Maria: *I made my business grow on the basis of personal sacrifices and effort. A lot of the times that meant I had to leave my children behind... my children often reproach this to me and say "you left us aside because of work and money" but it's not like that, I had to go to the plaza, I left 7am and came back 8pm, and what did I do? I would say to my children "go and eat at the restaurant", there wasn't a single day we would sit down together at a table, to eat. So, this is why I ask my children to forgive me. I tell them "forgive me because those wonderful years of your childhood, we didn't spend them together". That's how it went and I didn't even realise it until I woke up, opened my eyes, I saw my children had grown up and by then they already developed problems, but it was too late.*

When asked if she thought the rise of local tourism businesses and handicraft market sellers had impacted other families in a similar way, she stated that she thought many families had been torn apart because of working in tourism:

Maria: *Many families have been destroyed, and it gives me great sadness, too many families have been destroyed. So many families just have not been able to get over it, I don't know how I've been able to get over it, maybe it's because me and my husband have always understood each other, of course we fight sometimes but we get over it. But that's not the case for other families, I don't know what happened,*

it's so sad, you see the husband becoming an alcoholic, the son too, they become drug addicts, so many households have been destroyed!

Another interviewee, Joy, an American woman in her fifties who had lived in Pisac for a number of months, also noted that alcoholism was a problem in the village; she appeared to link these issues to long working hours and the lack of an available 'plaza' for social interaction. She also hinted that work in tourism had taken over the lives of locals, negatively impinging on the leisure time of families:

Researcher: Why do you think alcoholism is really big here?

Joy: That's a really good question for, like, somebody who's really from here but...

Researcher: I mean from your perspective...

Joy: Well, I don't know, what I see is people work like 12 hours days, women and men, they get up at 4, many people work at the plaza so they put up their 'puesto' (stall), and it takes like 2 hours to put up their stuff, they take it down at the end of the day, and then go home and they cook and then this and then that or if they have 'chacras' (land plot for agriculture) they will cut 'pasto' (grass) for their 'cuys' (guinea pigs) and so super long work work work....so it's like work or there is like 'fiesta' (local celebration), I don't see other like, cultural activities, happening so much, there's no like "oh let's cook this evening" you know or I don't know or I don't see like other ways for people to just like have fun together or like relax in clubs or you know like, plus...

Researcher: They don't have the plaza?

Joy: They don't have the plaza to interact. Like for example in the plaza they sit down and hang out...because it's just always busy with tourists ... it's interesting.

Similar issues regarding the impact of long working hours in tourism businesses on local families arose in the interview with Juana. She highlighted that working every day had decreased the time she could spend with her children:

Researcher: And do you think your personal or family life has been impacted by the fact you have to work every day?

Juana: Yes, a little bit, yes

Researcher: In what sense?

Juana: *Well, you can't take care of your children the same way, you leave in the morning and come back late afternoon, in the morning they may be at school but in the afternoon, they are left by themselves and that can create some problems.*

Another 17-year-old native Pisac girl working as a seller in the market, Gladys, commented that due to revenue from tourism, more Internet and video game parlours had opened in Pisac. In her view, this fact, combined with parents working long hours every day of the week, had led to more children and teenagers being left unsupervised and spending excessive time at the parlours. Accordingly, she believed that this lack of parental supervision and disproportionate time spent playing videogames had led to many young people engaging in unhealthy and deviant activities:

Gladys: *Before you didn't see the places that offer Internet or videogames so full of young people. Kids stayed at home, they were left with some adult person to supervise them...But now, the families don't unite as they used to, every family goes their separate ways. So, the older brothers take care of the younger ones, so sometimes if there is no real authority in the house, kids go to the Internet cafes or the videogame parlours.*

A similar view was expressed by Isabel. Yet again, she related tourism and new technologies to unwholesome behaviours and materialism:

Isabel: *Now young people are different here, before it was different, there have been many changes due to technology; children are more interested in playing computer games, machine [arcade] games and all those things.*

Researcher: And do you think that this is in part due to tourism?

Isabel: *Yes, because when I was a child, we used to go out and play football in the streets, I don't know, outdoor games...and it was more fun, if you play outside you move your body, it's healthier I think.*

Researcher: I understand, but why do you think videogames are linked to the arrival of tourism?

Isabel: *I think it's because of money, as long as tourism exists in Pisac people will keep on earning more money, so they will buy more goods for themselves*

Researcher: *And do you think that in some way children spending most of their time at videogame or Internet parlours is related to the fact that both parents work all day and so children are not supervised?*

Isabel: *Yes, that too, and also the fact that now parents buy more goods for their children. I mean they think that they can compensate by buying many objects, technological objects for their children and that somehow buying these things will make their children better or something like that. Kids nowadays have much more freedom than before. Before parents used to be stricter, they knew better, now children have too much freedom*

Based on the above-mentioned accounts, it appears that many locals believed that tourism acted as a catalyst for the breakdown of family units. In particular, long working hours in tourism were identified by locals as the key reason for the erosion of traditional family power dynamics where parents represent the main authority figures. Due to both parents working in full time employment, in many cases children were left on their own or else older siblings took on the role of disciplinarians. Interviewees mostly saw this lack of clearly defined authority figures within family units and little parental supervision as key factors for teenage drug abuse and alcoholism. Since most parents worked in the tourism industry, interviewees ultimately identified tourism as the reason behind increased teenage deviant behaviour. Such a viewpoint was illustrated in an interview with Jorge, a former artisan aged approximately 40 years, working for the local council as the officer in charge of artisanal tourism:

Jorge: *Tourism has benefited us as well as harmed us but if the system of having a buyer come to your workshop/atelier had been kept or if we had developed another commercialisation system, perhaps we would have been able to stay in our ateliers, in our houses, our shops, but what has happened? When tourists and export buyers stopped coming to our shops then we were forced to sell in the plaza, out of necessity. So, what has happened? We now work from 3-4am in the morning, that's when we start tying up our tents and then we leave around 7pm. Because of our work schedule, we can't even have lunch at ease, we have to have lunch in the*

plaza, we have put up with the inclemency of weather conditions. How do you feel when you get back to your home? Tired, and if the son says to his dad, "I want to play with you dad" or "dad please help me do this or that", the dad can't do it because he's tired. This is a really negative thing that has happened when we started selling in the plaza.

Closely link to this perceived loss of value, the issue of "conspicuous consumption" amongst villagers, due to economic returns of tourism, was also a recurrent theme in interviews. "Conspicuous consumption", first conceptualised by Thorstein Veblen in 1899, asserts that individuals or groups consume, at least in part, to display their social power to other groups (Veblen, 1934, p.86). Several interview participants expressed how locals felt increasing pressure to purchase specific goods in order to communicate a higher social status. For example, Jorge suggested that locals felt the need to purchase computers and other gadgets in order not to appear uneducated or poor. This meant that Piseños had to work longer hours in order to afford technological equipment:

***Jorge:** ...technology is part of the crisis that is present today in Pisac...I think technology has created many problems here in Pisac, the simple fact of wanting to own a computer makes you work more because if you don't own a computer it implies you are backward person or illiterate, right? So, this makes us work seven days a week, from 4 o'clock in the morning to 7 o'clock in the evening. But working every day brings social problems.*

Similar reflections were made by other interviewees who also noted that due to increased disposable income from tourism and the daily presence of tourists in town, more locals were inclined to buy non-basic commodities and mimic Western tourists' appearances in an attempt to display wealth and upwards social mobility. Concomitantly, this practice was frequently linked to the loss of traditional values and the intensification of social rivalry as a result of tourism development. The following extracts taken from the interviews with Gladys and Isabel, illustrate these issues:

***Researcher:** Do you think tourism has in some way influenced consumption patterns in Pisac?*

***Gladys:** Yes of course, when you have money you aspire to buy, to have more stuff, yes tourism has influenced that, there is more demand now*

Researcher: *Have you seen more businesses geared for locals such as hairdressers open up? Did you have that before?*

Gladys: *Well, we always had a hairdresser, but now we have many salons. Because people tend to want to copy the trends from abroad, the ways tourists dress, their hairstyles and all of that, right?*

Researcher: *And what do you think about that?*

Gladys: *On the one hand, I think it's OK but on the other hand sometimes they think they are superior because they wear better clothes or a different hairstyle some people also start earning a little more money and want to walk all over you.*

Isabel: *... some people they start earning money and they think they can walk all over you.*

Researcher: *How so? Do you mean they marginalise others?*

Isabel: *Well, they insult you, they make you believe you are the worse [worse than them], it's like "if you don't have money, then die already". That's what I don't like about Pisac, people here are very dry, very bad, they have a lot of envy, among themselves they have envy, if they see you are growing your business they want to pull you down, so they don't let one be taller than the other.*

Different issues may be extrapolated from the above accounts. Firstly, the long working hours in tourism and the apparent yearning of many villagers to earn more revenue, are put forth by most interviewees as the underlying reasons for the breakdown of traditional family dynamics. This in turn was linked to the shifting pattern of tourist visitation in the village, which saw independent visitors replaced with organised tour groups. Tourist visitations started to decline once tour buses began to park next to the plaza and external mediators such as tour guides started to control the temporal and spatial dynamics of visitors. In this sense, interviews suggested that many villagers (including those working in tourism) felt that tourism had disempowered residents. Disempowerment in this case was linked mainly to villagers having 'lost control' over their own families and over the socio-spatial dynamics of the community as a whole.

More crucially, as illustrated in the above accounts, social and psychological disempowerment was directly linked to tourism development. Following Scheyvens' (1999) framework of empowerment/disempowerment within tourism host communities, social disempowerment may be perceived in destination communities when tourism activity is linked to a rise in crime, community dissension and feelings of disillusionment and confusion over the community's future. Social and psychological disempowerment was expressed when interviewees blamed tourism for changing consumption habits amongst villagers, resulting in a disregard for children's upbringing and mounting alcoholism. Linked to this, "conspicuous consumption" (Veblen, 1934, p.86) was highlighted by interviewees as a side-effect of tourism employment. Participants noted that this new mode of consumption, whereby goods and experiences are consumed as an explicit display of increased wealth and status, had introduced jealousy and competition amongst local dwellers, resulting in a partial disintegration of community dynamics.

5.4. Conclusion

This chapter has presented an introduction to the field setting and has discussed the socio-spatial changes brought about by tourism development in Pisac. Findings denoted that tourism development initially had a positive impact on the locality through improvement of infrastructure and increased employment opportunities directly and indirectly linked to tourism. However, the discussion also highlighted that the arrival of organised tours and new jewellery stores in the last 15 years had initiated a set of spatial changes that strongly impacted local participation in tourism and consequently power dynamics amongst local stakeholder groups. Some of the most noteworthy changes included the shut-down of artisanal ateliers due to low visitor numbers, as a result of a change in the parking space of tour buses, and the gradual introduction of the daily handicraft market.

The increase in market trading days from three times a week to seven days a week had detrimental implications for the rest of local residents who felt that they had lost a vital public space for socialisation. It was argued that this disempowered residents on a social and psychological level, since the lack of access to the plaza meant they had lost a key space where they could perform their identities as *Piseños* and strengthen community ties on a daily basis. Thus, the analysis revealed that tourism may bring

forth contestation of spaces not only between tourists or external tourism developers and local hosts, but also amongst community members themselves. Consequently, it may be argued that touristic spaces represent key arenas through which power, social identity and cultural meaning are renegotiated amongst host actors (Aitcheson and Reeves, 1998; Pritchard and Morgan, 2000). Further to this, this discussion emphasises that space is fundamental to the continuance of identities since it provides a medium through which actors may affirm identities through repeated performance.

Having examined some of the more fundamental impacts of tourism development on the local space and local hosts, the next chapter will expand this discussion by delving into the role played by both exogenous tourism-linked stakeholders (such as tour guides and jewellers) and municipal authorities in shaping local power structures and the distribution of tourism benefits amongst the local population.

CHAPTER 6: EXOGENOUS TOURISM STAKEHOLDERS, MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES AND LOCAL POWER RELATIONS

6.1. Introduction

As previously mentioned, foreign tourist arrivals have risen steadily over the last 15 years in Peru (Intel, 2014; Ypeij, 2012). The Sacred Valley in particular has become one of the most popular tourist areas of the country for both domestic and international tourists (Intel, 2014). Due to its location in the Sacred Valley, Pisac has become increasingly popular amongst both domestic and international tourists. Observation data revealed that this upsurge in tourism has encouraged the migration of artisans and jewellers from other parts of the country to Pisac. The arrival of these new stakeholder groups has had a major impact on local businesses in general and market traders in particular. Jewellers, working with tour guides on the basis of sales commission, make natural business partners for tour guides when making stopovers in Pisac.

Tour guides bring tourists directly to these shops and warn tourists that goods found in the handicraft market and other souvenir shops, with whom they do not have commission deals, are of inferior quality and overpriced. Predictably, this has caused tensions among market traders, jewellers and other local businesses who do not offer commissions to tour guides. More alarmingly, it has shifted the balance of power to tour guides, who are able to direct tourism profits towards themselves and a select group of local stakeholders. Adding to this, the inaction of local authorities may have further prompted market sellers to stage violent protests against foreign sellers and tour groups.

This chapter will examine how this intricate web of relations between local sellers, tour guides and migrant jewellers, has changed local participation in tourism and the allocation of tourism benefits. It will further discuss the ways in which tourism may have further reinforced existing power mechanisms intertwined with kinship, pecuniary resources and access to political factions.

6.2. Power Relations between Local Actors and Foreign Stakeholders

In the last ten years, Pisac has seen the arrival of migrants from the North of Peru and the province of Ayacucho, regions well known for jewellery artwork and artisanal textiles. These migrants have settled in Pisac and have mostly opened jewellery and textile shops increasingly popular with tourists. As may be expected, these arrivals have created a new set of tensions within the local community since migrants are largely viewed as competitors who steer tourists away from locally-owned businesses. Adding to this, market sellers in particular, feel angry that the majority of migrant-owned businesses worked with tour guides on the basis of commission sales. This means that jewellers routinely pay tour guides a percentage of their sales in order to receive exclusive access to tour groups. Although some locally owned tourist shops also pay tourist guides commissions in exchange for tourists, local interviewees claimed that migrant-owned jewellery stores paid tour guides higher commission fees in return. For this reason, several native interviewees appeared to blame migrant jewellers for perpetuating unethical and unfair business practices, as well as for the decline in the quality of the handicraft market, even as it expanded.

According to local respondents, animosity between Pisac natives and migrant traders, particularly Cusco natives, existed since the handicraft market first came into existence in the late sixties. However, animosity between these two groups escalated during the last twenty years. As several interviewees elucidated, there was a time when the Pisac handicraft market was mainly made up of Cusco based traders but when the popularity of the market was at its peak, Pisac natives decided to force Cusco traders out of Pisac. According to interview participants, Pisac traders felt that Cusco sellers had the best stalls and thought it unfair that ‘foreigners’ were making more money than Pisac natives:

***Juana (female market seller):** In the past, they used to come from Cusco, when the market was just starting out, there were better stalls. Then the people of Pisac, we woke up and we kicked them out. ... Why should we have to endure all our lives [so] that people from other places come here and get rich on our behalf? I think it was time for them to go away, right? If we hadn't put that pressure on them, they wouldn't have left. During the time they were here, we were practically their employees. We couldn't get the bigger stalls because we didn't have as much*

merchandise as them. ... we took them out of here by force; there was a lot of violence involved. We had to kick them out in that way because we had already asked them nicely to go away but they kept coming...we didn't let their cars into Pisac, in the bridge we stopped them, we didn't let them through and so they left very angrily.

The eviction of the Cusco market sellers had unexpected consequences for Pisac traders. The evicted sellers decided to open a series of markets along the motorway on the route between Cusco and Pisac. Cusco sellers then negotiated exclusive commissions with tour guides in order to have groups of tourists stop at these markets on their way to the Sacred Valley. This meant that most tour guides started to take fewer tour groups to the Pisac market, preferring to take tourists to Pisac jewellery stores (in exchange for commission) instead. Interviewed market traders stated that sometimes tour guides would not stop in Pisac at all and would take tourists directly to the archaeological Pisac ruins located in the adjacent hills. This created further resentment towards Cusco natives but also towards market sellers who were blamed by other residents for the decrease in visitor numbers:

***Juana:** Some people say that was our mistake because now those people have opened other markets along the motorway. The last time we had a town meeting, we were told "who is responsible for the opening of those markets along the motorway? You are! ...I think Cusco sellers are selfish because they only think of them, they said to themselves "they've kicked us out so now we will mess with them and open a new market by ourselves". They could have opened something better, a shop or something, but in their own city, not in the motorway. In a way, they wanted to show to us that they could make it without us but I think that was wrong.*

Maria, the former artisan in her sixties, revealed that many locals were angry at market sellers for having taken violent actions against Cusco sellers. Similarly, Maria stated that market sellers had recently staged violent protests against guides who were apparently discouraging tourists from visiting the market. She compared market sellers to "animals", who acted on impulse:

Maria: *"They don't know how to reason. They are like little animals, if one person who has more status amongst them, tells them to do something, they just do it without analysing what they are really doing. A short while ago...a president of one of the artisan association said "people, we must go to the bridge! And we won't let any tourist buses go through", because tourist buses were just going straight to the [Pisac archaeological] ruins."*

Researcher: *I understand.*

Maria: *"We won't let them go through! If we don't sell, nobody in town will sell". That's no way of behaving! You need to find solutions!*

Researcher: *Of course.*

Maria: *They are worse off, because we are chasing away tourists!*

Researcher: *Of course, because violence scares people.*

Maria: *Yes*

Researcher: *I understand.*

Maria: *It's the truth. But these god-damned people that's why I'm telling you, they don't stop and analyse the situation, what did they do? All the herd came out and they stood on the streets, they wouldn't let the buses go through, they started throwing stones at tourist buses. That's very bad! And what did the tourist buses do? What did the tourist guides do? Because we live off guides...*

Researcher: *I understand.*

Maria: *Unfortunately, the tour guide dominates everything. So what did the guides do? They organised for another market to be opened in Coya [neighbouring settlement]*

Researcher: *I see.*

Maria: *They harmed all of us.*

Researcher: *Of course, because...*

Maria: *It's because they don't think, they don't reason! A long time ago, maybe 15 or 20 years ago, people from Cusco came to Pisac to sell during market days, in the*

square. But one day one of the presidents of market sellers, or was it the mayor? Anyway, they kicked the people from Cusco out of the market. So, what did the people from Cusco do? Not wasting any time, they opened another artisanal market nearby in Corao.

Researcher: *Oh, the one by the side of the highway from Cusco?*

Maria: *Yes.*

Researcher: *Yes, I did see that market,*

Maria: *They've killed us! Ever since they keep opening new markets, new guesthouses and when the tourists get to Pisac they've already brought everything, they come with their purchases, thanks to whom? Due to those groups of people who can't reason!*

Researcher: *I see.*

Maria: *They don't know how to think...now the artisans and market sellers say "we've been dumb, we don't know how to think, we only do things impulsively, we don't analyse the consequences" but it's done! Now Coya has its own little market. I mean, it's things like that, their whole life they think like that!*

Foucault posits that every site of power is concurrently also a site of resistance; every individual is an object of power but, to a certain extent, also has the capacity to exercise power upon the actions or conducts of another (Wearing et al, 2010). Thus, power is relational and host actors may be viewed as both the objects and agents of power (Butin, 2001). Although hosts may have limited possibilities for subduing macro-power structures, localised forms of resistance may range from the verbal or written to deliberate action and physical violence (Wearing et al, 2010), as witnessed in this study. This is evidenced in Pisac through both the subtle and violent modes through which market traders attempted to resist the actions of tour guides and exogenous sellers. In tourism, the everyday experiences and performances of local stakeholders may be viewed as subtle forms of resistance to the disciplinary power of tourism agents (in this case: tour guides, tour operators and government actors). In the space open to them, local hosts may use different subtle strategies to contest and negotiate the direction of tourism development in their communities, resisting power-knowledge regimes

imposed on them by tourism and governmental agents of power at different scales (Edensor, 2001; Hannam, 2006).

In Pisac, market traders attempted to counteract the actions of tour guides and ascertain their power locally, mostly through subtle everyday mechanisms. Notably, the traders held on to the space of the plaza and refused to pay guides commissions in exchange for tourist groups. Selling in the plaza every day of the week may be seen as an everyday subtle resistance mechanism through which market sellers reinforced their visibility to local and external actors whilst simultaneously claiming the plaza. On the other hand, more direct manifestations of resistance were reflected in the use of physical violence to remove Cuzco sellers and protest against tour guides. This echoes the observation of Pattison (2013), who recalls Foucault's (1978, p.95) theorisation that even ostensibly subjugated populations have access to modes of resistance in the configuration of power relations. Market traders seemingly made use of the few and most immediate resources to which they had access in order to counteract the actions of tour guides and external traders. For public protests, they used stones and blocked access to roads, arguably unsophisticated tools and mechanisms which were mostly employed due to their convenience and immediate availability. Evidently, these 'resistance' strategies were not always successful in their entirety, insofar as they often brought market traders and other residents inadvertent problems, such as increased competition and reprisals from tour guides and travel agencies.

Further to this, local interviewees claimed that over the last ten years, migrants from elsewhere in Peru had opened a disproportionate number of textiles and jewellery stores, allegedly putting native shop owners and market sellers out of business. Migrant jewellery stores in particular were blamed for maintaining a monopoly over the local tourism industry given that most shops paid tour guides large commission. Observation notes revealed that tour groups usually did stop in front of jewellery shops situated further away from the market. This meant that tourists were less likely to visit the market, given that they had limited time in Pisac and were more likely to visit the shops located in the streets immediately surrounding jewellery stores. Notwithstanding this fact, Alberto, a migrant jeweller, commented that jewellers did not wish to alienate market sellers or discourage tourists from visiting the market, rather they wanted to collaborate with market sellers. However, according to his account, market sellers did

not respond favourably to jewellers' attempts to initiate some kind of dialogue or cooperation:

Alberto: *The plaza market sellers are very selfish. They have their associations and when one wants to participate they say "no, you can't". We have even proposed joint projects. Once me and another jewellery store we had an idea, the guides told us "Why don't you do live art in the plaza? In that way, you benefit the whole market".*

Researcher: *Of course.*

Alberto: *We told the mayor at the time and he gave us a space in the plaza. We performed live art in the plaza, doing live jewellery-making presentations. But the people in the plaza said "Why? Where are these people from? Why should they be in the plaza? We also want to do live demonstrations". So, they kicked us out and that was the end of that...you can't have a dialogue, even to this day the president of the artisanal network doesn't let us create an association for artisanal jewellers. He opposed it and said "who are they? Why do they need to create another artisanal association? They have to ask for my permission! ...and so, jewellers decided to stay away and that's how things are right now.*

Alberto's account illustrates the power sharing issues at play between different tourism stakeholder groups in Pisac. The conflict between jewellers and market traders is characterised by a high degree of distrust, tension and verbal battles. These issues repeatedly surfaced to thwart collaboration, preventing the attainment of greater – or at least more equitable distribution of – tourism benefits for all. Albeit jewellers may have wanted to initiate a dialogue with market sellers, the fact that jewellers generally paid generous commissions to tour guides in exchange for access to tourists created an imbalance of power between the two groups. This resulted in jewellers and market traders having unequal access to tourist groups and thus obtaining disparate economic benefits.

As noted by Salazar (2012, p.12), citing Brennan and Allen (2001), power also constitutes the ability "to control the resources required for tourism development – labor [sic], capital, culture and natural resources – and to secure personal returns from having tourism in their community". In this sense, market sellers may be seen to have

comparatively less power than jewellery owners, given that they do not have the same control over access to tourists. Inequities in power between community groups has been shown to chiefly constrain collaboration in the planning and development of tourism (De Araujo and Bramwell, 1999; Okazaki, 2008). This has led Okazaki (2008, p.517) to caution that “if neither community participation nor power redistribution progresses, collaboration will not be fostered”. In the case of Pisac, the power imbalances between jewellers and market sellers constrained the possibility of productive dialogue or collaboration.

Market sellers and jewellers fundamentally disagreed on the issue of commission-based sales. Whilst jewellers viewed commissions as a perfectly legitimate sales strategy, market sellers considered that commission introduced unethical and unfair competition. Market seller interviewees also stated they could not possibly pay the type of commission percentages that migrant jewellers paid to guides, since they did not earn enough from sales. Market traders claimed that migrants could pay tour guides lucrative commissions due to greater access to capital. This apparently was down to migrant shops being owned by several members of the same family who would all invest in the business. One local interviewee also explained that most migrant-owned jewellery stores were financed by large bank loans and thus the proprietors were desperate to repay banks; Alberto noted that jewellers were “tearing each other’s eyes [out]” by offering increasingly higher commissions to guides. Given the key role played by tour guides in Pisac’s tourism industry, it appears pertinent to further explore their social, economic and political functions as agents of power.

6.3. Tour Guides as Agents of Power

Cases of tour guides accepting lucrative commissions from tourism businesses are seldom reported in the tourism literature (Cheong and Miller, 2000; Wang et al, 2000; Chang et al, 2007; Mak et al, 2010; Kwek and Lee, 2013). Existing studies are limited in scope compared to those which have examined tour guides’ role as cultural mediators (Scherle and Nonnenmann, 2008; Ferguson et al, 2016; Quinn and Ryan, 2016). Few studies have looked at the role of tour guides as negative mediators, even though the process of mediation in practice can be a problematic (Dahles, 2002, p.784). Particularly in developing countries, tour guides have an entrepreneurial role to fulfil and a need to make their interactions with tourists profitable for themselves (Steege, 1999; Dahles,

2002). According to several participants, in the case of Cusco, most travel agencies appeared to pay tour guides low salaries, making sales commission at once an enticing and necessary proposition. In fact, one female market seller stated that she had studied to be a tour guide but decided to work as a market seller instead because she could earn more money selling in the market (Melisa, market seller). Notwithstanding that tour guides may in some cases be partial to commission sales due to poor salaries, local interviewees and government representatives also underlined that incentives offered by business owners to tour guides were growing unchecked, to the detriment of other tourism businesses. One owner of a souvenir shop stated that guides were making ludicrous demands, although he did not specify what these comprised, whilst an interviewed artisan noted that tour guides were now asking for commission and money for meals. His account also highlighted the dangers of refusing to comply to the demands of guides:

Santiago: *I'm not going to lie, we pay guides a percentage so that they bring us tourists to buy from us. We have to pay a commission and also give them free food. And it's not like you can give them rice and eggs, no; we have to give them special dishes, right? Like roasted guinea pig or suckling pig, typical dishes from Cusco. If you don't give them those dishes, if you don't pay them, they won't bring you any tourists, that's the truth.*

Researcher: *And what do you think about that system?*

Santiago: *Really, I tell you it's wrong, it's super wrong, super wrong. But there's a reality even if you grumble or complain that it shouldn't be that way, but what can we do?*

Researcher: *That's how they work?*

Santiago: *That's how they work so what can we do? Practically nothing, they are the ones who have control. If you start trying to disagree with them, you complain about something or another, the next day you won't see them. You don't see them or their tourist groups, and it's not only the guide that leaves, he takes with him his group of friends and other colleagues who are also guides. It's a chain and then nobody comes to you anymore...so what can we do? We live off that, our families live off those sales...*

Santiago's account denotes the power of coercion that tour guides exercise on local sellers. Even though these sellers do not agree with the practice of commission sales, they participate in this system out of fear of reprisals from guides. Analogous observations were reported by a government official working from DIRCETUR (Regional Ministry of Tourism, Cusco Region) who raised concerns over the escalating incentives being offered to tour guides in Pisac:

DIRCETUR official: *Another negative and strong impact which has been observed in recent times is that aside from these commissions, which I would almost call bribes, these initially ranged between 10 or 20% and now have reached 30 or 40% and even more, there is another theme which is really alarming. Alcanzadoras²⁰ are being used; they are increasingly young and are starting to wear shorter length clothes. So, it's not only the payment of commissions but a sexual issue is being introduced too and this could end up in large scale trafficking of women in this whole area, under the pretence of tourism. These girls go out with guides; this takes place asides from the commissions that guides receive. In this way, they ensure that buses stop in front of specific shops. These things are really alarming so we are trying to push the police, through their specialised entities, to act with much more force and severity.*

From the above extracts, it may be argued that on the one hand, competition between business owners to attract tour guides is fuelling potentially illegal and exploitative practices. On the other hand, guides, all too aware of their power, are making progressively more ostentatious demands. Native tourist traders further denoted that most tour guides would limit the time tourists spent in Pisac, sometimes only giving visitors half an hour in town. Therefore, tourists would often lack sufficient time to visit the handicraft market or other businesses in town. Aside from limiting tourists' time, tour guides were also accused of deliberately giving tourists false information regarding the quality of the merchandise found in the market or other local businesses. Local tourist shop owners and market sellers maintained that tour guides usually told tourists the merchandise found at the market was of a lower quality than that found at the shops with whom they had special deals. Market sellers claimed this was simply not true and

²⁰ Alcanzadoras, literally translated as "girls who reach out", are local girls who are employed to attract tour guides. It is not clear exactly what their jobs consist of although they are expected to go out with tour guides.

identical pieces sold in these shops could be found at lower prices at the handicraft market. They stated that items found in tour guide-linked shops were priced at higher rates in order to compensate for the high commission fees that owners had to pay. These observations can be evidenced in the following interview quotes:

Gladys (17-year-old female market seller): *the tour guides don't show tourists the plaza or the church, they simply shove tourists into their chosen store, they tell them "don't go to other stores, go to this store because they sell real silver jewellery, what they sell in the market is bronze or alpaca"...Tour guides manipulate the whole of tourism in Pisac...When they really want to spoil everything for us, they will take tourists to the most remote shop, further away from the market.*

Melisa: *Guides discredit us saying that what we sell is not good quality, that we sell Chinese products of low quality. That is a lie because some jewellery stores for instance buy from the same producers as we do. On the contrary, I feel that tourists are being ripped off or swindled, I don't know if you could it say it like that, they are paying a higher price thinking they are buying original pieces of good quality, right? They don't know about the commission they are paying for.*

Local accounts were corroborated by a Cusco DIRCETUR (Departmental branch of the Ministry of Tourism for the region of Cusco) official who pointed out that they were investigating the excessive prices of jewellerries in Pisac:

DIRCETUR official: *In the last few years, we have observed a trend of increasing sales of silver jewellery in Pisac. Silver is not a product that you find in Pisac, it's being brought from Lima-based factories. These Pisac jewellerries buy their products in Lima and then on top of that, due to the unfair competition that exists in Pisac, they are adding the percentage that they give to guides and drivers to the final sale price. Now we are beginning to see grave excesses in sale prices, which have even been a cause of intervention for DIRCETUR. We are currently having meetings to find solutions to this issue because this cannot go on. Tourists are buying jewellery pieces and paying up to 70% more in some cases that they would pay in Lima. This is taking place because there hasn't been any proper regulation put in place by Municipal authorities.*

Examining these accounts, it may be reasoned that some Pisac tour guides use their position of authority and ‘expertise’²¹ with tourists to control and manipulate the tourist gaze. This is broadly in keeping with Urry’s (1990) and Cheong and Miller’s (2000) arguments whereby tour guides are viewed as Foucauldian agents of power, since tourists rely on their ‘expertise’ to tour a destination. As the authors state, “power relationships are located in the seemingly non-political business and banter of tourists and guides”, and in the narratives and performances used by guides to construct the “local” (Cheong and Miller, 2000, p.378). Effectively, guides take on the roles of gatekeepers between hosts and tourists (Scarles, 2012). As Cheong and Miller (2000: 383) argue, tour guides influence what tourists “select and reject” as they orchestrate interactions with brokers such as tourist shops to fulfil either their personal economic agendas, as exhibited in Pisac, or the travel agency’s economic agenda. This is similarly underlined by Dahles (2002, p.783) who notes that “tour guiding constitutes a strategic factor in the representation of a destination area and...the resulting economic benefits for a local community”. Paralleling Scarles’ (2012) observations of tour guides in the Colca Valley (Peru), in Pisac, tourists’ decision-making is regularly permeated with guides’ prejudice, preferred behaviours and opinions. Juana appeared to see guides as the instigators of commission-based sales. She alleged that guides ran a “monopoly” in Pisac whereby they gave tourists false information so that they would buy souvenirs from shops with whom the guides had established commercial relationships.

***Juana:** A monopoly exists, that’s what we call it...the tour guides will contact certain shops and then they will take tourists there and explain to them “this is the best thing you can find” and in the end, they sell products to tourists at higher prices than they should really pay for them.*

***Researcher:** So, when you say they “contact” certain shops, do you mean they contact them to ask for commissions?*

***Juana:** yes exactly, they work with commissions. Commissions are auctioned. So, let’s say there are three shops, I am the tour guide and I am told “if you bring your*

²¹ The word ‘expertise’ is written in inverted commas because it is unclear whether some tour guides are actually experts in local customs and history. As will be further discussed in this thesis, it is not uncommon for tour guides to fabricate stories about localities in the Sacred Valley in order to satisfy personal economic interests.

group I will give you 20% of the sales” then the other store says “I’ll give you 25%” and another one says 30%. There has been one case where the commission reached 50% for the guide, this has happened. So, I imagine that if they are prepared to pay those commissions then the price of the goods they sell must be inflated.

Following analysis of interview and observation data, it was unclear whether tour guides demanded commissions for personal gains or whether they were forced by travel agencies to do so. Local interviewees gave differing accounts regarding this issue; some stated that travel agencies made direct deals with shops and that tour guides only acted as intermediaries, whilst others claimed that both tour guides and bus drivers took large shares of commission for themselves:

Luisa: *Travel agencies get in touch with jewellery store owners and they say to the guides “listen, you will go to that store” and the guide has to obey... (Luisa, female in her forties, Pisac native and owner of a souvenir shop)*

Alberto: *I think the problem is the guides...some guides are just shameless*

Researcher: *What do you mean?*

Alberto: *I mean they ask for a bigger commission than what their agencies are asking them to demand. (Alberto, migrant jewellery store owner)*

Researcher: *So in your opinion where does the problem stem from?*

Ricardo: *It’s not the guides, it’s related to internal politics of travel agencies, it’s not the guides...they don’t decide where tourists will stop for lunch or which tickets they will buy, it’s the agency. (Ricardo, travel agency owner in Cusco).*

DIRCETUR official: *The issue of survival of businesses in Pisac has meant that in the last few years, some stores have started to pay commissions to guides and bus drivers so that their bus will stop in front of their shops.*

Whether tour guides act on orders from tour agencies or participate in commission sales without the knowledge of tour operators, tour guides are key agents in swaying tourists' purchasing decisions and controlling who benefits from tourism in Pisac. Tour guides are aware that tourists rely on their 'expertise' and effectively use their 'expert'^(ibid) knowledge of the Sacred Valley to influence tourists' purchasing decisions. Concurring with Hallin and Dobers' (2012, p.22) analysis of tour guides in Stockholm, guides "constitute a dominant group in translating and disclosing the visited place for tourists" and thus possess what Bourdieu (1991) would call 'symbolic power'.

Symbolic power develops when the listener hands power to the speaker based on the perception that the speaker has authority due to his position or 'expertise' (Bourdieu, 1981). This is particularly true in the case of Peru, where most tourists visit rural areas as part of organised tour groups (McGrath, 2007). As noted by McGrath (2007, p.372), "tour guides are the mainstay of interpretive supply in Peru...[and]...have the power and prestige that comes from being in a position to associate with tourists and, by extension, have greater perceived access to the Western world and information about its working". In order to express symbolic power and construct the meaning of toured destinations, tour guides use instruments such as language and narrative to interpret the landscapes that tourists visit (Hallin and Dobers, 2012). As one female market seller observed, in Pisac, tour guides have the power to define and legitimise what is authentic and worthwhile and what is not:

***Isabel:** Anybody today can come and open a store on top of a hill and the guide, because he's getting paid, will take tourists to the top of the hill...these new markets that have opened near the highway, they have nothing to show, these are places which have no culture or history and in the end, they simply open some stores, they pay the guide and the guide invents a story so that tourists will stay. They give the place a similar name to that of Pisac and they make the tourists believe that that is a must-see attraction and of course tourists believe the guide, right? Because it's understood they have hired a professional person who is guiding them to the places they really have to visit, right? They blindly believe the guide...because supposedly he knows.*

Relatedly, several local traders expressed concern over tour guides encouraging tourists to haggle over prices. They underlined that this was also one of the reasons why locals

were not making as much money as they used to. Whilst conducting an interview with Juana, a female market seller in her forties, an American tourist approached her stall and asked whether she could get a discount if she bought 3 hats, offering to pay 26 soles for each one, instead of the asking price of 40 soles. Juana agreed to give her a discount of five soles for each hat but refused to sell the hats for 26 soles each, after which the tourist walked away. She then proceeded to explain that she thought haggling was instigated by tour guides and was an unfair practice:

Juana: *That's another tactic they have established, the guides tell tourists that what we sell in Pisac is too expensive "If they ask you for 50 soles, you need to ask for 25" and they always tell them that, I don't know why? Maybe they think we make too much money (laughs). Those hats, I bought them for 17 soles, if I sell them at 26 soles, what am I am going to earn? It's absurd.*

Juana's observations were echoed by two female artisans (Pisac natives) who owned souvenir shops in an adjacent market street. They also noted that haggling had become more prevalent amongst visitors and blamed tour guides for encouraging tourists to behave in this way. They hinted that demands from tourists for lower prices was negatively impacting the production of local artisan crafts, given that it took too much time to produce these goods and mostly these remained unsold:

Luisa: *The guides have a big role to play in all of this because they tell them [tourists] to bargain but they [guides] look for their own convenience with certain stores, they ask for money for themselves, for commission. So, the tourist will buy it because the guide says, "this is good" but he can also say "this is not good" when in reality it's the same product they will find in a commission-based store. I'm telling you things have changed so much, tourists before would value art, I mean they would value quality but now that's not the case anymore*

Doris: *Sometimes you want to do things like carving but it's too expensive*

Researcher: *Why?*

Doris: *Because you are investing your time and you need to see how much time you are spending doing that work and sometimes it just doesn't add up. You can't even cover your rent if you do carvings.*

Additionally, Juana described how some tour guides could resort to coercion in order to intimidate local business owners who tried to complain or resisted paying commissions. She described a particular incident when market sellers were interviewed by journalists and complained about the issue of commission-based sales. When tour guides found out about this, they cautioned and threatened market sellers:

***Juana:** Guides told us “how is it possible that you are talking bad about us? We are never going to bring you any tourists again! It depends on us whether tourists come here, you know? So, we are not going to bring you any more tourists! We will take them to shops somewhere else. You know there are many other markets around here, so we will take them there. You shouldn’t have said those things, why did you have to speak like that?” So, we invited the guides to meet with us, we asked them “why are you pushing tourists away from us? We are becoming isolated” and they told us “this is normal, in any market you will find commission sales, if you are not giving us commissions, what do you expect? You have to get with it” ...since those days, since we spoke badly about guides, they took tourists away, tourists would not visit the market at all, they would pass Pisac and would go to other markets down the valley.*

Examining the above account, it is evident that a number of tour guides appear to have used coercion and threats to intimidate market sellers and more so, acted on these threats when market sellers publicly criticised tour guides for demanding commissions. This may be seen as a clear attempt by tour guides to display their power and authority in Pisac, and a warning to market sellers that if they publicly denounce them, they will pay hefty sanctions. Tour guides are able to intimidate local sellers because they are perceived as ‘gatekeepers’ of tour groups. Most tourists visiting Pisac are foreigners, unfamiliar with the culture and non-Spanish speakers, this means that they are heavily reliant on tour guides to act as mediators between themselves and the host destination. As McGrath (2007) points out, the greater the sociocultural and economic differences between hosts and tourists, the more salient the need for a tour guide to bridge these two worlds.

Aside from controlling the narratives that tourists receive about the destination and the local community, tour guides also limit the amount of time tourists spend in Pisac by imposing strict time schedules on their visits. This means that tourists usually do not

have enough time to see the whole town and often are not able to visit the handicraft market:

Gladys: *Then the guide tells them [tourists] they only have half an hour and during that time he tries to make them stay in that jewellery store, they leave the store and then the guide says half an hour has already gone by and they need to go back to Cusco. So, they don't visit the rest of the town.*

By limiting the time tourists can spend in the destination and consequently indirectly narrowing the choice of spaces tourists may be able to visit, guides act as agents of power who control where tourists go and what they are able to see. As discussed by Scarles (2012), these brief and rapid exchanges between hosts and tourists deny meaningful interactions and perpetuate distance, making both groups suspicious of each other's intentions. Tour guides are able to gain economic advances (i.e. commission sales) through the deployment of such tactics whilst concurrently displaying their power and authority in front of local traders. The fact that they are able to significantly influence the actions and decisions of visitors by imposing measures which curtail visitation time and itineraries serves to remind local sellers of the power that guides hold over tourists. As was expressed in Juana's account, tour guides are aware of their influence over tourists with one guide telling her "it depends on us whether tourists come here". More alarmingly, it appears that guides act on their threats of withholding tourists from visiting Pisac, if sellers attempt to condemn their actions publicly. Local market traders, craft sellers and souvenir shop owners are all too aware of this fact as the following extracts denote:

Researcher: *What would happen if you stopped paying commissions to guides?*

Miguel: *I believe they would simply stop bringing tourists. They stop coming and that's all there is to it. (migrant jewellery store owner)*

Doris and Luisa (talking over one another): *We have tried to reason with guides but they don't understand, they say to us "tourists are free to visit any shops they want" but that is not true, tourists obey the guide and if they tell them not to buy from us, they won't. (female souvenir and craft shop owners who do not work with guides)*

Notwithstanding that guides may employ different tactics to manipulate tourists and intimidate local sellers, interviewees also recognised that owners of tourism-linked businesses had a role to play. Gladys blamed migrant jewellers in particular for instigating commission-based sales and limiting tourists' freedom of choice:

***Gladys:** The jewellers are the ones ruining the market...because if those jewellery stores hadn't opened, everything would still be the same...Before it wasn't like that, tourists would come and go as they pleased; tourists had the option to choose to buy from wherever they thought best. Now that's not the case anymore. Now everything is monopolised because he who has the most money can pay the most to the tour guide, he's the one who has the most sales in the day.*

Maria, also emphasised the role of business owners in fuelling the practice of commission-based sales. She appeared to put more blame on business owners for fomenting this practice than guides themselves. Paradoxically, she confessed that she also encouraged tour guides to stop in front of her convenience store in exchange for free drinks. However, when talking about her own case, she stressed she was driven to do this in order for her business to survive, even though she felt uneasy about it:

***Maria:** We live off tour guides...unfortunately the tour guide is the one who dominates everything....but it's not the fault of the guides, the ones who are guilty are the shop owners, they offer the commission! they are the ones offering it, "I'll pay you that amount and you stop in front of my store"...unfortunately the same thing happens to me, in order to get tourists to come to my convenience store I say to the guide "Please, make the bus stop in front of my store so that they come and buy from me". I don't give them money but I offer them something for free, like a fizzy drink. And so, we fall into the same trap! ...out of necessity because if I stay with my arms crossed, waiting for people to come, nobody is going to come! At least tourists buy from me, they come and I'm able to keep going, what can I do?*

Maria's comments reflect a common rhetoric amongst many Piseños who seemed to agree that commission sales should not take place but partook in this practice in some way or another (in Maria's case by offering free drinks). Like Maria, many local owners positioned themselves within a rhetoric of reluctant obedience, blaming the tourist system and migrants for having instigated commission sales, but failing to acknowledge

how their own participation might reinforce the continuance of this system. In Pisac, local traders are aware of tour guides' expectations and even though they may not agree with this system of rules (i.e. commissions, free food or drinks), they partly follow them because they do not wish to face potential penalties, such as losing customers. As may be evidenced in Maria's account, she believed that if she did not offer guides free drinks, no tourists would come to her shop. Similar reflections were made by Natalia, a female Pisac native in her thirties who managed her family's restaurant:

***Natalia:** Some guides or well, drivers, who come from Cusco airport bringing passengers, maybe two or three passengers and it's only them and the driver who also acts as a guide, I give the driver free food and maybe ten soles so he can buy himself a drink which doesn't really add up but it's like an incentive. I guess that's sort of wrong too but in a way, you encourage them to always come to your restaurant because they bring free tourists and in the low season you really rely a lot on these types of tourists...because drop by drop you build your business and that's the way restaurants work, you offer something for free but I don't give them commissions.*

Although Natalia stated that giving free foods to guides is "sort of wrong", analogous to Maria's case, she did not see this practice as similar to commission giving. In fact, she stated that commission sales were poisoning the town:

***Natalia:** As I was saying to a friend the other day, the fact is that contamination is not only about plastic bags in this town; contamination also exists in lies, in the small commissions that exist. And that's how our town gets contaminated.*

She also justified her decision by stating that she was just complying with "the way restaurants work" and she needed to do this in order for her business to survive during the low season. Notwithstanding that restaurants may particularly rely on tour guides during the low season, it may be argued that Natalia 'disciplined' herself in order to comply with the dominant system of commission sales even though she criticised this very system. She recognised that giving guides free food "doesn't always add up" but concluded that this is just "the way restaurants work" and she needed to build her business "drop by drop".

Following Thiele (1997) who quotes Bourdieu (1991), Natalia may be said to have internalised the social structures in the social field in which she participates. In other words, through her everyday performance, Natalia has normalised the practice of incentive-based sales which dominates tourism in Pisac. In this sense, the power of tour guides in Pisac may be seen as a form of disciplinary power which forces actors to behave in the ways in which powerful agents (in this case tour operators/travel agencies) want them to behave (Foucault, 1975:215). This takes place without the use of violence or physical force and is more effective since subjects internalise the ever-present threat of potential repercussions and discipline themselves (ibid).

Although the practice of commission-based sales is able to carry on partly due to the compliance of business owners, the failure of municipal authorities to take any action against tour guides' escalating demands (i.e. commissions, free food and the use of *Alcanzadoras* or female companions) also plays a crucial role in perpetuating such practices. Notwithstanding that guides are able to exercise power due to their privileged access to tourists and the compliance of Pisac business owners, the prevailing local political milieu creates the conditions to sustain the perpetuation of control mechanisms. The actions of tour guides do not exist in a vacuum; instead they are part of and interact with larger local structures of political governance and power. Thus, in order to obtain a more detailed understanding of the factors which facilitate the practice of commission sales in Pisac, a more exhaustive analysis of the role played by local political governance in tourism is needed.

6.4. Municipal Authorities and Tourism Management

The local government in the district of Pisac is composed by the district municipal council (Municipalidad de Pisac, 2017). Elections are held every three years and the mayor stands as the head of the council and leader of the district (ibid). The last election took place in 2015, when a new mayor was elected, defeating his predecessor who had held the post for nine consecutive years (ibid). Just like the previous post-holder, the new mayor promised he would construct a new market adjacent to the centre of town. This was planned so the main plaza could be vacated and market sellers could have access to better facilities. According to interviewees, this was a common promise made by all candidates during election campaigns but nothing ever came to fruition. Following a number of interviews with market sellers and other Pisac tourism

stakeholders, it soon became apparent that municipal authorities had been promising the construction of a new market for a number of years but to date had been unable or unwilling to deliver on their promise.

Interviewed market sellers claimed that municipal authorities made false promises in order to win elections and had not been able to follow through and build a new market. Interview data revealed that most traders were willing to move out of the plaza but had lost trust in the council's longstanding promise of a new market and that none of the plans made by the municipality ever came to completion. It seemed that council officials kept market sellers in a perpetual state of confusion over negotiations with governmental institutions in charge of giving construction permits, providing evasive answers when traders inquired about construction progress. These views are exemplified in the following extracts:

***Juana:** The ex-mayor brought a piece of land, I wasn't here at the time, so he had already bought the land and asked people, the artisans mostly, to pay 100 soles in order to build the market. Some artisans did unite and paid the 100 soles. The thing is the Ministry of Agriculture is not allowing any construction in that piece of land; they are not giving permission to build houses or a market of any kind. But then there's a housing association that recently bought land over there and started building houses, I don't get it. But according to the mayor, the Ministry of agriculture is not allowing the construction of the market. Now they are telling us that when the repairs on the church end, the houses around the square will also be refurbished so we will have to move. So now we are in a vacuum, we can't even go up to that new land plot where the municipality is now saying the new market will be constructed. There is nothing up there, there are no stands or anything and aside from that, now the Ministry of Culture and the INC (National Institute for Culture) are also not giving the green light because there are Inca ruins over there.*

***Researcher:** So what is the mayor promising? I mean, has he no site for you to go to a permanent market?*

***Juana:** They tell us to go to that piece of land that was bought by the Municipality but the Ministry of Agriculture does not allow us to go, and the INC does not allow us to go to that other place,*

Researcher: *I don't understand how the mayor is telling you to go to that other place when he knows the Ministry of Agriculture is not letting you.*

Juana: *Exactly, they must have bought it thinking they were going to be able to build stands over there, they probably said we will do it, we will do it, or maybe they did [say this] for their political campaign in order to gain votes? I don't know.*

Analogous views were expressed by Gladys, who stated that she believed the Municipality made assurances of building a new market simply to win votes but did not take their task seriously. Nevertheless, she highlighted that it was mainly central government agencies in Lima who were opposing the construction of the new market:

Researcher: *So, what is the problem with the construction of this new market?*

Gladys: *The problem is that the Ministry of Culture is not giving permission to build a new market, there is land there, but since it is a touristic zone [meaning there are archaeological remains], the Ministry of Culture is not giving permission.*

Researcher: *And what about the role of the Municipality in all of this? Has the Municipality tried to help you in some way to build this new market?*

Gladys: *Every candidate, in every election that there is, their proposal is to say "I will make the market". It's been years, it's been like four or five years or even more than that, they've been saying they will build the market...there are people that run to be Mayors and say "I will make the new market so that you people don't suffer anymore" but then they give us the same answer, "the Ministry is not giving permission" so it's a problem that comes from over there, from Lima, they are the ones who normally don't give authorisation because it's a touristic zone.*

Examining the above interview extracts, it becomes apparent that Municipal officers have given market traders vague and ambiguous explanations to explain the delay in building the new market. Although officials claimed that the first terrain purchased by the Municipality could not be used due to the Ministry of Agriculture opposing any construction, according to Gladys's account, new houses were currently being built in that plot of land. This was confirmed in the researcher's field notes, wherein the researcher observed construction underway on the contested plot of land. It could be

argued that the Municipality was simply unaware that it would be problematic to obtain licences from central government agencies, or alternatively that they were not telling market sellers the truth. Whatever the reason may be, given the amount of time it was taking to bring the construction of the new market to fruition (five years since the first announcement was made) it appeared that the Municipality was falling behind on their promises to build a new market.

Interviewed market sellers also stressed that they were worried that the new market would not accommodate all traders, given the limited dimensions of the second land plot. In order to reduce the number of traders who would be part of this new market, the Municipality decided only to allow artisans who craft their own goods to sell in these new premises. Given that a large percentage of market traders are not artisans but sellers who re-sell merchandise purchased from wholesalers, many traders would thus be disqualified from selling in these new premises. This fact was worrying for many market traders who feared they would have no place to work if the existing plaza market disappeared and a permanent market was constructed:

***Juana:** Even if we moved only a small number of people will be allowed to sell in that new market, and the rest of us will be evicted, they will only let certain people in there.*

When local government officials were asked about their plans for non-artisan sellers, they were unable to specify what would happen to them and simply stated that given this would be an artisanal market, only artisans would be allowed to sell:

***Researcher:** And this new market would be for all the people in the market or only certain sellers would be allowed there?*

***Francisco:** Well, in line with our aim of constructing an artisanal market, people would have to be selected to be able to sell in that market, and of course the Municipality invests in training sessions and workshops and so in a way the people who regularly attend those training sessions and workshops must be rewarded with a place in the new artisanal market (Municipal officer in charge of local tourism)*

***Researcher:** And what would happen with the rest of the sellers working in the market?*

Francisco: *Well, the rest of the sellers would have to be filtered, there will be an organisation in charge of identifying those who really are producers and commercial sellers at the same time, and this organisation will have to come out from the current market associations.*

Researcher: *So those who don't qualify as artisans or producers will not be able to sell in the new market?*

Francisco: *Yes, indeed.*

As the preceding quotes illustrates, despite the fact that several traders would evidently be left without a work space, the Municipality did not appear to have any plans in place to relocate commercial sellers (i.e. non-artisans). When probed about the progress of the construction of the new market, they were equally unable to specify an anticipated opening date. They stated that they were aiming to obtain construction permits and noted that these matters were still being debated in Lima:

Researcher: *And where is this new market going to be situated?*

Francisco: *It's being re-zoned, it's being evaluated with the Ministry of Culture so that they give us permission to build the market, it will be constructed in the sector known as 'dame fuego' where the old post was.*

Researcher: *But I heard there were some ruins over there and it was going to be difficult to build anything there, is that true?*

Francisco: *Yes, we know about the matter of the construction, the architecture, we don't want to negatively impact the archaeological remains. We know there are archaeological remains in that place but we aim to build the new market without creating any negative impacts, valuing the archaeological ruins and concurrently give it an added value.*

Researcher: *So, it's possible to construct this market even though there are archaeological remains?*

Francisco: *Yes, I mean, in regard to the Municipality, it's our aim to obtain this permission to build.*

Researcher: *But isn't the Ministry of Culture involved in this?*

Francisco: *The Ministry of Culture is the entity which has to certify the approval for the construction.*

Researcher: *So how is that going?*

Francisco: *They are debating it in Lima.*

Additionally, when asked about the issue of tour guide commissions and the impending clearing of the plaza, officers stated that they were currently in talks with officers from the Regional Ministry of Tourism and artisan associations. They were aiming to end the practice of commission-based sales and reach a deal with market sellers so that they would vacate the plaza. Officials even provided a provisional date for the evacuation of market sellers from the plaza:

Researcher: *So, the plaza would not be occupied seven days per week anymore?*

Francisco: *Indeed, this is an agreement between the artisans and the mayor, but whilst the project is not approved, the construction hasn't started and the artisans who will sell there are not approved, the sellers will not leave the square.*

Researcher: *OK, so you have had a dialogue with the leaders of artisanal associations to discuss when they will leave the square?*

Francisco: *Yes indeed, we have talked with eight artisanal associations and we have reached this decision.*

Researcher: *So, when this new market is built, what is happening now with the tour guides taking tourists only to certain jewellery stores? That will not take place anymore? How would you control that?*

Francisco: *The Municipality and the DIRCETUR are looking into this problem. The artisanal market is also growing in giant leaps and so the mayor is taking some time to evaluate the situation and jointly with the DIRCETUR will reach an agreement. So, we are trying to look at this process through a legal basis.*

Researcher: *And how long do you think these negotiations will last?*

Francisco: *We already have had more than two meetings jointly with the director of the DIRCETUR, INDECOPI²², SUNAT (National Superintendence of tributary administration)²³, tour guides and artisan representatives and so on. So, our aim is to find a solution before the month of July 2014.*

Notwithstanding the Municipality's plans, to date (2017) the handicraft market has still not been relocated from the central square. Furthermore, given that a new mayor has been elected, the previous administration's plans will now need to be revised, almost certainly further delaying construction plans. Examining these issues, it becomes apparent that local residents had little trust in government officials largely due to their inability to bring policies and plans to fruition. The inaction of municipal authorities and their failure to appropriately monitor the local tourism industry was particularly noted during an interview with a DIRCETUR official. When asked about the role of the mayor and municipal authorities in the administration of local tourism businesses, he was especially critical of the apparent failure of municipal authorities to sanction tourism stakeholders who did not follow legal procedures:

DIRCETUR official: *We have gone to Pisac to do some checks and we have found a large quantity of establishments that did not even have an operating licence granted by the Municipality, the owners weren't even registered with the SUNAT. Municipal authorities should have been the first ones to find out about this because they are the ones who are there every day. But **we** [speaker's emphasis] had to come and put fines and then these people finally went and got an operating licence. So, a stranger had to come to put some order amongst the population...I hope the next elected municipal office will impose stronger measures.*

It may be reasoned that the collective inaction of municipal authorities facilitated the persistence of commission sales and other questionable practices (such as the offers of free food and female companions from business owners to guides). As the interview quotes indicate, when asked about their inability to curb commission sales and build the market, municipal officers gave evasive answers or else put the blame on Lima officials by saying "it's being debated in Lima". In this sense, by failing to take decisive actions against businesses and tour guides' dubious practices, municipal authorities may be

²² INDECOPI is the public body responsible for the protection of consumers' rights in financial services markets.

²³ Government agency in charge of the collection of income tax.

seen to exercise power through non-decision making. As several authors have noted (Mills, 1956; Bachrach and Baratz, 1962; Crenson, 1971; Lukes, 2005), power may be exercised and produce outcomes through inaction, as well as action, since power is considered a capacity rather than the exercise of that capacity (Lukes, 2005). The inaction of municipal authorities gives credence to Mills' (1956) contention that failure to act or political inactivity may be of greater consequence than the decisions that are carried forward by politicians. In this sense, power does not have to manifest through specific actions in order to be observed; it can equally manifest through inaction.

In turn, this absence of political action has led to a general distrust and disdain for local authorities amongst local residents. To a certain extent, municipal authorities have largely lost legitimacy as public figures that are meant to serve and protect the local community. Whilst the Municipality and the local police forces both have a visible physical presence in Pisac, holding offices in the centre of town, it seems that for many residents and external tourism stakeholders, their presence is essentially nominal. This was evidenced in interview findings where both Pisac-based and exogenous interviewees working in tourism, denoted frustration with the ineptness of municipal officers and their apparent failure to implement effective policies:

Miguel: *There is no touristic vision here...the people who are in charge of this area are staying behind.*

Researcher: *Why do you say that there is no "touristic vision"?*

Miguel: *...people who are in charge of those posts don't feel the need to help the town. It's simply "this is my post, this is my job, I work and at the end of the month I'll get paid, that's all". But that's not their function, their function is something else, it's called the economic development of society, we are talking about improvement, about giving citizens a better quality of life... Here in Pisac if you go to the plaza, there's only one cash machine which gets blocked often. Those things should be prioritised, restaurants should go through regular revisions and inspections and they should be forced to display their operating licence²⁴. (migrant Jewellery owner)*

²⁴ Under Peruvian law, all food and beverage establishments must display their operating licence within their premises.

Ricardo: *I think Pisac lacks political culture; officials should be committed to the development of their town, right? If they introduce projects, plans, rules which are very vertical, in the beginning it will hurt business owners, it will bother them. If they say “your store cannot have plastic accessories hanging from its door, take away that mural, take away those bright lights”, this will bother people. But if they are clearly committed to the sustainable development of their town, they should do it. Of course, when they start making calculations of political costs, they think “oh, I better not say anything to business owners, I better not say anything to artisanal associations because this means I will get less votes, during the next elections they won’t vote for me. So, I better leave them alone”, do you realise what’s going on? ...it’s a political decision...So the problem, I feel, are the local authorities. (Cuzco travel agency owner)*

Owing to the interviewees’ perspectives, it may be argued that local authorities’ inaction is linked on the one hand to a lack of commitment and on the other to a fear of alienating potential voters if due sanctions and regulations are put into place. Such a state of affairs enables tour guides’ illicit practices to thrive, given that both business owners and tour guides feel that they will not be prosecuted for engaging in such practices. Furthermore, the municipal authorities’ perceived lack of accountability means that those locals who do not agree with the current system of commission sales, sense that they cannot trust municipal authorities to resolve the situation. This pattern of inaction does not only occur in tourism but also manifests in the provision of basic public services, which in turn negatively impacts the local tourism industry.

For instance, in 2010, floods caused significant damage to several areas of town; this included the town’s only access bridge, which was completely destroyed. The town was left without a bridge for approximately three months, during which time it was not possible for anyone to enter or leave Pisac unless they travelled to the city of Urubamba (two hours away from Pisac by car) and used the only next available bridge to leave the Sacred Valley. Evidently, this negatively affected tourist arrivals and significantly impacted the local economy since no tourists could visit Pisac during this time period. Although a temporary bridge was eventually erected, at the time of this study, five years have passed and a permanent bridge has still not been constructed, with the provisional

bridge still being used routinely. This state of affairs has caused distress for local citizens who fear that the bridge is not safe and are worried that it will not resist any future floods:

Isabel: *The floods affected us tremendously and the worst thing was that the bridge was the only access we had to the Sacred Valley and the floods took away our only access road...we couldn't leave, if we wanted to leave we had to go all the way to Urubamba and from there cross to Cusco.*

Researcher: *How long did that last?*

Isabel: *Around 3 months*

Researcher: *And did any tourists come?*

Isabel: *No, no tourists came, nobody came during that time, that's when the crisis started...the Municipality is not doing anything to give us back a permanent bridge, as you may have seen we have a "War bridge", that's how we call it. It was supposed to be a provisional bridge for six months but four years have passed and we still have the same bridge...when you cross with your car, you are scared it's going to fall down. (female market seller)*

What emerges from interview accounts is that locals are overwhelmingly distrustful and sceptical of local politics and the manner in which municipal officers use their executive power to direct important aspects of local life. Based on interview findings, it appears that, for the most part, Piseños believe that local politicians do not use their political power for societal wellbeing. Instead, the predominant view of municipal officers is one of distrust, where local politicians are thought of as individuals who will likely use their position for individual gains or those of friends and family. The following interview quotes from an interview with Juan Luis, a native Piseño in his thirties, artisan and administrator of his parents' guesthouse, illustrate these views:

Researcher: *You were telling me that you overheard a conversation by accident?*

Juan Luis: *Yes, it was a conversation between two 'Apristas' (members of the APRA political party). One worked in the Municipality and the other one was the president of an artisanal association. They were talking about manipulating a prize*

for artisanal producers so they could take the winners abroad. When they started talking about who they were going to take, they started talking about artisans who worked for the artisanal associations they sympathised with, they practically arranged who the winners were going to be between them. And these so-called producers, didn't even produce their own crafts, and they were selected to travel abroad. Those type of things happen all the time.

Researcher: And this prize which was meant to take artisans abroad, was it a project organised by the government?

Juan Luis: Sometimes it's fomented by the government, other times NGOs.

Researcher: But who really manages these prizes or competitions?

Juan Luis: Elites, mostly people who work for the Municipality. That's why when a ceramic teacher that came to Pisac to train artisans through one of these programs, he was surprised. They started bringing people to him who didn't produce anything. I was lucky and they called me and asked me if I wanted to learn ceramics and this teacher told me "the liars are telling me they are producers but none of them are because none of them know how to sculpt, they don't know how to do anything, not even paint...they just came because they thought I was going to take them abroad"...when he met me at the workshop, he told me "I'm lucky I found you, I wasn't planning on coming to your house because you don't really exist here, not within this circle".

As Juan Luis's account evidences, in Pisac local politicians seem to constitute an influential elite group who may use their positions to manipulate tourism resources and obtain personal benefits. Friends and relatives of local politicians seem to receive preferential treatment in accessing tourism-related resources such as training. As Juan Luis recalls, those who are not part of that close-knit circle, "don't really exist" politically. As posited by Farmaki et al (2015) in the case of Cyprus, a culture dominated by tokenism fosters low expectations of politicians and a tacit acceptance of unequal power relations between political elites and the rest of the population. This mistrust of government's abilities further prompted market traders to stage particularly aggressive public demonstrations against private actors, angering other local residents in the process. Faced with the inaction of local authorities, market traders resorted to the use

of aggressive tactics such as throwing stones at tourist buses or blocking the entrance of tour buses in a bid to ensure their concerns were not ignored.

Alberto: *There's total abandonment from authorities...market sellers are protesting because all of the tourists are coming to this side of town...they are not taken to the market by the guides and the market sellers are right to protest in that sense, they want to be heard...authorities could do more to help. (migrant jeweller)*

Besides local authorities' inaction in decision making, any form of sustainable planned tourism development or completion of planned tourism projects (such as a permanent artisanal market) may be inhibited by the lack of collaboration between succeeding municipal administrations and the interpersonal relationships characterised by their short-term nature which dominate the local society. According to various interviewees, every time new elections took place and a different public administration took office, plans made by the previous administrations were not followed by the new members of office. The following quote illustrates this point:

Manuel: *There was a project that the INC proposed, during that time I was working in the Municipality. When I started to investigate to know what was happening with this project which was supposed to reduce visual pollution, I couldn't find it, nobody knew about it. So, I spoke with the man who created this project and I asked what had happened to it? Who was in charge of it in the Municipality? And he told me "I don't know, I gave the project with the ordinance to the Municipality". But it turns out the previous administration never gave the paperwork to the current administration... (Peruvian bookshop owner)*

Hence it appears that the lack of collaboration between different municipal administrations poses a key challenge for the execution of long-term projects. Changes in political administrations trigger instability and render the implementation of long-term projects aimed at creating a more sustainable tourism industry nearly impossible. Furthermore, the prominence and influence of the socio-cultural environment characterised by short-term oriented goals negatively influences the execution of long-term tourism projects which could bring the local community sustained economic and social benefits. Lack of efficient planning and coordination between succeeding

governmental administrations, as well as virtually non-existent communication with national and regional authorities; act as barriers to the implementation of successful long-term tourism initiatives.

This is further compounded by local politicians often acquiring powerful positions through personal connections and thus lacking the capacity and specialist knowledge to efficiently manage projects and local affairs. Consequently, there is a deep mistrust from civil society towards government officials and local politicians. These results confirm Farmaki et al's (2015) findings in relation to the influence of the local socio-cultural environment on the local political system and the efficient implementation of long-term sustainable tourism. As was the case in Farmaki et al's (2015) study of Cypriot politics and tourism, in Pisac, politics are characterised by a short-term mentality which hinders the long-term planning of projects such as the new handicraft market. Consequently, the local political system, dominated by personal interests and connections, creates undemocratic networks that incite civil unrest (i.e. violent protests against tour guides) and negatively influence the prospects of inclusive tourism developments that might benefit local citizens.

6.5. Conclusion

This chapter has presented and discussed the first part of the primary findings relating to the complex power relations between local tourism stakeholders, residents, governmental actors and tour guides. Based on the arguments discussed throughout this chapter, it appears that tourism has reshaped the local social and spatial fabric of the village by introducing new social actors and influences. The changes brought about by tourism initially benefited a number of local actors through the creation of employment opportunities and new infrastructure. However, with the arrival of tour operators and organised tourism, competition and animosity amongst local traders started to increase, since only those who collaborated with (or else incentivised) tour guides were able to obtain pecuniary rewards from tourists. The introduction of day tours and commission-based sales instigated by tour guides created a climate of animosity and distrust between local businesses and also drove market traders to sell in the market every day of the week. The presence of the daily market in turn increased tensions between market traders and the rest of local residents, who generally felt that a social public space for locals had been illegitimately appropriated by market sellers.

Whilst some local interviewees saw market traders as a local elite based on kinship, market traders saw themselves as targets for tour guides whose demands were largely ignored by local authorities.

The discussion also highlighted that tour guides could be seen as agents of power who employed a number of mechanisms to control the temporal-spatial dynamics of tourists. Namely, these included limiting the time tourists spent in Pisac, restricting the places that they visited and deploying their role as local tourism 'experts' to sway tourists' understanding of place and the local hosts. Tour guides tended to undermine local sellers and portrayed sellers with whom they did not have commission arrangements as unreliable or deceitful, encouraging tourists to haggle and ask for discounts. In this manner, tour guides were found to have the power to mark, classify and assign specific characteristics to the "other" (i.e. the locals in the eyes of the tourist). These practices resulted in tourists' distrust towards locals. Given that most foreign tourists could not speak the local language, it further increased reliance on guides for brokering local encounters whilst restrictions over visitation times translated into rapid encounters. As argued by Dahles (2002, pp.784-785) the traditional view of the tour guide as someone who builds bridges between local residents and tourists paints an idealised picture of tour guiding and "fails to capture the political component of guiding". In the context of Pisac, guides did not appear to be altruistic mediators and their knowledge was not limited to facts and figures, but instead manifested as myth or the propagation of outright untruths. Thus, in considering the power of tour guides, it is necessary to examine both the strategies used by tour guides to discursively structure the cultural meaning of destinations as well as the tactics and schemes employed to control tourism revenue within the destination.

Notwithstanding these arguments, findings suggested that host actors were not simply powerless 'victims' of the tourism system; they contested and concomitantly supported the hegemonic power of tour guides and governmental actors in different ways. Power contestations and compliance with the system of rules were interwoven into daily interactions which continually readjusted the cultural and social order of the town. This produced multi-layered and inconsistent responses to hegemonic tourism structures. For instance, several interviewed local shop or restaurant traders criticised the system of commission-based sales but simultaneously participated in it in some form or

another. These interviewees mostly considered that the smaller, in-kind bribes offered to tour guides in exchange for tourist groups were not comparable to partaking in commission sales. If they did concede a parallel, they justified their decisions by stating it was a question of survival in a highly unstable industry such as tourism. On the other hand, some stakeholder groups such as market traders firmly refused to partake in commission-based sales; they did so on a group basis, directly linking their decision to their group identity as artisans and *Piseños*. For this group, it was a question of pride, respect and a refusal to let exogenous actors take over the local tourism industry. This highlighted that the multiple contingent nature of groups and individuals results in different groups aligning their responses to punitive power in diverse ways, according to their circumstances and identities.

Although the argument was made that the actions and behaviours of market sellers could be viewed against a backdrop of resistance to disciplinary power from guides and governmental agents, these actions simultaneously positioned market sellers as a powerful elite in the eyes of many local residents. This was shown in interviews with residents who on occasion compared market sellers to “animals”, unable to exert control over violent impulses, whilst also depicting them as a powerful elite who had illegitimately usurped the communal space of the plaza. More importantly, the actions of market traders also had unintended consequences for the rest of the residents and local tourism stakeholders. For instance, the violent removal of Cusco sellers seemingly resulted in the construction of other ad hoc markets on the road from Cusco to the Sacred Valley. This in turn brought more competition for all tourism sellers in Pisac, since it encouraged tour groups to either avoid the Pisac handicraft market altogether or spend less money in Pisac. Similarly, for a period of time, the violent protests against guides instigated by market traders, discouraged tour operators from bringing large tour groups to Pisac for fear of reprisals against tourists. Thus, although market traders were partly pushed to violent action as a result of mounting intimidation from guides, their actions nevertheless impacted the whole town negatively and further isolated market traders from the rest of the residents.

Finally, these findings reject the binary opposition between resistance and oppression and lend credence to recent scholarship that sustains that host communities do not submissively accept top-down orders and directions (Wearing and McDonald, 2002;

Wearing et al, 2010; Scarles, 2012). As Wearing et al (2010, p.63) contend, host actors “assimilate knowledge into day-to-day negotiations, resistances and interpretation of the existing social order”. This broader conceptual point also relates to the importance of viewing tourism development, in part, as a story told by local actors about themselves (Oakes, 1999). Having critically examined the role played by exogenous stakeholders, such as tour guides and migrants, in the shaping of local power relations, the next chapter will examine the role of tourism on ethnic and gender-based power relations in Pisac.

CHAPTER 7: TOURISM, POWER, ETHNICITY AND GENDER

7.1. Introduction

As previously discussed in this thesis, and in the extant tourism literature (Henrici, 1999; Ypeij, 2012; Hill, 2007; Knight and Cottrell, 2016), the presence of Indigenous communities represents a key motivation for tourists visiting Pisac and its surrounding hillsides. Indigenous Quechua communities have been part of the tourism landscape since the onset of tourism development in the late 1960s and elements of Indigenous culture can be commonly seen in Pisac's souvenir shops, handicraft market and tourism marketing campaigns (Henrici, 1999). In recent times, Indigenous cultural heritage has proved chiefly influential in attracting tourists interested in mystical or community-based tourism in the Sacred Valley (Winkelman, 2005; Hill, 2007; Prayag et al, 2015; Knight and Cottrell, 2016). In order to present a comprehensive overview and analysis of the role of tourism on ethnic and gender relations in Pisac, the first part of this chapter will examine the various ways in which tourism has affected the lives of Indigenous actors and the power relations between this group and Pisac natives. This will be followed by an analysis of tourism-linked empowerment processes affecting both Indigenous groups and female collectives within the district of Pisac (i.e. both Mestiza and Indigenous women).

Female empowerment in Pisac will be examined using Scheyvens' (1999) empowerment framework. As previously mentioned in this thesis, Scheyvens (1999) reported four possible levels of empowerment in host communities: political, economic, social and psychological. The discussion will thus centre on these different types of empowerment and the extent to which these manifest (if at all) amongst the female tourism workforce in Pisac. Since existing studies on female empowerment have demonstrated that the achievement of an empowered state usually entails a lengthy timeframe (Desai, 2010; Dunn, 2007; Eyben and Napier-Moore, 2009), empowerment will be examined not merely as an outcome but more importantly as a process that is still ongoing. The aim of the analysis is also to provide more meaningful insights into the

mechanisms which restrict or enhance the scope of female empowerment through tourism-linked developments.

7.2. Tourism and Ethnic Power Relations in Pisac

Quechua Indigenous communities have lived on the outskirts of the main village of Pisac since the time of Spanish colonisation (Knight and Cottrell, 2016). Although they reside in the surrounding hillsides, Quechua groups have always had a strong presence in the town of Pisac. Mestizos and Quechua communities have typically had to mutually rely on each other for the provision of food, household supplies and services (i.e. transportation or administrative services). The physical presence and cultural capital of Indigenous groups is indubitably essential in attracting tourists to the area (see figure 7.2.c.). This includes tourists who visit the town of Pisac on all-inclusive daytrips and those who engage in community based tourism (Knight and Cottrell, 2016; Delfin, 2009). As may be seen in the following screenshots taken from the Pisac Municipality's social media website, Indigenous culture and actors are strongly featured in local tourism marketing campaigns:

Figure 7.2.a: Municipality of Pisac facebook page showcasing Indigenous individuals

An image has been removed
due to copyright restrictions

Source: Facebook (2015)

Figure 7.2.b: Municipality of Pisac Facebook page showcasing an Indigenous woman

An image has been removed
due to copyright restrictions

Source: Facebook (2015)

Figure 7.2.c: Indigenous woven textile sold in the Pisac market



Source: Researcher's own photograph

Notwithstanding the significance of Indigenous culture for Pisac's tourism industry, Mestizo natives from the town of Pisac have an ambivalent attitude towards Indigenous groups living on the surrounding hillsides. Observation data revealed that Mestizo traders will sell Indigenous artefacts and weavings or even speak to visitors about the splendour of local Indigenous communities, but that their everyday interactions with Indigenous actors appear to contradict this seeming admiration for Indigenous culture. Interview and observation findings exposed inconsistent attitudes from Mestizo Piseños towards Indigenous groups. On the one hand, many Mestizos saw Indigenous heritage as the founding source of Andean culture and on the other hand Mestizos appeared to view Mestizo-linked practices and lifestyles as culturally and intellectually superior to those of Indigenous actors.

Although open discrimination towards Indigenous individuals was rarely played out in public spaces (i.e. not allowing the access of Indigenous individuals to certain establishments or the use of racial/ethnic slurs against Indigenous individuals in public spaces) and was never observed directly whilst conducting fieldwork, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous interview respondents noted that discrimination did take place in the confined spheres of local politics and everyday life. As interview extracts will illustrate throughout this chapter, discrimination and exclusion of Indigenous actors from certain spaces (i.e. political circles, artisan associations and the handicraft market) takes place at a less discernible level and through more intimate day-to-day interactions. Discrimination is omnipresent in the palpable lack of Indigenous presence in the handicraft market, local tourism souvenir shops (even though many of the items on sale are Indigenous textiles or replicas of Indigenous textiles) and key political posts²⁵.

As reported in the extant literature (Hill, 2007; Ypeij, 2012; Knight and Cottrell, 2016) discrimination and exclusion towards Indigenous actors is not uncommon in everyday life in Cusco or other regions of Peru. Albeit that discrimination from certain sectors of the labour force (i.e. high managerial positions, political posts, customer service positions) is one of the most severe and debilitating forms of exclusion and a serious stressor for Indigenous actors, it is not the only manifestation of deeply engrained

²⁵ It should be noted that the newly-elected Mayor of Pisac in 2015 is in fact from an Indigenous community, but that the rest of his team and staff working in the Municipality are almost exclusively Mestizo natives from the town of Pisac.

cultural beliefs which view Indigenous groups as inferior socio-cultural groups. A manifestation of a cultural ethos partially stemming from the *Indigenista* movement examined earlier in this thesis was found in the 'paternalistic' attitudes with which many Mestizos were seen to treat Indigenous actors in Pisac. Paternalism manifested itself in the implicitly held view amongst some Mestizo interviewees and many foreigners (non-Peruvians) that Indigenous actors should be protected from entering 'modern' society in order to preserve their cultural identity and avoid being corrupted by contemporary urban customs. Indigenous actors were still thought of as people who could not and should not attempt to work or live outside their rural communities, since their identities were inextricably linked to the land.

Following this tenet, if Indigenous actors wanted to enter the commercial labour force in industries such as tourism or manufacturing, the perception somehow remained that they had to do so with guidance or help from outsiders. Otherwise put, Indigenous actors were thought of as children with little to no agency, and in constant need of guidance from foreigners (Mestizos or foreigners from outside of Peru). In this equation, Indigenous groups were perceived and treated as a powerless collective due to intrinsic factors such as cultural background and ethnicity, which simply incapacitated them from functioning in a modern urban setting. Evidently, in the last 30 years, Indigenous migrants to urban centres have proved this to be a false dichotomy, given many have become successful entrepreneurs of small-to-medium sized enterprises in Cusco, Lima and other major Peruvian cities (Canepa, 2008; Butterworth, 2014),

Nevertheless, this level of Indigenous entrepreneurship was not seen in the Pisac tourism industry. Primary findings revealed that Indigenous actors working in tourism were largely working as employees of companies or NGO projects managed by non-Indigenous actors. It does not follow that Indigenous groups do not derive socio-economic benefits from partaking in these projects, but primary findings denoted that Indigenous participation in these projects did not permit Indigenous people autonomy and participation in decision making processes. This type of fractional participation in tourism may inhibit Indigenous socio-economic mobility and may further reinforce paternalistic and condescending beliefs towards Indigenous groups. These impressions were particularly reflected in interviews with local tourism providers offering tours to

Indigenous community settings and to a certain extent were also expressed by government officials and Pisac-based Mestizo interviewees.

Whilst Mestizo Pisac natives were aware of the key role played by Indigenous groups in attracting tourists to the area, tourism did not appear to have appeased longstanding socio-cultural tensions between these two groups and the prevalent ethnic and class-based social stratification. Findings evidenced that a significant minority of Mestizo natives continued to display discriminatory attitudes and behaviours towards Quechua peoples, based on assumptions around the inherent superiority or inferiority of different ethnic groups. According to several interviewees, discrimination chiefly took place against individuals who manifested outward Quechua cultural traits in their use or performance of language, clothing and cultural traditions. These views were expressed in an interview with Valeria, a Mestiza Piseña and Leandro, an Indigenous community leader from the Indigenous community of Chahuaytiri:

Researcher: Do you think there is discrimination against Indigenous communities here in Pisac?

Valeria: There always is, there always is

Researcher: How does it manifest?

Valeria: Like, people make them feel like they are less; a lot of people say that...even though there is less discrimination than before, because that shouldn't happen but it still does a little bit...it's mainly because of culture, for instance now you see youngsters who don't like to speak in Quechua because they are made to believe it's horrible but it isn't, it's beautiful.

Researcher: How is the relationship between Indigenous communities and the people from the town of Pisac?

Leandro: well now it's a little dangerous, not dangerous but conflictive, right? Because in the past the people from Pisac would only use us like ragdolls, right? Because our mums would weave or craft ceramics and they would give it all away to them, right? So lately, community-based tourism has started to open up, and

Indigenous groups are starting to sell directly to tourists without having to go through Pisac. So of course, people from Pisac will say a lot [of] things, bad things, right? Because they are not receiving any income from us, that's a problem for them.

Two foreign interviewees, one from Peru (Reinaldo, waiter) and another from North America (Margaret), who had been living in Pisac for a number of years, also noted that they had observed discriminatory behaviour towards Indigenous individuals. Although they stated that discrimination was not overt, they perceived that Quechua actors were treated differently from the rest of Pisac's residents:

Margaret: *I know that a lot of my workers (from Indigenous communities) won't work for Limeños or Cusqueños (people from Lima or Cuzco, respectively) you know because they treat them so bad...not all of them of course...And the other thing that was interesting for me to observe was the differences between the people that live in the town of Pisac and how they treat the ones that live in the communities (Indigenous communities) and the ones that live in the lower [altitude] communities and how they treat the ones in the upper communities ...one time I went to the wedding of the first cook that Patricia had. They made a wedding and we were invited to the wedding and it was in Pisac and they were a lot of people from the town because she lived in the town...but her husband's people were from a quite high up community, they did not speak Spanish, they spoke only Quechua and they came down with their traditional clothes for the wedding. They sat at tables far from the people from the town and I could see just as an observer that there was this kind of awkwardness, I mean it wasn't like anybody was being mean to anybody but there was definitely an apart.*

Reinaldo: *I don't know if people here do it as a joke but I have seen that sometimes there is discrimination. I couldn't tell you whether it's real...it's what I perceive. Sometimes they joke "you are from an Indigenous community, I am from Pisac" so I don't know if it's a joke or they really mean to say that they are superior, I couldn't say for sure.*

These stories were further corroborated by weavers from the Indigenous community of Chahuaytiri (Carlos and Fernando) who stated that they had been the target of discrimination by Pisac Mestizos due to their Indigenous cultural markers:

Carlos: *When we came down to Pisac or Cusco we felt discriminated (against). For instance, we would come down with our traditional clothes and stand next to a shop and we were told to leave like a wild animal, “get out, get out, go away”. Or they just treat you badly because you are using Indigenous clothing, they start treating you badly. It’s not that they just don’t take you into account but they actually go after you.*

Similarly, Flor, an interviewed Indigenous ‘tomame-foto’ from the Indigenous community of Amaru, explained that even though she and her friends had been working in and around the main handicraft market taking pictures with tourists for years, they did not feel wanted by Mestizo market sellers:

Researcher: *How is your relationship with Piseños?*

Flor: *They are bad people*

Researcher: *Why?*

Flor: *Because they criticise us, I don’t know why. Maybe they think they are the only ones who deserve to make a living, to be able to eat, they don’t like us being here.*

Researcher: *Do you talk to the other market women?*

Flor: *No, we only talk amongst ourselves*

Researcher: *Wouldn’t you like to have more communication with the other market women?*

Flor: *They don’t want that, they don’t want us...when we speak to tourists to ask if they want to take a picture with us, they get angry.*

Researcher: *How do you feel about this treatment you receive from Piseños?*

Flor: *We feel discriminated (against).*

Observation of 'Tomame fotos' working in and around the central square on different days of the week confirmed that there was minimal to no contact between them and Mestizo market sellers. Interviewed 'tomame fotos' stated they did not feel welcomed by Mestiza and Mestizo market traders because they distracted tourists from buying souvenirs in the market; as Flor stated: *"They think they are the only ones who should earn money to eat"*. Similarly, Indigenous female sellers from a community-based tourism project called 'Parque de la Papa', who were given a stall to sell their weavings once a week, also said she had limited contact with the rest of the market sellers. Observation denoted that Indigenous sellers largely talked amongst themselves whilst the rest of Mestizo market sellers would regularly be seen interacting with each other, discussing day to day affairs or helping each other with loose change when making sales. It was apparent that either due to 'Parque de la papa' sellers not being regular sellers or due to their Indigenous provenance, Mestizo market sellers did not usually engage in conversations with them.

Even though Mestizo sellers did not show initiative in socially including 'Parque de la Papa' Indigenous sellers, the latter also did not seem overly keen to engage in conversations with Mestizo traders. Ostensibly, the long standing historical tensions between these two groups may play a significant role in limiting contact between them since both may hold adverse preconceived ideas of each other. An alternative viewpoint may be that Mestizo market sellers have become accustomed to being the sole sellers in the plaza, forming a tight knit social group based on family ties or friendship to which Indigenous groups do not belong. Although Mestizo traders did work with Indigenous weavers by acting as intermediaries selling Indigenous weavings to tourists in the handicraft market, they still did not appear to see Indigenous groups as equal counterparts who could work alongside them in the same tourist market. This was reflected in an interview with Mary, one of the project coordinators for ANDES, the NGO which manages the 'Parque de la Papa' project:

Mary: *We finally managed to get the Municipality to agree to let a group of Indigenous women from our project, sell their weavings in the market. At the start, the other market sellers didn't seem to like it; they even hid the sign that said 'Parque de la Papa' which the women were using in their stand. I think now they*

have stopped doing such things, they were probably being influenced by certain market association leaders to do this.

Aside from a possible ethnic or cultural discrimination, there is also a certain element of territoriality at play when examining the relationship between these two groups. As was the case with the Cusco sellers who were eventually evicted due to not being local residents, Indigenous sellers may also be excluded from daily interactions since they are not part of the close circle of friends and family who make up the largest group of market sellers. Thus, although exclusion may be present and is seemingly linked to ethnicity, marginalisation of Indigenous sellers may also be closely related to territoriality.

Territoriality, as defined by Kintrea et al (2008, p.49), involves “a situation whereby control is claimed by one group over a defined geographical area and defended against others”. Therefore, territoriality is closely linked to the concept of place belonging²⁶ insofar as both are related to a particular space (Uner and Armutlu, 2012, p.253). According to environmental psychology, place belonging can act as a powerful source of social identity and improve community cohesion (Cuba and Hummon, 1993; Ng et al, 2005; Somerville, 2011; Uner and Armutlu, 2012). This may be regarded as the more positive side of territoriality inasmuch as it generates positive outcomes for communities.

Nevertheless, whilst belonging and attachment to a shared territory, such as the Pisac handicraft market, may make for a strong bonded community (i.e. market sellers who help each other with small change or watching small children), claims to exclusive ownership of that territory and over who may legitimately sell in it, also results in the exclusion of other social groups. More specifically, territoriality may be used by one group to reify social power over another through spatial dynamics (Sack, 1986). Territoriality is thus closely linked to power and the pursuit of power interests (Haggett, 2001; Delaney, 2005; Agnew, 2000b; Sack, 1986; Ericksen, 1980; Hall, 1966; Newman, 1972). As noted in the extant literature, “territoriality is about power relations” (Davy, 2012:124) and may be viewed as “the primary spatial form power takes” (Sack, 1986, p.26). In the case of the Pisac market sellers, territoriality is

²⁶ Place belonging is defined as “a sense of belonging to a particular place as if it were one’s own home” (Ng et al, 2005:347)

evidenced through the deployment of different tactics. These include: enforcing compulsory registration with one of the Mestizo artisanal associations for new Indigenous market sellers; the use of petty tactics such as hiding vendor signs in an attempt to intimidate them (as was the case with 'Parque de la Papa' women); socially excluding exogenous sellers from daily interactions or limiting the visibility of non-local sellers in the plaza.

The following quote from an interview with Armando, a tour operator and member of the Cuzco tourism chamber, illustrates how Indigenous groups have gradually been pushed out of the market and hidden from tourists' view by having their selling space limited and their visibility reduced. He also highlighted how Mestizo market sellers refused to vacate the plaza for the weekly Sunday procession of Indigenous Mayors - a parade that has taken place for centuries in Pisac. Traditionally, streets around the main plaza were vacated but with the inception of the permanent handicraft market, this was no longer the case:

Armando: *In the past, the people from Indigenous communities had a space in the market on Sundays; it was "the" market. They used to sell broad beans, potatoes, textiles, wools, they would bring many things. There was the traditional parade of the Indigenous Varayoqs (Indigenous chiefs) walking through the main square to go to the Quechua mass. If you look at the pictures back then, even 15 years ago, it was different. Then, they decided to kick them out or at least they have left them very little space to sell...now the famous Varayoc parade, when the Indigenous chiefs came down to Pisac with their children, no longer takes place.*

Researcher: *Well, it does, but they have to walk through the market.*

Armando: *OK, but you don't see them, the parade should be visible, if it can't be seen it doesn't exist, it's not meant to be hidden, it's disrespectful. The market vendors don't want tourists to see the parade because otherwise they go to church to listen to the Quechua mass and what they want is that tourists stay in the market to buy from them...they are the ones who have destroyed what made Pisac a unique tourist attraction.*

This account suggests that whilst exclusion of Indigenous cultures may at first appear to be based chiefly on ethnicity, other issues are at play, such as commercial interests and

a competing use of space to display tourist merchandise. Connectedly, limiting the use of space available to Indigenous sellers and obstructing the Mayors' parade by filling the entire plaza with stalls (see figure 7.1.4), may be seen as one way of exerting power over others through the control of physical space.

Figure 7.2.d: Indigenous Varayoq children marching through the market to go to Quechua mass



Source: Photograph taken by researcher

Thus, the deployment of territoriality-based tactics may be viewed as an overt manifestation of what Lukes (2005) and other theorists (Rowlands, 1997; Church and Coles, 2007) refer to as “power over” or power as domination. This is perhaps the most damaging and non-generative form of power as the empowerment of one group necessarily involves the disempowerment of another (Knight and Cottrell, 2016). In the case of Pisac, the gains of market sellers through tourism implied the partial economic and cultural disempowerment of a segment of the Indigenous population (i.e. those who work in tourism and the Indigenous Mayors).

Culturally, the fact that market sellers occupy the entire plaza undermined the Indigenous Mayor parades not solely because it subverted Indigenous culture in the eyes of tourists but more significantly because it denoted disregard for an important Indigenous tradition. Thus, territoriality in Pisac was closely interlinked with ethnicity

and culture, as borders were drawn not merely to demark possession of physical terrain but also to underline belonging to a particular cultural or ethnic group (i.e. Mestizo or Indigenous).

Despite these findings, it is important to emphasise that some interviewed Mestizo sellers did empathise with Indigenous 'tomame fotos'. Mestiza women in particular seemed to empathise with 'tomame fotos' on account of being fellow mothers:

***Doris:** It's their way of working (speaking of 'tomame fotos'), because daily they work taking pictures with tourists, some tourists might give them a little more money...we are not bothered by them because we've gotten used to them. What can we do Miss? If that's their way of earning a living? Because they too have responsibilities, like us, like anybody, right? They have needs, they have children they need to support. (souvenir shop owner)*

Examining the above extract, it seemed that Doris was empathetic towards 'tomame fotos' because she saw them foremost as working mothers like herself; even if they belonged to a different socio-cultural group. In this sense, tourism, as an industry which incorporated local women into the workforce, also provided women from different socio-cultural backgrounds with a shared experience of being working mothers and spouses. As will be further examined in this thesis, these parallel experiences of managing work and family life have, to some extent, helped to dissipate the cultural and class-based differences which traditionally kept these two groups of women apart.

Despite the fact that tourism may be said to have improved the relationship between Indigenous and Mestizo Pisac groups in some respects, it still did not appear to have fundamentally changed biased ideologies regarding ethnicity and culture for many Mestizos and tour operators. Discrimination based on culture or ethnicity is still prevalent even though many Piseños are aware of the importance of Indigenous culture for tourism. Further to this, paternalistic attitudes towards Indigenous actors portrayed as powerless individuals were also observed during several interviews. These were particularly discernible in the following interviews with Ricardo, owner of a Cusco-based travel agency:

***Ricardo:** Well, evidently tourism brings with it a negative current, the young people in Indigenous communities need to be aware of that. They don't use their*

traditional costumes anymore, they use 'nike' shoes, hiking boots, plastic jackets, why? Because someone in the community was a porter for a tour operator and brought back those things. So, the tourist that leaves sometimes just wants to do away with some of their things, and so they give away jeans, sneakers, walkmans, so they are breaking the traditional scheme. I see some youngsters nowadays who used to wear their traditional poncho and now they are in nightclubs wearing jeans.... they chew gum.... I tell my tourists "you are forbidden from giving anything to them, not a scissor, not a knife, not a lighter or a jacket or anything" because it's our responsibility too to keep this chain of traditional values.

As may be perceived in this quote, Ricardo strongly felt that in order to remain authentic and uncorrupted, Indigenous groups should refrain from adopting any elements of Western culture. More significantly, Ricardo remarked that it was the tour operators' responsibility to protect Indigenous groups and decide what they should or should not receive from tourists. Notwithstanding that Ricardo may have had legitimate concerns for the social well-being of Indigenous actors exposed to tourism, his view reflected a recurrent paradigm amongst many tour operators and Mestizo groups. This refers to the belief that Indigenous actors should have little to no say in matters concerning their wellbeing, or the benefits they may reap from participation in modern industries (such as tourism). This was based on the tacit belief that Quechua actors lack intellectual capacity - the skills or abilities to discern what is best for them (De la Cadena, 2000; Hill, 2008). A similar paternalistic view was expressed by Natalia, the Mestiza restaurant owner:

Natalia: *the government gives Indigenous communities too many facilities, why are people up there not working the land anymore? Because they don't want to get their hands dirty anymore. Before, we the people in Pisac, didn't want to get our hands dirty so we employed Indigenous people to work the land but now they don't want to get their hands dirty either, they want to study too. Yes, it's true we all have the same rights, yes, we need to grow together, and many things are true! But we need to focus these efforts in the right way. They (Quechua groups) need to ask themselves "can we do this? But can we do this and still remain in our own community and make it grow? Indigenous people can produce, work, study but they*

should not leave their communities, if they can do all this and make their communities grow then in good time!

Natalia's remarks reproduce the view held by many Pisac-based residents and Peruvian urban dwellers regarding the notion that Indigenous identity is necessarily linked to the land and the community (De la Cadena, 2000; Canepa, 2008). It also illustrates a certain belief that somehow, Indigenous actors, unlike Mestizos, have a duty to farm the land first and only then may they pursue other activities. As expounded by De la Cadena (2000), this view contends that Indigenous actors are incapable of being successful if they leave the confinement of their rural communities or work in non-land related professions.

Nevertheless, although tourism may have not fundamentally changed deep-rooted beliefs about Indigeneity and Quechua groups amongst Mestizo populations and urban dwellers, community-based tourism has brought a number of benefits for Indigenous communities living on the hills adjacent to the main town of Pisac. These include economic and social benefits which have to some extent empowered Quechua groups and made them less dependent on Piseños for the commercialisation of their products.

7.3. The Empowerment of Indigenous Actors through Tourism-linked Processes

Over the last ten years, new forms of 'alternative' tourism, which seek to incorporate Indigenous communities as the main attraction, have emerged within Quechua settlements in the adjacent Pisac hills (Hill, 2008; Smith and Hurt, 2011). This primarily consists of projects that welcome visitors into the lives and homes of Indigenous groups, whereby tourists visit the communities and experience life in an Indigenous village. These community-based tourism (CBT) projects have been developed with the help of NGOs (such as ANDES) (ANDES, 2017), tour operators (such as Intrepid, Responsible Travel, Detour) (2017) and government-sponsored community tourism programmes such as the 'La Tierra de los Yachacs' (translated to Land of the wise men) (2017).

Although many Indigenous individuals still work as porters for mainstream tour operators, and others continue to sell their weavings and handicrafts through Pisac market sellers, CBT is increasingly becoming a key source of income for a large section of the Indigenous population. This new model of tourism has arguably changed the role

of Indigenous actors within the local tourism industry. Within CBT programmes, Indigenous individuals appear to play a more active role in the tourist experience. As opposed to tourism in the main town of Pisac, where the presence of Indigenous communities is implicit through the textiles and crafts found in the market, within CBT programmes, Quechua groups take an active role in guiding tourists through their own communities and cultural traditions.

Based on this tenet, through CBT programmes, Quechua actors are able to adopt a more participative and dynamic role, by communicating directly with tourists and narrating their own stories. Such tourism programmes also allow Indigenous groups to sell their textiles, crafts and other handmade products directly to consumers. This means Quechua artisans can sell their products at prices which more closely reflect the time and effort invested in production and are also able to obtain higher returns on investment than when selling through Pisac intermediaries. This theoretically reduces dependence on Pisac market traders for income, and concomitantly increases the agency of Indigenous actors through enhanced Indigenous control of the commercialisation of cultural artefacts. Such observations were noted in several interviews with Indigenous individuals directly or indirectly involved in CBT programmes, as well as local Piseño actors. A number of interviewees noted that this shift in the way Indigenous actors participate in tourism had caused some resentment amongst some Piseños:

Researcher: What do you think about the relationship between Indigenous communities and Piseños nowadays?

Valeria: Mmhh ... It's a little different now, Indigenous communities have progressed because many try to help their communities to get ahead and they are trying to get more tourists too.

Researcher: How?

Valeria: Through community-based tourism.

Researcher: And do you think community-based tourism has shifted the opinion people from Pisac have about Indigenous communities?

Valeria: I think it has created a bit of envy

Researcher: Envy? How so?

Valeria: *They are envious because they see them progress more than them.*

Researcher: And do you see progress in Indigenous communities?

Valeria: *Yes, I think so. Now things are very different to what they used to be. Before Indigenous communities used to be separate, they were seen as useless, that's what they (Piseños) always used to say. Now the people that live there, the young people are going outside of the community, you only see their parents living there. Young people in Indigenous communities want to study something, be something bigger.*

Researcher: And why do you think this is happening? Is this a result of tourism, NGOs or something else?

Valeria: *I think it's a bit of everything, but I think tourism has played a big role, it's given support to a lot of people. (Female handicraft market seller)*

Researcher: How is the relationship between your community and the people from Pisac?

Leandro: *Damn, that's a little bit dangerous now, ok not dangerous but conflictive, right? Because in the past, the people of Pisac would use us as dolls, right? Because our mums would weave and make ceramic crafts and then they would give all that to them (Piseños), right? So, recently Indigenous communities are opening up, they are opening up to community tourism and so are selling directly to tourists without going through Pisac. So, of course the people in Pisac will talk a lot of things, a lot of bad things, right? Because there is no more revenue for Pisac, and that's a big problem, ok? For instance, a tourist wants to buy straight from an Indigenous peasant who makes his weavings with his own hands, that's possible now. Before, those textiles had to be handed to sellers in Pisac before. (Male Indigenous leader and artisan)*

As these interview extracts denote, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous interviewed participants noted that community-based tourism had brought economic benefits for

Quechua groups. Leandro was keen to point out that the economic benefits afforded by community tourism programmes had made Quechua actors less dependent on Pisac market traders and less susceptible to allegedly unfair pricing policies. What also stands out from Leandro's comments is the language he uses to talk about the past power dynamics between Piseños and Quechua groups. He uses the metaphor of a "doll" to describe the way Indigenous groups were, in his view, exploited by Pisac market traders; this echoes Valeria's description of Piseños' perception of Indigenous peoples as "useless", depicting the Indigenous community prior to the advent of CBT as helpless and easily manipulated. He also underlines that Indigenous mothers would practically "give all" to Piseños, thus suggesting they were not fairly rewarded for their work. The use of such evocative and loaded language firstly highlights Leandro's anger towards Piseños, but more importantly it shows his resolution to openly denounce these unfair practices.

Similarly, Valeria talked about progress mainly linked to economic mobility and underlined that the younger Indigenous generation now also had more ambitious goals and aspirations. She noted that there had been a shift in the social status of Indigenous actors when she remarked that they used to be "seen as useless", suggesting that this is not the case any longer. Valeria further echoed Leandro's observation regarding the apparent envy felt by some Piseños towards the recent gains made by local Quechua communities through CBT. This was a recurrent theme throughout interviews with both Indigenous and non-Indigenous individuals. Several local interviewees suggested that a large number of Piseños (particularly market sellers) felt uneasy about the recent socio-economic changes introduced by community-based tourism. Notably, participants asserted that Piseños believed that Indigenous groups now had greater bargaining power when selling their textiles, which translated into a perceived unwarranted sense of entitlement and arrogance towards Piseños. As may be expected, Indigenous interviewees did not share this view and inferred instead that Piseños were envious of their economic progress. They felt that Piseños were resentful since they could no longer take advantage of Quechua weavers. On the other hand, several Piseños interviewees believed that Indigenous actors were now the ones taking advantage of market traders, suggesting that they overpriced their merchandise:

Gladys: *Before, you could say that sometimes the people here in Pisac used to take advantage (of Indigenous weavers) but not now. Maybe ten or five years ago up there in Indigenous communities they've created what we call "turismo vivencial" (community-based tourism). So, they (Indigenous communities) have done deals with tourists, they know how to value their prices, there are times they now come here with exaggerated prices, now they also want to take advantage of us (she laughs); the roles are reversing. (Female handicraft market seller)*

What might be inferred from the above quote is that Indigenous actors are now standing up to Piseños and demanding to be paid what they consider to be fairer prices for their weavings. This might be due to better access to education on legal rights and market prices, obtained from participation in CBT. As one Indigenous 'Parque de la Papa' worker suggested, NGOs working in tourism offered workshops on "agricultural rights, self-esteem rights, women's rights, children's rights, biodiversity, ordinances" (Ramon, 'Parque de la Papa' Indigenous project manager). Until recently, Indigenous actors seldom voiced these concerns to exogenous visitors or even Piseños. However, as noted by one MINCETUR representative in charge of community tourism across Peru, the arrival of NGOs and tourism in the Cusco region had to some extent begun to alter this. According to the government official, tourism-linked NGOs had been chiefly influential in educating Indigenous groups about their rights and this perhaps had led to a change in attitude amongst Indigenous collectives:

MINCETUR representative: *I can say NGOs have been very important because in terms of intentions, in terms of wanting to create ideal futures or more positive situations in the long run, they have allowed people to see other avenues. They have, in many cases generated leaders by providing education; they have allowed Indigenous groups to see other possibilities, other realities and their efforts have been successful in some cases.*

Linked to this change in attitude, Maria (Mestiza female in her sixties, former artisan) remarked that Quechua individuals were now being excessively arrogant towards Piseños. In her view, Indigenous actors imposed ridiculous demands on Piseños when deciding whether to accept employment offers. Her comments reflected anger towards the fact that some Indigenous actors dared to refuse employment offered to them by Piseños. It was perceptible from her comments that she viewed Indigenous actors'

refusal to accept certain jobs as outrageous and disrespectful towards an established but tacit social hierarchy:

Maria: *Now thanks to bloody community tourism, they come down here and dare to say no when we offer them jobs as builders! Now they have demands! They want more money but want to work less! You know, they didn't even have bathrooms until recently up there? And now they act as if they are superior and dare to challenge you!*

Aside from highlighting Maria's prejudiced beliefs towards Quechua groups, this quote appears to ratify that Indigenous actors are now negotiating the terms and conditions of their employment with Piseños. The fact that some Indigenous individuals appeared to stand up for themselves, demanding better working conditions or simply refusing to accept jobs offered by Piseños, revealed a slight shift in the social structure shaping local power relations.

Through participation in community tourism, Quechua groups have had access to alternative job sources which are not contingent on Piseños. With access to these new employment opportunities, some Quechua actors may have realised they need no longer be dependent on Piseños for earning a living. Due to this realisation, Indigenous actors are now more likely to demand better pay or working conditions when considering Pisac-based jobs. Their role in community-based tourism is also substantially different to that played by Indigenous groups in the Pisac-based tourism industry. As previously mentioned and confirmed by observation (see figure 7.3.1), within community tourism projects, Indigenous actors have a more prominent role, acting as tour guides within their own communities, teaching visitors about medicinal plants and generally interacting in a more direct manner with tourists.

Figure 7.3: Young Indigenous woman leading a CBT tour on weaving and medicinal plants



Source: Researcher's own photograph

It is also important to note that even though Maria related the shift in Indigenous actors' attitudes directly to community tourism, Indigenous groups have been exposed in parallel to other non-tourism related processes which may have equally contributed to an enhanced sense of emancipation. Examples include increased access to education and legal rights workshops through the intervention of different NGOs, as well as improved access to city labour opportunities due to new roads having been built from Indigenous communities to the city of Cusco. It may be argued that exposure to these processes alongside participation in community tourism conjointly empowered Indigenous groups on a socio-economic level.

As noted in the scholarly literature (Scheyvens, 1999; Boley and McGehee, 2014; Di Castri, 2004; Besculides et al, 2002; Medina, 2003; Stronza and Gordillo, 2008), tourism is an industry that facilitates a particular type of social empowerment due to the unique nature of tourism activities. Feelings of pride and self-esteem may be generated within resident groups when tourists travel to their community in order to experience the

unique cultural and natural features that a community has to offer (Knight and Cottrell, 2016). This may promote feelings of uniqueness and enhanced self-esteem, since residents feel that they have important skills and resources which they can share with visitors (Di Castri, 2004). Increased pride and self-esteem is gained when hosts re-evaluate “the universal value of their culture and environment” (Di Castri, 2004:52). Such empowerment might be labelled as “psychological empowerment” (Knight and Cottrell, 2016, p.37) and might not have occurred as readily in the absence of opportunities to work in community-based tourism. In the case of Pisac, Indigenous interviewees working in CBT noted that Indigenous women in particular had experienced what may be viewed as enhanced psychological empowerment. According to interviewees, Indigenous women had experienced improved confidence as well as increased respect from Indigenous community members. The following quote from an interview with an Indigenous leader working in the ‘Parque de la Papa’ project, illustrates this point:

Researcher: I wanted to ask you about the role of Indigenous women in the ‘Parque de la Papa’ project. Have they been impacted in some way by their participation in this project?

Ramon: Yes, definitely, in my view they have been impacted positively because before they were women who perhaps never had a job. But now little by little, they are starting to earn a living. Not only in the ‘Parque de la Papa’ but also in other community tourism projects

Researcher: And what is the role of women in the ‘Parque de la Papa’ project?

Ramon: Women now have roles in food sovereignty. They are the ones who prepare the food, they participate in communal assemblies, in communal work and now they also know their rights.

Researcher: They know their rights?

Ramon: Of course, ANDES (the NGO who runs the project) have political aims too so they teach us about agricultural rights, self-esteem rights, women’s rights, children’s rights, biodiversity, ordinances, all those things.

As Ramon observed, education on rights and access to work opportunities had proven particularly key for Indigenous women, who traditionally kept mostly domestic lives and seldom interacted with the world outside of their own communities. As may be seen in figure 7.3, Indigenous women are now in charge of leading tours for tourists. Observation data confirmed that these tours mostly deal with traditional medicine, weaving and the importance of food sovereignty. Indigenous women are also responsible for managing a weekly market stall which sells 'Parque de la Papa' weavings in the Pisac market. Although it was unclear whether Indigenous women administered the money that they made from community tourism opportunities, based on observation and informal conversations, it was clear that they enjoyed the opportunity to interact with tourists and act as tour guides, a job usually reserved for men.

Besides increased interaction with the outside world, as Ramon pointed out in his interview, Indigenous women have also gained a more prominent role in community life. In several Indigenous communities involved in CBT, such as the community of 'Paru-Paru', most women now take part in communal assemblies which were traditionally the preserve of men. According to with the testimony of 'Parque de la Papa' managers, this is largely due to the persistence of several NGOs working to strengthen Indigenous women's participation in community decision-making processes. Although this study does not claim that tourism has entirely emancipated Indigenous women, based on the analysis of primary findings, it may be argued that community-based tourism has facilitated access to opportunities for self-development and social mobility for Indigenous women.

However, caution should be exercised when considering the extent to which changes in community dynamics brought about through CBT are reflective of true psychological empowerment or else constitute an inevitable side-effect of socio-economic development. Albeit that interviews revealed that Quechua actors were now voicing their views on the biased treatment received from Piseños in daily life, these actions did not reach local political platforms. Indigenous groups were still under-represented in local political institutions and seldom participated in political forums. Thus, although Indigenous actors may have gained an increased understanding of legal rights and enhanced confidence to demand better working conditions individually, they had not

yet organised collectively to publicly contest the established Pisac tourism model which typically marginalises Indigenous actors.

Undoubtedly, tourism is not the only underlying factor contributing to limited Indigenous political participation. As previously discussed in this thesis, Quechua actors in Peru have only recently started to contest their rights openly in political arenas (McDonell, 2015). It would be unrealistic to expect community-based tourism to singlehandedly overturn unequal socio-cultural power structures which have dominated Pisac for centuries. For such a change to be witnessed, significant political changes at the regional and national levels would also need to take place. Whilst CBT cannot be said to have psychologically or socially empowered Indigenous groups to the degree that these translate into enhanced participation and representation in political arenas, it has equipped a certain number of Indigenous actors with a better understanding of their legal rights and has improved confidence in their own abilities. Nonetheless, CBT has also limited Indigenous actors in other ways and has, to a degree, replicated socio-cultural patterns that constrain the self-determination of Quechua groups.

7.4. Community-based Tourism and the Denial of Coevalness

Notwithstanding the prior observations, primary data analysis also revealed that CBT appeared to have offered Indigenous actors circumscribed and contingent empowerment opportunities; these could be seen to deny Indigenous peoples the opportunity to develop beyond the support of government or charity – effectively, the chance to exist contemporaneously with non-Indigenous counterparts. This phenomenon recalls Fabian's (1983, p.31) conceptualisation of the "denial of coevalness". Although NGOs working in CBT do provide Indigenous groups with skill enhancement workshops and hitherto non-existent direct access to groups of tourists, they were also found to operate within a perceptibly overprotective frame of reference. Based on interviews conducted with government officials from the Ministry of Tourism and Indigenous weavers working with a tourism and textile based NGO, it emerged that many NGOs worked within a management model that favoured dependency and 'assistentialism', similar to the old patronage relationship between Mestizos and Indigenous groups. 'Assistentialism' is a concept widely used in the Peruvian and Latin American literature to refer to programmes or actions which aim to help those

population sectors most in need and encourage community development (Bonnet, 2004; Lara, 2014; Guillen-Royo, 2015). Although comparable to the concept of welfare intervention, 'assistentialism' differs in that it is characterised by "giving assistance to people without transforming the structure that created the necessity of that assistance" (Boesten, 2010:65) and is often linked to the practice of non-governmental organisations. Assistentialist actions either by government or NGOs are usually short-term actions which may foster dependency and prevent communities from developing entrepreneurial competencies (Ewert and Eberts, 1993).

According to a governmental official from the Ministry of Tourism, community-based tourism NGOs typically worked with short-term goals and failed to employ tourism experts to develop sustainable tourism products. This meant that they did not have sufficient knowledge of tourism to develop a tourism product that would be successful in the long term. Additionally, NGOs were seen to have poor organisational skills which negatively impacted upon the effective management of CBT projects at a grassroots level. These observations are evidenced in the following quote from an interview with the MINCETUR official in charge of community tourism:

MINCETUR official: *I think that in the case of tourism specifically, NGOs have intervened very badly, they have intervened from different perspectives to what is a productive economic activity such as tourism. That is, they've intervened from an environmental standpoint to develop touristic products and these have not found a place in the market. They've intervened from an anthropological view point to try to reawaken characteristics which were being lost due to acculturation or other processes, but they haven't even been successful in those aspects...so, NGOs have intervened without a technical vision, without proper technical assistance and a real knowledge of what tourist activities entail...I think in the majority of cases, interventions by NGOs have not been correct, not in the Peruvian case. They've planted a lot of enthusiasm and in many cases, have caused a lot of frustration towards tourism activity and that's because they never had technical staff capacitated in tourism management to somehow bring them a wider education on what it means to develop a successful tourism product for different tourism markets...the people who participated in the 'Parque de la Papa' project did not enter the project with a business mentality. The 'Parque de la Papa' is a project*

with a communitarian character, purely communitarian. It's not a model we encourage because it's a model where every participant will get the same reward even if they didn't do any work, it doesn't encourage people to improve the way they work, to work harder. It's a model that doesn't allow improvement because it's a model that doesn't allow for competitiveness.

Thus, according to the MINCETUR official, although the CBT model may bring isolated benefits, it does not meaningfully empower individuals since it does not encourage participants to develop their product to their fullest potential. Following this logic, since participants are not driven to push themselves or to improve their tours beyond the provision of basic services, they may fall short of other more profit-driven tourism projects. This implies that CBT projects may be discouraging some Quechua groups from further developing their entrepreneurial capacities. Aside from possibly limiting entrepreneurial development amongst Quechua groups, the discourse of assistentialism, linked to NGOs, serves to disadvantage Indigenous groups on a social and political level.

Given that NGO assistance is directed almost entirely at Quechua groups, Piseños felt that Indigenous groups were given an unfair advantage over Pisac residents and were encouraged to be lazy or unproductive. The discourse of NGO-linked assistentialism thus reinforced the existing social stigma of laziness and dependency commonly associated with Indigenous Andean groups in Peru (De la Cadena, 2000). At a local level, this phenomenon served to socially disempower Quechua groups, who were reminded of their supposed laziness by Piseños when negotiating employment terms or selling weavings to market sellers. Such observations may be perceived in the following interview quotes with Natalia:

Natalia: *Before, Indigenous people were pure, healthy, they weren't liars. Now they are liars, they are lazy.*

Researcher: *In what sense?*

Natalia: *In the sense that they have everything, they get given everything.*

Researcher: *In your opinion, they have everything?*

Natalia: *For me the people in Indigenous communities, the people who live there have everything. They, they have hands, feet, they have land they can work, where they can plant potatoes, corns...what are NGOs going to give them?*

Researcher: *Why do you think they are lazy?*

Natalia: *They are lazy because they receive too much assistance from the government and NGOs. Before, they used to farm the land, now no one wants to do it because Indigenous people do not want to work...they do not want to work as peasants or in building work because they receive their monthly help from the government or NGOs and they are happy not to do anything. (female restaurant owner)*

Although grounded in largely unfounded evidence, Natalia's remarks reflected the opinion of a large sector of the Pisac population. Natalia's reflections highlighted the misguided notion that NGO-led CBT projects were practically giving away money to Indigenous groups, leading to a perceived rise in charity-enabled laziness amongst Quechua populations. Unfortunately, due to the limited number of tourists visiting CBT projects, these tours were often seen by Piseños as a failure on the part of Indigenous groups due to their supposed laziness.

As noted by the MINCETUR official, the specific interests and ideologies of NGOs, such as the re-evaluation of ethnic identity or environmental preservation, often take precedence over developing financially viable tourism projects. NGOs thus largely start projects with preconceived goals of what Quechua groups should be working towards; these may or may not align with the real interests or necessities of Indigenous communities. Quechua collectives may be more intent on becoming involved in market-driven tourism projects but are not necessarily being given the chance to do so through NGO interventions. As Margaret (American owner of a spiritual retreat) stated, Indigenous groups were increasingly joining commercial partnerships with private tourist investors in a bid to access more profitable tourist projects:

Margaret: *The tourist projects that work are the ones like "Aranacancha", that's not an NGO, that's a profit driven business that has the community as partners. I have a friend in Cuzco that also did some mountain lodges the same way, with community people as full partners in a commercial enterprise. That's a model that*

works because it's a win-win story...of course Indigenous communities want to be entrepreneurs and they have lots of things that tourists want to see. So, you need to get the win-win story, if you don't it's never going to work and some of them (Indigenous groups) are now preferring to work for these projects.

As hitherto discussed, although NGO-led CBT projects may have psychologically empowered many Indigenous actors by enhancing self-esteem, cultural pride and access to alternative employment opportunities, they may also be limiting them in other ways. NGOs promoted a somewhat archaic image of Indigenous communities, which did not necessarily reflect the contemporary realities of Quechua groups; in this sense, they were seen as deniers of coevalness (Fabian, 1983) This could be due to many NGOs wanting to preserve a romanticised Quechua cultural identity rooted in past times, and on the other hand, it may be an attempt to satisfy a perceived tourist appetite for the exotic, picturesque and authentic. As the interviewed MINCETUR official suggested, whilst promoting Indigenous heritage rooted in an Inca past may renew cultural pride and revive traditions, it is also dangerous to over-relate authentic Indigenous identity to entrenched notions of Inca heritage:

MINCETUR official: *Yes, I do think that this stereotype that tourists like what is archaic, what is exotic, has done a lot of damage. A lot of NGOs have pursued this because they don't employ trained tourism experts to tell them otherwise. Generally, and especially in regard to tourism, NGOs have led this thinking of "let's recover what is ancient because that is the most authentic". So, there have been extreme cases where tourists are forbidden to bring iPads to certain communities. For me, that is an attempt to distort reality, an attempt to conceal the vision of the host, of the local community. There has been a lot of that and in many cases, it has conditioned a certain showmanship, a need to stage what supposedly was, I say supposedly because it never really was. They portray what they've heard from one person or an elder or in some cases historical records and they try to frame that as something totally authentic, exotic.*

As observed by the MINCETUR official, promoting an image of contemporary Indigenous groups as bound to 'originary' ways of life (i.e. occupations, customs and practices tied to a rural Inca past) may deny Quechua groups engagement with urban modernity and access to contemporary technologies. Moreover, as posited by several

scholars (Warren, 1998; Povinelli, 2002; Cole, 2008), although the maintenance of traditional lifestyles can be a mode of cultural affirmation, it can also be a straitjacket that obviates the rights of Indigenous individuals to develop a distinct identity and a leading role in the contemporary world (Tucker, 2011). Designed for metropolitan tourist consumption, performances of “authentic” Indigeneity, such as the example discussed in the above interview extract, perpetuate the exoticisation of Indigenous groups. More importantly, they can undermine the right of Quechua people to construct new ways of defining Indigenous heritage.

The argument may be made that NGOs’ insistence on having Quechua groups present themselves as tied to ‘originary’ lifeways (i.e. customs and practices bound to an Incapast) disempowers Indigenous people on a socio-political level. This disempowerment takes place particularly in regard to self-determination, insofar as Quechua groups have to adapt to a prescribed image of Indigeneity in order to satisfy NGO demands. As discussed by Gómez-Barris (2012) and Hill (2007; 2008), by positioning contemporary Quechua groups within an Inca cultural frame of reference, tourism promoters effectively outwardly erase any signs of the underlying realities of poverty and political disenfranchisement (for instance, the lack of Indigenous representation in the Municipality and local Pisac political scene).

It may be further suggested that, to a certain extent, the favoured representation of Indigenous communities perpetrated in CBT tours depoliticises Quechua groups and disempowers Indigenous actors who are becoming increasingly active on the political scene (McDonnell, 2015). Hale (2004), borrowing from Cusicanqui, has called this subject position, the ‘Indio permitido’ (translated as the ‘permitted Indian’), an ethnic subject who only exists when his cultural heritage (such as attire, dance, music) may be celebrated for commercial purposes. This emphasis on the celebration of Indigenous culture may actively undermine wider claims of Indigenous exclusion, encouraging governmental actors to invest in cultural matters, such as the celebration of Indigenous performances and attire, whilst human rights issues, such as Indigenous oppression, remain disregarded (Tucker, 2011)

Following this logic, Quechua groups are denied coevalness (Fabian, 1983) since they are presented as living relics of the past who exist outside of present-day political struggles and whose authenticity is tied to an Inca past. By being bound to an ancient

culture, they are also bound to past times and are dismissed as incapable of being contemporary. Thus, ethnic hosts cannot move in and out of time or space, a freedom reserved for tourists and non-Indigenous stakeholders. The static status of the host (both spatially and temporally) contrasts with the mobility of the tourist and NGO coordinators. Through a narrative of customary lifestyles, Indigenous hosts are removed from the complexities of manufactured modern lifestyles and only praised if they remain in their 'natural' surroundings. Thus, CBT may simplify encounters with a different 'other' who presumably can only exist in a pre-Columbian, pre-modern form.

In this regard, CBT in the district of Pisac replicates the rhetoric used in state-sponsored tourism promotional adverts which still position Peru as a destination where tourists can come face-to-face with living past civilisations (Go2Peru, 2017). Within this tourism paradigm, the Indigenous subject is only valuable to the Peruvian nation in an ostensibly non-corrupted and primitive form, a conception that mystifies the Peruvian countryside (in particular the Andes) as a site of human origins existing outside of modern times. Thus, Quechua actors must retain their 'cultural authenticity' in order to retain their positions as discernible goods worthy of consumption. If they become too 'modern', they lose commercial value and their functions as markers of cultural heritage disappear. As noted by Condes (2004) and Zorn (2004), within this rhetoric, modernisation can never be so complete that the past of the host subject can no longer be located.

Shielding Quechua actors from modern influences, such as technological gadgets, is a common practice among many tour operators and NGOs. This was noted by the interviewed MINCETUR official who observed that many CBT projects go so far as to ban tourists from bringing or gifting iPads to Indigenous communities. Ricardo, the Cusco-based travel agency owner, also reaffirmed this: "I tell my tourists, *'you are forbidden from giving anything to them'*". Thus, to a certain degree, CBT in the Pisac district commodifies 'difference' or 'otherness' framed under a landscape of exclusion and poverty. CBT also served as a mechanism through which contemporary tourists could gaze upon Quechua individuals who were trapped in an imagined Inca past. Whilst this may prove educational for tourists and may meet their hypothetical

expectations²⁷ of Indigenous hosts, it seemingly disempowered Quechua actors who were prevented from using useful technological resources and were encouraged to remain in a static cultural mode to 'please' tourists. Reflecting on Butler's (1990) and Foucault's (1978) discussion on governed and normalised identities, CBT defined the mechanisms through which the ordered ethnic subject was authorised and conditioned the entry of that subject into contemporary (and political) existence. This also echoes established observations in the tourism literature, whereby the tourist's "gaze" serves to "other" the Indigenous peoples (Urry, 1990; Church and Coles, 2007:102).

What becomes particularly troublesome in the context of Pisac, is that the exercising of power by NGOs and other sustainable tourism operators defined who could participate in tourism and the spaces (i.e. the communities or the families) worthy of being toured. This in turn directly impacted the material survival of Indigenous communities, as those who did not conform to the specific images favoured by NGOs or tour operators (the regulators of CBT) could not participate in tourism and receive material benefits. As stated by Margaret, community members who did not partake in CBT sometimes felt excluded and this could cause tensions amongst community members:

Margaret: *Initially you're gonna be happy I'm giving you something (talking about Indigenous communities) but then you're gonna hate me because I condescend you and then your neighbour is gonna be mad at you because you're getting something from me and then they are gonna make your life miserable and then the whole community is gonna be in a big ball because you're getting more than me and that will be terrible and if you are not part of that community as an outsider and you go in, you think "oh yeah everybody was so nice to me" and you just don't get anything about what a community dynamic is about...Indigenous structure is hierarchical, ok? But its hierarchical in a way that historically worked to create everyone mutual benefit, bring in outsiders with money and it's a recipe for trouble. (American spiritual retreat owner)*

²⁷ Whilst no tourists were interviewed for this study, the word hypothetical is used to highlight that although NGO managers may think tourists are seeking to visit a differentiated 'ethnic' or primitive host, this may not necessarily be the case. This was highlighted in the interview with the MINCETUR official who noted that NGO workers wrongly assumed that tourists prefer to see a stereotyped archaic image of Indigenous communities (i.e. dressed in customary clothes, living in traditional houses, using manual and analogue technologies)

Thus, although CBT projects may empower Indigenous collectives by offering them the chance to have a more participative and egalitarian role in tourism, they may simultaneously disempower Quechua groups by bounding them to an idealised version of an Inca past, as well as interrupting community dynamics based on reciprocity. A similar situation occurred with women working in different sectors of the Pisac tourism industry. Tourism offered women the opportunity to enter the labour force, the prospect of earning an income and the chance to leave the confinement of domestic spaces. In this sense, findings revealed that tourism appeared to empower women in different life domains. However, analogous to the case of CBT Indigenous participants, female empowerment through tourism was also circumscribed in nature, as tourism employment also seemingly consolidated local patriarchal power structures.

7.5. Gender-based Power Relations and the Empowerment of Women through Tourism-linked Processes

As previously discussed, women make up the largest sector of the workforce in the Pisac tourism industry. In most cases, as a result of tourism employment, women become the main breadwinners in family households. For a significant number of women, this translates into an apparent financial emancipation from patriarchal family arrangements. Previous studies have noted that tourism can offer significant possibilities for more egalitarian gender power relationships and the renegotiation of gender roles (Gibson, 2001; Long and Wall, 1995; Meethan, 2001; Scheyvens, 2000; Sinclair, 1997a, 1997b; Swain and Wallentin, 2008; Tucker, 2007). When considering the relationships between gender, tourism and empowerment, it is essential to understand how the renegotiation of women's roles can manifest in practice, and particularly what the implications may be for women's emancipation from patriarchal social systems. As stated by Kinnaid et al (1994, p.5) "tourism is a process that is constructed out of gendered societies and therefore all aspects of tourism-related development and activity embody gender relations".

Prior to the onset of tourism (about 45 years ago), it would have been unimaginable to think of women as the main income earners in local Pisac households. However, a variety of economic, political and social factors - part of broader national-level social changes - have converged to create an environment in which the boundaries of what is socially acceptable for women have shifted. These include improvements in public

education (García, 2005, p.102), changes in legislation (Henrici, 2002; Knight et al, 2017) and the increasing presence of aid agencies working with women (Petras, 1997; Turshen, 2007). Other factors are more directly related to the introduction of tourism, such as the opportunity to sell in the handicraft market (Casellas and Holcomb, 2001), the upsurge in accommodation establishments (Burrai et al, 2017), and the exposure of local women to foreign female tourists (Babb, 2010b). The tourism-related factors have revealed new socio-cultural possibilities for female roles and gender relations in Pisac.

Further to the aforementioned factors, interview findings revealed that the reason behind the female-dominated workforce in the handicraft market was largely related to local beliefs about women's superior capacity for selling, negotiating and charming tourists. While some men did work in the handicraft market and souvenir shops, the vast majority of sellers were women. According to the local belief system, men did not have enough patience and were too proud to do a job where they would need to convince others to buy from them. Local respondents argued that competent sellers could not be afraid of ridicule and should be prepared to use certain tactics (i.e. smiling, engaging in conversations even if they did not speak the tourist's language) to catch the attention of tourists. Following this tenet, being a seller was considered a somewhat demeaning job for a man but acceptable for women, since women were assumed to adopt more passive roles in society. Similarly, women were regarded as more efficient sellers, due to gender-based stereotypes which portrayed women as inherently more garrulous, shrewd and prone to gossiping:

Researcher: *Why are there more women than men that work in this market?*

Mabel: *It must be because of the culture we have which is a little bit sexist. If you take a look 80% of us here are women.*

Researcher: *But why?*

Mabel: *Because of machismo²⁸, the way we women can display our products, we are better at making conversations, we perhaps have more of an ability to convince people to buy from us. We know how to arrange and display things, we know how to negotiate, especially how to negotiate prices! We know when we have to lower*

²⁸ As previously discussed in Chapter 2, 'Machismo' "indicates an attitude of male superiority, a wish to control women and keep them in an inferior position" (Fromm and Maccoby, 1970,p.16).

prices, when we should raise prices, most of all we know how to have a conversation. Of course, I imagine there are males who are also good at that but in the Sacred Valley I think that hasn't been the case yet, men haven't acquired that ability yet. (Mestiza market seller in her twenties)

Juana: My mum started working in the market, we realised there was more money to be made here rather than agriculture. My father said "I'm not working in the market, how ugly to work there!". So, women we've been educated to sell, it's normal for us, now men only help us to put up our stalls.

Researcher: *But why? Is it to do with male pride?*

Juana: I think so because men are sexist here, very very sexist. Yes, yes! so women we just go for it, we have our stall, the tourist comes and that's all you need. If everybody is selling, why should I feel ashamed? (Mestiza market seller in her forties)

Mabel: I see that women take more risks. There are some things that men are afraid of, like they're afraid of what people might say or if they will be ridiculed but we (women) don't care as long as we can work

Researcher: *So, would you say that women sell more because you take more risks with tourists?*

Mabel: Yes, we take more risks, we learn. In order to sell, I've learned English and anyway I think for communicating with people in general, women take more risks.

Researcher: *And why is it that it's mostly women I see selling here in the handicraft market?*

Mabel: Because for this you need [she makes a sign that suggests you need to have courage and confidence to sell]... women are also more friendly, they know how to arrange merchandise, how to talk to people. However, men are a little drier, they are more closed off. The women always say to the tourists "Come on, cheer up, buy

it, take it with you”, women try to convince but not men. I mean, sometimes when you are making a sale you need to reach out to the tourist, you need to reach your products to them, men won’t do that.

Researcher: *[shared laughter] too proud.*

Mabel: *Yes, he doesn’t try to convince.*

Gladys: *Tourism has impacted women, we feel more independent, I mean we don’t have to depend on someone to bring money to the house and wait on them, like before. Like they used to say, “women are only good for taking care of the house and they can’t work”. However, here you see the opposite, women are the ones working. Men don’t really work here, they stay at home, sometimes they watch the children, they are as we say “painted” [this refers to someone who is useless].*

Researcher: *What do men do?*

Gladys: *Here in the market the men mostly come to put up our stalls, which is the most complicated [physically strenuous] thing to do. Women, we arrange the stall, the display of products. Then men go home, it’s like the roles have reversed here...and then men come back to untie stalls and lift the pole sticks, these things which are too heavy for us. (female market seller)*

These quotes illustrate the local perception that women were better qualified at being market sellers than men, reflecting a number of beliefs and views about the inherent capacities of men and women. On the one hand, the interviewed female sellers appeared to agree that women were generally more courageous, hardworking and confident than men (since women were not worried about embarrassing themselves in front of others). Although some interviewees stated that sexism was still present in Pisac, others were quick to point out that Pisac women had now become more independent. On the other hand, even though some interviewees blamed sexist attitudes for creating biased expectations of men and women, they also supported patriarchal discourses by implying that women did not mind being exposed to situations of ridicule. Relatedly, the inherent abilities that women were thought to possess were also linked to patriarchal beliefs which sustained that women had inherent talents for manipulation, conciliation

and decoration. In this sense, female sellers' beliefs regarding tourism development and local gender norms appeared contradictory in nature. Rather than patriarchy or machismo operating in a simplistically repressive manner, women's concurrent criticism and perpetuation of the machismo discourse in their social practice reveals a complex set of gender dynamics; machismo is both contested and reinforced by local women.

The aforementioned beliefs related to male and female inherent aptitudes were constructed to a large extent in relation to local religious belief systems. As numerous scholars point out (Syed, 2010; Tuyezere, 2007; Tucker and Boonabaana, 2012), aside from the sociocultural setting, research on gender and development should also consider the religious context, since religious beliefs have "a strong role in the ways in which gender relations are reinforced and 'naturalized' in a society" (Tucker and Boonabaana, 2012, p.442). This is especially pertinent in the case of Pisac, where Catholic beliefs (Catholicism being the dominant religion) still condition the behaviours and gender dynamics of the local community. The study findings suggest a social enactment of the Machismo-Marianismo phenomenon, the prevailing gender ideology used to interpret gender relations and behaviours in Latin America (Ehlers, 1991; Stevens, 1973; Duffy et al, 2012). This is defined by Duffy et al (2012, p.792) as "male pride and the exertion of masculinity paired with the passivity and patience of women". According to this reasoning, 'Marianismo' reflects the way in which women can become spiritually strong, superior beings by practicing humility and sacrifice for their family (Duffy et al, 2012; Ehlers, 1991; Stevens, 1973). This means that women may consent to abusive behaviour as a way to obtain spiritual verification of their womanhood (Stevens, 1973; Duffy et al, 2012). Conversely, attributes traditionally linked to men are aggressiveness; strength and arrogance (Duffy et al, 2012).

Based on observation and interview data, this conceptualisation was found to closely mirror how 'Machismo' manifests in the social relations between males and females in Pisac. Whilst 'Machismo' unequivocally regulated women's societal role, 'Marianismo' also appeared to influence women's behaviours and roles. Concurring with Kinnaid's et al (1994) argumentation, linked to the idea that socially acquired notions of masculinity and femininity influence how women are able to participate in the tourism workforce, in Pisac, female participation in the tourism workforce is largely circumscribed by

locally constructed notions of masculinity and femininity framed around religion. A further examination of interview quotes from women working in tourism evidences that female-associated traits, such as compromise, hospitableness and superior sensitivity for decoration are greatly influenced by a Catholic dogma as expressed in the 'Machismo-Marianismo' paradigm. Thus, the accepted explanation for women being better suited to market sales roles was that such jobs promoted attributes traditionally associated with women, and hence did not challenge existing social structures.

Echoing previous research on tourism and female employment in Latin America (Duffy et al, 2012; Ferguson, 2007; 2010; Casellas and Holcomb, 2001; Momsen, 2004; Chant, 2002; Cukier et al, 1996), this study found that women working in the Pisac tourism industry were employed in positions that would not interfere with their traditional roles as domestic caregivers. Flexible and part-time tourism work enabled women to work around household responsibilities and childcare duties. These included positions such as market vendors, artisans or caretakers of family-run guesthouses. Similar findings were reported by Cukier et al (1996) and Ferguson (2007) in the contexts of Indonesia and Honduras, nations with comparable levels of development. Furthermore, in Pisac, women working in the market and guesthouses worked alongside relatives or close friends and were able to negotiate family assistance with childcare duties. Women working as market sellers, for instance, could still fulfil their roles as mothers and wives, maintaining the status quo of gender expectations and decreasing the chances of generating gender role conflicts:

Valeria: *My daughter accompanied me in the market since she was a little girl, she would work alongside me. (Mestiza seller in the handicraft market, female in her twenties)*

Researcher: *So, for instance working here in the vegetable market, are you able to see your children during the day or do you only see them in the evening?*

Marianela: *I see them in the morning, I'm with them and then I take them to the nursery.*

Researcher: *And then during the day, who takes care of them?*

Marianela: *They come here when they leave nursery and school. They are here with me, they walk around, stroll around, they eat here in the market.*

Researcher: *And now that both parents in Pisac work practically every day, what happens with the kids?*

Marianela: *The kids are generally here in the market, as you may see there are a lot of young women with little children, they always bring them here, their kids are here with them. Mums go and pick their children up from school in the afternoon, they have something to eat here and then go home with their mothers. So children are part of the market.*

Researcher: *And the women who work at the artisanal market in the plaza also bring their children along with them?*

Marianela: *Generally, we all do that when the children are little but when they are a little older, they don't bring them anymore (Mestiza seller in the fruit and vegetable market, female in her twenties)*

Researcher: *I wanted to ask you first of all, how long have you been selling in this market?*

Juana: *This space belonged to my mother, my mother used to sell here and I used to help her, I was practically born here, since I was a child I used to help her. I had a break from it for a while because of my studies, I went to study somewhere else, and then after some time I came back and I didn't know what to do, since I had the stand I said to myself, I'm just gonna take the stand again. (Mestiza seller in her forties)*

Researcher: *Do you think tourism has contributed to women having enhanced autonomy or having different roles in society? Or do you think machismo is still prevalent?*

Reinaldo: *Well, I think it's complicated; I could only speak about the women I know. All the women I know work because they have come to an arrangement with*

their husbands. Most of them have children, maybe two children, so they agree which times they can work so that they can still take care of their children, or sometimes they also have help from their parents. In that way, women can work and contribute to the household. (Mestizo waiter, non-Pisac native)

As may be evidenced from the above quotes, working as a seller in the handicraft or fruit and vegetable market arguably offered women access to employment without challenging the established social structures or “disrupting structures of reproduction” (Duffy et al, 2012, p.797). The above quotes also reveal how girls in particular were socialised into the job of a market seller from an early age. Women in Pisac knew that whatever may happen, they could always rely on being a market seller and taking over their mothers’ stalls. It may be argued that such socialisation limited women’s professional expectations and prevented them from pursuing labour opportunities which fell outside of their traditional gender roles, thus to some extent disempowering them psychologically and socially. Nevertheless, it was interesting to note that it was precisely due to culturally-constructed patriarchal gender expectations that women were able to enter tourism employment in the first place. Women were permitted to sell in the market because men considered the job of a market seller to be denigrating to men, but acceptable for women. It may be argued that the result of increased female employment in tourism was unexpected and unintentional, since men did not predict that this would eventually lead to women becoming the main household earners. In this sense, women were able to inadvertently circumnavigate the biased cultural belief system to enter full-time employment without the opposition of husbands and family members.

Moreover, compared to previous studies which largely concluded that tourism employment prevented women from pursuing careers and work opportunities which did not replicate traditional gender roles (Cukier et al, 1996; Seligmann, 2000; Steel, 2008, p.114; Taylor, 2010, p.64; Baum, 2013), this was not always the case in Pisac. Primary findings indicated that whilst women were socialised in the market from an early age, and thus were more inclined to become market sellers as adults, young girls were encouraged by their parents to pursue University studies and professional occupations. Interviewed women all stated they did not want their children to work as market sellers but hoped instead that they would pursue a University degree and

become professionals. Conversations with female market sellers revealed that several of their daughters were already attending University or were graduates with professional jobs. One particular market seller, Mabel, who worked at the fruit and vegetable market (catering to both locals and tourists)²⁹ explained how her job at the market helped finance her daughter's education. As she described, although her daughter grew up in the market and learned the trade from an early age, she was now a tour guide for an international tour operator:

Researcher: *So, there are more professionals nowadays?*

Mabel: *We have a lot of them*

Researcher: *Your daughter for instance, right?*

Mabel: *My daughter yes and it's just the same with all the other mums, we have educated our children so they can study and travel*

Researcher: *What did your daughter study?*

Mabel: *Tourism and she is now working in tourism.*

Researcher: *Yes, I saw you in the video made by X travel (international tour operator), I think your daughter had something to do with it. How did it come about?*

Mabel: *Well that video emerged because my daughter works for X travel. So, the management people came over here to film and visit the town and my daughter is not ashamed that I work in the market, so she brought her passengers (tourists) here so that they could see the fruit and vegetable market. She said: "she is my mother and I was brought up in this market", and so that's how I ended up being part of the video. They came and filmed me, I didn't know it was for an ad.*

Researcher: *Of course, and is your daughter now working in Cusco?*

Mabel: *Yes, she is doing office tasks now but I think her travel agency is going to send her to the United States to do a training course, she is going for 10 days, I feel*

²⁹ It is important to note that although the fruit and vegetable market is not a tourist attraction per se, the market is dependent on tourism since it provides produce to most local restaurants and hotels. It also acts as a tourist attraction for tourists on gastronomic tours and day tourists wanting to buy fruits and fruit juices. In this sense, the women working at the fruit and vegetable market may be seen as being indirectly employed in the tourism industry.

proud of her. We never thought about this when she was little and we were educating her, we only thought she might work as a guide in the Sacred Valley, but she is going places. My daughter accompanied me in the market since she was a little girl, she would work alongside me.

Researcher: *So, I imagine that she got used to dealing with tourists.*

Mabel: *Yes, and ever since I guess she became interested in studying tourism.*

Mabel appeared proud of her daughter's achievements, which in her view were connected to Mabel's indirect employment in tourism via the fresh produce market. While conducting interviews with local Piseña women, it became apparent that Mabel's daughter was not an isolated case. One morning whilst walking around the fruit and vegetable market with Natalia, the Piseña restaurant owner, she pointed to a young girl working as a potato seller. Natalia stated: "you see that girl over there, you might see her selling potatoes but she is also studying to be an engineer at the University of Cuzco". She later expanded on this observation during a face to face interview:

Natalia: *Every job involves sacrifice, right? It's the same story for artisans or commercial sellers (referring to female sellers), so if I'm killing myself, rain falls on me, I have to stand under the hot sun, the wind blows up my stall... I won't want the same thing to happen to my children, right? So, I will push myself and put a lot of effort into what I do and I will constantly remind my children "you need to be better than me", and so what does better mean? Better means to be a professional person, (i.e. have a career) because supposedly being an engineer is much better, an administrator for instance will work in an office.*

Researcher: *So, has this shift happened as a result of tourism?*

Yes, it's been because of tourism, it's been because of the influence of tourism because you can see young professionals working in the tourism industry or going to University because their parents can pay for it due to tourism.

Researcher: *Did you go to University or did you ever wish you had?*

Marianela: *No*

Researcher: *And what do you wish for your children?*

Marianela: *I hope my children are “more” than me, I hope they become professionals, for them I want the best.*

Researcher: *So, you would like them to have a career?*

Marianela: *Yes, I hope they study something they like so they can also help me out later.*

Mabel: *Well, now more than 90% of young people have gone through primary education. There are people who were only interested in pottery, I have a lot of friends like that, who dedicated themselves to work, they have no professions, they are only artisans but their children are professionals, I think in that way they’ve complemented each other.*

As may be evidenced in these quotes, women working in tourism did not expect their offspring (including their daughters) to carry on working in the handicraft or fruit and vegetable markets. Although Natalia’s comments appeared to somewhat romanticise the cultural value of ‘sacrifice’, as promoted in Marianismo’s expectations of gender roles, her statements also highlighted that today’s female market sellers did have ambitious expectations for their daughters. This runs contrary to Gentry’s (2007) argument that tourism employment may act as a deterrent to furthering women’s education.

On the contrary, female interviewees had their hopes pinned on a ‘better’ future for their daughters. They related the idea of a ‘better’ future mainly to the type of jobs their children would have, namely a profession associated with a University education. Based on this evidence, the argument may be made that tourism income is, to some extent, empowering young women (notably the offspring of women currently working in tourism) socially and psychologically. It did this by facilitating enhanced access to education opportunities (and thus improved access to professional careers) and by enhancing their self-confidence through newly acquired knowledge and skills. By entering these professions commonly reserved for men from largely upper-middle-class backgrounds, Pisac girls may eventually destabilise unequal gender and class dynamics.

Naturally, improved access to University education and a more qualified female population does not automatically guarantee that women will have access to the same labour opportunities as men, especially since several studies show that women in Peru do not have the same employment prospects as men, despite having the same level of education (Stromquist, 1990; Goldin and Katz, 2008; USAID, 2016). Nevertheless, improved access to University education for Pisac girls is considered a step in the right direction towards gender equality in the workforce, as it encourages young women to have more ambitious aspirations for their working lives. In fact, Margaret observed that the daughter of one of her caretakers in her spiritual retreat (a business serving foreign tourists) was now a lawyer who worked locally:

***Margaret:** Their grandchildren are university graduated. A couple of them are working here now because you can make a living here now. Not just working in tourism and that's the other stuff because we have a lawyer here now who has more business than she can deal with.*

Based on these findings, it may be argued that tourism employment provided women currently working in the tourism sector with a degree of generative empowerment, here defined as a positive-sum form of power, in which every individual has the capacity to effect change (Richards and Hall, 2000). This model supposes that community members can each access and effect power in their own right, rather than competing for scarce and finite resources which must be distributed, the latter being conceptualised as distributive power. However, given that their daughters, and not the female tourism workers themselves, were the main beneficiaries of this economic revenue, evidence of generative empowerment could be viewed as limited. Nevertheless, the emphasis placed on the needs of their children also seemed to support the argument made in the literature that women are comparatively other-centred (as opposed to self-centred), thereby creating what is commonly referred to as a poverty alleviation multiplier, key to the development process (Bosserup, 1970, 1986; Sen, 1999; Care Australia, 2009; Hawking, 2012).

It appeared that tourism revenue offered further generative empowerment to the next generation of women, the daughters of current female tourism workers. This included unlocking work opportunities which offered a more stable revenue stream, and decreasing economic dependence on their partners. With access to higher education,

young women may eventually be able to work outside of Pisac, which entails reduced contingency on local elites for employment opportunities. For those young women who chose to remain in Pisac, a University degree could also provide greater awareness of legal rights as well as enhanced skills and knowledge to set up their own professional practices (this was the case with the lawyer mentioned in Margaret's interview).

Further to this, although none of the female interviewees who had children indicated any pursuit of formal education as a result of tourism employment, several handicraft market women revealed that they had received vocational training. As part of the Ministry of Tourism's incentive to improve customer service to tourists in different parts of the country, Pisac artisans and those working selling souvenirs or handicrafts are offered the opportunity to attend training workshops throughout the year. These workshops provide technical training in accountancy, use of technology and customer service, but also train participants in conflict resolution as well as leadership and self-awareness skills. Whilst conducting fieldwork, the opportunity arose to attend and observe one of these workshops which specifically trained participants in conflict resolution, cooperation and how to increase their self-confidence.

Half of the participants were older women in their forties and fifties who had been working in tourism for several years and in many cases, had not completed secondary education. For these women with little to no formal education, who were at an age where significant entry barriers may discourage them from pursuing education, tourism provided an opportunity to learn new skills to which they would not otherwise have access. As stated by Moswete and Lacey (2015), whilst education is largely viewed as a key component of social empowerment, it is also decidedly influential on psychological and economic empowerment. By attending these workshops and working in tourism, older women in particular were gaining brand new sets of skills, which, aside from helping them perform their jobs more efficiently, were also enhancing their self-confidence.

Relatedly, ad hoc conversations with local women revealed that even though it was acceptable for females to work, a common expectation was that women should continue their domestic duties despite the increased workload. It should be noted that such an attitude is not only reflective of locally-constructed gender roles but also of gender expectations in Peru generally (Beltran Barco, 2014). As a recent study commissioned

by the INEI (Peruvian National Institute of Statistics, 2014) revealed, in Peru, women with full-time jobs are still expected to take care of domestic chores and children (Beltran Barco, 2014). This means that women have to cope with a double workload (ibid). As the study points out, this entails that in comparison with men, women have less freedom to dispose of their free time.

In Pisac, it was apparent that women who worked in tourism carried a double burden insofar as their overall workload was increased due to having to both work outside the home and juggle domestic responsibilities. Household-centred activities such as food production, cleaning or childcare continued even if tourism work was taken up. In line with these findings, female tourism employment in Pisac may be said to be influenced by national gender perspectives as well as the 'Machismo-Marianismo' ideology which defines women according to their responsibility for the biological and social reproduction of the family (Duffy et al, 2012). According to 'Marianismo', women are seen to become superior beings by practicing humility and sacrifice for the sake of their family (Ehlers, 1991; Stevens, 1973). In this regard, market women in Pisac who attended to domestic chores may be seen to forgo their leisure time by putting the needs of their family before their own.

Based on these observations, tourism employment may to a certain extent disempower women socially, given that Pisac's female workers are expected to take on an augmented workload and thus have less time available for themselves. Nevertheless, this is not exclusive to tourism; it would be true of any job, given that Peruvian women employed in full-time work are still expected to be the main bearers of domestic chores (Beltran Barco, 2014). Analogous observations questioning the extent of women's empowerment in tourism employment in developing countries have been reported in previous studies (Casellas and Holcomb, 2001; Cukier et al, 1996; Ferguson, 2010; Momsen, 2004). Researchers found that in many countries there was a common expectation for women to carry on with their domestic duties despite taking on full time employment in tourism, further socially and psychologically disempowering women (Casellas and Holcomb, 2001; Chant, 2002; Cukier et al, 1996; Ferguson, 2010; Momsen, 2004). In this regard, it may be possible to state that in Pisac, tourism employment may not have significantly challenged established gender power relations and may even have created additional social pressures on women.

Nevertheless, Chant (2006) questions these criticisms and warns against assessing women's empowerment primarily against the values of outsiders (i.e. anyone from outside the community), whilst Kabeer (1999) notes that the notion of women's empowerment is too often based on Western ideas of how gender relations should be composed; in developing countries these goals may be unrealistic. As Singh (2007, p.104) argues in relation to developing nations, "for any women, adopting the goals of Western feminism would mean losing their families, the primary source of support for the fulfilment of their social, psychological and economic needs". Azzarito et al (2006, p.224) further denote that poststructural feminism is a more useful approach to adopt, wherein "individuals negotiate gendered discourses contingent on specific historical contexts by resisting or participating in those cultural practices". Following this view, women are seen as active participants who make choices to negotiate and structure their own identities (Azzarito et al, 2006; Weedon, 1997). Rather than viewing women as "victims", this approach does not assume a simplistic, standardised and stationary definition of women and considers the specific socio-cultural conditions in which women live and operate (Singh, 2007).

Based on this approach, the argument may be made that although the patriarchal socio-political system has not been completely destabilised by tourism, it has created windows of opportunities for women whilst still allowing them to fulfil key roles in their communities. Observation and casual conversations revealed that these domestic roles, which mainly included being mothers, wives and household administrators, were seen by most women as integral parts of their identities. Although they had technically achieved financial independence from male relatives through tourism, Pisac women maintained the value of their domestic roles as care-givers. For many women, the household and family comprise core sources of emotional and social support, and as such the female population could be seen to heed cultural expectations through fulfilling their traditional roles within the settings of marriage and motherhood. It is also important to mention that part of the underlying reason for women not wanting to relinquish their domestic duties was the fact they did not trust men with most of these tasks. The majority of the interviewed women were of the opinion that men were generally irresponsible and incapable of managing household tasks, in particular budgeting. Several interviewed female tourism workers inferred that men had to be

managed by their spouses due to a lack of self-discipline. This quality was mostly associated with women:

Maria: *For instance with my husband, I talk to him and tell him “You know what? I am going to get up early today and so are you!” He knows that he needs to come here early and help me open the shop, that’s his homework. I say to him “while you are here, I am going to cook”. I bring him his breakfast, I cook and in between I also watch over my artisanal shop, I do my things, I do what I need to do. I make sure he has his lunch then I say “ok, now rest” and I make him take his nap. Then he comes back to work and so on...if all women did what I did, maybe things would be different. I’m telling you, I have to be involved in everything, I have to be there in the morning, in the cleaning of the house, in this and that, I have to organise everything. Maybe I sin...I’ve read the Bible and it says that you need to give a man his place but unfortunately men are not responsible! They mature too late!*

Researcher: *I understand.*

Maria: *When a man has finally matured, it’s too late! So we women need to take charge of everything! (female, former artisan)*

Researcher: *Who do you think generally manages budgets in the household here in Pisac?*

Valeria: *In many cases what I’ve seen is that women do (this), in many cases (she whispers)*

Researcher: *And why do you think this is?*

Valeria: *Because a man is irresponsible, sometimes he spends more money than he should, right? Let’s say he goes to a party, a man is going to spend all his money, he’s going to spend everything he has. On the other hand, a woman knows how to control herself, she thinks “how am I going to buy food tomorrow?” women are tougher and that’s why I think women are in charge.*

Researcher: Would you say you are in charge in your house? Like for instance in charge of managing things money-wise?

Valeria: Yes

Researcher: You decide how money gets spent?

Valeria: Yes

Researcher: Do you think that is the case for most women in Pisac?

Valeria: Here in Pisac, yes, I think that's the case for most women. (Female handicraft market seller)

Thus, far from seeing themselves as victims of machismo-led social expectations, women considered themselves more capable and better-equipped than men to handle multiple responsibilities. They did not seem to view these tasks as duties socially linked to their gender, but rather as tasks that practically needed to be handled by women in order for households to prosper – even where these attitudes might defy traditional custom, as witnessed in Maria's passing concern that she might "sin" by taking control of her husband. In other words, interview conversations revealed that women viewed themselves as the stronger, "tougher" gender and certainly more capable of managing a household than men. It was apparent that this realisation came partly as a result of working in tourism, especially for women who owned their own businesses and those working in the market.

Through tourism employment, women were put in a position where they had to juggle different roles and responsibilities, many of which were previously handled by men. Arguably, being in a position of command within their family household served to psychologically empower women, giving them greater self-confidence and an enhanced awareness of their own capabilities. By running their own businesses and market stalls, women had learned how to manage budgets, how to organise their time more efficiently as well as how to multitask across domestic and business spheres. In this way, local women realised that they were likely more capable than men in handling multifarious responsibilities both within and outside the home. Thus, tourism acted as a platform through which women were able to realise their full potential whilst gradually renegotiating the spatial and moral boundaries in which they were able to operate.

Juana, for instance, explained how gender roles had shifted in her own household when her mother started selling in the handicraft market:

***Juana:** Women have more autonomy nowadays. My mother for instance, when she started working in the market, she was the one who decided what we ate or what we didn't eat, it wasn't my dad any more. My father waited for his one harvest once a year, sometimes the harvest happened, sometimes it didn't. He only had money during harvest times but my mother always had money, every Sunday with the market she would earn money. She had money for all of us; we are seven brothers and sisters, seven of us who have relied on her thanks to her handicrafts. (market seller)*

Yet, it should be noted that men appeared to get away with irresponsible behaviour (i.e. drinking excessively and overspending money) largely due to patriarchal and Machismo-led social structures which condoned negligent conduct in men. Arguably, the fact that women ignored these behaviours and assumed most of the key domestic responsibilities might strengthen Machismo-linked attitudes and behaviours in men, whilst also partly socially disempowering local women. If social empowerment includes improved social standing, equality and freedom from domestic slavery (Hovorka, 2014; Klaveren and Tijdens, 2012; Jütting and Morrisson, 2005), then the collective endorsement of these behaviours in men means that women have no other choice but to take on added domestic responsibilities, thus losing social standing and discretionary time for themselves. In this sense, tourism has not yet significantly destabilised Machismo-led social structures and may have increased social pressures on local women.

As may be evidenced, the actions and decisions of women in Pisac are both compliant with and resistant to change. This illustrates the contradictory and multiple ways in which men and women negotiate and continually reposition themselves within gender discourses. This supports Singh's (2007:106) argumentation that "a woman's identity is a temporal duality of positions, meaning that women carry within them the positions of power and powerlessness at the same time, rather than the either/or position suggested by most discourses".

Linked to this reasoning, primary findings also highlighted that women working in tourism, particularly those women working in markets, may have benefited from what might be described as the collective power of being in a group. Collective empowerment may be seen as the collective power of a group to “realize group interests or to address the needs of others” (Knight and Cottrell, 2016, p.35). It thus entails a type of generative empowerment in which group members act collectively to “empower others and meet recognizable needs” (ibid, p.40). Such empowerment was perhaps the most evident form of generative empowerment which women working in tourism experienced. Due to working in close proximity to each other in the handicraft and fruit and vegetable market, women enhanced their social capital, forming close bonds with one another, and consequently experienced an increased ability to collectively address individual needs through group support. For instance, as previously shown in interview quotes, several market women would get help from fellow female sellers with childcare duties. However, the generative power and collective empowerment of market women became especially evident during an interview with Mabel, who worked in the fruit and vegetable market. When asked about whether domestic violence was still taking place in Pisac, she responded that although some incidents still took place, women in the market made sure they acted collectively to protect any fellow female seller who may have been abused:

Researcher: In regard to domestic violence, does it still take place?

Mabel: In some cases, one of the women here got physically abused by her husband and all the women in the market gathered together and confronted him

Researcher: Really?

Mabel: Of course, we told him, the next time you do that, all the women in the market are going to do “callejon oscuro” (translated as “dark alley”) on you.

Researcher: What is “callejon oscuro”?

Mabel: “Callejon oscuro” is when the man is walking around, and all the women we gather around him so he is trapped and we start beating him up.

Researcher: So, you lynch him basically?

***Mabel:** We lynch him, because here women are organised and that is why here in the market you don't see a lot of delinquency.*

In this case, women acted collectively to meet the recognisable needs of a colleague who was experiencing a difficult and potentially dangerous domestic situation. Moreover, Mabel underlined the organisational character of the fruit and vegetable market; whilst at first the market might appear informal, it is in fact tightly controlled and monitored by the women who work there. As Mabel appeared to hint, market women protected each other and acted collectively if they witnessed any dangerous situations such as domestic violence or delinquency (such as petty crime) taking place in the market. In this sense, women working in the fruit and vegetable market were collectively empowered by being part of a social group whose members mutually supported each other in daily interactions and protected one another in potentially dangerous situations. It was precisely because of the spatial structure of tourism markets, where sellers work side by side and are constantly interacting with each other, that these women were able to form close social bonds. These ties eventually led to the formation of a closely knit social network.

This network has arguably provided women with a system of support and collaboration which has empowered them socially and psychologically. It has empowered women socially through the collective power that comes from acting in an organised group to achieve individual or collective goals (i.e. helping someone suffering from domestic abuse or keeping crime at bay in the market). Psychologically, women working in the market are also empowered through the mutual support they receive from other members; they that know they are part of a group, that they are not alone and may ask for advice or help from fellow colleagues. Prior to the advent of tourism, women in Pisac were confined to domestic spaces and although they may have had the support of family and friends, they did not have access to a readily accessible support network such as the one created by market women.

This network was especially helpful for Indigenous women working in the fruit and vegetable market who did not have family connections in the main town of Pisac. With the rise of tourism over the last 15 years, the fruit and vegetable market had expanded to meet the demands of tourists and tourism businesses such as hotels and restaurants. Given that Indigenous groups own land where they cultivate fruits and vegetables,

many Indigenous women increasingly travelled down to Pisac to sell in the traditional Sunday market. Once the mayor decided to create the new permanent fruit and vegetable market operating every day of the week, Indigenous women started to work alongside Mestiza women on a daily basis. Although many fruit and vegetable sellers did not like the move to a permanent covered market, the decision was beneficial for Indigenous women, who for the first time had the chance to rent permanent stalls.

Aside from the associated psychological empowerment that arguably came with operating a permanent stall (i.e. increased confidence in their own abilities, increased self-esteem), Indigenous women were able to develop closer social bonds with Mestiza female sellers through daily interactions. Observation data revealed that sellers identified with one another primarily as women, with common goals and struggles; in this sense, the market served to partially dismantle barriers of ethnicity and culture and unite women from different backgrounds. Indigenous and Mestiza female market sellers in the fruit and vegetable market were often seen interacting with each other using Quechua (an Indigenous language of the Americas) to communicate. As Mabel pointed out, this meant they could share information without being understood by tourists:

***Mabel:** We don't discriminate here among us women who sell in this market. We even exchange jokes in Quechua and it allows us to say things that tourists can't understand...we talk about everything, about the things we live (experience).*

Thus, the market allowed Mestiza and Indigenous women to create social bonds which they may not have developed had the permanent fruit and vegetable market (created largely due to tourism) not been built. The increased interactions in a shared language have arguably been socially empowering for women in the district, enabling them to identify points of unity rather than difference. In turn, this may have helped them to recognise that they have more power if they unite and act together as a group to achieve collective and/or individual benefits (Knight and Cottrell, 2016). In a town where ethnic tensions are still prevalent, it was surprising to see Mestiza and Indigenous women build friendships and it was certainly less frequently observed outside the confines of the fruit and vegetable market.

Therefore, tourism seems to have indirectly improved inter-ethnic understanding and cooperation among key sectors of the local female population. As a result of tourism,

opportunities for social interaction for women from different ethnic groups were widened. For Indigenous women in particular, working in the market increased their social networks and gave them the opportunity to renegotiate their disadvantaged status in a town where longstanding discriminatory prejudices and practices against Indigenous individuals still exist. Indigenous female sellers were able to source a direct income from selling their produce, and in this way redress inequitable access to tourism, bringing about dynamic changes in local power relations.

What these findings illustrate is that empowerment is relational; it does not occur in a social vacuum but involves widespread relationships with others (Putman, 2000). The case of the fruit and vegetable market particularly illustrates the relational nature of empowerment processes since women were collectively empowered largely due to reciprocal cooperation between female sellers. This is not to say that power is simply given to one party by the other or taken by one group from the other; relational empowerment entails that the interactions between individuals become more equitable as they learn from each other and start to collaborate and work together (VanderPlaats, 1999). In the instance of the fruit and vegetable market, female sellers began cooperating with each other (i.e. watching each other's children, protecting any sellers suffering from domestic abuse) only once they were jointly stationed in the permanent fruit and vegetable market. Therefore, it may be posited that relational empowerment is enacted when interactions between individuals become more equal, as they start to work together and learn from one another. The same may be said about the role of tourists within this process. Interactions with tourists interested in local food and produce undoubtedly played a role in enhancing women's confidence and pride in their own cultural communities. It was also in the interest of women to maintain harmony within the market, given that social conflict amongst sellers might deter tourists from visiting. Thus, the realisation of social and psychological empowerment largely depended on a mutual understanding and respect for each other's perspectives, values and backgrounds (this includes tourist, Mestizo and Indigenous perspectives).

7.6. Conclusion

This chapter has examined the links between ethnicity, gender and tourism in the context of Pisac and the surrounding Indigenous communities. Initially, the impact of tourism on the power relations between Mestizos and Indigenous actors was critically

reviewed. This process revealed that tourism has not fundamentally changed imbalanced power dynamics between these two groups, as it was found that discriminatory practices towards Indigenous groups were still prevalent. These included the exclusion of Indigenous market sellers from the handicraft market (although a select group of Indigenous women were allowed to trade on Thursdays); offering Quechua weavers below average prices for their artworks and the existence of deep-rooted beliefs about the cultural and intellectual capacities of individuals based on their cultural and ethnic origin. Following this tenet, several interviewed Mestizo individuals working in tourism expressed views regarding Indigenous groups that denoted paternalism and prejudice towards Quechua actors. These included the belief that Indigenous collectives should adhere to mostly agricultural-based occupations in their own communities and should stay away from “modern” occupations (i.e. any jobs unrelated to agriculture, craft or farming) as well as the credence that Quechua individuals were inherently lazy and negligent.

Notwithstanding the perceptible ethnic tensions between Mestizo and Indigenous actors, exclusion of Quechua groups from the handicraft market was also revealed to be linked to territoriality and kinship. The handicraft market was still largely dominated by Pisac-based Mestizo families who mostly did not allow non-Pisac based traders to sell in the market. Territoriality was evidenced through the use of various tactics such as attempting to hide exogenous sellers’ signs, socially excluding them from daily interactions or limiting the visibility of non-local sellers in the plaza. It was concluded that the deployment of territoriality-based strategies to intimidate non-Pisac based traders could be construed as an overt manifestation of power as domination. This type of power is non-generative, since the empowerment of one group necessarily entails the disempowerment of another (Knight and Cottrell, 2016). In the case of Pisac, the empowerment of market sellers through tourism revenue appeared to entail the partial economic and cultural disempowerment of a segment of the Indigenous population. Thus, this analysis revealed that exclusion of Indigenous groups from tourism-linked projects was not only based on ethnicity but also on commercial interests and a competing use of space.

As recognised by several poststructuralist theorists (Lefebvre, 1974; Derrida, 1977; Butler, 1993; Gannon and Davies, 2004) and by Foucault (1982, p.361) in particular,

“space is fundamental in any exercise of power”. This acknowledges that power is exercised from numerous points, in the interplay of non-egalitarian and constantly shifting relations (Foucault, 1978). In the case of Pisac, the handicraft market was a key space in which Mestizo families could exercise power over exogenous actors (notably Indigenous groups), since they were able to manipulate spatial resources to coerce the latter. Concurring with Foucault (1978) and Westwood (2002), findings also illustrated that power should not be treated as a capacity outside of social relations; instead, power should be considered as constitutive of social dynamics. This was particularly evident when Mestiza market sellers collectively avoided socialising with female Indigenous sellers and hid their stall signs, presumably in a bid to intimidate Quechua sellers and display their social power.

Nevertheless, findings highlighted that some Indigenous communities did benefit from participating in community-based tourism projects, as these enabled them to have a more participative role in tourism. CBT projects trained Indigenous individuals to become tour guides and host tourists within their own communities and homes. Quechua actors were thus able to adopt a more participative and dynamic role in tourism, communicating and interacting directly with tourists. Such tourism programmes also allowed Indigenous groups to sell their textiles, crafts and other handmade products directly to tourists. This meant that Quechua communities obtained a fairer price for their products whilst reducing their dependence on Pisac market traders for income. Moreover, it was also revealed that CBT programmes, managed by NGOs, facilitated workshops on legal rights. This proved particularly empowering for women who, due to taking on domestic tasks at an early age, were less likely than men to routinely access this knowledge. Altogether, these programmes appeared to improve the agency of Indigenous actors working in tourism. Indigenous actors were able to achieve more equitable returns and gain enhanced control over the merchandising of their own cultural artefacts.

Yet, it was also noted that NGOs and tour operators promoted an archaic image of Indigenous communities, presenting them as living relics of an idealised Inca past. In some cases, tour operators banned tourists from bringing any technological gadgets into Indigenous communities, in a bid to protect Quechua groups from modernity. In this way, the image promoted by NGOs and tour operators depoliticised Quechua

groups from their current socio-economic struggles, potentially promoting the dangerous and erroneous idea that Indigenous communities were content with living in poor socio-economic conditions. This was found to constitute an enactment of Fabian's (1983) denial of coevalness, whereby Indigenous groups are denied the opportunity to exist in a spatial and temporal equivalent to their non-Indigenous counterparts. Hence, CBT projects were found to both empower and disempower Indigenous groups, denoting that the same practices and structures may create new prospects for emancipation whilst simultaneously suppressing opportunities for autonomy.

The discussion then moved to the examination of the empowerment of local women working in the tourism industry. The argument was made that female empowerment should be examined not only as an outcome but also as a process. The importance of viewing empowerment as a process was chiefly illustrated by the discussion regarding the deferred empowerment passed on from female market sellers to their daughters. Although it initially appeared that tourism had not visibly empowered female market sellers to pursue further education or professional opportunities, interviews uncovered that most of their daughters were on their way to pursuing a University degree and/or professional careers. Contrary to previous study findings, the fact that girls were socialised in the market from an early age did not appear to deter them from pursuing a University education or professional occupations which did not conform to traditional gender roles (i.e. girls pursued engineering and legal studies, professions traditionally practised by men).

Closely linked to this argument, empowerment was found to be a relational process in two senses. Firstly, empowerment was found to be relational in terms of time, since it appeared contingent on a prior and future state. It was contingent on existing power structures, socio-cultural dynamics and local belief systems (i.e. prior state) since these determined how the empowerment process took place and the extent to which women were able to benefit from tourism participation. Although women were economically empowered through tourism by integrating into full-time employment and earning their own wages, they were still expected to maintain their domestic roles as housewives (i.e. taking care of domestic chores and childcare). This arguably limited their social empowerment, given that women had a "double workload" (Bell, 2006, p. 1181) which meant that they were not free to pursue other activities outside of work

and domestic chores. Secondly, empowerment was seen as contingent on a future state, since it also entailed being able to make strategic life choices about one's own future. In this regard, although women currently working in tourism were largely unable to pursue professional or educational opportunities outside of Pisac and were therefore limited in their capacity to make strategic life choices, their daughters were currently in the process of pursuing University degrees and/or professional opportunities outside of Pisac and tourism. Therefore, the degree of social and psychological empowerment of female market sellers was limited since it was their daughters, and not themselves, who were directly benefiting from tourism income.

Further to this, and congruent with Putman's (2000) argument, female empowerment was found to be relational in that it appeared to be linked to widespread relationships with others. This was particularly illustrated by the case of the Mestiza and Indigenous women working in the fruit and vegetable markets. It was found that these women were collectively empowered by working together and acquired a collective self-confidence that resulted in them acting as a group, to achieve both collective and individual interests. When one of the female sellers suffered domestic abuse at the hands of her husband, it was arguably the confidence that female sellers developed by being part of a group that enabled them to stand up to the husband and caution him. Similarly, mutual reciprocity was key for female sellers both in the handicraft and fruit and vegetable markets. Sellers relied on each other for daily tasks such as watching over each other's children (thus allowing them to keep their full-time job) and safeguarding the market from petty crimes.

Lastly, the discussion highlighted that female empowerment was contextual and contingent on the local socio-cultural setting and norms. As such, female empowerment appeared to be a much more nuanced concept than allowed for in extant literature and its outcomes far less predictable than previously thought. Initially, the discussion highlighted that tourism-linked jobs, such as market sellers or managers in family-owned guesthouses, seemed to replicate aspects of traditional gender roles circumscribed by Catholic dogma; this was reflective of the Machismo-Marianismo paradigm described extensively in the Latin American literature (Ehlers, 1991; Stevens, 1973; Duffy et al, 2012). Following this tenet, attributes linked to 'respectable' women comprised patience, humility, self-sacrifice, and more generally character traits

associated with submission and compromise. The study found that such traits were frequently embodied by women in tourism-linked jobs, since the interviewed women identified attitudes of subservience as key to making sales with tourists (i.e. being unafraid of ridicule, practising patience and the ability to smile). In this regard, it was revealed that tourism reinforced the status quo of patriarchal gender expectations as well as a gendered division of labour. This was found to be disempowering for women on a social and psychological level, as tourism jobs might conceivably prevent women and young girls from pursuing higher education or accessing jobs which did not conform to social expectations. More importantly, this highlighted that women were still profoundly affected by patriarchal power structures at a national, community and domestic level.

However, the discussion regarding women's social and psychological empowerment highlighted that although Pisac women working in tourism may not meet all the criteria through which dominant Western perspectives measure empowerment, according to place-based systems of meanings (Kemp, 2001; Harcourt and Escobar, 2002), women did make significant advancements towards empowerment. Following this logic, and drawing on theorists' more recent calls to recognise local conceptualisations of female emancipation (Singh, 2007; Azzarito, 2006; Chant, 2006; Kabeer, 1999) consideration was given to frame findings according to local understandings of gender and empowerment.

Findings revealed that through employment in tourism, local women were able to achieve a certain degree of financial emancipation from their husbands and immediate family. This eventually allowed them to become the main bread-winners and as such the managers of household budgets, a role which was traditionally reserved for men. Even though this translated into more work for women, most female interviewees expressed approval of this shift and felt proud to be the ones in charge of managing household responsibilities. Although according to Western social norms, the fact that women managed household budgets might seem minor in relation to the goals of female emancipation as a whole, in the context of a patriarchal society such as Pisac, this represented an important change in prevailing gender perceptions and expectations.

Whilst the expectation for full-time working women to continue handling domestic responsibilities might reinforce inequitable gender relations, local women did not view

these tasks as obligations imposed upon them. Most interviewed female sellers were of the opinion that women needed to be in charge of the household, not because it was their duty but because they thought men were not up to the task. Most interviewed women appeared proud to be in charge of household decisions and suggested that husbands needed to be managed by their wives. It was revealed that this change was partially brought about by tourism development. Before the onset of tourist, men were the main income producers and were largely in charge of household budgets and key family decisions. Thus, although an initial analysis might indicate that machismo-based structures were further strengthened through tourism, a closer reading indicated that women had made important advances in their local society. They were able to bring about this shift in gender roles precisely because they did not challenge the existing gender status quo directly but instead gradually renegotiated their roles by taking on jobs that met gender expectations and were thus less likely to cause conflicts in the household. For women in Pisac, minimising conflicts with husbands and family was important, since losing their families would represent the rescinding of a key source of psychological and social support.

This study ultimately revealed a complex interplay of power relations concerning Indigenous and non-Indigenous actors, both male and female. This might reasonably be expected in any developing country setting, but Pisac's status as a tourism destination intersecting ancient and modern cultures has undoubtedly shaped – and continues to configure – power structures at the local level. Contrary to a simplistic polarisation of power relations, whereby the powerful are contrasted with the powerless, the study elicited a multi-faceted illustration of power consistent with poststructuralist thought (Foucault, 1980; Sharp et al, 2000; Church and Coles, 2007). Tourism was found to simultaneously enhance and restrict opportunities for actors to hold and exercise power – with both negative and positive consequences. At times, power was seen to be the preserve of regional and national government agencies, who wielded tourism decision-making authority to the detriment of local communities, for example through the withholding of information regarding infrastructure development or causing delays in such projects through inefficiency. At other points, the non-Indigenous tourism entrepreneurs appeared to exercise spatial and temporal dominance over Indigenous groups, excluding native peoples from market spaces and marginalising their cultural traditions. However, it was also observed that Indigenous peoples had begun to claim a

stake in tourism through CBT, drawing tourists into the mountainous regions, which was perceived as offering a reduced share of tourism revenues to Piseños. Within groups of actors, whilst women initially seemed to enjoy less power than men given the high workloads represented by tourism and domestic duties, they appeared to feel more empowered as a result of tourism employment. Empowerment, as a state of being, was not displayed as a single point or stage to be reached, but rather as a continuum or process (Cole, 2006). At any time, according to endogenous and exogenous events, power may be reduced or amplified among a particular group. In Pisac, it is difficult – if not impossible – to locate a stakeholder who is not in some way touched by tourism. As such, it is accepted that tourism will naturally serve to influence the pattern of fluctuations in power across actors in the town and surrounding area. To understand and interpret these shifts and exchanges of power, this study suggests that future research must account for locality, temporality and cultural factors; only when these three elements are considered alongside one another can a representative picture of power relations emerge.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1. Introduction

This thesis presented a critical analysis of the interactions between the social actors involved in tourism in Pisac and used ethnographic-based methods as a basis to understand the extent to which tourism may influence local power relations at a community level. Importantly, it highlighted how examining local actors' interactions can illuminate more nuanced processes, relations and mechanisms which are of critical relevance to host societies and destinations, but are difficult to recognise if attention is restricted purely to the tourist encounter between hosts and guests. In so doing, it contributes to the existing body of literature on five broad areas of knowledge: host community micro power relations; the distinctive processes of local responses and adaptation to tourism; female empowerment through tourism employment in developing countries; the role of tourism for traditionally disenfranchised social groups and the political role of tour guides as agents of power. This chapter will synthesise this thesis' key findings, highlight its main contributions to existing knowledge and conclude by outlining the implications for future research and the study's main limitations.

8.2. Key Findings

8.2.1. Spatial Power Dynamics in Tourism Spaces

The first aspect of power explored in the findings related to the strategic use of space by market traders and tour guides to control local tourism processes, as well as changes in the use of local spaces due to tourism. The discussion highlighted that the introduction of organised tours and migrant jewellers in the last 15 years had led to a set of spatial changes which significantly impacted local participation in tourism and local access to public spaces. Interviews with long-term Pisac residents revealed that organised tours rearranged the way that tourists moved around Pisac and, as a result, influenced the sites and businesses tourists visited. The analysis highlighted the extent to which decisions made by tour operators and public authorities can drastically impact the success of local businesses and shift power dynamics amongst local tourism players.

More importantly, it emphasised that the tourism industry, and in particular tourism intermediaries such as tour operators, have the power to transform local spaces and curtail tourists' movements within the destination.

Closely linked to this inference, findings revealed that the gradual transformation of the handicraft market from an intermittent tourism market to a daily market had somewhat disempowered local residents by taking away an important public space for the performance of a collective local identity and social interaction. This analysis stressed that tourism development brings forth contestation of spaces not solely between external actors (i.e. tour operators and tourists) and local hosts but also amongst community actors themselves. In the case of Pisac, the contested space of the plaza led to mounting tensions between market traders and the rest of residents. This was evidenced in several interviews with local residents depicting market traders as a local elite who under the guise of tourism, had illegitimately appropriated a common public space.

Findings also exposed that both market sellers and tour guides used space tactically to control tourism flows and intimidate competitors. Market traders and tour guides made use of different tactics to pursue their objectives, but both strategically manipulated tourist spaces in a bid to affirm their social power vis-à-vis rival tourism competitors. This illustrated Foucault's (1982, p.361) contention that the use of space is "fundamental in any exercise of power"; power is exercised from numerous points in the interplay of non-egalitarian and constantly shifting relations (Foucault, 1978). In the case of Pisac, tour guides used commission payments as a strategy to manipulate the spatial movement of visitors within the town, so as to ensure that tourists visited only favoured outlets, rather than the handicraft market or shops with no commission deals. In the case of market traders, the handicraft market was a key spatial resort through which Mestizo families could exercise power over exogenous actors (notably Indigenous groups) and local residents.

Consequently, it was argued that tourism-linked spaces represent key arenas through which local identities and power dynamics are renegotiated amongst host community actors (Aitcheson and Reeves, 1998; Pritchard and Morgan, 2000). Nevertheless, whilst several interviewed local residents perceived market sellers as a local elite, the latter saw themselves as targets of tour guides, who, through the use of different strategies,

had gradually alienated them from tourists and forced them to increase market trading days.

Tour guides, on the other hand, made use of largely discursive tactics. Findings evidenced that through the use of specific narratives, they were able to influence tourists' decisions and curtail visitors' spatial and temporal dynamics within Pisac. Through these various discursive tactics, it was argued that tour guides were able to strategically manipulate and re-interpret local spaces to suit their financial needs (and thus tour operators' needs) and harm certain local sellers. Consequently, guides were seen to re-interpret the meaning of local spaces to suit their agendas.

8.2.2. Tour Guides as Agents of Power

Following this logic, tour guides were found to represent key agents of power since they had the power to control tourists' movements and purchasing decisions, as well as to mark, classify and assign specific characteristics to local hosts and local spaces. Visibly aware of their role as agents of knowledge in the eyes of tourists, guides used their expertise to control the movements of tourists and the way visitors interpreted what they saw in the destination. Given that most foreign visitors could not speak Spanish or Quechua, reliance on guides for brokering local encounters was further increased whilst restrictions over visitation times resulted in rapid encounters between tourists and local hosts. Such a state of affairs undermined the voice of local hosts since tour guides were amongst the few stakeholders with the power to speak a language that tourists understood and trusted. This reflected Foucault's (1971) argument regarding the spatiality and shifting positions of power dynamics in a network of relations: market sellers, whilst still being a powerful local group of stakeholders, were unable to stop tour guides from controlling tourists' movements and dominating the local tourism scene. Following Foucault's theorisation, it was found that power did not run in a straight line from oppressors to the oppressed; it was possible for the oppressors to simultaneously be the oppressed.

Notwithstanding these findings, primary data also suggested that host actors were not merely powerless victims of the tourism system; they challenged and concurrently supported hegemonic tourism-linked power structures at different points in time. For instance, informants Natalia and Maria criticised jewellers for paying tour guides

commissions and consequently normalising this practice amongst local tourism business owners. Nevertheless, they offered free drinks and food to guides as an incentive to bring tourists to their businesses. To all intents and purposes, they paid a type of commission in exchange for tourists, albeit that they did not frame the act under these terms. On the other hand, market traders contested the system of rules established by tour guides in more definite and discernible ways. This was evidenced through market traders taking a firm stance against the system of commission-based sales and the street protests organised against tour guides. For this group of stakeholders, refusing to pay guides commissions in exchange for tourist groups was also linked to their collective identity as market traders: an established group of local tourism players who would not bow down to a system of rules imposed by external agents. As broadly commented in existing literature (Fredline and Faulkner, 2000; Wearing and McDonald, 2002; Archer et al, 2005), host communities are not cohesive entities, different local actors and groups will align their responses to hegemonic power structures in different ways. In Pisac, findings indicated that local actors produced multi-layered and inconsistent responses to tourism-linked power structures. Thus, the multiple contingent nature of local groups and individuals resulted in different social actors aligning their responses to dominating systems of power in dissimilar ways, based on their personal circumstances and identities.

Although tour guides were identified as agents of power who largely used their influence to coerce others and perpetuate the unbalanced distribution of tourism benefits amongst local hosts, it was argued that the situation had largely developed due to the inaction of local governmental authorities. The actions of tour guides and migrant jewellers did not exist in a vacuum but instead interacted with larger local political structures that supported practices related to the use of bribery and corruption. Interviews with local business owners, artisans and residents revealed that local authorities were regarded by residents as figures who typically failed to act on local concerns. According to findings, local authorities did not appear to take decisive actions to prevent tour guides and local businesses from endorsing commission-based sales. Moreover, municipal authorities failed to facilitate the equitable reorganisation of space via the long-promised relocation of the handicraft market and upgrades to road infrastructure. This governmental inaction thus created the ideal conditions to sustain the continuance of tourism-linked control mechanisms. This illustrated the argument

that non-decision making may be just as powerful as the actual decisions carried out by political actors (Mills, 1956; Bachrach and Baratz, 1962; Crenson, 1971; Lukes, 2005). It also exemplified Lukes' (2005) contention that power is a capacity to act, and not only the exercise of that capacity.

8.2.3. Power Dynamics, Tourism and Ethnicity

The thesis also examined the links between ethnicity and local power relations in the context of tourism. Initially, the discussion considered the impact of tourism on the power dynamics between Mestizo and Indigenous individuals in the main town of Pisac. The analysis highlighted that tourism had not hitherto fundamentally destabilised unequal power dynamics between these two different ethnic groups. Findings denoted that Indigenous groups were still the target of discrimination by Mestizo tourism stakeholders. Discrimination was notably evidenced in the exclusion of Quechua sellers from the handicraft market (although a select group of Indigenous women were allowed to sell as part of a deal with an NGO); Indigenous weavers being offered below average prices for their weavings by Mestizo market sellers and the persistence of socio-cultural beliefs that characterised Indigenous actors as lazy and unsuited to modern living.

Following this tenet, a number of interviewed Mestizo individuals working in the Pisac and Cusco tourism industry expressed patronising and paternalistic views towards Indigenous collectives. This included the beliefs that Quechua actors should not attempt to work outside their own communities; the credence that Indigenous collectives should foremost prioritise agriculture-based occupations and should not be exposed to modern technology, as well as the view that Indigenous groups were inherently lazy individuals relying on handouts. Albeit that the exclusion of Indigenous sellers from the handicraft market was related to territoriality and kinship ties which prevented any non-Pisac based traders from selling in the market, territoriality was innately linked to ethnic identity as well. Market traders' identity as a group was foremost linked to territory (i.e. the Pisac plaza) but ethnic identity as Pisac Mestizos was also a key component of group membership. The marginalisation of Indigenous sellers in particular was still strongly associated to ethnicity and culture.

Notwithstanding these findings, the discussion noted that a growing number of Indigenous individuals were benefiting from participating in community-based tourism

(CBT) projects. These trained Indigenous groups to work as tour guides in their own communities and homes; this in turn enabled them to have a more participative and dynamic role in tourism. Quechua individuals involved in CBT could communicate and interact directly with tourists without the need for Pisac intermediates and were able to sell their products (textiles, crafts, herbs, lotions) directly to tourists. As a result, Indigenous individuals could sell their products directly to consumers, and at higher prices than when selling to Pisac traders. Thus, Indigenous CBT participants experienced reduced dependency on Pisac traders for income and commercialisation of their products. Furthermore, primary findings also noted that CBT projects, managed by NGOs in particular, organised valuable workshops directed at Indigenous groups; these dealt with issues related to legal rights and food sovereignty. This intervention proved particularly helpful for Indigenous women, who, due to taking on domestic roles at an early age, were otherwise less likely to learn about these issues. Indigenous women also played a key role in CBT by working as guides and leading tourist-oriented workshops on herbal medicines. Through these roles, Indigenous women were not only able to gain an income but, to an extent, also enhance their status within their own communities. Therefore, CBT projects proved empowering for Indigenous individuals insofar as they increased their knowledge of legal rights; offered them a more participatory role in tourism and mobilised opportunities for increased income from the sale of cultural artefacts.

Yet, findings also noted that tour operators and NGOs often promoted an archaic image of Indigenous communities as actors living in an idealised Inca past. This evidenced a certain degree of paternalism on the part of NGOs and tour operators, who viewed Indigenous groups as children who needed shielding from modern influences. It was argued that through this process, Indigenous groups were depoliticised and detached from their current socio-economic struggles concerning resource rights, cultural sovereignty and socio-cultural discrimination. More alarmingly, this type of characterisation of Quechua actors could promote the erroneous idea that Quechua groups were content with living in deprived socio-economic conditions due to their pastoral customary lifestyles.

Thus, although community based tourism organised by private tour operators and NGOs promote a more equal participation for Quechua actors in tourism, it

paradoxically also negated Quechua groups the opportunity to be “coeval” (Fabian, 1983:32) with non-Indigenous actors: the ability to be mobile between spaces and time. Due to this consideration of Quechua identity as necessarily rural and archaic, Quechua groups effectively ceased to exist, or else carried little relevance for tourism, if they left their communities or adopted contemporary practices. In this scenario, it was argued that tourism acted as a type of disciplinary power constraining Indigenous individuals’ actions and thoughts (Foucault, 1980). However, this did not entail that Indigenous actors lacked the agency to resist these impositions or renegotiate their roles within the tourism system. Dominance and resistance were interwoven into daily exchanges with guides and NGOs, but resistance and renegotiation were nevertheless circumscribed by a tourism system that imposed strictly bound terms of participation on Quechua groups. Hence, CBT projects were found to both empower and disempower Indigenous groups, indicating that the same practices and structures may create new opportunities for emancipation whilst simultaneously suppressing different prospects for autonomy.

8.2.4. Female Empowerment and Tourism

Notwithstanding these observations, tourism also proved to offer empowerment opportunities to traditionally disenfranchised sectors of the local population, such as women. Although empowerment was circumscribed and situational, primary findings denoted that women in Pisac had benefited from increased access to the labour market, an enhanced role in household financial decisions and wider access to social networks as a result of tourism. In particular, Mestiza and Indigenous women working in the fruit and vegetable market were found to have gained new social networks.

Although women working in the handicraft market and souvenir shops appeared to have benefited from enhanced economic emancipation, the women in the fruit and vegetable market had also profited from increased cooperation as a result of group membership. In the fruit and vegetable market, Indigenous and Mestiza women worked alongside each other and often cooperated to reach group and individual goals. These women had common life experiences which arguably brought them closer and seemed to blur ethnic and cultural differences which would have previously kept them apart. Common experiences for many of the women included being single working mothers or working mothers juggling family and domestic responsibilities with the pressures of working life. Although none of the interviewed women explicitly stated that working in

the fruit and vegetable markets made them alter their thoughts about fellow traders from different ethnic backgrounds, observation data evidenced that these women had developed strong bonds and friendships not usually seen amongst Indigenous and Mestiza women in Pisac. These women collaborated with each other by watching over each other's children and by coming together as a group if one of their members faced domestic abuse. Thus, aside from being able to earn an income on their own, working in tourism socially empowered female sellers through a consolidation of their social ties with other local women from different ethnic backgrounds.

Primary findings also revealed that Mestiza female groups, usually excluded from studies on gender power dynamics in the Andes, where most studies focus on Quechua women, are also impacted by class, gender and ethnic power inequities characterising their societies. Whilst Mestiza women have historically been less rigidly bound by patriarchal and ethnic based power structures than Quechua women, their lives and therefore their work in tourism are also shaped by power disparities and asymmetries where class, gender and ethnicity intersect. Much like in Quechua communities, prevailing community expectations in Pisac still prescribe that women should prioritise household and domestic responsibilities even whilst being employed in full time jobs. Thus, the employment of both Mestiza and Indigenous women in tourism was circumscribed by culturally-based patriarchal expectations whereby women necessarily had to take on a "double workload" (Bell, 2006, p.1181), taking care of domestic chores and working in full-time employment, if they wanted to continue working outside the home.

Findings also highlighted that female empowerment should not only be examined as an outcome but also as a dynamic process that is constantly being transformed. This argument was primarily illustrated through the deferred empowerment which female market sellers passed to their daughters. Whilst initially tourism had not visibly encouraged women to pursue further education or professional opportunities outside of tourism in Pisac, interviews revealed that most of their daughters were either on their way to pursuing a University education or had already become University graduates, some even working in positions traditionally occupied by men (i.e. lawyer, engineer). This was described as a process of deferred empowerment since it was mainly the daughters of female market sellers and not the sellers themselves who were

being empowered socially and economically. They were empowered economically by occupying better paid jobs and socially by obtaining a University education that allowed them to lead more emancipated lives and pursue vocations usually reserved for men. Contrary to findings from previous research on female empowerment and tourism in developing countries, the fact that girls were socialised in the market from an early age (by accompanying their mothers working in the market), did not dissuade them from pursuing a University education or acquire jobs that did not conform to gender expectations. In the case of Pisac, tourism employment indirectly contributed to the empowerment of young women who appeared to have started destabilising gender expectations in the workplace.

Closely linked to this observation, female empowerment in the Pisac tourism industry was found to be a relational process. Empowerment was found to be a relational process in terms of time, since it seemed contingent on both a prior and future state. It was contingent on a prior state given that the existing local power structures and belief systems shaped the type of jobs women were able to hold in tourism and the extent to which they could benefit from full-time employment. Empowerment was thus contextual and contingent on local socio-cultural settings and norms. It was also contingent on a future state, since empowerment was linked to the extent to which women working in tourism were able to make strategic life choices for their own future and the future of their children. In this sense, although women working in tourism were not able to pursue professional and educational opportunities outside of the Pisac tourism industry, their daughters were benefiting from tourism income to pursue educational and professional opportunities that empowered them socially and economically.

Further to this, female empowerment appeared to be a relational process based on its contingency on the development of strong social bonds with other individuals. For instance, the women in the fruit and vegetable market were largely able to achieve individual and collective goals due to the confidence and the resources they developed by being part of a closely-knit social group, where members collaborated with each other and acted collectively to protect the wellbeing of members. Likewise, mutual reciprocity was essential for female sellers in both the handicraft and fruit and

vegetable markets, who relied on each other for help with daily tasks (i.e. watching each other's children and safeguarding the markets from petty crime).

The analysis also concluded that female empowerment was a much more nuanced concept than reported in previous literature, and its consequences far less predictable than initially assumed. For instance, the initial analysis indicated that female employment in tourism appeared to replicate aspects associated to traditional gender expectations underpinned by Catholic dogma; this was identified as the *Machismo-Marianismo* paradigm (Duffy et al, 2012). In Pisac, attributes connected to 'respectable' women encompassed mostly character traits reflecting a passive and compliant nature (i.e. patience, self-sacrifice, humility). Interview findings revealed that these traits were enacted to some degree by women working as market sellers. Further to this, primary findings also noted that even though women had become the main income earners in the household, domestic violence was still a problem for some women. This was socially disempowering in the sense that tourism jobs seemed to reinforce the status quo of patriarchal gender expectations and a gendered division of labour. Women working in tourism were thus still strongly affected by machismo-linked power structures affecting women at a national, community and domestic level

8.3. Contributions to Knowledge

This thesis contributes to the production of new knowledge in the area of power relations and tourism in five different ways. Firstly, the findings highlight that dualistic approaches to the study of power relations in destination host communities should be avoided. Although the agency of local hosts is increasingly being foregrounded in scholarly research (Maxwell, 2012; Pattison, 2013; Steele and Dredge, 2017), most studies still largely portray host actors as the victims of Western-based tourism development whose agency and capacity for creative resistance is largely ignored (Mowforth and Hunt, 1998; Hill, 2007; 2008). The findings of this thesis denote that this is a major empirical omission, given that although host communities may be limited in their possibilities for resistance to wider structural power systems, they are not the passive recipients of tourism dynamics. The examination of micro-level host interactions revealed that while handicraft market traders were coerced by tour guides, they found subtle and creative mechanisms for resistance that were not immediately and overtly evident.

Similarly, this study contributed to further new understandings of host community micro power relations by recognising the complex and dynamic nature of social relations of power amongst host actors. Findings denoted that Pisac community dynamics were characterised by ambiguity, contradictions and paradoxes whereby, depending on the setting; 'oppressed' local actors were sometimes 'the oppressors'. Thus, the findings of this study support recent scholarly contributions that highlight the need to move away from binary considerations of host communities whereby these are portrayed as passive actors to the hegemonic power of exogenous tourism stakeholders (Knight and Cottrell, 2016; Wearing et al, 2010; Scarles, 2012; Scheyvens, 2002). As theorised by Foucault (1971), given that power is spatial, it is produced in complex and manifold ways. No single individual or social group yields power entirely; rather, actors occupy multiple and fluctuating positions of power and resistance in a network of social relations (Elden and Crampton, 2007). Thus, further investigations, which prioritise agency-oriented views of host societies, are increasingly needed to develop new understandings of the nuanced means through which power may be negotiated and renegotiated by local residents (Dolezal, 2013; Hollinshead, 1998; Uriely, 2005). In this study, a move away from a one-sided examination of power towards a post-structural enquiry, that favoured a multi-faceted consideration of power, facilitated an examination of hosts' multiple roles and contradictory positions within the tourism system.

This thesis also contributed to an understanding of the distinctive processes of local responses and adaptation to tourism understood in the context of place specific power dynamics linked to wider socio-economic processes. As stated by Ortner (1984, p. 143) "a society, even a village, has its own structure and history, and this must be as much part of the analysis as its relations with the larger context within which it operates". Germane to this argument, attention was paid to both power formations influenced by place-specific histories and experiences, as well as wider regional and national socio-political processes underpinning local practices. Notably these included national belief systems related to ethnicity, gender and development, an approach largely missing from current research on tourism in the Peruvian Andes (Knight and Cottrell, 2016). This approach allowed for an examination of local power dynamics deploying theoretical perspectives specifically advanced for Peru and Latin America. Similarly, a consideration of the particularities of gender and ethnicity constructions in Peru

facilitated new understandings of the preconceptions to which Andean Mestiza women are also subject within Peru. Likewise, findings relating to Indigenous actors' participation in tourism were considered in the context of prevailing paradigms on Quechua groups influenced by the ideological ideas of the Peruvian 'Indigenista' movement. The study's findings replicated the inherent contradictions illustrated within Indigenismo, insofar as Indigenous intangible cultural heritage was simultaneously celebrated and appropriated by Mestizos; even as nearby Quechua communities were regarded as lazy and backward, their Mestizo counterparts were happy to generate revenue from their heritage assets. In so doing, this thesis answered calls by recent scholars to further incorporate scholarship from the global South within international academic research (Escobar, 2007; Mignolo, 2007; Desousa Santos, 2012). Although in recent years, a number of studies have investigated gender, ethnicity and tourism in the Sacred Valley (Lambright, 2015; Knight and Cottrell, 2016; Burrai et al, 2017), few have extensively incorporated existing Peruvian scholarship on ethnic identity formations in the Andes; this has led to an incomplete picture of ethnic dynamics within the context of tourism in this under-researched region.

This thesis also produced a contribution towards new knowledge of female empowerment against the backdrop of tourism in a developing nation. Contrary to previous research, the findings of this study acknowledge that females working in tourism were still able to gradually contest established gender roles by becoming the primary income earners in the household. Whilst female jobs in tourism did replicate local gender expectations, and women were still expected to conduct domestic chores at home, local women made important gains and developed new terms of engagement with the workplace. Although empowerment on a psychological and social level may have been partial in nature, given that the national patriarchal social systems still constrained female agency, considering women's advancements against the local socio-cultural structure revealed that women were able to renegotiate and significantly leverage local cultural expectations related to gender, ethnicity class to their advantage.

Linked to this analysis, this study also developed new insights into the role of tourism for traditionally liminal groups such as Indigenous collectives. Findings denoted that Quechua individuals' participation in tourism is still severely circumscribed by the paternalistic attitudes of Mestizo tour operators and NGOs. Linking findings to

postcolonial discourses on ethnic identity in Peru highlighted that prevailing treatment by tour operators, NGOs and Pisac based Mestizos replicated colonial patterns of domination and denied coevalness (Fabian, 1983) to Indigenous actors.

Lastly, this study elicited new comprehensions of the political role of tour guides in destination communities. Previous scholarly work on tour guides largely examined tour guides' role as non-altruistic cultural mediators between host destination and visitors (Scherle and Nonnenmann, 2008; Ferguson et al, 2016; Quinn and Ryan, 2016), omitting to extensively explore the political component of tour guiding (Dahles, 2002). In this respect, this thesis answers calls by recent scholarly publications to reassess the political role of tour guides within host communities (Dahles, 2002; Scarles, 2012) through an examination of the links between tour guide-linked rules and procedures and power. The results denote that, within a destination community heavily reliant on external tour operators for access to the tourist market, tour guides may be able to exert unparalleled control over the organisation of tourism locally. This highlighted that when considering the power of tour guides, there is a need to examine both the strategies used by tour guides to discursively structure the cultural meaning of destinations, as well as the tactics and schemes employed to control tourism revenue within the destination. Thus, one of the major contributions of this thesis relates to the importance of further questioning the role of tour guides as agents of political power within local destination communities, particularly those on the peripheries, with a strong reliance on tour operators for access to tourists.

Based on these contributions to knowledge, the following recommendations for future tourism-linked research and practice have been devised.

8.4. Recommendations for Future Tourism Research and Practice

This study has highlighted the importance of examining micro-level power dynamics within host communities in order to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the intricate ways in which tourism may reshape host societies on a political, social, cultural and economic level. The findings evidenced that tourism restructured social dynamics of power in Pisac by introducing new stakeholders and business elites as well as both destabilising and strengthening the power of diverse established local social and political stakeholder groups. As was previously noted, this was only made possible

through prolonged immersion in the field and the use of ethnographic research methods. Based on this evidence, this thesis underscores the need to produce further ethnographic studies of rural communities in developing nations, whose livelihoods, culture and spaces are affected by the impact of tourism and in particular a reliance of exogenous tour operators. Further ethnographic research on the links between tourism and local power structures is needed to understand if and how subaltern and traditionally marginalised groups participate in tourism.

More importantly, further ethnographic research is needed to critically question whether tourism provides a platform for improved socio-economic and political equity for these collectives or whether it reinforces inequitable access to and participation in the labour market based on ethnic, cultural and gender individualities. This is especially needed in countries such as Peru, where local populations are experiencing rapid socio-economic transformation due to the impact of neoliberal policies and tourism development. Ethnographic methodological approaches facilitate an enhanced understanding of these changes, whereby tourism-linked constructs are adopted, imposed and transformed by local populations. Ethnographic research facilitates this understanding through permitting investigators to develop gradual trust bonds with participants through extended immersion in the locality. This allows participants to express thoughts and views which may not otherwise be shared. This recommendation applies to both scholarly research and policy-based investigations conducted by government agencies. The Peruvian government appears to have thus far made limited use of qualitative longitudinal research to obtain contextual-based evidence for the development of public policies aimed at enhancing equitable local participation in tourism. Such research in the future may elicit important understandings of community perceptions of government – as this study uncovered – and assist municipal authorities in developing improved community relations.

Given the complexity of the processes of cultural, political, social and economic change triggered by tourism as well, as the myriad of local and external stakeholder groups usually involved in tourism-linked spaces and social exchanges, this study recommends further implementation of collaborative research teams and collaborative doctoral programmes to investigate multifaceted tourism phenomena. A team-based approach to qualitative inquiry would allow different researchers to conduct in-depth qualitative

research into diverse aspects of the same social phenomena. This would produce more exhaustive findings on different aspects of phenomena by incorporating the resultant multiple perspectives of a wider range of local participants as well as researchers (Lordly et al, 2012). Consequently, this might result in richer and more complex analyses of tourism social phenomena where meaning-making is of vital importance. Furthermore, a group-based approach to qualitative research could facilitate mentorship of less experienced qualitative researchers by more senior members of the team (ibid). This in turn might enhance the quality and reliability of findings by minimising the margin for error and streamlining primary data collection processes.

Further to this, the findings of this thesis reflect a need to move away from investigations that focus on the host-guest cultural encounter as the sole source of conflict or transformation for host communities, to studies that also examine tourism-linked processes of change that take place outside the tourist-host interaction. As the results of this study have foregrounded, a myriad of processes involving other key tourism stakeholders such as tour operators, local business elites, migrants, local entrepreneurs and marginalised groups take place outside the tourist-host encounter. These dynamics remain hitherto under-examined in the existing tourism literature; further scholarly contributions are needed to obtain a richer understanding of how these stakeholder groups impact processes of transformation in host communities.

Lastly, the findings of this thesis evidence a need for the development of further policies to regulate tour operators' practices and protect the rights of citizens working in tourism. Government agencies should play a key role in orientating local development processes where tourism has or is becoming a central economic activity. This entails, amongst other measures, redefining the established relationship between the Peruvian state, economic elites and Andean rural populations. Whilst tourism policies should encourage private investment in tourism and should continue to facilitate entrepreneurial activity, further efforts should be made to develop policies that protect not only the interests of private businesses but also those of local citizens. In order for this to happen, further policies that regulate and control the activities of tour operators and travel agencies should be developed and more tightly implemented. Relatedly, NGOs, tour operators and state agencies in charge of tourism marketing in Peru should aim to reject the archaic view of Quechua groups as culturally and geographically

distant others. The results of this thesis denote that such a perspective results in an overprotection of Indigenous collectives, whose agency and voices are often ignored in the planning of tourism within their own communities, and whilst meaningful socio-cultural exchanges with tourists are limited. An important first step would be for state agencies to readdress the ideas and values promoted to tourists about Indigenous communities. Efforts should be implemented to re-educate the tourist and tour operators about the coevalness of Indigenous groups, who, whilst maintaining traditions and lifestyles dating back hundreds of years, are nevertheless dynamic contemporary actors who have assimilated modern technologies and influences.

Thus, the value of Quechua groups in tourism should not be focused solely on the clothes they wear or their use of modern technology; rather, attention should be paid to promote other aspects of Indigenous heritage. This could include teaching tourists about plant-based medicinal knowledge and intangible heritage traditions, such as music, dance and Quechua oral history. Training in traditional design and craftsmanship, such as weaving, might also prove beneficial in preventing the erosion of heritage whilst permitting innovation in design and manufacturing so as to achieve what has recently been conceptualised as “cross-cultural coevalness” (Ødemark, 2017, p.148). Importantly, this should be developed in conjunction with Indigenous communities themselves. State agencies should promote bottom-up approaches through the development of workshops led by tourism experts working side-by-side with Indigenous groups. This would ensure the preservation of Indigenous cultural and natural resources based on an Indigenous perspective, destabilising hegemonic conceptions of tourism that perceive the country’s natural and cultural biodiversity merely as sources to be exploited for economic development with limited consideration of the voices of local communities.

Similarly, whilst Indigenous populations are particularly vulnerable to the hegemonic practices of the tourism industry, as demonstrated in this thesis, the Mestizo rural population are not impervious to these control mechanisms. Therefore, state agencies and NGOs should strive to include Mestizo populations in projects and workshops aimed at creating more equitable local participation in tourism. Several participants agreed to be interviewed for this research precisely because they felt they had limited access to public platforms through which to voice their concerns about tourism. State

authorities responsible for tourism development should aim to organise further workshops and focus groups to discuss the concerns of rural communities participating in tourism. These workshops should aim to include the voices of diverse community groups and individuals, given the heterogeneous nature of destination communities. This might prevent tourism from becoming another means through which discriminatory practices and mechanisms of domination are reproduced and maintained in Peru. Further to this, results emanating from workshop and focus group discussions should not remain unattended but should be accompanied by concrete action plans to tackle the concerns of citizens. This would contribute towards a more inclusive and democratic Peruvian tourism industry, through which socio-economic inequalities amongst Peruvians might be reduced rather than sustained.

8.5. Limitations of the Study

Several methodological challenges emerged during the study design and data collection phases; these inevitably impacted the type of empirical data generated and the contributions of the study to existing scholarly knowledge. One of the first challenges faced at the onset of the research process was over the choice between a single case study or multiple case studies in the Sacred Valley. The use of two case studies of two separate villages with Indigenous and Mestizo populations, and tourism-centric economies, would have allowed for the generation of rich comparative data. This could have further enriched the results of this thesis; an additional case may have produced different results from those in Pisac and thus enhanced the discussion of findings. Nevertheless, this was deemed impractical at the initial stages of the research project due to resource and time constraints. Whilst the use of multiple case studies might have provided insightful comparative data, the use of a single case study produced rich, in-depth data that allowed for an analytical understanding of the key issues addressed by the research aim (Yin, 2012). Pisac offered a set of unique possibilities to explore multifaceted local power dynamics within tourism that meant that the use of an additional case study may not have necessarily produced relevant supplementary data.

Relatedly, although interviews did provide rich contextualised data about social phenomena reflecting the voices of diverse local groups and exogenous stakeholders, the use of focus groups could have further enhanced conversations and debates between different actors over key issues relating to the impacts of tourism on residents.

Thus, based on the adopted epistemological position of this study relating to the need for qualitative research to be conducted in collaboration with participants, the use of focus groups could have further enhanced the collaborative construction of findings. However, organising focus groups involving the participation of the stakeholder groups targeted for this study (i.e. Indigenous groups, Mestizo market traders and business owners, tour guides and governmental authorities) whose relations have historically been underpinned by social and political tensions, would have been unrealistic in the time allocated for fieldwork. Considering the mounting tensions between interviewed stakeholder groups and the sensitive nature of the topics this study explores, it is possible that focus groups could have resulted in violent exchanges amongst participants, putting both the researcher and participants at risk. Nevertheless, despite the fact that focus groups were not used, the data collected from interviews and observation had sufficient depth and detail to provide a valid and reliable analysis of the role of tourism in local power relations.

Finally, an important limitation of this study relates to the lack of interviewed tour guides and the low number of Indigenous women interviewed during the researcher's time in Pisac. As discussed in the methodology chapter, although a conscious effort was made to include tour guides in the sampling population, the guides repeatedly refused to be interviewed for the study. This may have been influenced by the recent local protests staged against tour guides, which had further eroded trust between tour guides and residents. Moreover, the topic of the study itself and the fact that tour guides could observe the researcher regularly interacting with market traders and business owners who did not participate in commission sales, might have created further distrust of the intentions of the researcher. It is possible that an extended field visit could have permitted the researcher to earn the trust of tour guides. However, due to time constraints, this was not a viable option. Thus, this study recognises that primary findings need to be considered in light of the absent perspectives and views of tour guides.

Concomitantly, interviewing Indigenous women was a particularly problematic task due to the rules and customs of Indigenous communities. Based on the information obtained from Juan Luis, the participant who acted as a gatekeeper for Quechua groups, and the informal conversations with local residents, permission from husbands and village

chiefs was required prior to interviews with Indigenous women taking place. Given that the researcher was based in the village of Pisac, the visits to surrounding Indigenous communities were limited and interviews with Indigenous actors were usually conducted in situ on the day of the visits. Given that men are free to decide if they want to be interviewed without the approval of family members, it was more practical to interview male Indigenous participants on the spot. It would have been disrespectful to approach an Indigenous woman directly and it is highly improbable that husbands and village chiefs would have agreed for a local woman to be interviewed without first getting to know the researcher over an extended period of time. Once more, due to time constraints and the difficulty of reaching remote Indigenous villages by public transportation, Indigenous female voices were not strongly featured in this study. Albeit that the only Indigenous woman interviewed for the study was a 'tomame foto' working in Pisac, the researcher did observe Indigenous women working as tour guides for the 'Parque de la Papa' when she took part in one of the guided tours of the CBT project. Nevertheless, the researcher recognises that the interpretation of data regarding Indigenous women provides an incomplete picture of Indigenous female participation in tourism.

Returning finally to the notion of reflexivity, this thesis constitutes more than a contribution to the academic and practitioner-oriented literature. It is one part of the final product of this research, which ultimately encompasses the confidence and ambition of the researcher to pursue the various threads of further enquiry uncovered during the doctoral process. This study has allowed the researcher to demonstrate philosophical, theoretical and methodological competence. It has cemented the researcher's determination to explore poststructural conceptualisations of power in the context of Peruvian tourism, with a view to further closing the research gaps identified within this thesis, but which could not reasonably be covered in their entirety within a single doctoral study. It is intended that this thesis provide a portal which the researcher can progress her onward research career, with a view to generating research insights which might inform not only sustainable tourism development within Peru, but more broadly across Latin America and the developing world as a whole.

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APPENDIX A: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Rosa Codina, Pisac and Indigenous respondents Participant Information sheet



PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

STUDY TITLE: The role of tourism in altering the structure of power relations and facilitating sustainable socio-cultural development for Indigenous communities in Peru.

I would like to invite you to participate in a research study which is being conducted as part of my doctoral studies at Oxford Brookes University. Before you decide whether or not to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY?

This study aims to investigate how tourism affects community relations amongst and between Pisac residents and the surrounding Indigenous settlements. The study will have an approximate duration of 6 months where the researcher will collect data through the use of participant observation and semi-structured interviews.

WHY HAVE I BEEN INVITED TO PARTICIPATE?

You have been invited to participate in this study because you are someone whose experience of, and/or involvement in tourism in Pisac is particularly relevant to this investigation. Your views and perceptions of tourism and how it impacts the relationships and lives of community members will bring valuable insights to this study. Your views will be used to develop strategies which might lead to a more effective distribution of tourism related benefits among local residents as well as improved collaboration between local actors working in tourism.

Approximately 45 individuals are expected to be interviewed for this project.

DO I HAVE TO TAKE PART?

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary; it is up to you to decide whether or not to take part in interviews. If you choose to participate, you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. If you do decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. If you withdraw from the study, your data and contribution to this study will be destroyed.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO ME IF I TAKE PART?

If you decide to participate in this study, you will be asked to attend a face to face interview which will last approximately 1 hour. During the interview you will be asked questions relating to your experience and views about tourism in Pisac. Prior to the interview taking place, you may be asked to take photographs of the changes you have seen in the community due to tourism. However, specific instructions about the themes to be included in photographs will be provided well in advance of the interview. You will not be asked to take any photographs of children or other members of the community who have not agreed to take part in this study. With your consent, the interview will be audio-recorded and transcribed. It is anticipated that you will not suffer any physical, psychological, social, legal or economic risks by taking part in this interview. All the data collected will be used exclusively for academic purposes. The photographs that you may be asked to take, will be used for discussion during interviews and will not be published in my final dissertation.

WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE BENEFITS OF TAKING PART?

By taking part in this study, you will have the opportunity to reflect about the ways in which tourism has impacted your life or/and those of individuals living in and around Pisac. You will be able to share your views on what role (if any) tourism plays in strengthening the socio/economic welfare of district residents. This knowledge may then be used by the researcher to generate a set of strategies to facilitate a more equitable distribution of tourism benefits among local residents. The results of this research will also help to further practitioner and academic understanding of the ways in which local power structures impact the distribution of tourism benefits among local communities.

WILL WHAT I SAY IN THIS STUDY BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL?

I intend to protect the confidentiality of your responses to the fullest possible extent, subject to UK legal limitations and in accordance with Oxford Brookes University's Academic Integrity Policy. All responses generated during interviews will be de-identified in the collection, storage and publication of research material. This means that your responses will be anonymised and any references to your personal information that might allow someone to guess your identity will be removed. Furthermore, the data generated during the course of the study will only be available to the researcher and her supervisory team. The data gathered in the course of this study will be kept securely in paper or electronic form for a period of ten years after the completion of the research project.

WHAT SHOULD I DO IF I WANT TO TAKE PART?

If you do decide to take part, please contact me by email or telephone using the contact details provided below. Alternatively if using email or telephone is not convenient for you, I can arrange to come back at a specific time and date to consult whether after having read this information sheet you are interested in being interviewed. If this is the case, on the day I will collect the signed consent form from yourself or record your verbal consent to partake in the study. I will then arrange to schedule a face to face interview at a place and time most convenient to you.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO THE RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH STUDY?

The results of this study will contribute to generate a range of strategies which might lead to the enhanced distribution of tourism-related benefits among local residents. Research results will be referred to in my final doctoral dissertation. Furthermore, study findings may also be presented at academic or practitioner conferences and may be published in academic peer-reviewed journals.

You will be able to obtain a copy of a report summarising research findings through your community representative or by contacting me directly through email. Additionally, on completion of the project, you will be invited to attend a local meeting where I will formally present the results of the study to research participant and where you will have the chance to ask questions.

WHO IS ORGANISING AND FUNDING THE RESEARCH?

This research is being conducted by Rosa Codina, who is currently enrolled as a PhD student at the Oxford School of Hospitality Management, Faculty of Business, Oxford Brookes University (UK). This study is also being supervised by Dr Peter Lugosi (email: plugosi@brookes.ac.uk ; tel: +44 (0) 1865 484404) and Dr David Bowen (email: dbowen@brookes.ac.uk ; tel: +44 (0) 1865 483426).

WHO HAS REVIEWED THE STUDY?

The research has been approved by the University Research Ethics Committee, Oxford Brookes University.

CONTACT FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

If you have any concerns or questions regarding any aspects of this project, please contact me directly at this address:

Address in Pisac: (presently unknown)

Address in the UK:
Rosa Codina
Oxford School of Hospitality Management
Faculty of Business
Oxford Brookes University

APPENDIX B: DRAFT INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Draft Interview protocol for Pisac Residents and Pisac tourism workers

The following represent a set of guiding questions which will be employed during face to face interviews with Non-Indigenous and Indigenous individuals residing in Pisac or working in the village's tourism sector. These questions have been tailored to address the main research objectives and will allow the researcher to further her understanding of the way in which tourism impacts the social world and economic opportunities of local actors. The first stage of the study will involve a period of participant observation where the researcher might be confronted with new information which she is currently unaware of. Consequently, some of these questions might be slightly modified as the study evolves in order to address new findings.

The questions have been correlated with research objectives and an underlying rationale for their use. They are shown in the order in which they will most likely be asked:

Research objectives	Interview Question	Why this questions is being asked
	<i>How long have you lived in the district of Pisac?</i>	→ Brief introductory question to establish an initial rapport with the participant and gain an understanding of his/her role in the district and how familiar the participant may be with local life and local affairs.
To contribute to the understanding of the way in which local power relations impact the distribution of benefits in tourism. To critically assess the role played by tourism in aiding Indigenous communities achieve self determination and socio cultural equity	<i>What is your current involvement in tourism?</i>	→ This is a general question to establish the participant's role in tourism and assess the extent to which tourism might play a significant part in his/her daily life. It may also help identify if Indigenous and Non-Indigenous actors differ in the types of roles they occupy in tourism (employee, employer, entrepreneur, ad-hoc). Based on this information, the researcher might be able to obtain an initial understanding of how tourism benefits community members in different measures.
To contribute to the understanding of the way in	<i>How did you become involved in the tourism industry?</i>	→ The researcher will gain an understanding of the means

which local power relations impact the distribution of benefits in tourism.		through which non-Indigenous stakeholders gain access to tourism. This data can then be compared with the answers provided by Indigenous actors to determine whether Indigenous groups have access to the same entry routes or intermediaries as non-Indigenous actors. Consequently, this might present an initial indication of whether one collective holds more relative power in accessing tourism employment.
To critically assess the role played by tourism in aiding Indigenous communities achieve self determination and socio cultural equity.	• <i>How do you feel about tourism?</i>	→ Asking this question will aid the researcher further her understanding of local perceptions of tourism. It may particularly bring to light any concerns Indigenous actors might have about tourism's impact on traditional communal life.
To critically assess the role played by tourism in aiding Indigenous communities achieve self determination and socio cultural equity.	• <i>Have there been any changes in the community due to the growth of tourism?</i>	→ This question will be helpful to initiate discussions over whether tourism has altered community dynamics within and between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities.
To contribute to the understanding of the way in which local power relations impact the distribution of benefits in tourism	• <i>Could you elaborate on the kind of changes that you have seen in the local economy and local infrastructure?</i> • Respondents might be provided with the following probes if they are unable to think about specific themes: • Increased employment opportunities? Changes in seasonal employment? Better public amenities and services? More investment opportunities? Better opportunities for youth to stay and work in the district?	→ This question will provide valuable insights into the types of changes Indigenous and non Indigenous respondents perceive tourism to have brought to their respective communities. Discrepancies in the scope and degree of changes (either positive or negative) might reveal imbalances in the distribution of tourism benefits. In turn, this might provide clues of possible power asymmetries existing between communities.

To contribute to the understanding of the way in which local power relations impact the distribution of benefits in tourism	• <i>Could you tell me what kind of socio-cultural impacts you think tourism may have brought?</i> • Respondents might be provided with the following probes if they are unable to think about specific themes: • Enhancement/diminishment of community pride and morale? Promotion of local heritage? Changes in crime or general safety levels?	→ This is a follow-up question with a similar underlying rationale as the previous question. The only difference is that participants are asked to comment on the particular socio-cultural impacts of tourism.
To explore local actors' perceptions of power dynamics within the Pisac tourism industry	• <i>Can you tell me how the relations between Indigenous and Non-Indigenous individuals were before the arrival of tourism?</i> • <i>Do you think tourism has changed the interactions between the different communities of the district? If so, how?</i>	→ These interrelated questions will be extremely useful in discussing the social dynamics between Indigenous and non-Indigenous actors. More specifically, these questions might provide valuable insights on past and existing power relationships in Pisac. These questions will further supply key data on the role tourism may have played in consolidating or altering power dynamics between local communities.
To explore local actors' perceptions of power dynamics within the Pisac tourism industry. To critically assess the role played by tourism in aiding Indigenous communities achieve self determination and socio cultural equity.	• <i>Have you seen any new forms of tourism emerge in the last 10 years? If so, can you tell me what these have been?</i> • <i>How do you feel about the emergence of these new forms of tourism?</i>	→ By asking this question the researcher will be able to gather the opinions of both Indigenous and Non-Indigenous individuals on the alternative forms of tourism that have emerged in and around the village of Pisac (i.e. shamanic tourism, volunteer and homestay tourism in Indigenous communities). Answers to this question might bring to the forefront diverse concerns, including: fear of competition, the welfare of Indigenous communities and the commercialisation of Indigenous heritage.

To critically assess the role played by tourism in aiding Indigenous communities achieve self determination and socio cultural equity.	• <i>What are the main employment opportunities that tourism brings?</i>	→ Through this question, it might be possible to assess if the number and type of tourism employment opportunities have been different for Indigenous and Non-Indigenous individuals. In turn, this question might provide clues about how existing power relations might have conditioned tourism employment in Pisac.

Appendix C: Participant Consent Form



CONSENT FORM

Full title of Project:

The role of tourism in altering the structure of local power relations in the Peruvian Andes.

Name, position and contact address of Researcher:

Rosa Codina
PhD candidate
Oxford School of Hospitality Management
Faculty of Business
Oxford Brookes University
Headington Campus
Oxford OX3 0BP
United Kingdom

Mobile: + 44 (0) 7874265428
Email: rosa.codina-2011@brookes.ac.uk

Please initial box

I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

☐

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason.

☐

I agree to take part in the above study.

☐

Please tick box

Yes

No

I agree to the interview being audio recorded

☐☐

I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in publications

☐☐

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

APPENDIX D: ETHICAL APPROVAL



Dr Peter Lugosi
Director of Studies
Oxford School of Hospitality Management
Faculty of Business
Oxford Brookes University
Gipsy Lane
Headington

6 July 2012

Dear Dr Lugosi

UREC Registration No: 120635

The role of tourism in altering the structure of power relations in the Peruvian Andes

Thank you for your email of 4 July outlining the response to the points raised in my previous letter about the PhD study of your research student Rosa Codina, and attaching the revised documents. I am pleased to inform you that, on this basis, I have given Chair's Approval for the study to begin.

The UREC approval period for this study is two years from the date of this letter, 6 July 2014. If you need the approval to be extended please do contact me nearer the time of expiry.

Thank you also for agreeing that UREC may use this application as an example of a good submission for future applicants to UREC on the basis that it would be fully anonymised.

In order to monitor studies approved by the University Research Ethics Committee, we will ask you to provide a (very brief) report on the conduct and conclusions of the study in a year's time. If the study is completed in less than a year, could you please contact me and I will send you the appropriate guidelines for the report.

Yours sincerely

Hazel Abbott
Chair of the University Research Ethics Committee

cc Rosa Codina, Research Student
Samantha Miles, Research Ethics Officer
Jill Organ, Graduate Office
Louise Wood, UREC Administrator

UNIVERSITY RESEARCH ETHICS
COMMITTEE, FACULTY OF HEALTH
AND LIFE SCIENCES

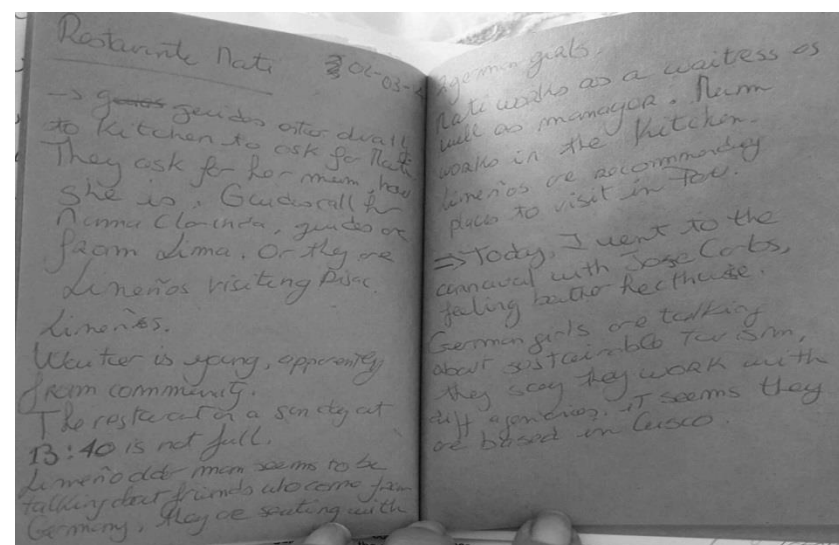
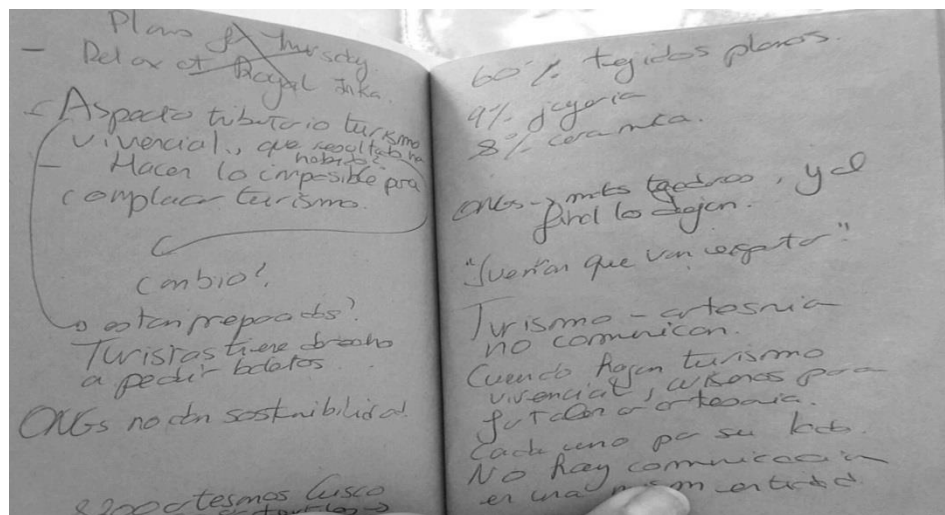
Headington Campus Gipsy Lane
Oxford OX3 0BP UK

Tel: 01865 482639
heabbott@brookes.ac.uk



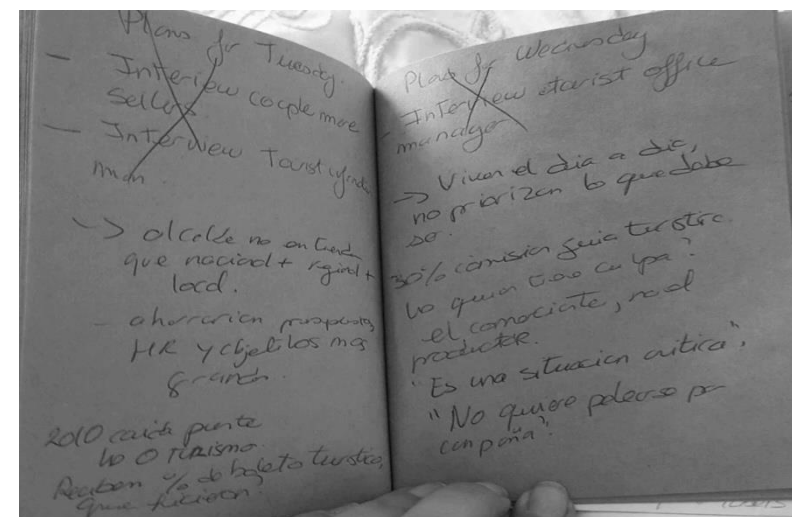
www.brookes.ac.uk

APPENDIX E: PICTURES OF PISAC OBSERVATION NOTES



27-03-13

Finally in Cuzco,
I should have started
writing earlier but things
as usual got in the way.
So many things have already
happened in such a short
period of time. I'm not gonna
start writing in chronological
order because there is one
thing I absolutely need
to take off my mind. Yester-
day I lost / was robbed of
my mobile phone. This
absolutely disrupted my
day and just made me
want to give up before
I even started. I felt
like a fool. However, on the



APPENDIX F: OBSERVATION NOTES SENT TO MAIN SUPERVISOR THROUGH EMAIL

Something else I have noticed around the main square is that you have all these characters who make a living indirectly out of tourism. Aside from bricheros and the crafts and aquarela street sellers, you also have jaladores (literally translated to "people who pull"). These guys are basically employed by bars and restaurants to direct tourists to their businesses, some act more overtly than others, for instance you have jaladores who stand in front of the restaurants and encourage tourists to look at the menu and advertise the restaurant's special deals (a little bit like what we experienced in Turkey) but then you also have young guys who casually approach or befriend tourists in the main square and then casually drop a line about a great bar or club nearby where they will be able to have a great time, sometimes they even have flyers(yes, I eavesdropped conversations at the main square). I've seen the same guys do this at the main square during different days so I suspect they are employed by bars. Curiously it's mostly young guys with strong Andean physical features who are employed to do this. Also, I suspect the reason for doing this in an under covered way is that authorities have tried to reduce the number of street sellers and jaladores operating in the main square since they want to portray an image of Cuzco as a safe tourist destination.

I heard from the NGO lady, that 10 years ago, the main square was full of street sellers, selling everything from food, souvenirs, shoe shining etc...but that now authorities had restricted their access to the center of the city, although apparently restaurants in the main square are still allowed to employ them as I see jaladores there everyday..mmhh I wonder what kind of deal they have going on. However, street sellers have not kept quiet about their disapproval of the new laws, I've read that over the last few years there have been many protests by street sellers who demand that the police stop confiscating their goods and let them sell in the city center. I actually saw one protests in front of a public ministry, can't remember which one it was. I saw a bunch of people with speakers (no signs) who looked just about ready to start something and were surrounded by armed police. I asked a guy who was standing close by reading a newspaper what the whole protest was about and he told me they were street sellers demanding that the police returned their confiscated goods. I took a picture from a distance, perhaps looking back I shouldn't have but at the time I thought it was important to document it. I also saw a metal plaque on a street closed to where the protest was taking place which said "street sellers and jaladores are strictly forbidden in this street" (see pic).

Regarding handicraft markets in Cuzco, there are hundreds of them, of all sizes and catering for all types of markets. Mostly, what abound are handicrafts markets selling textiles and souvenirs arguably made with cheap materials and at low prices. Most of the people selling at these

markets are from Cuzco or surrounding areas, I suspect some of them sell in Pisac too. This is what one guy working at an NGO textile store in the center of Cuzco told me (Caritas Cuzco).

I went in to look at some textiles and got talking with the store assistant. According to him, Indigenous communities do not benefit from selling their produce at handicraft markets in Cuzco or Pisac because they don't have enough money to pay for a market stall and they also have to spend money on transport since they live in communities situated far away from towns. He pointed out that most of the time they sell their textiles and handicrafts at low prices since market stall owners have the upper hand in negotiations. He further stated that nowadays people selling at tourist handicraft markets are buying Chinese textiles and so are able to sell at incredibly low prices, which means that even if Indigenous communities manage to get a market stall, they can't compete on prices. He then explained how selling directly through their NGO shop meant that Indigenous communities could get a fairer price for their textiles as they paid them a fair price for the amount of hours and work invested in every piece. He further said that it was more convenient for Indigenous communities to sell through their NGO shop as they didn't have to spend as much money on trips to markets, didn't have to pay intermediaries and further their skills were revalorised.

Lastly he stated that for Indigenous women particularly, selling through shops like CARITAS meant that they could make money whilst still being able to perform their domestic duties as they didn't have to spend time selling their weaving themselves. He was very knowledgeable and enthusiastic when explaining textile techniques and traditions and I felt he sincerely cared about Indigenous communities. However, I then heard from the tourism coordinator at ANDES that man sustainable tourism or charity shops only work with individual families instead of working with the whole community. According to her this means that only certain people in the community benefit from those private deals and causes ruptures in the community.

The guy was from Cuzco and apparently had worked for many years with Indigenous communities and warned me about the price of taxis in Pisac. He said that when visiting communities living around Pisac, I should try and take the local buses to reach the closest reaching communities but that in order to visit the furthest located Indigenous villages, I would need to take a taxi. He pointed out that given I was a tourist, taxi drivers would try and charge me 70 soles, but the real price was 15 soles... (by the way here in Peru, there is a tourist price and a local price for everything, the difference between these is usually huge)

APPENDIX G: EMAIL SUMMARIZING PISAC OBSERVATIONS SENT TO SUPERVISORS

11/28/2017

Google@Brookes Mail - Fwd: update

OXFORD
BROOKES
UNIVERSITY

Rosa Codina Sotomayor <p0011788@brookes.ac.uk>

Fwd: update

1 message

Rosa Codina Sotomayor <rosa.codina-2011@brookes.ac.uk>
To: Rosa Codina Sotomayor <p0011788@brookes.ac.uk>

14 November 2017 at 15:33

Rosa Codina
Senior Lecturer in Events
Oxford School of Hospitality Management
Oxford Brookes University
Gipsy Lane Campus
Oxford, OX3 0BP
Office: +44 (0) 1865 760288

----- Forwarded message -----

From: **Rosa SM Codina Sotomayor** <rosa.codina-2011@brookes.ac.uk>
Date: 8 March 2014 at 01:59
Subject: update
To: Peter Lugosi <plugosi@brookes.ac.uk>, David Bowen <dbowen@brookes.ac.uk>

Hi Peter and David,

I just wanted to give you an update on my progress since I've arrived in Pisac. Things have been moving very fast indeed, I am meeting new people who connect me to other people everyday.

Most people have been really open to talking to me, although I sense a few people in the crafts market are still a bit suspicious of my presence. Having said that, I have done 15 interviews so far with a mix bunch of people, textile shop owners, hotel and restaurant owners, "tomame fotos", indigenous artisans, vegetable market women, street sellers and today I interviewed Dianne Dun who is the owner of probably the biggest spiritual retreat hotel here in Pisac. She gave me an hour and a half interview with great information on both shamanic tourism and the changes Pisac has gone through since she moved in 2001. She also invited me to attend a one day spiritual workshop on the 17th of march which I think will be a great chance to do some participant observation related to shamanic tourism businesses.

This week, including last weekend, was carnival season (there was dancing, parades and concerts literally everyday and night) so I got to see a lot of the festivities and meet locals as well as foreigners. On Wednesday I was invited by a local friend to go up to the Indigenous community of Cuyo Grande for the carnival festivities. The carnival in itself was worth the trip, however I took the chance to interview some locals somehow involved in tourism, amongst them was the ex mayor (who was the only Indigenous mayor Pisac ever had), an artisan who works with the NGO MINKA and who also sells his products abroad and another local man who works in agriculture and works part time as an artisan. On a side note, the dancers invited me to dance with them in front of the whole community and even dressed me up in traditional attire! I managed to embarrass myself in front of the whole community of Cuyo Grande...

Yesterday I met this French woman by accident who works for an environmental organisation trying to implement recycling in Pisac, she showed me all these pictures of the landfill where garbage in Pisac is being buried. She also mentioned she had signed a deal with the mayor to reduce the use of plastic bags in the market. As a result of our conversation she took me with her to the municipality this morning and I was introduced to the local head of tourism and also the man in charge of environmental protection. Turns out this man had worked with an anthropologist who did a study on Indigenous communities about 15 years ago so when I mentioned my study he appeared very enthusiastic and offered to take me up to different communities on Monday. He will introduce me to womens associations working in tourism or something along those lines...we'll see what happens on Monday. Following from that, the head of tourism informed I could obtain statistical information on tourist numbers in Pisac so I've made the application for that today and apparently I should have it Monday.

This afternoon I conducted participant observation at a workshop organised by the ministry of tourism to capacitate artisans and other market sellers. It was great, today was the session on empowerment and leadership and locals were asked to talk about their social problematics, I cant go into detail but I must have written like 6 A4 pages of observation notes, the information I managed to gather was amazing. I also took the chance to introduce myself to the attendees and after the session ended one of the women came to me and told me "we thought you were American!". After I left the workshop, one of the male artisans who is probably the most suspicious of all market sellers invited me to visit his workshop where he makes bracelets and necklaces. He said I could interview him next

https://mail.google.com/mail/u/0/?ui=2&ik=86ddad6082&jsver=x3OKJNT3Vkc.en_GB.&view=pt&cat=thesis&search=cat&th=15fbb29e6c7e1175&s... 1/2

APPENDIX H: TABLE OF PARTICIPANTS

Participant Pseudonyms by alphabetical order	Background
Alberto	Migrant male jeweller in his forties. He owned and managed a jewellery store with other close family members. He had been living in Pisac for around five years.
Alfredo	Male mestizo artisan in his sixties. Lived and worked in Pisac all his life.
Armando	Male Mestizo in his fifties, owner of a Cusco-based tour operator. He had been working in tourism in the region for approximately 25 years. He was also a member of the Cusco chamber of commerce, an association that promotes and protects the interests of the Cusco business community.
Carlos	Male Quechua weaver in his fifties from the Indigenous community of Chahuaytiri. He was also the community chief.
Carmen	Female Mestiza, Cusco native in her sixties. She sold powder paints in the Pisac handicraft market.
DIRCETUR official	Male Mestizo in his fifties. Government official working for the Ministry of Tourism and commerce, in charge of tourism development for the Cusco region.
Doris	Mestiza female artisan in her forties, Pisac native, owner of a souvenir shop.
Edith	Mestiza female in her seventies, Pisac native, owner of a local guesthouse.
Emily	American woman in her fifties, owner of a coffee shop popular with tourists and expats.
Ernesto	Male Mestizo in his thirties. Lived in Pisac most of his life, owner of a popular restaurant/bar in Pisac.
Fernando	Male Indigenous weaver in his forties from the community of Chahuaytiri
Flor	Female Indigenous 'tomame-foto' in her thirties.
Francisco	Male Mestizo, municipal officer in charge overseeing Pisac tourism.
German	Male Mestizo in his forties. Leader of one of the largest handicraft artisanal associations in Pisac. He was also a local radio host and owned a souvenir shop.
Gilberto	Male Mestizo in his fifties. Mayor of Pisac.

Gladys	17-year-old female Mestiza handicraft market -seller. Her stall was one of the largest stalls and she sold in conjunction with her mother and siblings. She lived in Pisac all her life.
Isabel	Mestiza and Indigenous female in her twenties, born and raised in Pisac. She worked as an administrator for the family's guesthouse.
Juana	Mestiza female in her forties, born and raised in Pisac. Handicraft market trader and single mother.
Jorge	Mestizo male in his forties, Pisac native, former artisan in charge of artisanal related tourism in Pisac. He worked for the local council and had lived in Pisac of his life.
Joy	American woman who had been residing in Pisac intermittently for the last two years. She was single and in her fifties.
Juan Luis	Mestizo and Indigenous male in his mid-thirties. Pisac resident and artisan in charge of administrating the family guest-house.
Lara	Female in her forties, originally from Lima but living in Pisac for the last three years. Owner of a vegan restaurant popular with expats and New Age tourists.
Leandro	Indigenous artisan from the Quechua community of Cuyo Chico.
Luis	Indigenous male in his fifties from the community of Cuyo Grande. Former mayor of Pisac.
Luna	Female in her thirties from Afro-Peruvian descent. She worked as the director of Intercultural issues for the Ministry of Culture in Lima.
Luisa	Mestiza female artisan in her forties, owner of a small souvenir shop.
Mabel	Fruit and vegetable seller in her fifties. She had been selling fruits and vegetables in Pisac for over twenty years. She was a former primary school teacher and single mother.
Manuel	Mestizo male in his sixties. Owner of a local book shop, radio host. Born and raised in Pisac.
Margaret	American female in her sixties. Owner of a spiritual retreat where tourists can stay for an extended period to engage in spiritual practices related to Shamanism and Quechua culture. Her retreat offers accommodation, food and a range of activities related to meditation an inner well-being. Most guests are foreigners. Margaret lived in Pisac since 2001.
Maria	Mestiza woman in her sixties. Originally from the city of Cusco but lived in Pisac for the last 40 years. Owner of a convenient store and a guest house managed by herself and her husband. Maria was also a former artisan who used to own an atelier-pottery shop in the centre of Pisac. She had also sold in the handicraft market in the past.
Marianela	Fruit and vegetable seller, in her twenties, sold fresh juices. Mother of two young children.
Mary	American manager of "parque de la papa".
Miguel	Peruvian migrant jeweller in his fifties, owner of one of the most popular jewellery stores in Pisac.
MINCETUR official	Peruvian Mestizo male in his thirties in charge of community-based tourism nationally.
Natalia	Mestiza female in her mid- thirties. Raised in Pisac, co-owner with

	her mother of a family run restaurant on the outskirts of Pisac, catering mainly to tourists.
Ramon	Indigenous leader from the community of Paru-Paru involved in the 'Parque de la papa' project.
Reinaldo	Peruvian Mestizo male, migrant waiter in his thirties.
Ricardo	Mestizo male in his sixties. Travel agency owner from Cusco.
Santiago	Mestizo male artisan in his forties who lived in Pisac for the last twenty years.
Valeria	Female handicraft market seller in her twenties. She had lived in Pisac all her life. She was also married and had two children.

APPENDIX I: EXAMPLE OF CODING WITH LINKS TO LITERATURE REVIEW AND RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Interview codes	Interview quotes	Links to literature review and research objectives
Power of tour guides and tourism intermediaries	Gladys: They are the ones who practically manipulate all the tourism here because when they want to they bring tourists to one place and when they don't want to they take them somewhere else, because there are 2 or 3 big jewellery shops in town and these are all in different places, so when they want to ruin everything for everyone they just take them to the shop that is further away from the market. Juana: But nowadays it's another story, everything is monopolised because whoever has more money is able to pay more commission to the guide and that's how you can get more sales in one day and if you stand there without wanting to give money to the guide, tourists don't come. But at the end of the day, that's a bribe, isn't it?	This code was linked to literature on the power of tour guides as mediators and the political role of tour guides (Dahles, 2002; Mitchell, 1996; McGrath; 2007, Holloway, 1981; Cohen, 1985). Interview quotes relating to commission-based sales, bribery and tactics used by tour guides to influence tourists' decisions were linked to this code. <i>Related to objectives 2, 3 and 4.</i>
Spatial transformation of Pisac due to tourism	Margaret: Well you know that road, well you know the way, the one that goes to the ruins was always there but not graded, it was more like the quality of this road and is actually been graded a few times that one. But it was horrible, all the roads around here and well there was this one paved road, the one across the bridge, the one to the ruins and then it stopped, that was the road. Everything else was little pathways but now they have been widened and grated and all the way out to Cuyo grande on the other side and up to Amaru on this side. Natalia: I still got to enjoy playing in the square, we would go out in the evenings and we would be able to play and go out for a walk...Now this is not the case anymore, the	This code was related to the changes in the use of spaces and alterations to architecture and infrastructure in Pisac as a result of tourism. Most interview quotes reflect the issues raised by interviewees in regard to the plaza being used by market sellers every day of the week and market sellers being a powerful elite who appropriated the plaza illegitimately. This code was linked to literature on power as domination (Lukes, 2005; Rowlands, 1997; Coles and Church, 2007, power of local elites (Boyle and Hughes, 1991; Kearns and Philo, 1993; Shields, 2003) and spatial power (Lefebvre, 1974, Foucault, 1982) <i>Related to research objectives 2 and 3.</i>

	square is full of stalls, you can't create a "world", you can't play 'matachola', you can't make a plan, you can't do anything, why? Because the square is occupied and the market sellers don't want to leave, the places where they use to store their stalls are now hotels; restaurants or shops, there are no empty spaces where they can actually store their stalls!"	
Relations between private tourism businesses- and the Municipality	Francisco: Well, in line with our aim of constructing an artisanal market, people would have to be selected to be able to sell in that market, and of course the Municipality invests in training sessions and workshops and so in a way the people who regularly attend those training sessions and workshops must be rewarded with a place in the new artisanal market. DIRCETUR Official: We have gone to Pisac to do some checks and we have found a large quantity of establishments that did not even have an operating license granted by the municipality, the owners weren't even registered with the SUNAT. Municipal authorities should have been the first ones to find out about this because they are the ones who are there every day. Miguel: people who are in charge of those posts don't feel the need to help the town. It's simply "this is my post, this is my job, I work and at the end of the month I'll get paid, that's all". But that's not their function, their function is something else, it's called the economic development of society, we are talking about improvement, about giving citizens a better quality of life	This code was associated to the impact of local authorities on local tourism activities. This included the delay in the construction of the new market, tourism initiatives led by the council and the apparent failure of the Municipality to intervene in matters relating to the prejudicial practices of tour guides. The literature related to this code was to do with political power (Farnaki et al, 2015) and Luke's third dimension of power (non-decision making) (Bachrach and Baratz, 1962; Lukes (1974). <i>Linked to research objectives 3 and 4.</i>
Tourism effect on women	Gladys: Tourism has impacted women, we feel more independent, I mean we don't have to depend on someone to bring money to the house and wait on them, like before. Like they used to say, "women are only good for taking	This code was linked to the socio-economic impacts of tourism on the female population of the district of Pisac, working in tourism-related spaces. This notably included linking the data to literature on female empowerment

	care of the house and they can't work". However, here you see the opposite, women are the ones working. Men don't really work here, they stay at home, sometimes they watch the children, they are as we say 'painted'. Mabel: In some cases, one of the women here got physically abused by her husband and all the women in the market gathered together and confronted him. Juana: Women have more autonomy nowadays. My mother for instance, when she started working in the market, she was the one who decided what we ate or what we didn't eat, it wasn't my dad anymore.	(Scheyvens, 2000; Stanistreet et al, 2007; Hoque and Itohara, 2009, cited in Moswete and Lacey, 2015), the impact of tourism on the employment of women in developing countries and literature on gender dynamics in Latin-American societies (Duffy et al, 2012). <i>Linked to research objective 2.</i>
Relations between Piseños and Indigenous communities	Manuela: Now thanks to bloody community tourism, they come down here and dare to say no when we offer them jobs as builders! Now they have demands! They want more money but want to work less! You know, they didn't even have bathrooms until recently up there? And now they act as if they are superior and dare to challenge you! Carlos: When we came down to Pisac or Cusco we felt discriminated. For instance, we would come down with our traditional clothes and stand next to a shop and we were told to leave like a wild animal, "get out, get out, go away". Or they just treat you badly because you are using Indigenous clothing, they start treating you badly. It's not that they just don't take you into account but they actually go after you. Reinaldo: I don't know if people here do it as a joke but I have seen that sometimes there is discrimination.	This code was associated to the social dynamics between Pisac based Mestizos (both those working in tourism and those not involved in tourism) and Indigenous groups. The interview quotes reflected the views held by each group about each other and the extent to which tourism had altered power dynamics based on culture and ethnicity. The literature linked to this code included research on ethnic identity (De la Cadena, 2000; Canepa, 2008), and the influence of ethnicity on equitable access to tourism participation (Holland, 2000; Hall, 2003). <i>Linked to research objectives to 3 and 4.</i>

Socio-economic changes in Indigenous communities as a result of tourism	Leandro: community based tourism has started to open up, and Indigenous groups are starting to sell directly to tourists without having to go through Pisac. So of course, people from Pisac will say a lot of things, bad things, right? Because they are not receiving any income from us, that's a problem for them. For instance, a tourist wants to buy straight from an Indigenous peasant who makes his weavings with his own hands, that's possible now. Before, those textiles had to be handed to sellers in Pisac before. Ramon: Yes, definitely, in my view they have been impacted positively because before they were women who perhaps never had a job. But now little by little, they are starting to earn a living. Not only in the 'Parque de la papa' but also in other community tourism projects	This code was linked to the involvement of Quechua groups in tourism as a result of community-based tourism. Interview quotes mainly related to the experience of Indigenous individuals involved in CBT and the changes (if any) they had experienced at an individual and community level as a result. The literature associated with this code mostly encompassed literature on Indigenous involvement in community based tourism (mostly focused on Latin-America) (Knight and Cottrell, 2016; Casas-Jurado et al, 2012). <i>Linked to research objectives 2 and 4.</i>
Indigenous groups as ethnic subjects.	MINCETUR official: Yes, I do think that this stereotype that tourists like what is archaic, what is exotic, has done a lot of damage. A lot of NGOs have pursued this because they don't employ trained tourism experts to tell them otherwise. Generally, and especially in regard to tourism, NGOs have led this thinking of "let's recover what is ancient because that is the most authentic". So, there have been extreme cases where tourists are forbidden to bring iPads to certain communities. Ricardo: Well, evidently tourism brings with it a negative current, the young people in Indigenous communities need to be aware of that. They don't use their traditional costumes anymore, they use 'nike' shoes, hiking boots, plastic jackets, why? Because someone in the community was a porter for a tour operator and brought back those things.	This code mostly reflected the views expressed by tour operators and Mestizos about Quechua actors and the idea that Indigenous groups should not incorporate themselves to 'modern' lifestyles in order to retain an authentic ethnic identity. The literature examined mostly encompassed texts on the representation of Indigenous ethnic identity in tourism (Delfin, 2009; Hill, 2008), the unequal power relations between Indigenous groups and tour operators (Knight et al, 2017), and the implications for Indigenous socio-political equity (Hill, 2008; Vich, 2007). <i>Linked to research objectives 2 and 4.</i>

APPENDIX J: SAMPLE OF INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT

Interview Joy

Duration: 0:50:53.7

E1=Researcher

E2=Joy

E1 First of all I want to ask you how you arrived here in Pisac, what drove you here?

E2 Well, I will tell you the truth (laugh) which is that 3 years ago in February, I was invited in this healing journey in the Peruvian rainforest that included ayahuasca, I had been introduced to it in the United States because a friend of mine was getting married, she invited me to the wedding, so I met this guy and I didn't know I had all this Lyme disease so one of my things was to keep drinking this thing and heal so I decided to take an educational course to experience it, anyway the process involved drinking ayahuasca ... a year later I was invited and given a scholarship to go on a retreat, and it was very meaningful and healing and I had been involved with Latin-Americans in this intercultural exchange programme in the past... (can't understand) I always wanted to work and live in Latin America, I came here 6 months later and I was exploring options of living and working in Peru. I had heard of Pisac and I decided to come, checked it out and then it felt like a good match.

E1 So, when you came here to Pisac, what did you do?

E2 Well, to be really honest, the first thing I did was November 11th 2011 I went to an Ayahuasca ceremony (both interviewer and interviewee laugh), actually first I contacted Dianne Dunn, she was having some kind of retreat I heard but somehow I didn't make it in there so that's what I did. So I'm just telling you this because it's part of the tourism that happens here and it's part of my story so and then I said that I was gonna stay in this place, and after the first month of being here I rented a house.

E1 Ok, and how did you find the Ayahuasca ceremonies?

E2 Healing, uplifting, also supportive and helpful for my health particularly and also for my spirit.

E1 And so the Ayahuasca ceremony was run by Margaret?

E2 No, this guy from Venezuela so under Carlos Montero¹ at ayahuasca-wasi.com, quite a few foreigners come and study under him and meet over here.

E1 Really?

E2 From Venezuela, United States, Canada, France, I don't know all over.

¹ Pseudonym used to protect confidentiality of individuals.

E1 So they become shamans themselves? So normally is the shaman a foreigner, it's not really somebody who lives here?

E2 Totally. The local community here does not participate in these ayahuasca ceremonies.

E1 In your experience, since you've been in contact with people here, locals, what is their opinion about ayahuasca tourism?

E2 (Silence)

As far as I can see they stay away from it, I don't even know how much they know about it, they must know it exists. I think if you interview Juana from 'hospedaje Inti', she'd be a good one to ask because she's never taking it but her daughter almost maybe contemplating it because she's dealing with some very serious issues in her life. They have a lot of clientele who are doing these ceremonies but they don't, so it's interesting. I don't know, I don't honestly, like we don't talk about it. But I also for the first...you know I've worked a lot with children here and I pretty much, until I spoke with Juana recently, her daughter was in this commercial estate and she suggested and she spoke about her daughter maybe going to work with a Peruvian woman like in Calca (nearby town) or something to lead a ceremony and pretty much had kept it a secret from the locals since I'm working with children and I just..

E1 You don't want to mix..

E2 I don't but maybe I started to speak about it a little bit more because I'm hardly working without medicine but I live in these 2 worlds

E1 Yeah, that's interesting because you've been working here with families and also you are part of the foreign community in a sense, so how was your experience of being a foreigner here?

E2 It's like I feel schizophrenic you know? (laugh, both), a little, because on one hand I really value, I feel connected to local children and families and I like, spend time with them and I live with them and I go to birthday parties and I know about domestic violence situations and child abuse situations and alcoholism in this family and that family so there's the social worker in me that takes a very personal interest in people's stories and takes time and so there's a special connection. At the same time, it's like one of my goals has been to try to help build a bridge between these communities, I can empathise sort of with both sides, but the times I've tried to create openings for foreigners to have more connections with local people through other kinds of activities, when I put out something up on facebook for example like needing help to pay for snacks this month or help for my program or something, I don't get a response. And there are a lot of people on the "spirits events" facebook page, like 2000 people and the ones who respond are either friends from the US or people who I've met here but are back in their home country and they want to stay connected to Pisac, they're not the people that live here. They're only 3

who have contributed this year, well a little bit maybe, one a year, it's just like you know there's 50 other donations from outside.

E1 So, there's not a lot of communication between foreigners and locals?

E2 I see it around commerce, markets, I mean I think it's growing but this feeling of schizophrenia, like bringing these 2 worlds together,

E1 Why do you think foreigners don't really communicate with locals, do you think it has to do with foreigners themselves or the way locals see foreigners or..?

E2 Mmhh, both of them. Well for example there's a woman that, it would be interesting that you interview her, she's from Italy and her husband is (Dutch? Can't really understand) and they have a child and they've just had a second child and he's leading Ayahuasca ceremonies and they're living nearby. She's Italian and she speaks very good Spanish, when she first came maybe it was not great but she's Italian so she learned quickly and she says "I don't know what to talk to them about" and I'm like well like how's your child? what you had for lunch? like you know, like the basic human like conditions so there's some kind of, I don't know if it's just feeling different or different lifestyles or

E1 Cultural shocks, cultural differences?

E2 I don't know, it's interesting (pause) and yet on the other hand, there was recently this family I know quite well, grandparents, their daughters, and then some of the daughter's children, it's like I've been involved with a lot of members of this family, been spending some time with them. The grandmother said recently, when she was peeling pieces of choclo (corn) off the cob, I said can I help you? And she said "oh, it's hard, you know" she was peeling the skin off and then grinding it and she said "oh its hard" and I said "oh I can try you know" so anyway I was doing it and she was looking at my hand, cause she's from a community Colcra, one of the communities (Indigenous communities) from Paucartambo, so there is some sense of like foreigners are really like different, like she was like "wow, your skin is like the colour of a papa (potato)", she was asking me questions about my country like there what do you have? so I've learnt from even the children that, ok I'm talking too much..

E1 Not at all

E2 So, I've known this girl maybe she's not 12, but maybe when she was 10, one day, last year I think up in the ruins when it was carnival, Vilma, and she asked me "de donde eres?" (where are you from) and I said "de los estados unidos", (from the States) "de donde eres?" (where are you from) and I said "America" and she said "de donde eres?" and I said "Nueva York" and she was really trying to...and she said you're not from Spain? She said that "my parents told me that all the foreigners were from Spain", so I felt that these children have like everything is related to the conquest, pre Spanish and post Spanish, like in this neighbourhood, like in the rinconada

neighbourhood, and I was really like and also she's gone to school there and stuff and she one day also said "China is just behind that mountain"

E1 Wow

E2 So there's a certain level of education and access to information that's very strange even just like beliefs about, like there are dental clinics that come to town and that same child, her mother didn't want to send her because the belief is that now that she has her real permanent teeth, so they were saying that here they would just pull the teeth out so there's not an understanding that a) that you brush your teeth and you take care of them and that b) you could fill cavities and keep those teeth forever so that's the level I'm like in with people and I don't see that same level of attention with others. They started this conversation, I think it was last year, like people who've lived here for some years, just starting to make up for around wanting to help people (unclear)

E1 Do you think that they just look down on locals or are they are just afraid of locals?

E2 ehmm (pause) I think there's no interest, there's also like, there's sometimes people project like all the Andean culture are special...you know this kind of thing but I think you'd find if you go and interview people in gringoville about gringoville, they would be able to tell you. I just know that some of the long term people, gringos, a lot of people taking ayahuasca, that is like one little like hippy village in a way and uhm and I see very little communication between gringoville people and outside people, but you'd have to ask them

E1 Yeah, how did you start communicating with people locally, how was it for you?

E2 So I was renting this very large house next to Dona Maria's restaurant and I'm not used to living in a big empty house, and I'm like what I am doing here? And so every day I had compost I was bringing to the actual, the mother of Alda, the one that has this little shack, I was bringing the compost across the street, her mother has cuys (guinea pigs) so I would bring fresh organic matter like every other day for her cuys

E1 Oh, I see

E2 And then if I had plastic bottles in my house or guests would bring plastic bottles I would bring them to her for her chicha, she sells chicha, so like through everyday relationships like or going and buying from this single mom as often as I could, and like I would do that and spent some time with them and inviting them to take a hot shower in my house if they wanted, you know, cause they didn't have hot showers mostly. Kids started coming by and I think sometimes with children, doors open too but families weren't coming by so once the children were coming by and it was like wow you're a gringo and you let people in your house and you share things?

E1 And so that's how they opened up to you in a way..?

E2 I think so. It just takes time you know, it's sort of informal social work done, potentially but sort of...