CEDLA LATIN AMERICA STUDIES 96

CULTURAL TOURISM IN LATIN AMERICA

THE POLITICS OF SPACE AND IMAGERY

EDITED BY

MICHIEL BAUD & ANNELOU YPEIJ

BRILL

Cultural Tourism in Latin America

CEDLA Latin America Studies

General Editor

Michiel Baud, CEDLA

Editorial Board

Anthony Bebbington, University of Manchester
Edward F. Fischer, Vanderbilt University
Anthony L. Hall, London School of Economics
and Political Science
Barbara Hogenboom, CEDLA
Barbara Potthast, University of Cologne
Eduardo Silva, University of Missouri at St. Louis
Patricio Silva, Leiden University
Rachel Sieder, University of London

CEDLA
Centrum voor Studie en Documentatie van Latijns Amerika
Centro de Estudios y Documentación Latinoamericanos
Centro de Estudos e Documentação Latino-Americanos
Centre for Latin American Research and Documentation

The Centre for Latin American Research and Documentation (CEDLA) conducts social science and history research, offers university courses, and has a specialised library for the study of the region. The Centre also publishes monographs and a journal on Latin America.

Keizersgracht 395-397
1016 EK Amsterdam
The Netherlands / Países Bajos
www.cedla.uva.nl

VOLUME 96

Cultural Tourism in Latin America

The Politics of Space and Imagery

Edited by
Michiel Baud and Annelou Ypeij

BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2009

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Cultural tourism in Latin America : the politics of space and imagery / edited by Michiel Baud and Annelou Ypeij.
p. cm. — (Cedla latin america studies; v. 96)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-90-04-17640-9 (hardback : alk. paper) 1. Heritage tourism—Social aspects—Latin America. 2. Heritage tourism—Political aspects—Latin America. 3. Culture and tourism—Latin America. 4. Cultural property—Latin America—Social aspects. 5. Latin America—Cultural policy. 6. Latin America—Social conditions—21st century. I. Baud, Michiel, 1952– II. Ypeij, Johanna Louisa. III. Title. IV. Series.

G155.L3C85 2009
306.4'819098—dc22

2009010951

ISSN 1572-6401
ISBN 978 90 04 17640 9

© Copyright 2009 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Hotei Publishing, IDC Publishers, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers and VSP.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.
Fees are subject to change.

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments ix
List of Illustrations xi

Chapter One Cultural Tourism in Latin America: An Introduction 1
Michiel Baud and Annelou Ypeij

PART ONE

CULTURE AND THE PRODUCTION OF REGIONAL AND NATIONAL IDENTITIES

Chapter Two Tourism, Folklore and the Emergence of Regional and National Identities 23
Zoila S. Mendoza

Chapter Three The 'Three Roots' of Panama's Cultural Heritage: The Construction of Racial and National Identities in Theme Parks 45
Carla Guerrón Montero

Chapter Four Through the Othering Gaze: Yucatecan Trova Music and 'the Tourist' in Yucatán, Mexico 69
Gabriela Vargas-Cetina

Chapter Five 'A Symbol of Wisdom and Love'? Countercultural Tourism and the Multiple Faces of María Sabina in Huautla, Oaxaca 93
Ben Feinberg

PART TWO

LOCAL LIVELIHOODS AND TOURIST ENCOUNTERS

Chapter Six Sacamefotos and Tejedoras: Frontstage Performance and Backstage Meaning in a Peruvian Context 117
Beatrice Simon

Chapter Seven Tourism, the State and the Marketing of Traditional Andean Artesanías: Problematic Encounters, Pitfalls, and Competing Interests 141
Lynn A. Meisch

Chapter Eight Dishing up the City: Tourism and Street Vendors in Cuzco 161
Griet Steel

Chapter Nine Caught Between Nature and Culture: Making a Living within the World Heritage Site of Machu Picchu, Peru 177
Keely B. Maxwell and Annelou Ypeij

PART THREE

POLITICS OF HERITAGE TOURISM

Chapter Ten Trivializing Culture, Social Conflict and Heritage Tourism in Quito 199
Alan Middleton

Chapter Eleven Contesting Heritage in Antigua, Guatemala 217
Walter E. Little

Chapter Twelve Hacienda Hotels and Other Ironies of Luxury in Yucatán, Mexico 245
Lisa Breglia

Chapter Thirteen Heritage and Indigeneity: Transformations in the Politics of Tourism 263
Quetzil E. Castañeda

Bibliography 297
List of Contributors 317
Index 321

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In June 2007, the Centre for Latin American Research and Documentation (CEDLA) in Amsterdam organized an international conference on cultural tourism entitled *Indigenous Culture, Heritage and Tourism in Latin America. Between Globalization and Local Development.* This conference was organized in the framework of CEDLA's multidisciplinary research programme *Incatourism in the Andean Highlands: Prospects and Ambivalences of the Idea of Sustainable Tourism (Bolivia, Peru)* that ran from September 2003 to September 2007 and was financed by WOTRO Science for Development. This programme aimed at analysing the linkages between tourism and globalization with a regional focus on the Peruvian and Bolivian Andes. It especially tried to understand the local responses to the increasing number of tourists that visit the region and the implications of tourism for sustainable development. In the framework of this programme several conferences and seminars have been organized, both in the region and in the Netherlands. The June 2007 conference on cultural tourism was the symbolic closure of the research programme. Its focus was on the Andean Highlands and Central America and it brought together European, Latin American and North American scholars with a long research experience in the field of cultural tourism. These scholars were invited to present their empirical research on the management of cultural heritages sites, discourses of identity, nation and belonging and development possibilities of cultural tourism. The present volume is the direct result of the conference.

This book is the product of a collective effort, and without the hard work of many it would not have been possible to publish it. We especially wish to express our gratitude to the participants of the conference for their inspiring work and insights. The research staff of CEDLA have provided many ideas and suggestions that have substantially improved the research programme and this book. We thank Jolanda van den Boom and Patricia Dekker for their skills and support during the organization of the conference. We are grateful to Ted Fisher for his constructive and wise comments on an earlier version of the manuscript. Kathleen Willingham generously helped us with the definitive manuscript. Finally, we are grateful to WOTRO Science for Development for the financial

support that enabled us to develop, execute and successfully conclude the research programme on cultural tourism. To all of the people who collaborated, we say: We hope that this book fulfils your expectations!

Michiel Baud and Annelou Ypeij

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustration 1 (for Chapter Two by Zoila S. Mendoza)

1. Artistic folkloric group in Cuzco in the 1940s.

Illustration 1–4 (for Chapter Five by Ben Feinberg)

1. Map of the Sierra Mazateca of Oaxaca.
2. Doña Julieta Casimiro, a Mazatec curer who has a large international clientele, during the Day of the Dead.
3. Ché Guevara and María Sabina in the 20 de Noviembre Market, Oaxaca.
4. Image of María Sabina that appeared two blocks north of the Zócalo. The image was erased three days later.

Illustration 1–7 (for Chapter Six by Beatrice Simon)

1. A tourist taking a picture of sacamefotos.
2. Sacamefotos outside the town hall.
3. Mother and daughter from Paru Paru.
4. Sacamefoto from Amaru.
5. Sacamefoto-tejedoras performing at the ruins.
6. Sacamefotos waiting for their audience.
7. Changing costumes in the plaza.

Illustration 1–3 (for Chapter Seven by Lynn A. Meisch)

1. Artesanías for sale in the Otavalo market.
2. Knit and woven sweaters and jackets for sale in Otavalo.
3. Members of the Conterón and Cabascango families in the Otavalo market with tapestry purses and embroidered blouses for sale.

Illustration 1–4 (for Chapter Eleven by Walter E. Little)

1. Three Antigua houses in violation of UNESCO and city codes: one property split into three with corrugated steel and poorly maintained roofs.
2. The corner of the Portal on the Central Plaza in violation for having a corrugated-steel roof in poor repair.
3. Old movie theatre, now handicraft marketplace, in the Central Plaza violates codes for having two stories and having a corrugated-steel roof.

4. Anthropology students led support to the Maya street vendors in a meeting with the Mayor and City Council.

Illustration 1–7 (for Chapter Thirteen by Quetzil E. Castañeda)
1. Map of Chichén Itzá showing historical changes in the location of entrances and market venues.
2. Wood carvers sit on a rock outcrop in the parking lot of the Cubertizo (1985).
3. These vendors begin wrapping up their sales of the day, while tourists walk to the Parador Turístico on the path to the left.
4. Vendors from the first invasion were given the option to rent stalls in the Tianguis.
5. A vendor sells hats and parasols in the plaza area between the Tianguis and the Parador.
6. T-shirts hang from the gate where the road ends at the Mayaland entrance to Chichén Itzá.
7. The Coca-Cola can used to promote Mexicans to vote for Chichén Itzá as a new Seven Wonder of the World.

CHAPTER ONE

CULTURAL TOURISM IN LATIN AMERICA: AN INTRODUCTION

Michiel Baud and Annelou Ypeij

Tourism—'voluntary, temporary travel for rest or recreation', as Lynn Meisch defines it in this volume—is an increasingly important source of income for both states and local populations in Latin America. It can be seen as an integrated element of globalization in which international travel and cultural discovery have become part of global consumption patterns. In regions that have a large indigenous population (basically the Andean highlands and Central America), tourism growth primarily concerns 'cultural tourism', whereby the indigenous (and to a lesser extent, Spanish colonial and republican) heritage and customs form the principle tourist attractions. As a complement to global tourism, national and regional tourism has also become increasingly important in Latin America. This is a result of an increasingly affluent middle class and a growing awareness of, and admiration for, the indigenous past among national politicians and populations.

Cultural tourism does not take place in enclaves or far-away resorts, but in Latin American societies and among populations themselves. It reaches the core of local societies and confronts them with unprecedented influxes of people, influences and investments. This book is not so much about cultural tourism as about its complex and often ambiguous consequences at the local level. The contributing authors look at these consequences in the Andes and in Central America, where (mostly foreign) tourists arrive with the explicit purpose of connecting to indigenous cultures, in the form of both their material traces (heritage) and the people who carry that real or supposed culture. They see tourism as a force in which the global and the local coalesce, and as such as a privileged field of study of the effects and local expressions of globalization. The issues this book examines are the implications of cultural tourism on local societies, when and how these tourist activities are integrated into local societies, and how successful these efforts have been in the long run.

Tourism in Latin America

Tourism in Latin America became a mass activity from the late 1960s onwards, as a consequence of cheaper air travel and the establishment of large beach resorts (Mowfort et al. 2008: 13–14). The tourists who booked their holidays at these resorts were attracted by the promise of sun, sand, sea and (possibly) sex. They could enjoy these under rather luxurious circumstances and without much awareness of daily life outside the resorts. In the same period, cruise-ship tourism started to blossom in the Caribbean.

In addition to these organized forms of tourism, 'backpack tourism' emerged. Starting in the early 1970s, backpackers and hippies began to explore Latin America in an individual way. In search of remote and 'authentic' places, they left the beaten track and set off on adventurous journeys. By doing so, they opened up the routes that had first been explored at the beginning of the twentieth century by anthropologists and other researchers who wanted to do *in situ* research in the indigenous heartlands of Latin America (Beals 1976; Baud 2003; Mendoza, this volume). These backpackers were the first tourists to explore exotic cultures and discover new tourist sites. Nowadays, past and present traces of indigenous culture comprise one of the continent's main tourist attractions. Each year, hundreds of thousands of tourists visit such areas as Peru's Sacred Valley (whose principal attraction is the ruins of Machu Picchu) or the Yucatán Peninsula in southern Mexico.[1]

Many Latin American governments regard tourism as consistent with the neoliberal economic development agenda: tourism opens up new markets, generates foreign currency and creates employment. It also adds economic value to the continent's abundant but previously unexploited resources, such as its warm climate, natural beauty, interesting cultures and heritage from many eras. And indeed, tourism has turned into a booming sector: while in 1950 some 1.3 million tourists visited Latin America and the Caribbean, by 1980 this figure was 18 million and in 2006 it reached more than 45 million. Tourism receipts rose from USD 392 million in 1950 to USD 13 billion in 1980, and

[1] Between 1997 and 2006, the number of tourists visiting the Inca archaeological site of Machu Picchu each year rose from 294,032 to 691,623 (www.Mincetur.gob.pe, accessed September 2008).

to more than USD 41 billion in 2006 (Keune & Vugt 2002: 21–23; UNWTO 2008: 22–25).

Although Latin American tourism has grown in an impressive way and become an important source of revenue, foreign entrepreneurs and transnational companies dominate the sector. Keune and Vugt (2002: 32) speak in this respect of the 'far-reaching concentration of control by international companies in the subsectors of transportation, tour operators, travel agents and hotel accommodation', while Mowforth and Munt (2003: 51) use the term 'new imperialism'. The result of this foreign economic domination is severe economic leakage due to the export of profits, the import of materials and goods, the interest paid on foreign loans, the general exploitation of resources and people, and increasing inequality (Keune & Vugt 2002: 34).

In recent years, there has been growing awareness of the potential problems of a one-sided focus on tourism as an instrument for development. Many people have argued that the beneficiaries of tourism development should be local communities and national and regional governments, not just foreign companies. In this context, the idea of sustainable tourism has become very popular. Policy makers, planners and tourists perceive it as an alternative to mass tourism and the negative effects that are generally associated with it (Mowforth & Munt 2003). Many initiatives labelled 'community-based' or 'sustainable tourism' have been implemented to promote the participation, empowerment, control and ownership of local communities. Corresponding with a shift in development thinking in general and with the UN's Millennium Development Goals in particular, poverty elimination has become an explicit goal of sustainable tourism development (Mowfort et al. 2008: 3).[2]

Despite these laudable objectives, the consequences of cultural tourism at the local level are not always positive. As the chapters of this book show, cultural tourism presents many challenges. It has become clear that there is a contradiction not only between the interests of local communities and large tourism enterprises, but also between local populations and state institutions. Promoting tourism often means sanitizing spaces and excluding local populations. Increased benefits

[2] Pro-poor tourism is a new form of tourism that has poverty eradication as its main policy target. The UNWTO's 'Sustainable Tourism—Eliminating Poverty' (ST-EP) programme is an exponent of this new approach to tourism development.

for local governments often come at the cost of marginalizing petty commerce. In addition to these ambiguities, it is clear that the flows of tourists and finances are both volatile and unpredictable. Although tourism can generate large benefits, it has proven to be very difficult to insert any sustainability into this sector, and especially into the cultural tourism subsector.

Cultural tourism

Cultural tourism has become an important economic sector in many parts of Central America and the Andes. As such, it has had important consequences for local and especially indigenous communities. Its economic success has led to political and economic conflicts at local and national levels, and sometimes to changes in existing social and political relations. There is growing pressure on scarce 'cultural' and other resources and the revenues generated by tourism often provoke political and economic tensions. At the same time, tourists introduce new ideas on political and moral issues, not only by being themselves but also by talking to people or expressing their opinions, thus influencing local views and perceptions and generating new forms of social struggles.

Cultural tourism is as much about images, heritage and culture as it is about material relations, income and profit. Cultural tourism is defined in this book as the kind of tourism in which the cultural heritage, both past and present, stands central. The intercultural encounter that is an essential feature of this kind of tourism has consequences for both the tourist and the receiving society. This book focuses on what Edward Bruner has called the 'touristic border zone' in which mobile and ever-changing groups of tourists encounter local populations that are more or less spatially bound (Bruner 2005: 17–18).

Cultural tourism and the experience it offers is specific in that it, in one form or another, involves living people and their cultures. The people the tourists are looking for have their own experiences, perspectives, agendas and agency. Tourism creates articulation and connectivity both in real life and in the creation of images. For the tourists, the 'real-life' experience and direct cultural contact is the essential purpose of their endeavour. The study of cultural tourism thus also entails the study of intercultural contact and the creation of counter-cultural images and new social relations. But while Bruner is interested primarily in the cultural implications of these interactions, the contributors to this

book extend his analysis to the fields of social and political relations. They are interested mainly in the varied responses and adaptations to tourism in these societies and their social and political implications (as well as, of course, their cultural implications).

The case studies in this book contribute to the ongoing debate on the relationship between global processes of change and their expressions and consequences at the local level. Using the increasing importance of tourism in Latin America as the point of departure, the contributors to this book examine the interaction between global and local processes of change. As Urry (2001: 3) notes, 'the global' and 'tourism' are not two separate entities but 'part and parcel of the same set of complex and interconnected processes'. This has a number of consequences for this book.

First, despite taking tourism as the point of departure, the explicit purpose of this book is not to isolate the sector from other social and economic realms of society. It has become increasingly clear that tourism is connected to multiple changes in fields as different as urban reconstruction, livelihood possibilities, social exclusion, political reshuffling, business development, migration, etc. The consequences of cultural tourism can be understood only in the context of these other, often concomitant developments.

Second, we hope that this book will contribute to the expanding discussion on what may be called international cultural policies, which are embodied most visibly in UNESCO but are also apparent in such organizations as the International Development Bank, the World Bank and a wide array of NGOs, as well as in such 'actors' as Lonely Planet or tourism agencies. All these international actors present and promote visions on the value of heritage and culture, the consequences of which can be understood only at the level of local societies and the ways in which they respond to these international interventions. This leads to a struggle over the meanings and uses of heritage sites, and this can have far-reaching political consequences.

Third, and connected to the previous point, tourism has increasingly become an important source of state income and an important part of the development strategies of Latin American states. There is a strong political side to the development of tourism in contemporary Latin America: local and national actors compete for and debate the future development of tourism and the distribution of the income it generates. At a local level, the benefits of tourist activities are certainly not divided equally among the local populations. It is especially important

to understand the existence and development of new power relations and possibly new forms of conflicts and competition that result from the development of cultural tourism. In many tourism studies, the common view is that local populations cannot control the consequences of tourism. They are seen as either marginalized or oppressed by the tourism industry and those controlling it, including local elites and brokers. However, in this book the active participation and resistance of local populations stands central. Without denying the importance of the new inequalities and exclusions that result from tourism, the initial assumption of this book is that local populations are active participants in the development of cultural tourism and, in more or less overt ways, decisively influence its outcomes (see Cheong & Miller 2004: 244).

Fourth, it is important to stress in this context that the nature and the political importance of cultural tourism often lead to important spatial consequences and the reordering of tourist-scapes. These processes of reordering could be the result of policies of the state and international organizations, definitions of heritage sites, competition over tourist circuits, etc. (cf. Breglia 2006). Whatever their background, however, they are crucial for the study of tourism and should be considered an integral part of the struggle for the benefits of tourism.

Finally, tourism is about the creation of images and identities. Paul Fussell (1980: 43) suggested a long time ago that the majority of tourists are not looking for 'real' exotic places, but feel most comfortable in 'pseudo-places', which 'entice by their familiarity and call for instant recognition'. Although his book refers to stereotypic resorts in Europe, in the Internet age the concept may also be applied to cultural tourism. Today's cultural tourists hope to find the exotic 'other' cultures, but they often define such cultures in terms of romanticized images that are constantly reproduced by today's image industry (e.g. Vich 2007). States have traditionally been eager to influence and even actively construct national and ethnic images and identities presented in the context of international tourism. This is no less the case now than it was in the past. As Herbert (1995: 1) reminds us 'tourism is [also] an ideological framing of history, nature and tradition; a framing that has the power to reshape culture and nature to its own needs'.

Because of this specific feature of cultural tourism, this book is as much about imagery and images as about processes of historical and social change. An important element of this book is the analysis of images and identities that result from the development of tourism. We can perhaps take advantage of Fischer and Benson's idea of different

types of 'desires' that coalesce in the process of tourism. Tourism may be called a 'desire machine', an enormous ideological apparatus with which a great variety of actors try to satisfy the real or supposed desires of the tourist consumer. Paraphrasing Fischer and Benson (2006: 12), we could say that: 'Along the tourist trail, we do not find disinterested actors'.

As pointed out, although these desires and images originate in state activities, the process is just as visible among local populations, which create and perform all kinds of new images, many of which refer to more or less well-defined traditional histories and authenticities. The elements of this new imagery can be ideological (intangible) or material (tangible). The contributions in this book demonstrate how interesting it can be to focus on the local producers of these images, for example public employees, local intellectuals or representatives of cultural groups. This focus allows us to understand local perceptions of the tourist experience and the ways reactions to the explosion of tourist activities are framed in local contexts.

Cultural tourism in the context of Latin American history

The Latin American continent is characterized by a very long period of colonialism. Three centuries of Spanish and Portuguese colonial domination had profound consequences for the political, social and cultural make-up of the continent. During the two centuries following independence, indigenous societies experienced state interventions and agrarian reforms, as well as increased rural poverty and large-scale processes of migration. This has profoundly transformed the content and meaning of indigenous cultures, but also led to differences in their ideological embedding in various regions in Latin America. This is clear in the specific position of a place like Cuzco, which has become an icon of national identity in Peru—and stands in stark contrast to the regions inhabited by Maya-speaking people in Central America, which epitomize backwardness and violence. It is important to keep these differences in mind.

This is even more important in the light of the dramatic events and processes that have taken place in modern Latin America. The twentieth century was a period of identity and nationalism, as well as of repression and violence. Tourism started to develop from the 1930s onwards, and accelerated in the 1960s. However, it experienced a sharp interruption in

the 1970s and 1980s when authoritarian regimes, violence and human rights violations kept foreign visitors away.

In Peru and some Central American countries, the violence was clearly directed against the indigenous populations. In Guatemala, the state repression has rightly been labelled 'genocide': between 1966 and 1990, more than 200,000 indigenous citizens were killed. Although the civil war engendered by Sendero Luminoso in Peru was not aimed at the indigenous population, in 2004 the Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación concluded that around 85 per cent of the victims of the war were or had been part of that population. It was only after the end of the ethnic violence and the consolidation of democratic politics that the indigenous culture could be used on a large scale for purposes of tourism. This was also connected to the expansion of the international demand for indigenous rights and the dramatic growth of indigenous social and political movements.

The long history of social, cultural and political relations have led to ambiguous meanings of indigenous heritage or indigenous culture. Much that is now considered and presented as indigenous should be seen as a result of a long process of change and transformation. Although this makes these elements no less important or urgent, it does stress the fact that ethnicity and culture in Latin America should be seen as elements of the present and not as some kind of heritage of the past.

This is an important point, because in the imagery that accompanies cultural tourism the emphasis is normally reversed. Indigenous cultures are then presented as a unique vestige of the past that has been preserved over the years to be admired by the tourist gaze. The reinvention of *lo indígena* thus plays an especially important role in Andean and Central American cultural tourism. Indigenous culture has been the issue around which most of the political and intellectual debates have revolved, and this continues to be visible in tourism's iconography. It could be said that this reinvention of the indigenous culture started around the turn of the twentieth century when urban intellectuals reconceptualized the indigenous heritage and started to reconstruct it as a building block for new nationalist ideas. There is no doubt that this ideological redirection did not initially have much impact on the situation of the indigenous rural masses, although it did gradually change the political position of the indigenous population and its culture and created the platform on which new forms of citizenship were construed.

This *indigenismo*, which had its heydays in the first half of the twentieth century, played an important role in creating favourable images of the indigenous heritage in the Andes and Central America. These images have been important in incorporating the indigenous populations in the project of nationalism and modernity that was so important in twentieth-century Latin America. It also drew attention and attracted visitors to the marvels of indigenous culture in southern Mexico, Guatemala and Peru. Mendoza (2008) has shown how indigenismo led to a new regional chauvinism and a concomitant cultural revival in Cuzco. Both were instrumental in increasing the flows of external visitors and tourists. The same happened in Ecuador and Central America, where newly formulated, positive images of the indigenous populations and their cultures became an instrument for attracting tourists. Indigenismo can be considered a source of inspiration for early cultural tourism, as it contains the romantic and paternalist sympathy for the local and the indigenous that is so characteristic of present-day cultural tourism. The exotic and romantic images that can be found in many *indigenista* works are now recreated in tourist guides and anthropological studies. Of course, they are embedded in different, more modern views and images, but the similarity to these earlier views is undeniable. In this sense, today's academic observers can in many ways be compared to indigenistas and tourists. One of the challenges of tourism studies is to shake off the tourist gaze.

The most important issue, however, is the position of the indigenous population itself. The members and culture of this population are presented as objects of the tourist gaze, while their history and their contemporary presence are often denied. It is clear that in the period of indigenismo (and even during the more recent nationalist governments that tried to incorporate the indigenous population in its plans for progress and development) the indigenous population itself was hardly taken into account. Nevertheless, in the last decades of the twentieth century indigenous populations turned around indigenista rhetoric and, making use of global notions of identity and universal rights became more successful in defending their rights. As noted by several scholars, this struggle also profited from the growing importance of cultural tourism, which added extra value to pre-Columbian heritage and indigenous culture. This struggle focused mainly on obtaining cultural and political rights, although it also had its economic side. This was seen most clearly in the entrepreneurial success story of the Otavalo Indians in Ecuador (Colloredo-Mansfeld 1999; Meisch 2002).

Some contributions in this book show that cultural tourism can create economic and political opportunities for local and sometimes indigenous populations. On the other hand, we also see instances in which the development of certain tourist sectors has led to the monopolization of productive resources and the repression of local populations. In these cases, cultural tourism has led to new forms of political and economic exploitation. When we discuss the potential and sustainability of cultural tourism in Latin America, it is necessary to understand the specific historical and socio-political contexts in which tourist activities in Latin America take place.

Heritage and tourism

The indigenista ideologies that became part of the national rhetoric of Mexico and many Andean states demonstrate how the Aztec and the Inca past became increasingly important in the national identities constructed in the twentieth century. This past was appropriated by the new leaders and inserted into a new Creole identity; in the process, the remains of that history became treasured symbols of a glorious past.

On the side of the tourist, a similar interest in the past became apparent. David Lowenthal has observed how much Western cultural tourism is driven by a romantic longing for societal cohesion, which many feel is being destroyed in the industrialized world. In his *The Past is a Foreign Country* (1985), Lowenthal suggests that tourists hope to find this foregone past in other, less-developed societies. Indeed, it is evident that the past is one of the great points of attraction in cultural tourism.

This refers above all to the pre-Columbian past, but as Breglia points out in this volume, the Spanish colonial heritage has started to have increasing importance. Everywhere in Latin America, national and local governments have realized that historical buildings and other remnants of the past are important tourist magnets. This leads directly to a second important element of twentieth-century cultural tourism, namely the idea that not only should the cultural heritage be protected, but also that it could (and one might say, should) be put to commercial use. Although this occasionally led to some local development and new opportunities for local populations, its consequences have been mixed, to put it mildly. The commercial opportunities afforded by heritage sites in an age of global tourism have often led to repressive measures being

taken against local populations and the extremely unequal distribution of tourism-generated income.

Although national governments already understood the importance of pre-Columbian ruins in the first half of the twentieth century (thanks partly to the efforts of anthropologists and archaeologists) and staunchly defended their integrity, the idea that material and immaterial expressions of culture must be protected has been voiced mainly by UNESCO. This organization has been very important in defining cultural heritage sites and delineating the criteria for their protection. Although the role of this organization should be recognized as very important, the consequences of its activities have also been criticized. This refers above all to UNESCO's top-down approach. Although consultations and conversations are held with local elites, the mass of the population is usually not involved in the designation of heritage sites or the discussions concerning the consequences of such a designation. To be awarded a protected status, local societies have to meet a number of criteria and follow certain rules.

Even though these rules may be useful and even necessary, they often imply the partial or total eviction of the local poor and their reduced access to the sites. This applies not only to heritage sites themselves, but increasingly also to 'living areas', such as colonial centres and recognized tourist centres like Cuzco, Antigua and Quito. To maintain a steady flow of tourists and to prevent unwelcome publicity, these 'sites' are sanitized and stripped of all disturbing signs of crime, poverty or inequality, including the people who symbolize these things.

The idea of heritage thus provokes sharp political and social contradictions. The governance of heritage sites is not only UNESCO's concern. Both national and local state institutions and political and economic entrepreneurs have discovered the potential value of these places. This book also focuses on the variety of efforts made by states, municipalities and tourist organizations to stimulate and expand cultural tourism, and on the creation and commodification of images that these efforts involve. As Castañeda writes in his contribution on the Mexican site of Chichén Itzá: 'Heritage is not just a thing from the past…but a thing that is valued for its use.…Heritage is a resource that requires management'. Various groups use these resources as sources of economic and political capital. In the process, they increasingly make them contested sites. It is no wonder that most large heritage sites in the Andes and Central America have been the scenes of labour protests, social movements and contestation. States, entrepreneurs and local elites

often use the idea of heritage to prohibit informal economic activities and to evict informal entrepreneurs and popular classes in order to promote the exploitation of heritage sites and to foster tourism. Those who are evicted fight back, in open protest or by silently avoiding the worst aspects of repressive policies.

Thus, while heritage-oriented tourism may generate important revenues, it also implies political struggle over the distribution of and access to those revenues. This book presents a number of examples of this process. Each makes clear that the concept of heritage needs to be analysed with great care. We must treat it as a problematic concept that needs to be deconstructed rather than taken for granted.

Space, culture and authenticity

Silverman (2005) has observed for museums that tourism creates strong ideological and political debates. Various actors try to impose their own ideas on what material or immaterial elements are worth preserving and where their preservation (and often commercialization) should take place. In this way, heritage and culture become spatially contested issues. The discussion around the definition and usages of 'cultural heritage', 'material' and 'immaterial' demonstrates the importance of spatial categories in the analysis of cultural tourism. Tourism itself is characterized by spatial displacement on the part of the tourist, which in the places of destination has all kinds of consequences, not only spatial or material, but also political and cultural ones. The quintessential spatial element of tourism cannot be exaggerated. It is the determining factor in the assessment of both tourism and its consequences.

In a recent article, Hutchins (2007) analyses the consequences of ecotourism in the Ecuadorean lowlands by using the idea of 'normative' or 'moral' geographies, which focus on spatial strategies of inclusion and exclusion. He concludes that the spatialized struggle for culture and meaning ultimately leads to a struggle over authenticity. Tourists seek confrontations with 'authentic' cultures. Politicians and tourism developers try to provide them with that experience, and this often leads to policies and imageries that essentialize culture and heritage. This is not to say that local populations are passive recipients of these external policies of commercialized authenticity. Hutchins (2007: 97) warns that it is too simplistic to ask:

> ...whether touristic images, representations and practices have the power to create or destroy culture...since tourism isn't just 'there' or 'not there' as an independent variable. Tourism enables or constrains the development of perspectives as it packages experiential moments for sale or purchase.

As attested by various contributors to this book, local populations have a great deal to say about this packaging. The resulting confrontation between the various actors involved in the shaping of tourism in Latin America basically revolves around two issues: the ownership and occupation of sites and spaces of tourist activity, and the definition and ownership of authentic culture.

In most of the contributions to this book, the spatial dimensions of tourism, and especially the struggle for control and ownership over space, take pride of place. The indigenistas described by Mendoza (Ch. 2) wanted to physically and culturally recapture the urban space of Cuzco for a repositioning of indigenous culture. Guerrón Montero (Ch. 3) and Castañeda (Ch. 13) describe how heritage and cultural memory are assigned specific locations that allow governments to control and exploit tourism. Guerrón describes a theme park in Panama in which heritage has been organized in the form of what Bruner (2005: 211–30) has called 'ethnic theme parks', 'sites where the ethnic diversity of the nation...is represented for the visitors in a single locality in one panoptic sweep'.

This is the most extreme example of the preference for organizing tourism in clearly demarcated areas, a preference that can be seen everywhere. Steel (Ch. 8), Middleton (Ch. 10) and Little (Ch. 11) demonstrate how present-day cultural tourism in Latin America is creating a constant struggle for space and legitimacy. This struggle is often instigated by local governments that hope to open up spaces for tourist development. This leads to what we may call 'tourism politics', which affect all formal and informal actors that participate in activities linked to tourism. In the case presented by Simon (Ch. 6), this struggle reached the indigenous communities that sent their men and women to tourist regions but were not yet affected by tourism.

Simon's contribution also shows that the struggle for space within tourist sites is often also a struggle about meaning and culture. With the growth of cultural tourism, the definition of authenticity becomes a central issue. Although much of our analysis of this process is, of course, based on the pioneering work of Dean MacCannell (1973), nowadays

the emphasis is placed on the interaction of imageries rather than on the tourist experience per se. Cultural tourism implies a complex confrontation between different imageries and systems of meaning. The interaction that results is manipulated and appropriated both by tourists and local populations. This is an important theme throughout this book. However, Feinberg (Ch. 5) makes the issue especially clear by providing an interesting example of the unexpected consequences of tourism and the constant creation and recreation of meanings that results from the presence of tourists in local societies.

If we accept that cultural tourism is an important issue in contemporary Latin America, there is no doubt that it needs to be an object of academic research. However, as mentioned, a lot still needs to be done if we are to fully understand the impact of cultural tourism development in Latin America. This volume of case studies is a contribution to that endeavour. The authors argue that a local perspective is the only way to understand the consequences of cultural tourism, and show that it is impossible to separate the cultural, economic and political elements of the processes of change that are engendered by tourism development. To understand these elements in conjunction, a multidisciplinary approach is more than necessary.

Organization of the book

Although many chapters present overlapping themes and even refer to each other, we have divided the book into three parts. Part 1 deals with the links between regional and national identity, and tourism. In order to create an attractive place for foreigners and outsiders to visit, host countries and communities have to consider how they wish to present themselves: what national and regional cultural artefacts, sites, customs and historical characteristics are worth the tourist gaze? The construction of images and identities is fully engaged in this process of defining. In like manner, museums, sites and customs that represent history and culture may be turned into tourist attractions and adjusted to the tourist gaze. Therefore, cultural tourism is not just a source of revenues but also a producer of images that relate to national and regional senses of history and belonging.

In Chapter 2, Zoila Mendoza explores the relationship between tourism, folklore and national identities. She focuses her historical analysis on the city of Cuzco during the first half of the twentieth century. She

argues that the city's cultural elements and its pre-Hispanic and colonial monuments have inspired several proposals for a national identity. These were the result of a complex and fluid interaction between artists and intellectuals who came from various rural and urban sectors of Cuzco's society. This interaction entwined with the emergence of Cuzco as a centre of tourist interest and led to an artistic-folkloric production that shaped a strong regional identity while also giving an impetus to a Peruvian identity.

Carla Guerrón Montero (Ch. 3) is also concerned with the relations between tourism and the construction of national identities. In her case, the political authorities took the initial lead in this process as they planned the construction of a tourist theme park centred on Panama's various ethnic groups. Guerrón's focus is on the authorities' exploitation of this diversity for purposes of tourism as well as Panama's nation-building project. She argues that Spanish, indigenous and black groups are presented as equal in the theme park thus erasing struggles and inequalities. Nevertheless, the park enabled Afro-Panamanians and indigenous peoples to become more conscious of their ethnicity. The park became related to notions of ethnic diversity, identity and the production of cultural heritage. All this enabled the Afro-Panamanians and indigenous groups to improve their societal status. In the context of Panamanian society, tourism has become a framework within which minorities strive to enter mainstream society.

The chapter by Gabriela Vargas-Cetina (Ch. 4) shows that the construction of heritage is never complete. It is an ongoing process in which tourists play as big a role as the local authorities and cultural mediators. The author focuses on the Mexican peninsula of Yucatán. She analyses the politics surrounding the type of music known as 'Yucatecan trova' and its construction as heritage. Trova music became the main representative of the Yucatecan 'soul'. Along with regional cuisine, it evolved into an important marker of the Yucatecan region and a tourist attraction. New cultural policies favouring the funding and promotion of 'high' culture have recently put 'popular' culture—including trova music—at a disadvantage. 'The tourist' is no longer a passer-by but an impartial arbiter of musical worth and of the value of trova as beautiful, meaningful and worthwhile music.

Ben Feinberg (Ch. 5) deals with the development of counter-cultural tourism in Huautla (Sierra Mazateca, Oaxaca, Mexico). He argues that the tourists—in this case, foreign hippies (and, later, young urban Mexicans) who were interested in the local hallucinogenic mushrooms—

and their encounters with local Oaxacan indigenous peoples led to a creative refashioning of the meanings of the locality. All the actors involved in this process developed their own notions of authenticity and redefined their own cultural identities. Although tourism in Huautla has not developed into a significant economic activity, one remarkable result of Huautla's history of encounters between Mazatecan locals and tourists is that the shamanic healer María Sabina became a rising star. First, she became an iconic symbol who stood for the culture of the entire region. She was subsequently lifted out of the local context; nowadays, market stalls all over the country sell T-shirts bearing her portrait. Through the encounters between tourists and the local community and the exotic interest in María Sabina as a healer, she was turned into an icon of Mexican identity and acquired the same status as that enjoyed by Frida Kahlo, Diego Rivera or Zapata.

In Part 2 of the book, we focus more closely on the encounters between local populations and tourists; that is, on the way local populations deal with tourists, how they are able to earn a living from tourism, and how policy is developed by national and local governments with the aim of regulating the daily encounters between tourists and locals. Beatrice Simon (Ch. 6) spent time in Pisaq (Cuzco, Peru)—a rural village that is well known for its Inca ruins and handicraft market—studying the way that local people present themselves to tourists in order to earn some extra money. She focuses on how rural women from the surrounding mountain communities come down to Pisaq to make contact with the tourists. In return for a tip, they pose in their most beautiful indigenous attire while the tourists take photos of them. They also try to sell their weavings to the tourists. Simon argues that on the 'frontstage', the tourists perceive these women as 'authentic'. The encounters with the women enable the tourists to have an intensive gaze at or even talk to 'exotic' Indians. On the 'backstage' (i.e. the places where tourists do not appear), however, the women do not always receive respect for their activities and are regarded as 'dressed-up beggars'. It is not without reason that, on the backstage, the women remove their indigenous clothing and thus their indigenous identity. Indigenousness, then, has different meanings. In the encounters with tourists the indigenousness of the women may be admired and turned into a source of income; on the backstage, however, it may provoke disrespect.

In Chapter 7, Lynn Meisch examines competing interests and the potential for the economic development of the sales of handicrafts by indigenous groups from the Andes. Although tourists may be very

interested in the products of indigenous groups and even plan to buy some, the sale process has various pitfalls. Many indigenous groups possess the technical skills that are necessary to make handicrafts; however, because many of the tourists originate from abroad, the indigenous groups do not know how they will use the handicrafts. To be able to sell weavings to tourists, weavers have to adjust their original models (e.g. ponchos) to a size and type that tourists can use at home and are able to carry in their luggage. Many NGOs, anthropologists and aid workers have trained indigenous groups to bridge the gap between typical weaving and tourist desires. Although successful in some cases, in other cases such interference has led to dependency and a lack of control. In addition, fluctuations in the number of tourists may discourage production activities. It is not uncommon for indigenous groups to organize themselves into cooperatives with the aim of solving their selling problems and reducing their dependence on outsiders. Nevertheless, they still may encounter problems related to management, control and continuity.

Griet Steel's contribution (Ch. 8) analyses the position of street vendors who want to work in the centre of the city of Cuzco, which is a UNESCO World Heritage site. Although the large numbers of tourists who visit the city of Cuzco offer a huge livelihood potential for street vendors, Steel argues that the street vendors have an ambivalent position. Cuzco's municipality sees tourism as the motor of development and has defined the restoration, conservation and protection of the historical centre as the primary goal of its policy. The result is that Cuzco's historical centre has been turned into a tourist ghetto in which most street vendors are not tolerated: only those vendors who sell handicrafts and dress in typical indigenous clothing are allowed to be there. The other vendors do not fit into the ideological projects of the politicians and preservationists; instead, they are perceived as a social evil that needs to be chased away in order for the streets to be safe for the tourists.

Chapter 9 also deals with the political interference in the encounters between tourists and local people. Keely Maxwell and Annelou Ypeij's focus is on the natural park of Machu Picchu, which is a World Heritage site. They examine how the interests of the peasants who live within the site are liable to become subordinate to the conservation of the park. By using rather static definitions of 'natural heritage' and 'cultural heritage', the state institutions concerned with the management of the park fail to include in their plans the farming activities of

the peasants. Instead, many of these activities are defined as harmful to nature, for which reason the peasants are forced to look for other livelihood possibilities. Although in the past tourism offered many vending opportunities and some families were able to earn substantial sums from tourists, in recent years the number of tourists entering the park has been restricted due to conservation concerns. This has limited the peasants' earnings from tourism as an alternative to their already reduced farming possibilities.

Part 3 of the book analyses the links between cultural heritage and tourism even more profoundly. Heritage is a political concept that receives its meaning through the implementation of regional, national and international policies. The need to conserve and protect heritage is globally accepted. Notwithstanding, as Alan Middleton shows in his study on the historical centre of the city of Quito (Ch. 10), heritage is often defined in the service of tourism and this can result in the social exclusion of those who are positioned at the bottom end of society. Middleton argues that the development of heritage tourism in Quito, which is listed as a World Heritage site, required the removal of some of Quito's people from the streets and the reduction of indigenous culture to colourful representations and processions that confirm the 'otherness' of Ecuador's indigenous peoples. The history that is presented through heritage is the history of the conquistadors and the political and economic elites. It has become a happy, colourful spectacle designed to please international tourists. Five hundred years of indigenous history of exploitation, inhumanity, mistreatment, resistance and struggle are made invisible. This invisibility is confirmed on a daily basis by the physical removal of street vendors from the centre.

Walter Little (Ch. 11) also offers an analysis of the political dynamics within a World Heritage site. His case concerns the city of Antigua (Guatemala). The various actors—such as ladino conservationists, business people, foreign visitors and Maya handicraft vendors—disagree about aesthetics and the uses of the town. The ladinos' conceptualization of the city centre is based on its architectural features, not people; they imagine Antigua without Mayas. On the other hand, the tourists' imagination of the city centre includes Mayas. The tourists want Mayas to be present in the streets so that they can gaze at and interact with them. The conflicts that result from these contradictions engender new forms of exclusion and inclusion. Because Mayas are considered to both beautifully adorn and pollute the city, their sociocultural position is ambiguous and can even result in their physical expulsion from

the streets. Nevertheless, partly because of the tourists' appreciation, Mayas are able to manoeuvre between the different perspectives and discourses. They have enlisted the support of various political actors and human rights lawyers to somewhat improve their economic positions. In doing so, they have established themselves as an enduring part of Antigua's heritage.

In Chapter 12, Lisa Breglia examines the increase in the number of luxurious hacienda hotels in the Yucatán Peninsula. Hacienda tourism is based on plantation houses and the outbuildings that were used in the cultivation of henequen during the nineteenth century. Thousands of Mayas worked on these haciendas as 'debt-peons' in conditions that were akin to slavery. The hotels are promoted as 'colonial heritage'—which is an obvious misnomer, as Mexico declared its independence from Spain before the rise of the henequen production. Large business developers are rapidly buying up the hacienda buildings, many of which are located at the centre of Maya communities. As Breglia argues, creating hacienda heritage tourism is a spatial practice in the sense that it comes down to property relations. As a result of the introduction of the *ejido* system and the large-scale land expropriations in the 1930s, ownership of the hacienda buildings often ended up in the hands of the Maya community. Today's large-scale buying up of former hacienda buildings is suspect and associated with corruption. The foreign managers of the hacienda hotels hire local Maya staff to service the tourists, thus reviving the former master-servant relationships. Yucatecan hacienda tourism effaces what many local residents see as a significant constituent of their hard-won heritage: access to land and the end of exploitation.

In the final chapter, Quetzil Castañeda analyses three invasions by Maya vendors of the Chichén Itzá (Yucatán, Mexico) World Heritage site. While the initial invasions were about the right to use the space for vending activities, and not about ownership, the third invasion entailed a struggle for the ownership of space itself. To understand this process, Castañeda defines three types of heritage: patrimony, which has a symbolic value for the national identity; heritage resources, which have multiple economic and sociocultural use-values (e.g. because of their attraction to tourists); and heritage governmentality, which refers to the practices and protocols that regulate, control and manage these heritage resources. Castañeda argues that during the first invasions, the state's ownership of Chichén was not contested. The invasions were primarily about the income generating activities of the vendors

at the site; in other words, they were about tourism, not heritage. The third invasion, however, was about heritage governmentality, namely issues of property ownership, cultural entitlements and use-rights. The land on which Chichén Itzá is built is party privately owned and partly ejido land. Vendors received support from the EZLN and human rights NGOs in their claim of ownership of Chichén as Maya. In this process of changing meanings, Chichén has 'become' heritage in the sense of heritage resource and heritage governmentality.

PART ONE

CULTURE AND THE PRODUCTION OF REGIONAL AND NATIONAL IDENTITIES

CHAPTER TWO

TOURISM, FOLKLORE AND THE EMERGENCE OF REGIONAL AND NATIONAL IDENTITIES

Zoila S. Mendoza

> The historical and artistic significance of Cuzco's monuments is no longer under discussion. The stamp of an unequivocal and general admiration has confirmed it. The point now is to stress it, reaffirm it, and say it out loud to the world over, and also particularly to all of Peru, so that the flow of studies and tourists on the occasion of the fourth centennial of the Spanish foundation of this fountainhead of history, is abundant and worthy of the city that is now inaugurated as the Archaeological Capital City of South America ('Cuzco la Venerable', José Gabriel Cosio, *El Comercio*, Cuzco, 9 November 1933, p. 4, translated by the author).

This essay explores the crucial relationship between the emergence of Cuzco as a centre of archaeological and tourist international interest, and the materialization of regional identity and proposals of Peruvian identity among Cuzco people during the first half of the twentieth century. It is part of a larger project on *indigenismo*—in particular on the *neoindianista* (neo-Indianist) trend within this movement—in which the central role of the 'folkloric' in the forging of this movement and the identities that emerged from it are stressed (Mendoza 2006, 2008). This article highlights the crucial relationship between 'folklore', national identities, cultural legacies and heritage, and the worldwide phenomenon of tourism (Herzfeld 1986; Cantwell 1992; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998).

Cuzco artists and intellectuals who were part of the neo-Indianist trend, such as its leader, José Uriel García, were inspired by 'folklore' as a concrete example of the cultural *mestizaje* (mixture of indigenous and Spanish heritage) that they considered best represented in the Andean population. Paradoxically, as the archaeological and tourist interest in this centre of the Inca Empire was growing, gradually the repertoire that was being consolidated as typically from Cuzco was abandoning the central image of the Incas while giving more importance to contemporary rural and urban expressive forms that were recognized as *cholo* and mestizo. In promoting the development of folklore, indigenistas

and neo-Indianists stimulated a kind of tourism that would be central to the social and cultural changes that Cuzco society underwent during the first part of the twentieth century.

Cuzco's history, its cultural elements and its pre-Hispanic and colonial monuments have inspired several proposals for a national identity throughout Peru's republican history. However, it was in the first half of the twentieth century that the cuzqueño intellectuals and artists construed a specific idea of what Peruvian would mean. Contrary to what has been claimed elsewhere, I maintain that this creation was a result not of a plain and simple manipulation of popular culture by intellectual and artistic elites,[1] but of a complex and fluid interaction between artists and intellectuals who came from different rural and urban sectors of Cuzco's society. This interaction, which was both social and cultural (an exchange of styles and aesthetic preferences), entwined with the emergence of Cuzco as a centre of archaeological and tourist interest, led to a prolific artistic-folkloric production that shaped a strong regional identity and new proposals for a Peruvian identity. The proposals for a regional and national identity developed by neo-Indianists were to a great extent inspired and materialized by these artistic activities.

[1] For an example of this kind of interpretation from which I differ see De la Cadena 2000. This study tries to approach the world of the artistic-folkloric production which here concerns us from the above-mentioned perspective, i.e. it once again takes it to be a result of the manipulation and stylization carried out by the artistic and intellectual elites. It also makes the mistake of merely seeing these artistic activities as a reflection of other political, economic or social aspects of the time which ensnared the indigenista and the neo-Indianists in the social and racial hierarchies. This makes the author, whose work is so insightful in other respects, lose sight of the significance the artistic-folkloric practice had in shaping and creating the indigenista and neo-Indianist proposals, and ultimately in transforming the cuzqueño society of their time. Although I do not deny that the rigid social hierarchies and racism were indeed a part of the everyday experience of many cuzqueños, I do concur with other scholars in that this study has perhaps its greatest limitation in that it overemphasizes the extent to which both cuzqueño society and the indigenista or neo-Indianist efforts of the early twentieth century were dominated by those elements, and by racism in particular; the author thus loses sight of the achievements these movements attained, as well as the complexity of the dilemmas which the representatives of these movements had to face (Krüggeler 1999; Klarén 2001). A more recent work presents a new perspective on indigenismo that analyses different local and foreign discourses on Cuzco in 1900–1935 (López Lenci 2004). López Lenci pays more attention to the Cuzco artistic-folkloric field from the perspective of discourse analysis.

Folklore, indigenismo and neo-Indianism

> The inner struggle between both souls—the autochthonous and the Hispanic, to dislodge one another—has already had its concretion [*concreción*] in art and folklore, in plastic arts and in customs, in form and in language. Form triumphed on the side of the invasive element; the expressive language was an achievement of the Andean soul—but not of the Inca soul, because the Inca is a mere accident that gave rise to a period and no more than a period. Art and Folklore, form and language—they are the fusion of the new Andean world ('Neoindianismo', José Uriel García, *El Sol*, Cuzco, 28 July 1928, p. 3, translated by the author).

Folklore was of vital importance in the proposals of Cuzco intellectuals and artists in the early twentieth century regarding individual, regional and national identities. In the Andean countries, the public performance of dance and music by the masses had provided an opportunity for the negotiation of identities since the early colonial period (Ares Queija 1984; Estenssoro 1990, 1992, 2003; Poole 1990; Mendoza 2000, 2001). This dynamic interaction turned these forms of expression into highly significant elements for the configuration of individual and group identities. Since the early twentieth century, a process that can be called 'folklorization' has added a new and powerful dimension to this dynamic, in much the same way as happened in other parts of Latin America (Rowe & Schelling 1991; Guss 2000). This process, whereby public forms of expression are selected as being representative of a whole region or nation, has proved essential for the promotion of these identities in various Latin American contexts (Wade 2000; López 2004, 2006). We are in a process of folklorization when these forms of expression start being called folklore.

However, this process may also convey different connotations, depending on the historical circumstances in which it takes place and the intentions of the individuals who push it forward. In the case of Cuzco, the artists and intellectuals who promoted the development of folkloric performances acknowledged the significance of these practices in the everyday life of the inhabitants of this region.[2] By classifying these forms as folklore, they were elevated to the status of an 'art' and

[2] Throughout this essay, whenever I mention the Cuzco 'region' I use the term as a synonym of the politico-geographical unit of the 'department', which still prevails in Peru despite the failed attempts to form new units (or regions) that will merge several of these departments.

Illustration 1—Artistic folkloric group in Cuzco in the 1940s. Photograph from the Pillco family private archive, courtesy of Enrique Pilco Paz

a 'lore' that are worth cultivating. In fact, artists and intellectuals often called their work 'folkloric art', which is why I refer to this as 'artistic-folkloric' activity.

1920–1950 was a key period in the development of the canons that would exert a strong influence on the artistic production in Cuzco throughout the twentieth century, and are still doing so today. This period roughly coincides with the development of neo-Indianism, which is sometimes also known as *indigenismo práctico* (practical indigenismo) (Tamayo Herrera 1981) or, at the national level, as *indigenismo-2* (Lauer 1997). Although the studies that have focused on this period may have a different understanding of the relationship between this indigenista trend and the previous one, it is clear that both trends are linked in various ways.

As several studies have noted, there was a marked difference in the way the contemporary 'Indian' and the 'indigenous' culture were understood by indigenistas like Luis E. Valcárcel—one of the major leaders and ideologues of this movement—and by neo-Indianists like José Uriel García (Aparicio 1994; Poole 1997; de la Cadena 2000). Valcárcel—who was born in Moquegua but raised and educated in Cuzco, and whose vast intellectual output comprises several publications on Inca life, political principles, myths and rituals, as well as on

contemporary peasant problems—tried to connect aspects of the ancient Inca culture with the vestiges that could still be found (according to this perspective) in Cuzco's indigenous present. His artistic activities that connected Cuzco's contemporary folklore with the idealized images of a glorious Inca past became evident during the Misión Peruana de Arte Incaico (Peruvian Mission of Incaic Art).[3] The Misión was formed by a group of Cuzco artists that toured Bolivia, Argentina and Uruguay in October 1923–January 1924 under the direction of Valcárcel. The success of this tour, which represented Peru without any governmental support, led to the establishment in 1924 of Cuzco's (and Peru's) first folkloric institution, the Centro Qosqo de Arte Nativo (Qosqo Centre of Native Art).[4]

Similar efforts to connect the contemporary subaltern practices with an idealized past, in an attempt to build a national identity, are also found in other historical periods and in other parts of the world (Herzfeld 1986; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998). Valcárcel's ideas and work attained nationwide recognition, as is shown by the fact that in 1931 he moved to Lima to become director of the Peruvian Archaeology Museum; he then became the dean of the Faculty of Humanities at San Marcos University, the Peruvian representative at UNESCO, and in 1945 minister of Education. However, although the idealized image of the Inca empire has indeed rooted itself in Peru's conscience (Portocarrero & Oliart 1989), it cannot be claimed that the indigenista project succeeded in establishing a national identity in Peru.

In his book *El nuevo indio* ('The New Indian'; 1930), which gave the new movement its name of neo-Indianism, José Uriel García diverged from the way in which previous major indigenista leaders like Luis E. Valcárcel had understood the indigenous identity and culture. In Poole's words, in the first half of the twentieth century cuzqueño artists and intellectuals 'lived in the complex urban-rural environment of the city of Cuzco, and were all aware of the multitude of ethnic gradations existing between the ideal states of pure mestizo and pure

[3] As noted elsewhere (Mendoza 2000 and 2001), the glorified memory of the Incas had already been used in Peruvian history with different goals in mind, including the attempt made by the landed elites in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to establish their legitimacy through the visual arts (Mannheim 1991: 73).

[4] See Mendoza 2006 and 2008, chapters 1 and 2 where I demonstrate this link and where I also show that already in the Misión we find the same mechanisms at work that fostered a convergence of styles, traditions, individuals and themes, derived from different urban and rural sectors of the Cuzqueño society of the time.

Indian' (1997: 186). But whereas for Valcárcel the true Indian still lived in some remote parts of Cuzco as a living testimony to what the Inca past had once been like, for García the differences between the Spaniard and the Indian had faded away as a result of the process of mixing that took place in colonial times. The 'new Indian' was the result of this miscegenation.

For neo-Indianists, Andean-ness had to be essentially conceived as a fusion of autochthonous and Hispanic elements, as is shown by the passage that opened this section. The passage also shows that for García, this fusion could best be found in music and the so-called folkloric dances that were widespread all over the Cuzco region. Although it cannot be denied that José Uriel García and the other members of this movement were influenced by foreign nationalist ideologies that claimed that mestizaje was a way of attaining nationalism, and by modernist ideas that valued cultural innovation, the fusion of the elements and traditions in the folkloric practices provided García, as well as other intellectuals, the materials that inspired their new ideas.

Neo-Indianist artists and intellectuals presented a highland 'cholo' or 'mestizo' identity that should be taken as the identity of the future not just by the cuzqueños but by all Peruvians and perhaps by all other Hispanic-Americans. The neo-Indianists were not alone in proposing a mestizo identity as a national and American symbol, nor were they the first to do so (de la Cadena 2000; Wade 2000), but their ideas were strongly inspired by the complex cultural reality and the rich artistic-folkloric output of the region. This complexity helped them to feel and consider the cuzqueño and the Peruvian identity as one in which both the pre-Hispanic and the European traditions had fused to form the elements of the popular culture that prevailed among the peasantry and the popular urban groups. Thus, in promoting areas of fluid exchange between artists from different rural and urban social sectors, the neo-Indianists contributed towards the consolidation of canons and repertoires with which all cuzqueños were able to identify for decades, and to feel were theirs.

However, the neo-Indianistas encountered many paradoxes and contradictions in their efforts to promote a folkloric art that comprised all sectors of cuzqueño society and in proposing 'mestizo' art as a symbol of this movement. One of the most clear-cut paradoxes of the proposal of mestizaje as the epitome of a unified future for Cuzco and Peru was the reproduction of the Indian/mestizo dichotomy. The re-emergence

of the differences between racial or ethnic groups was also visible in other attempts at building a national identity in Latin America (Wade 2000: 6–7). Each case must be carefully examined, however. The neo-Indianist intellectuals presented a complex differentiation. Ideally, the farther away from the city, the more rustic and the more pre-Hispanic and Indian the culture was supposed to be. On the other hand, the artistic output was seen as more mestizo when it had more obvious colonial and republican influences and was produced closer to the city of Cuzco.

But this classification lost its value in the face of everyday complexity. In fact, when people who organized events insisted that both mestizo and indigenous art should participate, they were revaluing peasant styles hitherto despised. The use of the term 'cholo' for the art of both the peasantry and the urban artists was apparently an attempt to resolve the contradiction of having to separate the categories of indigenous and mestizo. Cholo—another mixed-race colonial category—had acquired connotations of low social status associated with highland identity. The neo-Indianists adopted the term in order to revalue and infuse it with pride.

Those who proposed the new regional and nationalist ideology that valued the mestizo and the cholo became, paradoxically, the promoters of tourism in Cuzco. In so doing, they reinforced the image of this region as the symbolic centre of the glorious Incan past. Men like José Uriel García and Humberto Vidal Unda turned Cuzco into a national and international tourist centre, and at the same time promoted spaces for the cultural practices that were considered folkloric. It was in the period 1920–1950 that the perception of Cuzco as a tourist centre became significant in the activities of the intellectuals and artists in the city of Cuzco, even though it was not until after the 1950 earthquake that the city attracted international tourism, and that the tourist industry became significant for the economy of Cuzco only in the early 1970s.

The relationship between the promotion of artistic-folkloric performances and the desire to make its archaeological monuments a focus of interest both for Peru and the world is not unique to this region. This is a strategy used by other developing countries to establish continuity between the past and what is believed to be a living cultural heritage (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998). These efforts, which try to simplify for the tourist the complex intricacies of everyday life, are essentially meant to establish what Kirshenblatt-Gimblett calls a 'touristic realism' (ibid.: 8).

The artists who took part in the folkloric creation in Cuzco in the early twentieth century were clearly driven by the growing importance of tourism, which supported the significance of Cuzco and its culture.

Machu Picchu and tourism enter the scene

There is no question that a new era began for Cuzco with the 'scientific discovery' of Machu Picchu in 1911. Although the site is mentioned in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century documents, and was not unknown to the people living in the area, it was thanks to the efforts of two North American citizens, Hiram Bingham and Albert Giesecke that Machu Picchu became a major focus of regional, national and international interest.[5] As pointed out by Mariana Mould de Pease (2000), and shown by the correspondence[6] between Giesecke and Bingham, Giesecke 'had an instrumental role in consolidating the "scientific discovery" of Machu Picchu' (ibid.: 136), even though his name usually does not appear when the discovery is discussed. The significant role of Giesecke in the social, cultural and intellectual development of Cuzco has been widely acknowledged both by his disciples and by students of indigenismo.

Although several critiques point out that Bingham manipulated the events and the data in various ways in order to exclusively appropriate the grandiose feat of the discovery of Machu Picchu, it is clear that his enthusiasm and his personal drive greatly helped 'to impregnate Western imagination forever [with this site] when he presented Machu Picchu lucidly and quite early as the foremost place in the New World to explore in solitude' (Mould de Pease 2000: 136, translated by the author).[7] Mould de Pease notes that Bingham was 'set on being a major figure in the international sphere' (ibid.: 135), a goal he attained not just through his academic activities and as an explorer, but also through

[5] See Tamayo Herrera (1981: 112 and 113) regarding references to the knowledge of the site prior to the 'discovery'.

[6] The Archivo Albert Giesecke (Albert Giesecke Archive) henceforth AAG, holds several letters exchanged between Giesecke and Bingham regarding the archaeological explorations of the latter. When I consulted this archive it was held under the safe keeping of the Centro de Estudios Rurales Andinos 'Bartolomé de las Casas' in Cuzco, but it is now once again under the care of the Giesecke family in Lima. Some of the documents in this archive were numbered but others were not, so I only give the document number in the former case.

[7] For more details on the manipulation of the information, see Mould de Pease (2000: 137–138) and Tamayo Herrera (1981: 112–115).

his activities as governor and senator for Connecticut, and through his role in his country's military aviation in 1917–18.[8]

Bingham received the firm help and support of Albert Giesecke, with whom he had been in close contact since 1909, when he carried out his first explorations from Cuzco to Lima in search of the last capital of the Incas, which appeared in some colonial chronicles under the name of Vilcabamba. During this first exploration, Bingham had visited the ruins of Choquequirao on the border between Cuzco and Apurímac, a site that had been pointed out as the capital city he was looking for. Bingham, however, rejected this theory because he believed that the buildings at this archaeological site did not have the Inca architectural standards found in Cuzco, and because he had received news of another possible site (Vitcos) in Cuzco.[9]

Bingham was received in 1911 by Giesecke, who offered him logistic support and above all invaluable data that would lead to the famed 'scientific discovery'. The following year, Bingham organized a second scientific expedition in order 'to clear and preserve Machu Picchu' with the support of Yale University and of the National Geographic Society in Washington, which in 1913 devoted a whole issue to showcasing the findings of this second expedition.[10] Cuzco scholars and intellectuals made at least two other expeditions in the same year, one of which included Giesecke and a group of students from the UNSAAC (Tamayo Herrera 1981: 115).

It was only around 1934—after the work carried out by the Commission for the Fourth Centennial of the Spanish Foundation of Cuzco, and particularly after the zigzag road from the Urubamba River to the archaeological site had been built in 1948—that a larger number of tourists had access to Machu Picchu. Flores Nájar (1994), however, points out that already in the 1920s there were guidebooks to inform the tourist during his or her stay in Cuzco. This indicates that the possibility of turning Cuzco into a centre of national and, above all, international tourism was already being seriously considered. One of these first guidebooks—*El Cuzco y sus monumentos. Guía del viajero*,

---

[8] See Giesecke Albert, 'Breves apuntes de la vida y obra de Hiram Bingham', 12 April 1961, document in the AAG.

[9] See 'Hiram Bingham y el hotel Machu Picchu', by Albert Giesecke, 10 October 1960, p. 2, document in the AAG.

[10] Albert Giesecke, Letter to the 'Señor Prefecto del Departamento del Cuzco y Presidente de la Comisión Oficial Especial para celebrar el cincuentenario del descubrimiento de Machu Picchu por Hiram Bingham', 23 July 1961, AAG.51.648, p. 4.

by R. F. Rosario Zárate—was printed in Lima in 1921 and was clearly aimed at the international public, because it included an English summary (Flores Nájar 1994: 209).

In 1924, José Gabriel Cosio published his *El Cuzco histórico y monumental*. This tourist guide (which was written 'to serve the traveller to become easily and rapidly acquainted with the city of Cuzco, to which he has been brought by the curiosity of visiting and informing himself of the archaeological and historical treasures held by the city') included ample data on archaeological and colonial sites outside the city of Cuzco, including Machu Picchu (cited by Flores Nájar 1994: 10). In 1925, José Uriel García published the *Guía histórico-artística del Cuzco* with the editorial collaboration of Albert Giesecke, and this, as Flores Nájar (1994) points out, 'can be considered an abbreviated and simplified version of *La ciudad de los Incas*, [written] to be used by the tourists, who were already a part of the urban landscape of the lethargic city of Cuzco in the 1920s' (ibid.: 213). The same author points out that lodgings, meals and guides to the archaeological monuments were being advertised in the *Guía comercial, profesional e industrial del Cuzco*, which was printed in 1928 (Flores Nájar 1994: 209).

Cuzco, the archaeological capital city of South America: a new inspiration for artistic-folkloric creations

Echoing a resolution recently passed by the XV Congress of Americanists held in La Plata, Argentina, and in reply to the congressional initiative headed by the representative for Cuzco, Félix Cosio, on 23 January 1933, the Peruvian government issued law No. 7688, which recognized Cuzco as the Archaeological Capital City of South America. As the passage written by José Gabriel Cosio cited at the beginning of this essay shows, this acknowledgment was another opportunity to promote the image of Cuzco as the major Peruvian centre for tourism. With this acknowledgment came the celebrations of the city's fourth centennial—presenting the cuzqueños with a new opportunity to attract the interest of the government and of the country, as well as of those abroad.

The Peruvian government supported several projects that sought to consolidate the nature of the city as a tourist centre and a focus of archaeological and historical studies. Among other things, Cuzco was declared the site of the National Museum of Archaeology, permission was given to open a department of American history and archaeology

at the University of Cuzco, and resources were provided to improve the roads that led to the archaeological sites of Machu Picchu and Pisac, to repair these sites and the old governmental palace, to undertake urban sanitation works and to open a 'bureau for archaeological popularization and the organization of tourism'.[11] It appears that this office was not established as such before 1936.[12] However, a year after the law for the celebration of the fourth centennial was passed, the finance secretary decided to establish in the city of Cuzco a 'Central Commission for Publicity and Tourism, which had to use all possible means available to prepare the publicity required for the celebration of the fourth centennial and channel the flow of tourists which for this reason should be heading to Cuzco'.[13] Members of this commission were Dr Alberto Giesecke, along with Drs Fortunato Herrera, Manuel Velasco, Atilio Sivirichi and Julio Velarde, and Señor Francisco González Gamarra (an artist and musician ranked among the 'big four' of Cuzco music). Although the members of this commission were not paid, the government provide funds for their task.[14]

Despite these efforts, the lack of suitable infrastructure restricted tourism in Cuzco. For instance, the February 1937 issue of the *Turismo* magazine, which was published in Lima, pointed out that Cuzco 'should be the major touristic centre of Peru, but all the facilities for tourism must be improved'.[15] A newspaper article (discussing a new tax that was to be paid on entering the ruins of Machu Picchu) published that same year, gives an idea of the lack of facilities for the visitors:

> Under our noses we have the wonders of Machupijcho, but instead of building a good highway, of establishing an acceptable hotel or inn in the ruins, [or] of keeping the city of stone clean and presentable, it is

---

[11] See Ley No 7688, in Municipalidad del Cuzco (1990: 355), and 'La Ley Para La Celebración del Cuatricentenario del Cuzco', *El Comercio* (Cuzco, 26 September 1933, p. 2).

[12] See the article 'Una oficina de turismo en el municipio' in *El Comercio* (Cuzco, 28 January 1935 p. 2), where the establishment of this office is demanded, and the article 'El turismo en el Cuzco', *El Comercio* (Cuzco, 4 April 1936), when the office had already been established.

[13] Dirección General de Hacienda, signed Eleodoro Freyre, letter to 'Señor Doctor Alberto A. Giesecke', 6 March 1934, AAG 47.596, translated by the author.

[14] See Dirección General de Hacienda, signed Eleodoro Freyre, letter to 'Señor Doctor Alberto Giesecke' 6 March 1934, AAG 47.596, and 'La Ley Para La Celebración del Cuatricentenario del Cuzco', *El Comercio* (Cuzco, 26 September 1933, p. 2).

[15] Taken from the article 'Turismo', in *El Comercio* (Cuzco, 8 March 1937, p. 2), translated by the author.

> abandoned and left to the tropical vegetation [which] invades it and continues destroying the marvellous ruins; there is a hotel by name only, where one can get neither a bed nor even a fork. And on top of it all, a tax of one golden sol [Peruvian currency] must be paid to see Machupijcho…The tourist has to make a tiresome journey of half a day by train, the inconvenience of climbing three kilometres uphill on foot or on pack animals, and worse still must part with a sol, [just] to have the pleasure of contemplating the megalithic city.[16]

In the mid 1960s, Albert Giesecke was still working and advocating—at the head of the Corporación de Turismo del Perú (Peruvian Tourism Corporation)—for the construction of a tourist hotel at Machu Picchu to replace the all-too-inadequate lodgings.[17] Even so, it cannot be denied that the two events (the declaration of Cuzco as the Archaeological Capital City of South America, and the celebrations held for the city's fourth centennial) jointly stimulated a regional and a nationwide interest in Cuzco as a tourist and cultural centre. At this time we also find new incentives for the institutions based in the city of Cuzco to promote the artistic-folkloric creation and practice. This is shown by, for instance, the 'Departmental Contest' organized by the Centro Qosqo a few months after the first of the aforementioned events.

We find here—as we do in other regional and national folkloric events that took place in Cuzco and Lima, as well as in folkloric festivals held in other parts of the world—a convergence of various motivations and interests on the part of the organizers and the participant groups, as well as the influence of several other factors of a historical, social and technological nature (Cantwell 1992: 295). These interests and factors determined the shape of the folkloric events, and the variant effects they had on Peruvian and cuzqueño society. As Cantwell (1992: 263) has suggested, the folkloric performances and contests held in Cuzco and in Lima may be understood as events wherein:

> …folk culture and official culture embrace[d] one another: the one to win honour from the attention of cultural institutions allied with education, science, commerce, or government, the other to disseminate the influences of folk culture into the popular imagination and, by way of advocating and sustaining it, into the commercial marketplace or public policy.

[16] 'La necesidad de reglamentar el turismo', *El Comercio* (Cuzco, 18 February 1937, p. 2), translated by the author.

[17] See Corporación de Turismo del Perú, signed Benjamín Roca Muelle, president, letter to 'Señor Doctor Alberto A, Giesecke', Lima, 9 June 1965, AAG.

Thus in the first half of the twentieth century in Cuzco, a number of factors came together that strengthened local chauvinism and promoted tourism. First, of course, there were the archaeological discoveries, followed by the intellectual and political desire to promote a regional and a national identity and the desire to make the peasant and lower-class urban practices known and appreciated by both cuzqueños and tourists. At the same time, there was the example of states such as Russia and Mexico supporting folkloric art.[18] These processes helped to foster a folkloric repertoire that would gradually be known as traditional cuzqueño and that inspired the regionalist and nationalists proposals made by the neo-Indianistas.

Contests and celebrations: a closer look at contemporary reality

In 1933, the Centro Qosqo became officially recognized, through Supreme Decree 149, as the first 'Folkloric Institution' in Peru.[19] Before this official recognition, the Centro had already organized a musical contest. When the contest was announced it was noted that 'this goal of a high cultural significance deserves the support of all the authorities and institutions, all the more so since Cuzco is the Archaeological Capital City of America, [and] the centre in which the vernacular art must most intensively be cultivated'.[20] The call for the contest was very similar to the one organized in 1927.[21] Not only were both contests responding to the recognition of Cuzco at a nationwide level, but they had similar goals, guidelines and organization. In the nationalist and traditionalist spirit that drove the organizers of the second contest, it was established that it would include only the 'purely national and historical art' and thus exclude all 'foreign and modern' works.[22] It was likewise noted, in exactly the same terms as in 1927, that

[18] See Mendoza 2006 and 2008 specially chapters 3 and 5 for details of the influence of the example of Russia and Mexico in the debates about the role of folklore in the construction of national identity.

[19] See Centro Qosqo de Arte Nativo (1988: 1) and Oróz (1989: 1). The *Resolución* is dated 7 November 1933.

[20] 'Bases para un concurso musical. Brillante iniciativa del Centro Ccoscco', *El Comercio* (Cuzco, 16 June 1933, pp. 1 and 4), translated by the author.

[21] This name was 'Centro Musical Cuzco' (Cuzco Music Centre).

[22] 'Bases para un concurso musical. Brillante iniciativa del Centro Ccoscco', *El Comercio* (Cuzco, 16 June 1933, pp. 1 and 4, translated by the author.

the Centro would use the occasion to increase the repertoire it was promoting as traditionally cuzqueño, as well as to incorporate new artists into the institution.[23] Even so, there were differences. In the 1933 contest the significance of the promotion of the 'native' culture was based not so much on the idea that it was a survival of the (Inca or colonial) past, as on the existence of a rich contemporary repertoire that had to be recognized as 'art'. In 1933, the appeal of participating in this type of event for people outside the city and the province of Cuzco had also grown, as had the number of groups performing music or dances that were acknowledged to be folkloric.[24]

In the 1927 contest, the Centro Qosqo had stated that 'one of its major goals is to collect, study and make known the typical regional music, particularly that which still survives from pre-Hispanic and colonial times in different parts of the department'.[25] In 1933 the institution supported the event, arguing that 'one of the major goals of its establishment was to disseminate and reveal Peruvian art;...that in all parts of the department there are artistic groups and artists [who are] almost anonymous and are not valued due to the lack of adequate opportunities [and that] there is a pressing need to organize artistic contests so as to stimulate and convey such fertile and meaningfully suggestive motifs'.[26]

As for the second point, we find that the call for the 1933 contest limited the number of participants per group, and in general the number of groups participating in the contest. The help of the Provincial Municipal Council of Cuzco was sought, just as in the first contest, both financially and to summon the participants through their respective municipal councils. It was now requested that all 'artistic delegations' be 'authorized by the municipal council of each province, which will send a single delegation with a maximum number of ten individuals after the previous process of elimination in their respective provinces, with the exception of Cuzco, which can be represented by [as many] groups as there are'.[27] Once in Cuzco, the selected groups would have

[23] 'Bases para un concurso musical. Brillante iniciativa del Centro Ccoscco', *El Comercio* (Cuzco, 16 June 1933, pp. 1 and 4).

[24] See Mendoza 2006 and 2008 for a more detailed comparison of these two contests.

[25] 'Un concurso de música autóctona: Bases suscritas por el 'Centro Musical Cuzco', *El Comercio* (Cuzco, 23 September 1927, p. 3), translated by the author.

[26] 'Bases Para Un Concurso Musical. Brillante Iniciativa del Centro Ccoscco', *El Comercio* (Cuzco, 16 June 1933, pp. 1 and 4), translated by the author.

[27] 'Bases Para Un Concurso Musical. Brillante Iniciativa del Centro Ccoscco', *El Comercio* (Cuzco, 16 June 1933, pp. 1 and 4), translated by the author.

to participate in a second qualifying round, this time with the same type of judges as in the first contest, namely members of the Centro Qosqo, the city council and the university, and representatives of the local press. It must also be noted that at the time, the organization of contests was not limited to groups of artists and intellectuals connected with the Centro Qosqo, as this initiative had also been taken by institutions formed by cuzqueños of popular extraction, such as Centro Deportivo Obrero del F.B.C. Pachacutec (Workers' sports centre of the Pachacutec soccer club), which organized one in 1931.[28] This supports the idea that the interest in organizing and in participating in these contests was spreading to other sectors of Cuzco society.

The Cuzco fourth centennial celebrations clearly gave rise to spaces for the promotion of artistic-folkloric presentations. Just as in the public works undertaken for this occasion, these activities were also promoted and led by intellectuals, artists and politicians. The Peruvian government responded by passing a law that assigned funds for the organization of a 'historical, artistic and cultural contest'.[29] Itier points out that this celebration marked 'an abrupt, albeit short-lived, rebirth of Quechua drama in all of its manifestations' in which not just the established directors and actors from the city of Cuzco participated, but also groups from the provinces and at least one formed by workers.[30]

The following year celebrations were held in Lima to commemorate the Fourth Centennial of the Spanish foundation of this city and the Centro Qosqo and the Conjunto Acomayo, a folklore group that had made its debut in Lima in 1928, participated in them. The performance given by the Conjunto apparently received more applause than the Centro's performance, at least at the national contest held on this occasion, where the Conjunto attained a higher position and received a bigger cash prize.[31] Besides participating in this contest, both groups

[28] 'Gran Concurso Musical', *El Sol* (Cuzco, 28 January 1931, p. 4).

[29] 'La Ley Para La Celebración del Cuatricentenario del Cuzco', *El Comercio* (Cuzco, 26 September 1933, p. 2).

[30] *El Sol* (Cuzco, 10 June 1934), cited by Itier (2000: 84). Itier does not give the title of the article, nor the page numbers, translated by the author.

[31] See 'Orden de los premios del Certamen Nacional', *El Sol* (Cuzco, 21 February 1935, p. 3). According to this article, the Conjunto Acomayo ended in fifth place in the category 'Inca' music, and was awarded for this a gold medal, a diploma and $100. Esteban Ttupa (1988: 20) also recorded these prizes. This same article points out that the Centro Qosqo—no position is given—along with 8 other groups from various parts of Peru had also been given a diploma, a gold medal, and $50. Just as in the Amancaes contests, this one included the category 'Criollo' music.

took advantage of the opportunity to hold other presentations in Lima and other provinces. The Conjunto Acomayo appeared in honour of the 'Minister of England, his wife and the British colony', a performance that was apparently a success.[32] This group was still perceived as more indigenous and authentic than the Centro Qosqo. The cuzqueño intellectual Antonio de la Torre claimed in a speech transcribed by the press that 'all they sing, all they play, all they dance, is purely, genuinely, and unquestionably aboriginal, with a Quechua-ness [quechuismo] that will not easily be equalled nor surpassed by any other manifestation of the vernacular art'.[33]

The Centro Qosqo in Lima: a new repertoire crystallizes

Several newspaper accounts indicate that the Centro Qosqo's expedition to Lima on the occasion of the fourth centennial of the Spanish foundation of the city provoked some controversy. Some cuzqueño intellectuals were not really convinced that the Centro could adequately represent Cuzco. There were also some disagreements within this institution. In a letter sent to the Cuzco press, Humberto Vidal Unda—secretary of the Centro Qosqo and leader of the group that went to Lima—stated that despite the opinion of 'interested parties' who had carried out an 'odious campaign' in Cuzco against the tour, it had been a success.[34] According to him, the performance given by the Centro Qosqo in Lima's Teatro Municipal, '…judging by the applause, the numbers repeated and the congratulations received from major intellectuals, was an all-out artistic triumph'.[35]

I have shown elsewhere (Mendoza 1998, 2000, 2001) that three sets of characteristics distinguished the composition and the production of these artistic pieces. The first is the aggressive warrior spirit of the past that still survives, particularly in some provinces far removed from the city of Cuzco. The second characteristic is the bucolic and at the same time lethargic life of the contemporary peasantry and its Inca forebears.

---

[32] Reproduced in 'Actuación Artística', *El Sol* (Cuzco, 20 February 1935, p. 2). The quotation does not specify who the 'minister' was.

[33] 'Actuación Artística', *El Sol* (Cuzco, 20 February 1935, p. 2), translated by the author.

[34] 'Una Carta del Centro Qosqo', *El Sol* (Cuzco, 21 February 1935, p. 3).

[35] 'Una Carta del Centro Qosqo', *El Sol* (Cuzco, 21 February 1935, p. 3), translated by the author.

The third is the festive and licentious spirit that arose during celebrations, especially those of a carnivalesque kind. Cutting across these three characteristics were the sentimental themes of nostalgia and love for both the homeland and one's beloved, themes that are quite prominent in several pieces. Although some numbers may be more clearly placed in one of the sets, they often combine different elements.

Although the Inca theme was losing ground in the artistic-folkloric elaborations in the city of Cuzco, the celebrations sparked a brief rebirth of interest in this subject. It therefore comes as no surprise to find that the Inca theme was still present in this performance of the Centro Qosqo. The programme announced that 'the Conjunto presents restorations and stylizations of Inca, colonial and contemporary tableaux, customs, music, songs and dances, faithfully reproducing the rites, dress and lavish decorations'.[36] Besides emphasizing the fact that these presentations were elaborate and stylized, as well as recalling the ancient glories of the cuzqueño groups associated with the Centro, the programme ascribed equal importance to Inca, colonial and contemporary times. But the programme, which had fourteen numbers, actually included only two that were explicitly presented as 'Inca': an (unidentified) 'Inca Melody' performed by 'the Orchestra' (i.e. the symphonic orchestra), and 'The Weavers' (which was more usually known as the '*awajkuna*'), performed as an 'Inca costumbrista tableau' but which was in fact a composition by Roberto Ojeda, the musical director of the Misión Peruana de Arte Incaico.

Thus by the mid 1930s, Cuzco was seen as a Mecca of international tourism and a source of nationhood. Its repertoire included the prototypes of what in subsequent years would be presented as typically or traditionally cuzqueño. The themes and the images of the pieces in this repertoire were patterned by three sets of characteristics, but the rich artistic-folkloric output that continued its growth in the following decades, both on the stage and as part of religious festivals, went beyond these prototypes and reformulated them. Things became even more complex as the repertoire of the so-called mestizo dances grew, and as the practice of these forms was gradually accepted by social sectors that had previously refrained from practising traditions that were considered indigenous. The adoption of the practice of the charango,

[36] Programme, 'Presentación del conjunto "Centro Ccoscco de Arte Nativo"', 5 February 1935. Document found in the Private Archive of the Pillco family.

and the subsequent transformation of its style, clearly illustrates this process (see Mendoza 2006, 2008 Ch. 4).

Post-1950s tourism and folklore

The earthquake of 21 May 1950, which destroyed or damaged most of the buildings in the city of Cuzco, speeded up several changes and added new dimensions to the perspectives developed by Cuzco intellectuals and artists on regional and national identities (Mendoza 2000: 65–69, 2001: 104–111). The United Nations and U.S. technicians participated alongside organisms created by the Peruvian government to undertake the reconstruction of Cuzco. In 1952, the Junta de Reconstrucción de Fomento (Reconstruction and Development Junta) was established, and in 1956 it became the Corporación de Reconstrucción y Fomento, CRYF (Corporation for Reconstruction and Development). This institution united several intellectuals and artists from the city of Cuzco who were members of the Centro Qosqo and of another important cultural institution that had emerged in the late 1930s, the Instituto Americano de Arte de Cuzco (American art institute of Cuzco). The activities of the CRYF in the economic, cultural and political life of the region continued until 1972. The city grew as a tourist centre, but was surrounded by shanty towns. A major element of the new promotion of tourism was the permanent and renewed impulse given to artistic-folkloric activities. As the rise in the number of foreign and Peruvian tourists flowing to Cuzco stabilized,[37] the city saw the emergence of several folkloric institutions, in most cases formed by former members of the Centro Qosqo.

Towards the end of the 1960s, when Cuzco artistic-folkloric activity was flourishing along with the increase of tourism in the region, the

[37] According to an article in *El Comercio* (Cuzco), the movement of tourists was as follows in those years: 'In 1953 [the number of tourists] came to 5,814; in 1954 to 6,903; in 1955 to 8,176; in 1956 to 5,163; and in 1958 to 17,486'. 'El Turismo puede Batir Record en 1959' (21 August 1959, p. 1). Another article in this same newspaper—'23 mil turistas nacionales en 1960', *El Comercio* (Cuzco, 1 January 1961, p. 2)—reports that 23,642 tourists visited Cuzco in 1960, and that less than half of these (10,249) were foreigners. A subsequent article corrected this number and claimed that 16,091 Peruvian tourists and 10,349 foreign ones arrived in Cuzco in 1960, while a total of 28,814 arrived in 1961 ('Turismo batió record en 1961', *El Comercio,* Cuzco, 1 January 1962, p. 1). According to this last article then, the number of tourists in 1960 amounted to about 19 per cent of the total population in the city.

institutions that had devoted themselves to developing this art in this and other highland regions were given a slap in the face. The cultural presence of Andean migrants in Lima (Cotler 1978; Matos Mar 1984), led to a new popularity of the music from highland provinces in public spaces in Lima, as well as the record industry and the radio stations (Núñez Rebaza & Lloréns 1981; Lloréns 1993; Romero 2002). The efforts of highland artists to have the huayno and other Andean styles accepted as genuine representatives of the Peruvian majorities were once again cast aside in a most conclusive way when the Casa de la Cultura (the national institution in charge of cultural affairs at the time) decided to entrust a group called Teatro y Danzas Negros del Perú (Black Theatre and Dances from Peru) with the task of representing Peru.[38]

Despite the protests against the 'Limeño centralism',[39] this group, which was headed by Victoria Santa Cruz, a renowned practitioner of Afro-Peruvian art, went to Mexico as the Peruvian representative in the 'Cultural Olympics' that were held during the Olympic Games in Mexico in 1968.[40] This Lima-based institution was the first folkloric troupe to be sent by the Peruvian government to an international event as a representative of the entire nation.[41] In 1923, the Peruvian government had denied any kind of support to the Misión Peruana de Arte Incaico, which had become a success only thanks to the cooperation of the Argentinian Comisión Nacional de Bellas Artes, and a group of Cuzco artists and intellectuals.

The proposals for a national identity that Cuzco artists and intellectuals had developed in their artistic-folkloric repertoire and had performed with success in Lima and other departments, as well as abroad (Argentina, Bolivia, Chile and Uruguay), were not chosen as the

---

[38] The ethnomusicologist Heidi Feldman gave me the exact name of this entity in February 2005. Dr Feldman is finishing a book on the Afro-Peruvian musical tradition.

[39] For instance, a headline in *El Comercio* (Cuzco, 5 September 1968, p. 1) ran: 'Cuzco debía protestar por centralismo en folklore nativo [Cuzco should protest over centralism in native folklore]'.

[40] '400 millones de personas verán el folklore peruano', *El Comercio* (Cuzco, 24 August 1968, p. 1), stated that thanks to satellite TV, the aforementioned number of people would watch this cultural event, and hence the performance of the Peruvian delegation; it was also noted that 60 countries from the five continents would participated in the sports and cultural events.

[41] A more detailed study of this first Peruvian delegation is yet to be made. Some newspaper items suggest that the delegation headed by Victoria Santa Cruz took with it the typical attire of several parts of Peru including Cuzco, and that dances from various parts of Peru would be performed, but by dancers from Lima. See '400 Millones de Personas Verán el Folklore Peruano', *El Comercio* (Cuzco, 24 August 1968, p. 1).

ones that could represent all of the nation. In the 1950s, these powerful groups had chosen the coastal criollo tradition. The Limeño one in particular had idealized some aspects of the Afro-Peruvian population and incorporated some styles of its musical traditions, as representative of the Peruvian people (Lloréns 1983: 78–79). The governmental promotion of 'criollo [culture] as the popular-national [culture]' gradually increased, and during the Velasco regime criollo music was used in governmental publicity (Lloréns 1983: 80).[42]

Although Cuzco groups continued touring Peru and South America, and received the attention and recognition of the public, the hope that Cuzco and/or highland art would be recognized as the national art par excellence slowly faded. But at a regional level, the stimulus provided by the growth of tourism and by the state, particularly during the Velasco administration, consolidated and stimulated the practice of this activity at an institutional level—both private and governmental—and in the festive practices of all cuzqueños.

It is important to stress that the development of artistic practices known as folkloric in the first part of the twentieth century was always contentious. Conflicts and contradictions about what should be considered 'traditional', indigenous or mestizo constantly emerged (Mendoza 2000, 2001, 2006, 2008). The issue of 'folklore' will remain contentious as long as it is being re-created and renovated by the cuzqueños. Unlike what other perspectives—including partly my own in the past—claim, this field developed and became consolidated thanks to a complex and fluid interaction between artists and intellectuals from various urban and rural social sectors of Cuzco throughout the first half of the twentieth century. In the late 1950s, cuzqueños would recognize and widely accept a repertoire as their own or 'traditional' (*típico*), not because it was a result of a mere manipulation or was imposed by the indigenista or neo-Indianist intellectual and artistic elites, but because it emerged from this complex process of exchange in a variety of spaces described here.

[42] In 1969, some members of the above-mentioned Teatro y Danzas Negros del Perú formed the group 'Perú Negro', and although it was first created to work in a touristic restaurant called 'El Chalán', it soon became popular and established a close relationship with the government of Juan Velasco Alvarado and with the Instituto Nacional de Cultura, the institution that replaced the Casa de la Cultura in its cultural role. The information here presented was provided me by Heidi Feldman and Javier León, the latter a student of criollo music in Peru who like Feldman is completing a book on this subject.

After the 1950s, the artistic-folkloric production, which had been closely connected with the political proposals of a regional and a national identity, found itself increasingly removed from these projects, and perhaps more dependent on the goal of having Cuzco firmly established as a tourist centre. The desire to represent Peru endured in the artistic-folkloric activities of Cuzco in subsequent decades, as is shown by the offence taken by Cuzco artists when they were not chosen to represent Peru in Mexico in 1968. But the desire to present a consistent tradition to a public composed of tourists, along with the feeling of an opportunity lost vis-à-vis a state that did not recognize them as the fountainhead of national art, came together in the 1960s and made the Cuzco intellectuals and artists more concerned with reinforcing and somehow freezing the repertoire and the parameters that had crystallized by then. So it was that these parameters and repertoire became canons that had to be reinforced by the cultural institutions in the city of Cuzco.

Conclusion

In this essay I have tried to analyse the complex ways in which the emergence of Cuzco as a centre of archaeological and tourist international interest interacted with the materialization of indigenismo, in particular neo-Indianist trends, and with the increasing interest in creating spaces and promoting performance practices classified as folkloric art. The artists and intellectuals who proposed and defended their proposals of regional and national identity based on the highland mestizo, promoted the artistic-folkloric production of the first part of the twentieth century. It was concrete folkloric performances that provided them with the material to experience and conceptualize their proposals. These practices became very relevant to most Cuzco inhabitants, and were closely tied to the international tourist and archaeological interest in the region that emerged during this period.

What the indigenistas and neo-Indianists accomplished in the first half of the twentieth century continues to have a lasting effect on the place of tourism in Cuzco society. In attempting to place highland culture, in particular Cuzco culture, at the centre of the Peruvian state, these artists and intellectuals brought together the development of folkloric art and the promotion of their region as a centre of archaeological and tourist interest. They validated and invigorated a fruitful field of

creative action at a time when these 'folkloric' practices were marginalized and disdained by the socially and politically dominant groups in the region and the country. The many spaces where this validated folklore is practised and promoted continue to be key arenas in which Cuzco people define and contest individual and group identities. The presence of foreign and national people who go to Cuzco to visit or study its archaeological sites and its culture continues to fuel the vitality of these spaces.

CHAPTER THREE

THE 'THREE ROOTS' OF PANAMA'S CULTURAL HERITAGE: THE CONSTRUCTION OF RACIAL AND NATIONAL IDENTITIES IN THEME PARKS

Carla Guerrón Montero

> How can we become, in a way that is ours, masters of our own space? (Lahens 1998: 156).

In recent times scholars have turned their attention to the study of the extent to which tourism plays a part in cultural reconstruction and nation-building (Handler 1988; Norkunas 1993; Adams 1998; Bruner 2005; Sánchez and Adams 2008). As Sánchez and Adams (2008) note,

> Many developing nations, socialist and non-socialist, have turned to tourism as a promising avenue for nation-building. While tourism carries the allure of being a quick way in which to earn hard currency, capital is usually a means for the achievement of a much broader nation-building agenda that may include national integration, strengthening of the state, self-determination (sovereignty), and social equity and justice (2008: 28).

However, tourism as a means for nation-building has the potential for profound contradictions: whereas ideally the conditions necessary for the flourishing of nation-building and nationalism include a culturally homogeneous literate population, 'capable of authoring and propagating its own history' (Gellner in Steiner 1997: 676), the conditions necessary for the development of international tourism are that a population be as culturally and ethnically diverse as possible (the 'ethnic' or 'exotic' Other), and that so-called illiterate populations without a sense of historical knowledge be 'discovered' and showcased. In other words, the demands of state nationalism and those of international tourism are in disagreement (Steiner 1997: 676).

On some occasions, displays, events and festivities are aimed at satisfying the requirements of both state nationalism and international tourism. Here I offer an analysis of the exploitation of Panama's diversity for tourism purposes and the resulting contradictions present in

Panama's nation-building project. I discuss how culture and authenticity are intricately interconnected with politics and representation in the Latin America of the twenty-first century, where globalism[1] and multiculturalism reign. Using an ethnographic case study of simulated cultural representations for tourist consumption in Panama—a country torn between strong nationalist sentiments and aspirations for Western modernity—I discuss how the Panamanian government and Panama City's authorities recreate, interpret, construct and reconstruct conflicting national and ethnic identities.[2]

Specifically, I study the creation and use of the theme park officially called Centro Comercial y Turístico Mi Pueblito ('My Little Town Commercial and Tourism Centre'), which is informally known as Mi Pueblito and is located in the country's capital (hereafter I use Mi Pueblito when referring to the Centro).[3] I focus on the expansive

---

[1] The term globalism refers to the global racial, economic and historical patterns as instruments of domination and rule (globalization), as well as to resistance, contestation, self-determination and the strong responses from civil society to globalizing phenomena (globalism) (Winant 2004: xvi).

[2] In earlier articles, my focus was on the responses of Afro-Antillean and indigenous groups to governmental tourism development (Guerrón Montero 2005a, 2006a). This article centres on the perspective of tourism as a means for nation-building among local and national Panamanian authorities.

[3] This study is part of my ongoing research project on the construction of regional and national identities as the Afro-Antilleans of Panama participate in the transnational spaces opened up by tourism and other aspects of globalism. I conducted ethnographic research in the summer of 2002 at the Pueblitos in Panama City. I made a preliminary visit in 2000, a short visit follow-up visit in 2003 and carried out follow-up interviews in 2004. As part of my research, I participated in various artistic events at the centre, interviewed administrative personnel, guides and prominent Afro-Antillean figures, and talked to tourists who visited the centre. In addition, I conducted research in the archives of the municipality of Panama from 2000 to 2002, and in the Simon Bolivar Library of the University of Panama, the Revista Lotería library and the Ernesto Castillero Calvo municipal library. I offer my most sincere thanks to the personnel of the municipality, and especially to Lcda Irasema Rosas de Ahumada, Ms Sonia Brown and Prof. Geraldo Maloney at the Pueblitos; Mr David Lindo and his staff at the Department of Social Communication, Mrs Fernando Valdez, Wilfredo Smith, Oscar Gomez, and Ms Cynthia Garcia in Publicity; and Lcda Anabella Lombardo, from the Afro-Antillean Museum. My sincere thanks go to Juan Carlos Navarro, mayor of Panama City (1999–2009), for generously opening the doors of the municipality for my research. I should like to sincerely thank the Centre on Diversity and Community (CoDaC) at the University of Oregon for a research grant that allowed me to conduct the largest portion of this research. I truly appreciate the invaluable suggestions of Kathleen Adams (University of Loyola, Chicago) and Philip D. Young (University of Oregon). I also thank CEDLA (Centre for Latin American Research and Documentation) for inviting me to the 'Indigenous Cultures, Heritage and Tourism in Latin America' conference, where I presented a version of this chapter. My most sincere thanks to

notions of identity and the production of cultural heritage in Panama that this centre represents. Mi Pueblito is one outcome of the construction of a national project of unity that has consumed Panama since it became a nation-state. The tourism industry and the tireless efforts of Afro-Antillean and indigenous intellectuals and community leaders (Guerrón Montero 2005b) have contributed to the salience of this selective project of unity in diversity (Bruner 2005). I consider the local, regional, national and international factors that motivated the development of this site. The broader historical context is first provided by a discussion of theme parks and the role of anthropology in the development of theme parks and simulated tourism.

Theme parks, simulated tourism and anthropology

Theme parks have tended to be represented by social philosophers as postmodern US phenomena (Mintz 2004: 185). However, theme parks have a much longer history. In fact, world fairs can be considered the precursors of this familiar form of simulated cultural representation. Although seldom discussed by students of tourism, anthropology has been intimately connected with the development of simulated tourism through its contributions to the production and legitimization (in both colonial and post-colonial times) of the 'exotic native subject' worthy of the tourist gaze and the—perhaps no less arrogant—'anthropological gaze' (Dumont 1984; Gable and Handler 1993: 26). In line with the widespread intellectual pursuits of the nineteenth century, collecting and exhibiting were prominent characteristics of anthropology and were often included in world fairs (Bean 1987: 552).[4]

World fairs began in London in 1851 and quickly became popular and multiplied around the world, becoming what Benedict (1981: 2) calls 'monstrous competitions', first for international markets and revenues, and later mostly for prestige. World fairs contributed to the definition of travel as 'a bourgeois, cosmopolitan and worldly experience'. This dominant narrative about travel, however, was not applied to

Walter van Beek, panel discussant, and to all the participants in the conference for their provocative comments.

[4] Some of these early fairs borrowed artefacts from museum collections; conversely, some of them also contributed material to museums after the fairs were over.

the men who were enlisted for the living ethnological display (Mathur 2001: 493).

After their development as important world events, they also became tools for the creation of nationalist agendas, partly through the display of technological achievements (McCullough 1976). These fairs strove to include an educational component; part of this education was offered by evolutionary anthropologists, particularly in regards to what was understood as the progress of humankind and technological innovation.

At these fairs, 'ethnographic models' were used to exhibit different peoples. For instance, there were eleven models showcased in the first world's fair in London in 1851. As Tallis states (in Benedict 1985), these models 'possessed a very high interest, conveying through the eye, a vivid representation of the customs, occupations, and habits of the natives of distant countries, not so easily apprehended from any written description, however well illustrated by drawings' (1985: 3). Ethnographic models were replaced by displays of live colonial peoples or 'living ethnological displays' in the late nineteenth century.[5] When competition between nations increased, there was a growing emphasis on national, regional and ethnic histories (Benedict 1981: 3). Many fairs served the purpose of maintaining narrow nationalist ideas with the aid of anthropology. In turn, the discipline of anthropology received attention and funding for research and conferences as a result of its participation in those fairs.

World fairs fostered the collection of ethnographic and archaeological specimens, and stimulated research in the subfields of anthropology. At the St Louis World Fair of 1904, for instance, there were 'villages' of living Eskimos, Patagonians, Ainu, Pygmies, Cocopas, Klaokwahts, Igorots, Bagobo, Moros and Visayans. There were also two 'Anthropology Days', with 'ethnic dances, sports and various ceremonies performed in the exposition stadium' (1981: 5).

In his book *The Anthropology of World's Fairs*, Burton Benedict (1985) observes that a common theme of these world fairs was to have 'serious displays' accompanied by 'amusement zones' that developed organically at the fringes of the fairs (1985: 52–59). Thus, there was the intent, at least, to establish a separation between entertainment and education, a separation that was sometimes bridged by organizing specific activities

---

[5] These models are perhaps one of the most objectionable and understudied genres in the history of anthropology (Mathur 2001: 492).

for entertainment purposes at the fairs. For instance, one such entertaining activity at the anthropological buildings of the Chicago (1893) and St Louis (1904) fairs included anthropometric measurements of fair-goers (Benedict 1981: 5).

Another mechanism utilized by world fair organizers to legitimize and authenticate the information conveyed at these fairs included the use of images derived from classic anthropological studies. For instance, at the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London, the representation of India as a timeless village based on traditional craft skills as opposed to industrialized England, was founded on the classic anthropology of Sir Henry Maine (Mathur 2001: 496). Thus, the external features of these native artisans (dress, racial markings, even movements and gestures) put on display at the fair and reified as quintessential ‘Indian craftsmen’, were represented and celebrated as part of a lasting tradition of artisanship conceived as perfect and pure (Mathur 2001: 497).

World fairs provided ‘a unique opportunity to make explicit and objective a global worldview with the hierarchical categories it encompasses’ (Bouissac 1985: 930). Modern theme parks developed out of these world fairs. In the early part of the twentieth century, theme parks became a more permanent means to affirm national and regional identities (partly by focusing on social cohesiveness), but also to ‘escape’ to ‘exotic atmospheres’ for the elite and working classes alike. Thus, previously refined environments were transformed into popular facilities and pleasure gardens that were accessible to every socio-economic class (ibid. 5). Critiques of theme parks (whose epitome are Walt Disney’s parks and expanding media empire) have centred on their simplistic view of the world, historical inaccuracies, imperialistic message and control over the social order, among others (Bryman 1995, 2004; Schaffer 1996; Shortsleeve 2004; Wright 2006).[6] Theme parks, as opposed to local (Levin 2007) or national museums, are generally conceived by historians and curators as products of inferior quality with mere entertainment value. However, the boundary between entertainment and education is difficult to ascertain. The ‘anthropological gaze’ has

[6] The terms ‘Disneyfication’ (Schickel 1986) and ‘Disneyization’ (Bryman 2004) refer to different but related phenomena produced by the Walt Disney empire. The former refers to the cultural products of the Disney Company, the process by which every project in which Disney’s Studio is involved is reduced to a particular understanding of Disney’s projects by Disney and his people (Schickel 1986: 225). The related term Disneyization refers to the process by which the principles of the Disney theme parks dominate societies in the USA and around the world (Bryman 2004: 1).

been instrumental in the creation and validation of fairs, theme parks and historical museums. Anthropology has also played an essential role in the production of nostalgia, as the discipline itself was motivated in part by melancholy over worlds that were disappearing into modernity, in order to 'make sense of social forms fast fading away' (Cunningham Bissell 2005: 224). As Robertson (cited in Cunningham Bissell 2005) aptly notes, we are in a phase of 'nostalgia-producing globalization'. The simulation of cultural representations in theme parks and museums that are easily accessible to tourists addresses both the nostalgia and the attractiveness of cultural exotica.

Mi Pueblito is both a theme park and a historical museum whose dual goal is to entertain and educate by offering a particular discourse about the modern Panamanian nation. In the tradition of world fairs and world exhibits, the Pueblitos ('small towns') offer an example of the transformation of the spectacle of the living exhibit into a highly contested cultural encounter that both reflects and results from the formation of cultural processes (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998). In this regard, the Pueblitos are reminiscent of worldwide theme parks that aim to develop and represent specific constructions of colonial and post-colonial national identities, particularly in multi-ethnic societies, with the aid of anthropology and other disciplines. As Bruner (2005: 211) has noted, these parks can be conceived as 'sites where the ethnic diversity of the nation or the region is represented for the visitors in a single locality in one panoptic sweep'. For instance, Mayers Ranch (near Nairobi, Kenya) is a privately-owned ranch where 'the master narrative of tribal resistance and colonial containment is performed daily' for national and international tourists who are eager to interact with the savage/pastoral Maasai (Bruner & Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1994: 435; Bruner 2002). Theme parks are also common tourism landscapes. The 'Beautiful Indonesia in Miniature Park' (Taman Mini), for example, which was created in 1975 and is associated with the Suharto regime, celebrates the diversity and development of Indonesia, while completely ignoring Chinese contributions to the nation (Kusno 2003: 163; Pemberton 1994; Hitchcock 1998).[7] According to Cohen-Hattab and Kerber (2004), these theme parks can be seen as 'contemporary

[7] Other examples include Bomas in Kenya, Madurodam in the Netherlands, the France Miniature in France, Miniature World in Victoria, BC, Canada, and Mini-Israel in Israel.

compromises' in the relationship between geographical space, cultural experience and mass tourism (2004: 59). Drawing from these understandings of theme parks, I insert the current nation-building process found in the Pueblitos within the larger context of cultural production in the Panamanian tourism industry.

Tourism in Panama: Mis Pueblitos

Although Panama is well acquainted with the so-called First World through its long relationship with the USA, and although it has used the US dollar as its main currency since its independence from Colombia in 1903 (Anicetti 1998: 55), the country has only recently attracted much national and international tourism. The Panamanian Bureau of Tourism (Instituto Panameño de Turismo; IPAT) was constituted only in 1960. Panama has been known mostly for the presence of the Panama Canal in its territory, the San Blas Kuna and their colourful molas, and the 1989 US invasion that deposed General Manuel Noriega, which caused a precipitous drop in international tourism receipts for several years. In recent years, IPAT has been promoting Panama as a major tourism destination. The administrations of Guillermo Endara (1990–1994) and Ernesto Pérez Balladares (1994–1999) sought to develop tourism as one of the most important industries of the country, partly to offset the losses that were going to result from the imminent return of the Panama Canal to Panamanian hands (which occurred on 31 December 1999). In 1992, President Endara declared tourism a national priority that would contribute to the country's economic development. The goal of the administration of Pérez Balladares, Endara's successor, was to transform Panama into a tourism-oriented country, and to focus on two particular types of tourism, namely heritage tourism and ecotourism (Pérez Balladares 1998: 4; Guerrón Montero 2005a). The intention of IPAT was to develop 'intellectual heritage routes' (Ayala 1998: 1–2) based on Panama's history and culture in order to demonstrate that a country could take advantage of globalization while also strengthening its own ethnic identity (Pérez Balladares 1998: 14).

Thus, since the 1990s, Panama has implemented policies and laws designed to promote tourism as the future main industry of the country. This has brought to the forefront a discursive acceptance of the undeniable miscegenation that has taken place in Panama since the European conquest and since independence in 1903 (Guerrón Montero 2006a).

In the past, Panamanian governments have largely embraced a Latino[8] self-image of the country, with some acknowledgment of the Kuna indigenous peoples, who—in addition to fighting for their autonomy in 1925—have also been commercialized as Panama's 'exotics' (Howe 2001). Nowadays, as tourism becomes the government focus, Panama is exploiting its ethnic diversity to draw tourists, by portraying the country as an ideal ecotourism destination as well as a place of great ethnic and racial diversity.

One of the most apparent signs of the recent importance accorded by local and national authorities to ethnic groups that have distinctive characteristics for tourism purposes can be found in Panama City. Panama City has a relatively large version of a US Chinatown, called El Barrio Chino. This neighbourhood has Chinese shops, restaurants and houses, and a Chinese arch. Whilst in the past there were neighbourhoods of Afro-Antilleans, these neighbourhoods no longer have the distinctive architectural features they once had. Other ethnic neighbourhoods throughout the city have less visible markers as tourism attractions.

Mi Pueblito is a clear manifestation of the exploitation of Panama's diversity for tourism purposes. It is advertised as a tourism complex that offers a 'representation of the cradle of [Panama's] nationality' (Alcaldía de Panamá 1998: 246) and is depicted both as a history museum and a theme park, with attractions for national and international tourists, faithful reproductions of important historical landmarks, a museum and a gallery, all produced with the assistance of architects, historians, social scientists and folklorists. The city's government created three Pueblitos in order to show a glimpse of Panama to tourists who do not have enough time to visit the rest of the country, or who will be encouraged by these places to extend their travels. These Pueblitos depend administratively on the municipality of Panama City (specifically on the subdivision of municipal enterprises). An administrator and a sub-administrator, appointed by the major of the city, head the Pueblitos.[9]

Mi Pueblito includes a replica of a rural town of the interior of the country, a replica of an Afro-Antillean town (representing sectors of Panama City, Colon and Bocas del Toro), and a replica of indigenous

[8] 'Latino' in Panama has a meaning similar to 'mestizo' in other parts of Spanish Latin America.

[9] The personnel also include an Accounting Unit, a Tourism Unit, two secretaries and a Maintenance Unit.

houses of the ethnic groups Kuna Yala, Ngöbe-Buglé and Emberá-Wounan. The administrators of Mi Pueblito received advice from anthropologists, historians, folklorists and architects. The annual reviews of the Mi Pueblito for the years 2000–2002 make reference to the close attention paid by architects, engineers, decorators and personnel in general to produce 'genuine' and faithful representations of the landmarks chosen for each Pueblito, including having indigenous peoples themselves build the representations of their villages.

Mi Pueblito offers guided tours of its attractions. It has guides for each specific town—women dressed in *polleras* for the rural town, women dressed in colourful clothes with African motifs and turbans for the Afro-Antillean town, and indigenous women dressed in their typical attire for the indigenous towns (of the Kuna, Ngöbe or Embera-Wounan ethnicities). However, each guide is trained to provide a tour of any of the three towns if necessary. The rural and Afro-Antillean towns have restaurants and handicraft shops that are operated as concessions.

Mi Pueblito was a creation of Ms Mayin Correa, who was mayor of Panama City in 1994–1998 and is a very controversial figure in Panamanian politics. According to Ms Correa, a related reason for the development of this complex was to honour the 'three cultures' that had contributed to the creation of the Panamanian nation. Ms Correa considered the Pueblitos the most important tourism complex after the Panama Canal (*El Panamá América*, 2001: D-6). In fact, for Ms Correa, Mi Pueblito—which is also called the 'Encounter of Three Cultures'—symbolizes a monument to honour the indigenous peoples, rural Latinos and Afro-Antilleans who 'fused in a melting pot, created the Panamanian nation' (Alcaldía de Panamá 1998: vii).

One of my interviewees, Ms Irasema Rosas de Ahumada (former administrator of the Pueblitos), traced the origin of the towns to a visit of Ms Correa to Medellín, where she toured Nutibarra Hill and the Pueblito Paisa, a theme park with replicas of Colombia's rural life. Ms Correa found cultural and geographic similarities between the Pueblito Paisa and Panama City. The perspective offered by Ms Correa is a romantic one:

> I remember that when I was a child promenading down the streets of my birth town on Sundays, I saw families talking and children playing and enjoying the environment. Those were times of past amenities, where courtesy, respect, and good taste, the heritage of our ancestors, passed down from family to family, from generation to generation. To uphold this culture, this peasant nobility and our traditions, Mi Pueblito [Interiorano]

> was born, symbol of our nationality and of the encounter with the gallantry of our people and the flavour of our authentic traditions. (Alcaldía de Panamá 1998: 246, translated by the author)

The municipality of Panama had received a 20-year land concession at the foot of Ancon Hill from the Inter-Oceanic Regional Authority (Autoridad Regional Interoceánica; ARI). Ancon Hill has substantial symbolic meaning for Panamanians, as it was one of the first territories restored to Panamanian hands, and is now a national reserve and protected area. The mayor of Medellín gave the blueprints of the Pueblito Paisa to Mayor Correa. The technical personnel of the municipality of Panama modified the structure and created the first part of the Mi Pueblito Interiorano or Pueblito Colonial ('My little rural town') in September 1993. The town offers the opportunity to see the 'most representative symbols of the peasant culture of our country' in Panama City. It is based on the iconic and nostalgic representation of the Panamanian peasant of the interior or central provinces (which are assumed to signify the entire Panamanian nation) and is simply called Mi Pueblito. Mi Pueblito Interiorano offers a romanticized version of a small, rural, colonial peasant town, by combining elements of the central provinces of Los Santos, Herrera, Veraguas and Coclé in the town's architecture and activities. The constructions in this part of town are exact replicas of houses in the central provinces.

In the same manner, the church is a replica of one of the most important churches in the interior: the Natá de los Caballeros Catholic church, which was one of the first to be built by the Spaniards upon their arrival in Panama. The replica church has been used on occasions for weddings celebrated in the 'traditional' rural way, which are also advertised as tourism attractions. Displayed at Mi Pueblito Interiorano are 'real' Panamanian food and 'real' Panamanian music—the music and food of the Spanish-derived peasant culture of Panama's central provinces, regional music and cuisine patterns that came to be used as national symbols (Guerrón Montero 2004, 2006b). A travel magazine advertises this place as follows:

> A good place for a taste of real Panamanian food is Mi Pueblito. This charming area, a living museum built by the city to commemorate small town traditions, has a telegraph office, school exhibit, and even a kitchen where visitors can observe bread baked in a typical clay oven. Of course, Mi Pueblito also has a restaurant that serves typical dishes. Diners will be delighted by the fare and by the fine view of Panama City's skyline from the restaurant's balcony (Anicetti 1998a: 48–50).

This Pueblito has two handicraft shops, a *pollera* museum (the pollera is the typical women's dress from the central provinces), a replica of one of the first telegraphic centres in Panama, a small school and a parish house. This Pueblito is also the informal headquarters of the Petita Escobar folk dance school.

The second and third Pueblitos were created simultaneously. They were also the result of an idea of Ms Mayin Correa, who—after travelling to Atlanta (Georgia) and visiting a theme park with representations of different ethnic groups—found the idea appealing and contacted representatives of Antillean and indigenous groups to create life-size representations of their respective cultural and geographical areas. These two towns were built between June and November 1998, and inaugurated on 26 November 1998 as part of the celebrations of the independence of Panama from Colombia. Mi Pueblito Indígena contains representations of 'typical' indigenous villages that correspond to three indigenous groups in Panama: the Ngöbe-Buglé, the Kuna and the Emberá-Wounan. The Kuna village is the largest of the three, and includes replicas of a Kuna congress house, a 'typical' Kuna house and adjacent kitchen, and several replicas of Kuna shops. The Emberá-Wounan section has representations of three houses and a cascade within a tropical rainforest environment; the Ngöbe-Buglé section is the least developed and contains only two houses. The indigenous groups invited to participate in the project built their own houses and displays. Mi Pueblito Indígena also includes three shops and one restaurant (currently not open). When asked how the administration decided which indigenous groups to include,[10] Ms Ahumada commented that the administration chose the largest and more representative groups. The groups received the support of indigenous consulting organizations, which—along with the personnel of the municipality—designed and built that section of the Pueblito.

According to Ms Ahumada, however, there is a stronger presence of certain indigenous groups over others in the Pueblito Indígena. Given that the Kuna have had experience with tourism enterprises for decades, and given their level of organization, there is a constant Kuna presence in the town. In fact, 30 Kuna families depend economically on the profits they make from selling their handicrafts in the town. The

[10] The other indigenous groups in Panama are the Teribe (Naso), Buglé and Bri-bri (the last-mentioned are recent immigrants from Costa Rica).

group also performs typical dances on weekends and at special events. Ms Ahumada also notes:

> The Emberá-Wounan group is the one with the least representation. With effort, we have been able to motivate them so they can have a presence in the town, with their handicrafts, traditions and dances. It has also been very difficult to work with the Ngöbe-Buglé, maybe because they are the ones who live the farthest from the capital; they live in the provinces of Chiriquí, Veraguas and some areas of Coclé, and it has been very difficult to bring them here for rehearsals. In addition, many times they depend on other means to be able to stay [in the capital] and we have not been able to help them with a subsidy that would allow them to stay permanently in the Pueblito. Therefore, they come sporadically, when we ask them to come for a specific event, and that is not what we would like to have (Interview 2002).

The indigenous peoples who work at the Pueblito Indígena, however, have developed a support system that incorporates the Emberá-Wounan and the Ngöbe-Buglé into the more successful endeavours of the Kuna. For instance, Emberá-Wounan and Ngöbe-Buglé indigenous peoples who work at the Pueblito have their handicrafts displayed in the Kuna shops. They view the Pueblito Indígena as a community and support each other economically and socially. As a Kuna man who works at the Pueblito noted: 'We are happy here even if we do not sell as much as we would like to. We could not have the social life we have here anywhere else; we help each other, feed each other, and live in harmony and brotherhood' (interview 2004). In addition, discussions about their experiences as indigenous peoples in Panama and finding strategies for the development of thriving economic ventures at the Pueblitos are commonplace activities that generally take place, following Kuna ways, in the replica of a Kuna congress house.

The Afro-Antillean town, which was built at the same time as the indigenous town, is designed to highlight the Afro-Antilleans' lifestyle in and contributions to Panama, particularly during the construction of the Canal. For this purpose, the town includes an Episcopal church, which is a replica of the church in the Caledonia district that houses the Afro-Antillean museum. The town also includes a replica of the Müller House, a three-storey wooden house built in the form of a ship that was used as offices for the railroad, as a jail, and as a 76–room house for Afro-Antilleans working for the Canal Company. The original house was built in 1910 and demolished in 1970. A replica of a house from the province of Bocas del Toro represents typical Caribbean architecture, a

major concept showcased in these towns. The house is built partly on land and partly over a small swimming pool that corresponds to the ocean. There is also a replica of a lodge, characterizing the traditional communitarian support system found among Afro-Antilleans in Panama City, Colon and Bocas del Toro. The lodge operates as an art gallery, generally for national painters, and also houses the Armando Fortune Centre for Afro-Panamanian Studies.[11] This section of the Pueblito Afro-Antillano also has a replica of two houses, namely a middle-class house and an upper-class house. Finally, the town includes a gazebo located in a small plaza.[12]

As for other ethnic groups that have had an important presence in Panama's history, the administration of the Pueblitos has received offers from the Indian community (Hindustan Society of Panama; Sociedad Indostana de Panamá), the Greek community and the Chinese community. The administration has considered these offers, but can accept them only if they receive more land from the ARI. Ms Brown, former sub-administrator of the Pueblito Antillano, noted:

> These groups are motivated because they were part of the labour force that arrived in the country during the construction of the Canal and they are in their third or fourth generation in the country; they have developed and are part of the Panamanian nationality, and they would like to see themselves represented in the Pueblitos (Interview 2002).

A review of the calendar of activities of the Pueblitos for 2000, 2001 and 2002 shows a busy schedule of folk events primarily at the Pueblito Interiorano and secondarily at the Pueblito Afro-Antillano. The Pueblito Indígena is mostly used by indigenous peoples themselves, who either put on shows displaying Kuna, Emberá-Wounan and Ngöbe-Buglé dances, or—as noted above—get together to discuss work-related issues

---

[11] CEDEAP was established in the 1980s in order to bring together all Afro-Panamanian organizations in one centre. At the Pueblito Antillano, its goal was to develop the Pueblito as a centre for ongoing activities and encounters with the culture and manifestations of Afro-Panamanians. The centre included plans for an interdisciplinary centre for the study of 'the culture and socio-economic reality' of Afro-Panamanians, and a documentation centre to offer specialized information about the Afro-Panamanians to the public.

[12] A gazebo is a pavilion structure commonly found in parks, gardens, and public areas. Although a well-established folk dance group does not exist in this Pueblito, in 2002 there were plans to incorporate such a group into this section of the town, under the leadership of Ms Mireya Navarro, instructor of Afro-Panamanian dances (congo, quadrille, May Pole, etc.).

as well as larger issues of the participation of indigenous peoples in the social and political life of Panama.

The creation of Mi Pueblito Afro-Antillano suggests that the Panamanian government chose Afro-Antilleans (and not Afro-colonials, who arrived as slaves, mostly urban slaves, in the sixteenth century) to represent the black ancestry of Panamanians to the world.[13] For years, Afro-Antilleans enjoyed a certain degree of isolation both inside and outside the Canal Zone and the Canal Area and on the plantations of Bocas, and were thus able to maintain many of their customs and traditions (language, religious traditions, architecture, etc.). The Pueblito displays many of these features of the Afro-Antillean lifestyle in Panama and it represents Afro-Antilleans as a 'third root' of the Panamanian racial and ethnic mosaic. Despised and marginalized for many decades, with the onset of tourism, Afro-Antilleans are newly valorized, and their culture is now considered worthy of representation as part of the Panamanian racial and ethnic mosaic.

Many visitors to Mi Pueblito are cruise ship tourists. A quick visit to the centre has been included on the itinerary of the vessels of the Crown Princess and the Arcona cruise ship line, among others (*El Panamá América* 2001: E-3). 'Mi Pueblito has become a popular destination for those visiting Panama on cruise ships, as well as independent travellers. If you don't have the time to visit Panama's interior, where much of the history and culture is most prevalent, Mi Pueblito might be an attractive and convenient alternative'.[14]

Dumont (1984: 148) reminds us that tourists as well as anthropologists and any other traveller, develop 'discourses' about their touristic experiences. These discourses are the result of tourism encounters, which are 'essentially engineered both by the tourism industry that controls the plan of the visit and by the cultural expectations of each visitor' (Mintz 2004: 183–184). What are the discourses of national and international tourists towards Mis Pueblitos? A typology of tourists based on nationality emerges, and there are differences between the approach of national tourists and that of international tourists to

[13] Afro-Panamanians can be divided into two major groups: blacks who landed in Panama as slaves in the sixteenth century and blacks who migrated involuntarily or voluntarily to work on different projects in the nineteenth century. The former are commonly known as Afro-colonials (or negros coloniales) and the latter as West Indians, Afro-Antilleans, criollos or antillanos (Guerrón Montero 2008: 743–744).

[14] http: //www.worldheadquarters.com/panama/destinations/mipueblito/index.html.

the Pueblitos (Bruner 2005). The general consensus among the tourists interviewed was that the theme park is an excellent way to learn about Panama, and that it should be better known. The administrators of the Pueblitos agree, as Ms Ahumada asserts: 'We are in the process of encouraging city authorities to realize that this is a project of great significance and because of that, it should have more resources. They should give us the place that we deserve culturally and in regard to tourism' (Interview 2002).

According to the administrative authorities of the centre, the interest in specific Pueblitos depends upon the nationality of the tourists. For Ms Brown, history and common interests attract different tourists to a particular area of the centre. European tourists tend to be more attracted to the indigenous town, 'perhaps because indigenous people welcome them, they are dressed in their typical dresses and make their handicrafts [...] It is like a re-encounter with what the Spanish encountered in America, and they feel very noble about this' (Interview 2002). Latin American tourists tend to be more attracted to the rural town because of its similarities to some of their own rural towns; and Caribbean tourists are more attracted to the Afro-Antillean town.

The national tourists (and the expat Panamanians) I spoke to said that a visit to the Pueblitos was a nostalgic experience that reminded them of their childhood, with an understanding of heritage as a form of cultural salvage (Gable and Handler 1996: 568). For these tourists, visiting the Pueblitos becomes a reaffirmation of a sense of national belonging that only recently has been challenged and expanded. As McIntosh and Prentice (1999: 590) stress, when visiting a site based on the commodification of the past, 'it is not just what is recalled but [...] the creation and reaffirmation of identity that is enabled'. For many foreigners, particularly those from Latin America and Spain, visiting the Pueblito Interiorano in particular becomes a way to reacquaint themselves with their roots 'because we cannot deny that we [Spaniards and Latin Americans] have very similar traditions' (Interview 2002). Cunningham Bissell (2005: 218) tells us that it is necessary to address nostalgia not as poor history but as 'a social practice that mobilizes various signs of the past [colonial and otherwise] in the context of contemporary struggles'.[15] Colonial nostalgia is indeed embedded in

[15] Cunningham Bissell (2005: 221) notes that nostalgia occurs when the present is compared to other moments and marked as a moment of decline. This is clearly present

the configuration of the Pueblito Interiorano, whereas one could argue that the Pueblito Afro-Antillano stresses neo-colonial nostalgia with its references to the construction of the Panama Canal. In contrast, the Pueblito Indígena represents ancestral, pre-colonial times.

The publicity efforts of the municipality of Panama advertise the Pueblitos in order to 'show the authentic side of the Panamanians' (Interview 2002). Within this perspective, two of the objectives of the advertising campaign are to promote through primary and secondary public and private schools 'the importance of visiting a place that highlights national folklore and autochthonous culture, and in that light, to work specifically with TV or radio programmes that work exclusively on folk programmes'. The Pueblitos have now developed creative ways to advertise their activities, such as offering its installations free of charge in exchange for free publicity. TV, newspaper and magazine articles in Panama and around the world have been written about the Pueblitos,[16] and researchers from all over the world have visited the sites for their cultural and architectonic values.

In line with these efforts, the Pueblitos maintain a busy and active schedule. Every month, the Pueblitos hold a large folk event, normally at Mi Pueblito Interiorano. In addition, various organizations and institutions rent the installations for various events (especially at Mi Pueblito Interiorano). The centre has also been the headquarters of the 2000 National Folklore Festival, and has received Mexican, Spanish, Ecuadorean, Chilean, Jamaican and Cuban groups. The centre works directly with embassies, allowing cultural groups from different countries access to the facilities, because the goal of the centre is 'to become friends through culture, through the different traditions of each country' (Interview 2002). In addition, mayors of other cities (not specified by the authorities interviewed) have also become interested in developing similar complexes in their countries. The administrators were aware that there were similar centres in Colombia, Ecuador, Costa Rica and Brazil.

---

in Panama in regards to the time when General Manuel Antonio Noriega ruled the nation with an iron fist. Popular discontent resulting from unpopular measures taken by democratic governments since Guillermo Endara (1990) is usually compared with the way things were during Noriega times.

[16] In fact, I was informed that there was a researcher planning to write a book about the site. According to the administrators, the author was particularly interested in the Afro-Antillean town. I was unable to find further information about the outcome of this project.

At the moment, economic profit is not one of the main missions of the Pueblitos, and—as tourists themselves observed—the centre is not widely advertised. According to David Lindo, sub-director of Social Communication at the municipality, of the 760,091 visitors to Panama in 2001, only 61,855 (8 per cent) visited the Pueblitos, and 9,836 of these persons did not pay to enter because they were either children or retirees (Interview 2002).[17] By June 2002, 18,213 persons had visited the Pueblitos; 8,723 of these were foreigners, and 2,474 had not paid an entrance fee. In addition, very few tourists buy at the Pueblito shops. A Kuna guide from the Pueblito Indígena estimated that only 30 to 40 per cent of the tourists who visit the Pueblitos buy at the shops (Interview 2004). The municipality's marketing plan attempts to bring more people into the centre by promoting it as an attractive and pleasant place, with beautiful views that are ideal for taking photographs and for filming TV programmes and musical videos. Two goals of this campaign are to increase the number of visitors and to promote Mi Pueblito nationally and internationally. The administrative authorities feel that there are not sufficient connections between IPAT and the centre, and that the general national campaign to advertise Panama to the rest of the world should include a proactive engagement of the Pueblitos.[18] The municipality of Panama has also developed its own programme to draw attention to the attractions of the Pueblitos and to bring more tourists to its doors.

Mi Pueblito and Panama's nation-building project

Although museum professionals often define themselves and their institutions in opposition to popular amusement forms (Terrell 1991), boundaries between education and entertainment are somewhat blurred. As I noted earlier, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, world fairs intentionally combined educational and entertainment components to attract visitors. Today, museums increasingly make use of elements that are intended to heighten the inherent educational quality of their

[17] The estimated figures for 1999 are 100,239 visitors, 27,123 of them children and retirees; and for 2000, 115,097 visitors, 14,505 of them children and retirees. It is not clear why the number of visitors dropped significantly in 2001.

[18] At the present time, the main interaction between IPAT and the centre is that IPAT allows the personnel of the centre to take the IPAT training courses.

displays. Conversely, theme parks have incorporated educational activities (including museums and galleries) into their repertoire. And the 'anthropological gaze' continues to be appropriated to create a particular cultural production. At Mi Pueblito, the anthropological gaze is used to legitimize the pre-eminence of artistic expressions stemming from Panama's central provinces as representative of the Panamanian nation. Studies of folklore, history and anthropology (particularly research conducted by the most famous Panamanian anthropologist, the deceased Reina Torres de Araúz) have become the 'body of evidence' used by the authorities of Mi Pueblito to support this claim (Rubio 1940; Zárate 1953; Torres de Araúz 1972a, 1972b, 1975, 1980;) and to assist in the production of specific representations of indigenous towns. Likewise, the work of Afro-Antillean intellectuals has been the blueprint followed by the centre's administration to dictate the agenda of the Pueblito Afro-Antillano (Westerman 1980; Maloney 1981; Sealy 1999). This information is used as the 'official history' and is transformed into a new, redefined 'collective memory', one of multiculturalism and ethnic harmony (Gable and Handler 2007).

Kratz and Karp (1993: 26) assert that, regardless of their location (in museums, galleries, theme parks or world fairs), displays about culture and history provide information through a particular set of perspectives and values, thus becoming a means through which viewers can share viewpoints and experiences with others. In the process, displays become 'resources for self-production, though the selves produced may simultaneously be national citizens, international travellers, and consumers, variously located through class, ethnicity, and region'. These displays often depict both cultural diversity and national differences. However, due to the particular project that this centre represents—and much like the Bomas theme park in Kenya (Bruner 2005)—Mi Pueblito is about cultural diversity and national unity rather than difference. According to the administrative authorities of the Pueblitos, the main objective of these towns is to teach others about Panamanian culture, traditions, dances and languages, 'all in one place', that is, to offer a condensed experience of Panama's diversity. A Panamanian tourist I interviewed asserted, 'It is a way of saying: "This is what we are, we're a melting pot, we have things in common, we have developed a nationality and we must feel proud of who we are and what we represent"' (Interview 2002). The different town guides—who in many ways become markers (McCannell 1999) that signal the attraction—clearly represent the specific ethnicity of their little town: a Latina is the 'official' guide of

the rural town, an Afro-Panamanian woman is the guide of the Afro-Antillean town and a Kuna indigenous woman is the guide of the indigenous towns. However, the guides are trained to provide information and guided tours about the three towns and are often interchangeable; that is, they can go back and forth through the spaces that represent the different ethnicities. The fact that there are no strict boundaries between the guides (indigenous women provide information about rural towns and Afro-Antillean women share facts about indigenous peoples) suggests that the project espoused by Mi Pueblito is to underscore unity in a culturally diverse nation that, in reality, harbours contradictory views about its own racial and ethnic history. This unwavering mission overlooks the inconsistencies and conflicts boiling at the Pueblitos themselves among representatives of the 'three roots'.

Perhaps the groups that have taken the most interesting approach to the use of these places are the indigenous peoples who work there, for they have transformed the representations of their towns into actual living spaces and have used these spaces beyond 'traditional' uses. They have also taken the tourism experience itself into their own hands. For instance, the congress house—the place utilized by the Kuna to discuss secular and religious affairs within their communities—is used in old and new ways by welcoming representatives of other indigenous groups while also following the standard of communication, organization and meaning of a Kuna congress house. The Kuna are also very proactive about directing the attention and gaze of the tourist. When guiding tourists within their town, the Kuna follow a very organized and scripted path that takes tourists from a hut that explains the mythology of Kuna birth, via the Kuna congress house and three Kuna shops, to the traditional Kuna house and kitchen. In addition, the Kuna carefully steer the tourists to all the shops in the indigenous town in order to give each merchant a fair chance. Kuna guides informed me that they often rotate the sequence of places on the tourism path to visit different handicraft shops first, although they rarely modify the order of the visit to the other sections of the Pueblito Indígena. These strategies aid them in dealing with what they perceive as unfair treatment by the administration. For instance, because indigenous peoples were invited to build their own houses 'Indian style', only one municipal worker takes care of the Pueblito Indígena, whereas four municipal workers maintain the colonial and Antillean grounds. In addition, the metaphor of the 'melting pot' also applies to the handicraft shops in the Pueblitos. Contrary to the rules established for the centre, the shops in the colonial and Afro-Antillean

town sell indigenous and non-indigenous crafts and art.[19] This situation leaves indigenous groups at a disadvantage, since the Pueblito Indígena is generally the last one to be visited because of its location within the centre. In the words of Mario López (Kuna tour guide): 'This *sancocho*[20] of having our handicrafts in the colonial or Antillean town shows how the government does not protect indigenous art. We are left to fend for ourselves at the Pueblitos and in Panama' (Interview 2004).

Another indication of the central trope of national unity of the Pueblitos can be found at the Pueblito Antillano. Emphasizing Afro-Antillean history as essential to the Panamanian nation obscures the enslaving process of Afro-colonials from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century. The first Afro-Antilleans who arrived to Panama in the mid nineteenth century also encountered slavery, but these historical facts are not addressed at the towns and are not discussed by the tour guides. Afro-Antilleans working for banana companies were also forced into a system of semi-slavery in the province of Bocas del Toro. Much like Colonial Williamsburg, Mi Pueblito avoids 'historical unpleasantness like slavery, disease, and class oppression in favour of a rosy picture of an elegant, harmonious past' (Gable and Handler 1996: 570); in other words, this official history 'erases messy or unpleasant truths in order to make useful propaganda out of the past' (Gable and Handler 2007: 60). Yet, not all the unpleasantness is erased. The Pueblito Afro-Antillano includes a replica of a middle-class and of an upper-class house inhabited by Afro-Antilleans in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as well as the headquarters of working-class Afro-Antilleans who participated in the construction of the Panama Canal in the early twentieth century. The reference to differences regarding social classes is signalled and underscored by the town tour guides, who explicitly point out these differences, and make reference to the infamous payment system based on skin colour (known as the 'gold' and 'silver' roll) imposed by the US in the Canal Zone or Area (Newton 1995).

[19] In fact, there are three Wounan men who sell their handicrafts at the Pueblito Antillano because they had conflicts with other members of the Pueblito Indígena. Because of the position of the Afro-Antillean town, these men are able to sell their products faster than the other indigenous peoples.

[20] Soup with various kinds of tubers and meat. The sancocho is one of the 'national' dishes of Panama. The term is often used to refer to a hasty mixture of things or events.

McIntosh and Prentice (1999: 607) remind us that tourists arrive at any cultural attraction with their own agendas, contexts or 'cultural imaginings'. Mi Pueblito—conceived mainly as a tourist attraction—in effect has many real and symbolic meanings for the population of Panama. The centre is appropriated by Panamanians to showcase their culture. It is organized socially and politically around those cultural traits that are now valorized by the government and authorities. Through these meanings, tangible depictions of the many roots of the Panamanian nation are consumed by national and international tourists. Mi Pueblito simultaneously sells 'pastness' as a marker for identity and self-appropriation (McIntosh & Prentice 1999: 590) while constructing and representing new approaches to ethnic and racial identities within the Panamanian nation-state. Panama has been constantly grappling to maintain its identity as an independent Latin American nation with Spanish ancestry, a situation that has been motivated in part by being a Colombian territory for 81 years, in part by its dependency relationship to the USA from the time it gained independence from Colombia in 1903, and in part by internal ethnic, racial and political confrontations. The support for nationalistic yet discriminatory efforts against marginalized minorities (such as Afro-Antillean and indigenous populations) can only be understood within the broader context of a country that is engaged in an ongoing quest to define an independent, 'national' identity.

Specifically in regard to Afro-Antillean culture, how can we interpret the fact that after so many years of denial of Afro-Antillean presence and contributions to the Panamanian nation, one of the Pueblitos is modelled after this culture? By tracing the history of Panama, we learn that Afro-Antilleans from the British West Indies, whose cultural traits had an Anglo-Saxon resemblance, were perceived as a threat to the sovereignty of the nation-state. This was added to already prevalent racist views on blacks in general. This process differs from what has occurred in other Latin American and Caribbean nations, where blacks were more quickly incorporated into the society precisely because of 'the pressing need for national unity in the face of Spanish and Portuguese colonialism and U.S. and European imperialism' (Safa 1998: 8). Davis (1995: 204) supports this idea. He proposes that Panamanians proudly proclaim their cosmopolitan behaviour, yet because of the need to preserve their Hispanic heritage in the face of US domination, they have systematically rejected foreign influence and have discriminated

against Afro-Antilleans. The most potent attacks against Antilleans have coincided with periods of economic depression and unemployment.[21]

According to Ms Ahumada and Ms Brown, the Afro-Antillean group was chosen because it is the ethnic group in Panama that contributed the most to the construction of the Panama Canal, and is one of the groups 'that has contributed the most to Panamanian culture in general, no doubt about that' (Interview 2002). It is my contention that the choice was made more as a strategic move than as a recognition of ethnic importance. Thus, there are additional reasons for this selection. One is the strong and well-developed efforts of organized Afro-Antillean groups to highlight the important contribution of Afro-Antilleans to the creation of Panama.[22] Thanks to the efforts of Afro-Antilleans (mostly middle-class intellectuals and professionals), the Afro-Antillean group was visible even before the growth of tourism (even if not necessarily completely recognized by the national authorities) (Guerrón Montero 2005b). The other refers precisely to the fact that Afro-Antilleans were located outside the process of nation-building, and because of that cultural separation they were able to maintain their very distinctive cultural customs, including music, language, architecture, religious traditions and communal beliefs. Afro-Antilleans were able to flourish as a distinctive group. Before the growth of tourism and the development of governmental tourism policies, this distinctiveness was perceived negatively, because Afro-Antilleans were seen as temporary migrants who were not willing to assimilate into the 'Hispanic' culture. Nowadays, the Panamanian government has launched a campaign to represent the nation-state as 'something more than a canal', as a multicultural and ecological paradise that includes indigenous and black groups in addition to white and mestizo urban and rural populations. With the growth

[21] As Andrews (2004) affirms, the history of Afro-Latin America reflects perfectly an essential part of the history of Latin America's struggle to 'escape the limits imposed on it by poverty, racism, and extreme inequality' (2004: 9). By the end of the 1800s, because the 'whitening' project that became the ideal project in Latin America had not succeeded in many countries, in Panama (and Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic) the same period became a 'blackening' period that produced the migration of thousands of Afro-Antilleans from the British and French West Indies (Andrews 2004: 10).

[22] A clear example of this is the construction of the Afro-Antillean Museum in 1980, which resulted from the efforts of Afro-Antillean and non-Afro-Antillean professionals, and the development of the Society of Friends of the Afro-Antillean Museum (SAMAAP), formed by members living in different parts of the country and internationally, who strongly support the efforts of Afro-Antillean groups to highlight their heritage.

of tourism and the need to present an image of an ethnically diverse nation, those traits that were seen as alien, different and even threatening are highlighted as representing the exclusive and unique combination of cultures that form Panama, and the notion of the 'melting pot' that is so often invoked by Panamanians in official discourses, intellectual conversations and street talk. The official discourse has moved from unity within relative homogeneity to unity within diversity.

Mi Pueblito is not simply a touristic attraction: it has become the location for the development and display of certain cultural traits of these three roots of the Panamanian nation as they are experienced 'as life, not as image' (Bruner 2005: 290). It has been appropriated by Latinos, indigenous peoples and Afro-Panamanians, and has become a 'relational rather than geographical' place (Biersack 2006: 7). Once again parallels can be found with Colonial Williamsburg, as the expectations around Mi Pueblito imply that Panamanian citizens of this nation-state experience personal identification with a multicultural national identity by visiting it (Gable and Handler 2007: 47). In the Pueblito Interiorano, there are university, school and even pre-school presentations on the folklore of the central provinces. In the Pueblito Indígena, the Kuna gather to maintain their cultural traits through dances and organizations, and are affiliated with pan-indigenous organizations such as the Instituto Urabá. The Afro-Antillean town has concentrated the largest number of groups interested in sustaining an Afro-Panamanian presence. The Centre for Afro-Panamanian Studies (CEDEAP) is housed in the lodge, which is also a gallery for Afro-Antillean artists. The Black Queen of Panama Beauty Contest, which has been organized each year since 1977, was held at the Pueblito Afro-Antillano in March 2003. According to Gerardo Maloney, director of CEDEAP, the goal is to make the Pueblito Afro-Antillano a place that will bring together specialists in Afro-Antillean culture from the community (Interview 2004). Additionally, the town encompasses and attracts groups that are interested in maintaining the black cultures of Panama, such as the NGO Casa Africa and the Afro-Panamanian Pastoral group. The administration of the town also has connections with one of the strongest groups that support Afro-Antillean efforts, SAMAAP and the Afro-Antillean Museum.[23] Consequently, although these places started as mostly

[23] According to Ms Romualda de Lombardo, director of the Afro-Antillean Museum, there are no administrative relationships between these institutions—given that the

touristic enterprises, they have become venues for the concentration of cultural and political efforts among these groups, especially in a climate where there is more acceptance of diversity.

Conclusion

Cunningham Bisell (2005: 216) comments that nostalgic discourses are 'anything but singular', and are associated with other forms of memory (Huyssen 2000).[24] The heritage industry (i.e. tourism and museums) tends to package pastness in a selective manner, erasing events or actors that do not fit into the model of heritage construction proposed by it (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998: 149). At Mi Pueblito, the struggles of indigenous peoples and Afro-Panamanians are mostly erased, as the 'three roots' of Panamanian cultural heritage and history (Spanish, indigenous and black) are given equal prominence within the context of the centre.

However, 'official' and 'popular' constructions of nationhood are not binary oppositions but complex articulations which both support and fracture the nation (Radcliffe & Westwood 1996: 2). In this new climate of official tolerance, Afro-Antilleans and indigenous peoples are seizing the moment to improve their status within Panamanian society. It is apparent that Panama is presenting an image of moving into a new era in which diversity is valorized and promoted by the state, and away from a time of ethnic stratification dominated by Latinos. Tourism has become a framework within which Panamanian minorities (particularly indigenous peoples and Afro-Panamanians) strive to enter the mainstream of Panamanian society in the context of its current revisionist history.

---

museum is part of the National Institute of Culture and the Mi Pueblito is part of the municipality of Panama—although there are many relationships between subjects, and many connections in terms of individuals who work at those institutions.

[24] Gable and Handler (2007) offer a concise definition of memory as opposed to history in their discussion of Colonial Williamsburg. They define 'memory' as the recollections of personally experienced events of individuals, separate and distinguished from the work of professional historians (2007: 48).

CHAPTER FOUR

THROUGH THE OTHERING GAZE: YUCATECAN TROVA MUSIC AND 'THE TOURIST' IN YUCATÁN, MEXICO

Gabriela Vargas-Cetina

Tourism is one of the most important revenue sources for Yucatán and Quintana Roo, two of the three states comprising the Yucatán peninsula. Quintana Roo is on the Caribbean Sea, one of the most transparent bodies of water washing sandy beaches that are among the whitest and most inviting in the world. Through beach tourism and resort infrastructure, Quintana Roo is one of Mexico's top tourist destinations, visited by over six million tourists every year.[1] The state of Yucatán, instead, focuses tourism advertising campaigns on its natural and cultural resources, including pink flamingos, archaeological sites and local folk culture, and its available infrastructure for conference tourism. Over a million people visited Yucatán each year between 2000 and 2006, and the designation of Chichén Itzá in 2007 as one of the 'seven modern wonders of the world', is expected to raise the numbers of tourists coming into the state.

Yucatecan folk culture is advertised as one of the main regional attractions. Along with regional cuisine and the welcoming attitude of Yucatecans toward tourists, music is promoted as an inviting feature of Yucatecan life. In the city of Mérida, in particular, the type of music known as 'Yucatecan trova' is promoted as the authentic urban music of Yucatán, suitable not only for locals' but also for tourists' consumption. State and municipal authorities sponsor weekly events where trova occupies a central place. This special status of Yucatecan trova in publically-funded recreational activities may appear as 'natural' because it is known nation-wide and throughout the Caribbean as an important musical style native to Yucatán. However, as I will show here, today's special status of trova as 'the' music of Yucatán is the result of complex,

[1] According to the Mexico's Nacional Bureau of Statistics (INEGI), the state of Quintana Roo is only surpassed by Mexico City in number of guests registered annually by hotel occupation records, between 2000 and 2006.

ongoing negotiations undertaken by cultural mediators with the local, regional and national cultural institutions and authorities.

In this paper I look at the politics surrounding the construction of trova as 'heritage' and the way in which those engaged in this construction rely on the image of 'the tourist', a foreigner who may come looking for the 'authentic' culture of Yucatán. This tourist figure is construed on the basis of trova audiences found outside the peninsula, and not on the basis of actual tourists visiting the state. The trova community had in the recent past a place of privilege in the public stages of Yucatán state, but as of 2001 new cultural policies favouring the funding and promotion of 'high culture' have placed 'popular culture', including trova music, in disadvantage. These new policies are having an important impact on the performance and representation of Yucatecan trova music, which is changing rapidly to adapt to the new politically-driven cultural milieu. 'The tourist', in many of its possible guises, is now being invoked as the impartial arbiter of musical worth and of the value of trova as beautiful, meaningful and worthwhile music.

Local civic organizations and trova groups try to work through the tourist gaze in order to claim tourists, foreigners and local reflexive spectators as possible allies in the struggle to regain a place of privilege for trova music as one of the most important regional cultural products. Trova, according to many Yucatecans and to the cultural authorities, can represent Yucatán and Yucatecans in a distinct and positive light, both within and outside the boundaries of this state of Mexico. In this context, trova music has traversed since 2000 a significant journey, from being a symbol of the urban vernacular, to becoming a representative of tradition that can also be part of the circles dominated by classical music and high art.

'Tourists' as othering onlookers

There is nothing particularly 'traditional' per se about tradition. Our ideas of tradition, popular culture, popular music, popular tradition and high art are all constantly fluctuating according to time, place and context. Trova music is usually described in brochures, tour guides and academic publications as the folk music of urban Yucatán (see Bock 1992). Tourists coming to the Yucatán peninsula and especially to the state of Yucatán will find this music described as an expression of the true soul of Yucatecans and the Yucatán. However, as I will show here,

the special place of trova music in Yucatán is something that has to be constantly renewed. Key cultural mediators are constantly working to keep trova alive and widely present on those stages sponsored by the city and state governments, and to do this they often enlist the force of the tourist gaze and the promise of economic down-trickle spill that accompanies it.

Everyday life, with its daily preoccupations and constraints, takes place everywhere and roots individuals in specific places and repetitive rhythms. John Urry (1990) has proposed that the tourist gaze opposes leisure and the perception of oneself as liberated from everyday life. It is characterized by the self-distancing of the viewer from the scene. In this sense, the tourist gaze is not particular to the tourist only, but also to travellers in general, anthropologists, scholars who analyse their own societies and to locals who acquire some distance from their own lives and thus become able to see their local environs and themselves as seen through the eyes of others who feel unencumbered, albeit by a short time, from the demands and constraints of everybody else's onsite working lives. As Urry points out, the scenes for the tourists to gaze at have to be constructed, and this is done by groups of individuals who are in competition with other local and trans-local groups. The promoters and builders of such scenes often receive support from local and regional governments, especially when it comes to heritage sites and to the production of authenticity (Urry 1990: 104–156). Here I propose that the process of what Urry (ibid. 120–128) calls 'designing for the gaze' takes place through a process similar to that Keck and Sikkink (1998) have described as the orchestration of activist campaigns.

According to Keck and Sikkink (1998) transnational activists mobilize support for their causes through the export of information about the grievances they uphold, so that bypassing the local government structures they bring international pressure on those very governments, usually the ones that can change the situation of those disadvantaged groups for whom the cause is being waged. In order to be successful at gaining the public's attention and support for these causes, they have to package the information to be exported, and then manage the resources generated in the process, through what these authors characterize as a campaign. A campaign is an orchestrated, strategically planned effort of issue-construction involving people, organizations and support-gathering strategies, and its success depends on the way in which the message is delivered, the existing communications infrastructure, the possible points of identification the public may have with the message being

delivered and the existence of organizations and individuals willing to wage, support and further the campaign (Keck and Sikkink 1998). Elements of a campaign are a core of network actors who develop a shared frame of meaning and engage in politics in order to bring about some form of change (ibid. 6–9). As we will see, there are many similarities between the campaigns constructed, orchestrated and waged by transnational activists and those undertaken by the local cultural mediators to safeguard the place of trova in Yucatán. This suggests that campaigns meant for international audiences are not radically different from the way in which people at the local level find ways to keep issues and cultural forms—in this case a type of music—alive and respected by local, regional and national authorities. The 'boomerang effect' identified by Keck and Sikkink, furthermore, is not always the result of consciously orchestrated campaigns with clear goals: local ideas and cultural products may come to have major local significance only through their having first migrated and later been re-imported in the places where they were born. Trova music, as we shall see, went through this process of re-localization through a boomerang effect.

Yucatecan trova has had, for a long time, a special place in the cultural agenda of the state government of Yucatán, and of the City of Mérida's administrations. In constantly changing musicscapes and technological environments, trova has managed to survive as the most representative music genre of Yucatán for over a century. This has been possible thanks to the efforts of hundreds of trova enthusiasts, to the composers and poets who continue to make trova songs and to the musicians who continue to play it. However, this would not have been enough without the ongoing and complex negotiations of a handful of cultural mediators who have worked with and through different state and city governments through time, putting pressure locally on these governments but also exporting carefully constructed representations of 'Yucatecan trova' accompanying and thus supplementing representations of 'Yucatecan-ness'. At least among trova patrons and musicians in Yucatán, the fact that something can be enjoyed in settings abstracted from the everyday context of that cultural product's original production proves 'objectively' the worth of the product in question, beyond the personal feelings of the product's creators, their relatives and local friends. The success of trova presentations outside Yucatán or in Yucatán itself before audiences made up of foreigners is carefully documented through photos, newspapers, radio shows and videos,

and then upheld locally as proof of trova's intrinsic value. At the same time, the identification of specific types of music (trova and jarana) as inherently Yucatecan has re-enforced the place Yucatán occupies in the Mexican imaginary as a region with its own culture and traditions, different from the rest of Mexico.

Back in Yucatán, the far-away audiences appreciative of trova are conceptually likened to the tourists who come to enjoy their vacations in Yucatán, even if the only connection between these tourists and those foreigners found in foreign lands is their detachment from local everyday life worries. That is, trova patrons effect a rhetorical transformation of actual tourists into so many othering gazes, in Urry's (1990) sense. These gazes, in turn, are considered similar to those encountered outside the state of Yucatán, among the public of the performances at festivals and other cultural events. This way, trova patrons and performers can present this type of music as something that, since it is appreciated by outsiders, ought to be appreciated by locals and, in particular, by the local and regional authorities in charge of funding music in Yucatán. But this rhetorical transformation of 'tourists' into 'othering, appreciative strangers' requires great investment in terms of time, effort, economic resources and organization. How trova patrons and performers try to secure the returns from these investments, so that they will result in increased local support and regional funding for trova, is the subject of the following sections.

Yucatán, the Sister Republic

In the travel book *Palm Trees of the Fast Breeze. A Voyage to Yucatán* (*Palmeras de la Brisa Rápida. Un Viaje a Yucatán*), Juan Villoro (1989), a writer born in Mexico City, goes to Yucatán to find out what is so unique about that region and its culture. He tells us about his Yucatecan grandmother and the words and flavours she taught him and he came to associate with Yucatán. During his trip, he finds Yucatán a beautiful land and Yucatecans a nice, friendly, provincial and slightly comic people. He attends a rock concert, listens to trova and hears the powerful bass tones of car stereos blaring drum-and-bass music. He is surprised at the courtesy of the audiences at live music shows and at the way people constantly find and greet their acquaintances on the streets. He describes the way young people flirt along the Paseo de Montejo

avenue, young men staying in the same position for hours by their cars, blaring bass-driven pop music, and he calls them 'the Yucatecan TNT'. He finds charming the Yucatecan variety of Spanish and to show its quaintness reproduces an entire conversation at a café that is probably unintelligible outside the state.

Villoro's book rests on the premise that Yucatán is somewhat exotic, different from the rest of Mexico. Many people in central Mexico call Yucatán 'the Sister Republic'. Apparently, this goes back to the 1960s and the beginning of variety shows on Mexican TV. It is told that Raul Velasco, the first host of a very popular Sunday show that was called 'Siempre en Domingo', thought that Yucatán was not part of Mexico and welcomed the first Yucatecan guests in his show as 'brothers from the Sister Republic of Yucatán'. Velasco, however, was not alone at the time, and would not be alone today, in his belief of Yucatán's un-Mexicaness. There is a long history to this perspective, which owes very much to the perceived physical separation of the Yucatán peninsula from the rest of Mexico and the history of relations between central Mexico and Yucatán from the Spanish conquest to this day.

The peninsula of Yucatán was not part of the New Spain, and it gained its independence from Spain separately from the rest of what today is Mexico (Williams 1929; Reid 1979). It had a history of joining and seceding from Mexico through much the 1800s, after Spain granted its American colonies independence. Finally, Yucatán joined Mexico for the third time in 1848, in the middle of a bloody indigenous rebellion that threatened to exterminate all urban dwellers, many of whom were descendants from Europeans, while others were perceived as 'mix blood' individuals, and others still as 'foreigners' since they were first generation immigrants (Rodríguez 1966). Still, once Yucatán became more firmly politically attached to Mexico, it was a region that stayed aloof from many Mexican developments. It upheld its own constitution and went through political and economic processes of its own until the 1920s, when the Mexican government began to have a more active role in the economic and social life of the peninsula in general, and the state of Yucatán in particular (Paoli Bolio and Montalvo Ortega 1977; Joseph 1979).

Before the 1920s there were no roads communicating the peninsula with the rest of the country and the railroads only connected the peninsula's rail system with the rest of Mexico in 1969 (Vidal Rivero 1981). Still today the double highways connecting the central states among

themselves end in Tabasco.[2] It is against this background that every now and again Yucatecan politicians start promoting the idea of an independent Republic of Yucatán, for their own ends, as it happened in the 1990s when Yucatán's governor Víctor Cervera Pacheco revived the old Yucatecan independence symbols to rally regional support during his second mandate for the actions he undertook in defiance of national authorities.

Anthropologists and archaeologists have often remarked on the differences between Yucatán and the rest of Mexico (Redfield 1941; Terry and Moseley 1980; Thompson 1984; Castañeda 2005a). The fact that Yucatec Maya is a single language spoken across the peninsula in the countryside of all three states, the shared history of estrangement from central Mexico, the refusal of regional peasants to see themselves as indigenous peoples and the Maya-inflected Spanish spoken in all urban centres give Yucatán a distinct flavour. This is only enhanced through the distinctive gastronomy and musical history associated with the region in general and with the state of Yucatán in particular. In the twentieth century the peninsula became more integrated into the economic and cultural life of Mexico, but this process is still incomplete. The cultural strength and resilience of the Yucatecan upper classes were underwritten for almost a century (1880–1970) by a plantation economy first and then a mixed system of ejido lands and private property holdings aim at the production and export of sisal.

At the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries Yucatán lived an economic boom driven by large plantations of henequen, an agave from which a natural fibre can be processed. As the fibre was exported initially through the port of Sisal, it became known by this name outside the peninsula. In Yucatán, however, it continued to be called *ki'* in Maya and *henequen* in Spanish (Rodríguez 1966; González Navarro 1970; Wells 1988; Carstenen and Roazen 1992). Up to 1916, Yucatán was the sole region supplying the market with henequen fibre, but the export of the seeds and the subsequent advent

[2] Good highways connect most of the Yucatán peninsula internally, but the link between these and the highway system in the rest of Mexico is missing, as there is no major highway between the cities of Campeche and Villahermosa. This situation parallels today the bad connection between the railroad networks in Yucatán, and those in the rest of the country during the first half to the twentieth century, up to 1969.

of synthetic fibres finally did away with the importance of this plant and its economic impact.

The elites that emerged from the old plantation economy have managed to keep a place of privilege for the cultural products that came about at that time, even now when these elites have lost their former place at the top of the socioeconomic strata of Yucatecan society. These include current 'Yucatecan music' (Vargas-Cetina, manuscript), 'Yucatecan food' (Ayora-Diaz, manuscript) and even 'Yucatecan dress'. Yucatecan dress for women consists of silk-embroidered cotton robes called 'hipiles' and silk, or cotton and silk, shawls. For men, it is the combination of Pilipino shirts, white trousers, and white sandals. This type of attire took its current form at the time of the sisal haciendas among the 'mixed blood' (mestizo) population thanks to the sisal economic bonanza (Hernández Fajardo 1944: 823–833). It is considered the best kind of dress to dance *jarana*, the dance tradition associated with the Yucatecan countryside, or to sing trova.

The henequen-driven economy resulted in a few hundred families owning the plantations and subjecting thousands of local families to indentured labour as planters, harvesters, machine operators, domestic servants and clerical and technical jobs related to the plantations and to domestic work in the houses of the planter families, both within the plantations and in the cities where they had their permanent residences (Wells and Joseph 1992). The economic boom brought about by henequen also resulted in the growth of transport infrastructure within the peninsula, including the lying down of tracks for trams and railroads. According to tram enthusiast Allen Morrison (2004), around 1916, Yucatán had 4,500 km of tram track. Also, it had a well-developed system of railroads crossing the state and Yucatán and part of the state of Campeche—the only Mexican railroad system to have been financed entirely by regional capital (Wells 1992). Besides, automobiles became very popular in Yucatán almost as soon as they started being produced in Henry Ford's factories, providing many Yucatecans with yet another means of transportation (Zayas Enriquez 1908).

Along with the development of internal transport came other forms of communication. A network of telephones and the telegraph were in full operation in 1906 in all cities and small urban centres of the state. The connections with the outside were greatly expanded, mainly by sea, and along with the export of fibres Yucatecans began to travel intensely to other latitudes, and to import status goods and fashions from abroad. At the beginning of the twentieth century Yucatán was

connected through sea to the Mexican port of Veracruz, and to several ports in South America, the United States and Europe (Zayas Enríquez 1908). The fluidity of exchanges between Yucatán and Cuba, and between Yucatán and the rest of the Great Caribbean, seems to suggest that not only rich people but also the emerging middle classes benefited from the expanded communications within Yucatán itself and with the outside (Wells 1992; Dueñas 1993). These communications made it possible for a new type of music, based first on piano and strings and later on mainly on strings, to develop. It mixed rhythms and musical styles coming from the dancehalls and opera theatres of Europe, with the local rhythms danced by the working classes of the henequen haciendas in Yucatán, the Caribbean rhythms and songs with African accents coming from Cuba and Haiti, new music being developed in Peru and Colombia, and the romantic poetry then in vogue in Europe. This music came to be known as trova, and it was born simultaneously in Cuba and Yucatán (Baqueiro Foster 1970; Dueñas 1993; Pedelty 2004). The development of the phonograph at the beginning of the twentieth century furthered the exchange of rhythms and the interweaving of musical styles in the music of Yucatán.

Yucatecan trova was originally sung in Maya and in Spanish, and this double linguistic heritage continues to date. While the first trova songs were written in rhythms such as waltz, mazurka and schottische, soon the rhythms of Yucatecan clave, Colombian bambuco, Yucatecan jarana and Cuban bolero became more common, and local poets began to write in a romantic style they made their very own. In this sense, trova is a creature of the sea and the henequen plantations, as it was made possible by the new developments in communications and recording technologies, and by the intense exchange of music, musicians and musical ideas these allowed (Baqueiro Foster 1970, Dueñas 1993).

In the 1920s the radio industry began to develop in Mexico through live shows and the playback of recorded music and advertisement. It was thanks to the power of the radio that the new music being generated in different parts of Mexico began to be known in Mexico City and outside, as the larger radio stations began to transmit with a strength that made it possible for their signals to reach not only all of Mexico but also several Caribbean countries (Dueñas 1993). In 1926 Augusto Cardenas Pinelo, (best known as 'Guty Cardenas'), one of the most important composers and musicians of Yucatecan trova, won the second place in a national singing competition. The song he played was 'Nunca', to the rhythm of clave but also recorded subsequently to the

rhythm of bolero. Both of these rhythms had come to Yucatán originally from the island of Cuba. Clave was the Yucatecan adaptation of the rhythm known as 'danza criolla' and already was very popular in the peninsula (Vega 2006). It was Guty's song 'Nunca' that drove Agustin Lara to switch his style of playing and composing to the new style that later became identified as 'bolero', which includes many rhythms outside the original bolero from Cuba and Yucatán (Dueñas 1993). First through the radio, then as of the 1940s through the cinema and during the 1950s through television, bolero became an international musical movement spearheaded, at least in the production of recordings, shows, radio and television programmes and movies, by Mexican composers, poets and musicians. It is possible to say that even if the Mexican cinema industry had been active since the 1890s, it was with the bolero and the new forms of Mexican music generated during the 1940s and 1950s that Mexican cinema attained the international appeal and commercial success it enjoyed during the so-called 'golden age of Mexican cinema', which ended in the 1960s (García Riera 1986).

In Yucatán itself the bolero movement created what Keck and Sikkink have described as a 'boomerang effect'. These authors explain that in the construction of campaigns around internationally relevant issues activists try to put pressure on local and regional governments by exporting information about the unacceptability of a given situation, so that other governments and the public outside will claim for an end to the current situation. In this case, the issue was the place of trova among Yucatecans at large, and the pressure was put on sectors of society that had not yet adopted trova as their own. The music of Yucatán, and particularly Yucatecan trova, which had been at the origin of the bolero movement, acquired great prestige nation-wide and in much of Latin America. With the international success of bolero and the impact of the new mass media, Yucatecan trova abandoned its confinement to the top social groups of Mérida and other Yucatecan cities to become *the* music of urban Yucatán. The subsequent standardization, in the 1960s, of the trio format (three musicians sing to the music of their guitars, usually in two or sometimes in three voices), made it easier for musicians in all social strata to engage in the composition and performance of trova songs. As a result, the boomerang effect made the culture of the elites popular among the less privileged sectors of Yucatecan society. Yucatecans embraced wholeheartedly the music known and then established as 'Yucatecan trova'. Hundreds of musicians took advantage of the new opportunities that made it possible for them to

earn a living through the deployment of their art. Trova became the dominant form of urban music in Yucatán, and this hegemony lasted well until the 1970s.

A musician from one of the trios that became an emblematic representative of Yucatecan music in Mexico City and in Japan in the 1970s explained it to me this way:

> You see, we were from Tekax. My two brothers and I were musicians. We tried to do something besides toiling the soil, but there was no interest, no way to survive making music. We were very hungry. So, we took the train, and I remember we travelled using up much of the money we had, and came to Mérida. Here we started playing trova. We did not do too well, so my brother decided we should go to Mexico City, to play there the music from Yucatán. No one is a prophet in his own land, Gabrielita. In Mexico we were a success, as Yucatecan musicians. That is why we then made it to Japan. No one is a prophet in his own land.

The national and international recognition of Yucatán as one of the capitals of romantic music soon became institutionalized through the cultural institutions of the state. In 1905 the theatre Peon Contreras, which honoured one of the most important poets and musicians of the beginnings of trova music, was built by the government of Olegario Molina, the *científico* who brought Porfirio Díaz to visit Yucatán in 1906 (Wells and Joseph 1992, Zayas Enríquez 1908). Although Molina and the plantation owners were soon displaced from the state government by General Salvador Alvarado and the Socialist Party of the Southeast, trova music continued to hold great prestige in Yucatán, to the extent that socialist Governor Carrillo Puerto commissioned songs from renowned composers, including the song 'Peregrina', the lyrics of which were written by Alfredo Lopez Mendez and its music by Ricardo Palmerin, both related to families of former plantation owners. The sponsorship of trova music as an important part of the arts in Yucatán continued during the socialist governments, into the 1940s, and then during the state government and city administrations of the candidates who came to power through the Partido Revolucionario Institucional. The Orquesta Típica Yucalpeten, which was founded by Yucatecan composer and orchestra director Daniel Ayala in the 1940s, has played uninterruptedly from then on every Thursday, at the Serenatas de Santa Lucia instituted in 1956, and at many state- and city-sponsored concerts. The Orchestra received in the 1990s the National Award of Arts and Sciences from the National Institute of Fine Arts, as one of the most important cultural representatives of Mexico, and especially of Yucatán.

It would be hard to find a history of greater regional success for a music genre, in Mexico or elsewhere in the world. Yucatecan trova became firmly identified as an important expression of the sensitivities of the Yucatecan people, and thus as part of the soul of Yucatán.

Trova activism and the musical traditions of Yucatán

The anthropology of music (Merriam 1964; Nettle and Bohland 1991; Bennet and Dawe 2001) and the anthropology of art in general (Plattner 1996) show that in order to have an art movement of any kind emerge and become established, there must be a group of people who share the same tastes and values and are willing to either produce or consume, or both, that kind of art. Jacques Attali (1985) believes that composition will be a form of political economy of music that will be based on the individual musician's enjoyment and sensitivities. Even if this were ever the case, it is doubtful that even this lonelier form of music-making would not make reference to what other musicians do and what they feel is good music-making. Yucatecan trova emerged and became consolidated because of many propitious contexts coming together through several decades.

First, Yucatecan trova was based mostly on string instruments. It was thanks to the concert guitar developed by Antonio de Torres and the technology derived from it that string instruments, including guitars, lutes, mandolins, violins and guitar basses enhanced their sonority and thus could compete in popularity with the pianoforte. The piano had become the king of musical instruments in the nineteenth century not only in Yucatán but in many parts of the world. It had the great advantages of including all the possible notes on the musical scale, and its resonance made it possible for musicians to play individually or in duets and be heard by everyone in the theatre or the dancehall. The guitars, violins and mandolins, which had been around in all of the Great Caribbean and in all of Mexico since the Spanish conquest, were more portable but were unsuited for dancehalls and theatres because of their poor sound, until the Torres guitar came along in the first decade of the twentieth century (Dawe and Dawe 2001).

Second, the trova composers and poets shared much of the worldview of the elites of Mérida at that time, and their music was easily accepted as part of the internationally-oriented culture they all had in common. If it filtered through other population strata with time, this

was because of the power of mass media and the cultural importance of the bolero movement. Early composers of trova songs did not feel they were making a type of music radically different from the music being composed elsewhere in the Caribbean or the world.

Third, composers and poets had the help of associations, and individual promoters who helped them establish themselves as viable art producers in the music market then emerging. This help did not dwindle with the political changes that swept the state, since oligarchic, socialist and then revolutionary modernist governments all accepted and protected trova as the music of urban Yucatán. This support, moreover, was crucial during the tenure of the catholic Party of National Action (*Partido de Acción Nacional*, from here on PAN) at both the city and the state governments, between 2001 and 2005. I now move on to develop this particular point, which has marked the destinies of trova music during the first decade of this century.

Starting in the 1980s, voters in Mérida leaned toward the right giving the candidates of the PAN important victories in the city and the state of Yucatán, against the Party of the Institutionalized Revolution (Partido de la Revolución Institucional—PRI) (see table 1). The rivalry between the Mérida Alcaldes[3] and the Yucatán Governors as an expression of the rivalry between PRI and PAN dates from 1991, when Ana Rosa Payan became Alcaldesa of Mérida through her candidacy by PAN and Dulce María Sauri Riancho was Governess of Yucatán, representing PRI. The struggle between these parties has been, since those days, expressed through the Alcalde or Alcaldesa trying to outdo the Governor in the city of Mérida: if the PRI-backed Governor tried to curb unemployment in the countryside and among the rural poor, the PAN-backed Mayors of Mérida tried to make the city receive special funds through different programmes, and project the city's image to the rest of the world. Music, along with the rest of the fine arts, became a contested field of political struggle.

---

[3] A (male) Alcalde or (female) Alcaldesa in Mexico is a figure relatively different from that of Mayor in the United States and Canada. Mexican Alcaldes/as preside over municipalities, which most of the time include a Municipal Capital and settlements known as Comisarías. The municipality of Mérida is comprised by the city of the same name and 12 Comisaría settlements. Because of this, they are also called 'Municipal Presidents'.

Table 1. Governors of Yucatán and Alcaldes of Mérida, 1984–2010

Governors of Yucatán	Alcaldes of Mérida
Víctor Cervera Pacheco (PRI) (Interim) 1984–1988	Herbé Rodríguez Abraham (PRI) 1985–1987
Víctor Manzanilla Schaffer (PRI) 1988–1991	Carlos Cevallos Traconis (PRI) 1988–1990
Dulce María Sauri (PRI) Feb. 14, 1991–Dec. 1, 1993	Tuffy Gaber Arjona (PRI) Interim 1990–199
Ricardo Ávila Heredia (PRI) (Interim) Dec. 1, 1993–Dec. 31, 1994	Ana Rosa Payán (PAN) 1991–1993
Féderico Granja Ricalde (PRI) 1994–1995	Luis Correa Mena (PAN) 1993–1995
Víctor Cervera Pacheco (PRI) 1995–2001	Patricio Patrón Laviada (PAN) 1995–1998
Patricio Patrón Laviada (PAN) 2001–2005	Xavier Abreu Sierra (PAN) 1998–2001
Ivonne Ortega Pacheco (PRI) 2005–2009	Ana Rosa Payán (PAN) 2001–2004
	Manuel Fuentes Alcocer (PAN) 2004–2007
	César Bojórquez Zapata (PAN) 2007–2010

Victor Cervera Pacheco's tenure, first as Acting Governor and then as Governor of Yucatán, had an important impact on the cultural life of Mérida. Cervera Pacheco waged a constant campaign against the federal government, arguing that Yucatán was a federal state and thus should conduct its business with autonomy from the central government. In order to find support in his challenge of the federal government, he fuelled the regionalist sentiments of many Yucatecans. Cervera Pacheco was Acting Governor of Yucatán from 1984 to 1988, when the governorship terms were six years long. During this time he persuaded Yucatán's Congress to modify the Yucatecan Constitution, so that Acting Governors could run for election later on. Since the state Congress voted in the affirmative, Cervera Pacheco ran for Governor as the PRI candidate in 1994, and won the election. He took office again in 1995, his tenure ending in 2001. The Mayors of Mérida during his term as Governor were Patricio Patrón Laviada (1995–1998) and Xavier Abreu Sierra (1988–2001), both of whom had won the elections as candidates of PAN.

Cervera Pacheco had built his support base through his association with regional and national rural causes and activists. His presence in the Governor's House was deplored by the elites of the state, since he was more interested in promoting employment and access to social security among the rural population and the urban poor than helping the local elites in their businesses. Through a twofold strategy, Cervera Pacheco worked hard to undermine the economic presence of the traditional elites of Yucatán, first by opening opportunities for investment in Yucatán for both national and transnational companies, in the cities and in the countryside. His government offered incentives for national and transnational companies to open maquiladora factories, especially in the textile sector. Investment flowed in to the countryside from Japan, Korea, the United States and several European countries. Second, he made it possible for urban lands to extend at the expense of agricultural lands, so that large businesses from other regions of the country and from abroad could set up branches in Yucatecan cities. He invested heavily on road construction and on public works.

City Hall, along with the municipal governments of Valladolid and Izamal, managed to win a bid for the recognition of these three cities to be funded through the 'One Hundred Colonial Cities of Mexico' national programme. Through the funding that came with the award, the owners of homes and buildings dating from the colonial period received money to restore and paint the facades of their houses. City Hall also spent a million dollars in the bid for Mérida to be declared Cultural Capital of the Americas in 2000. This is a programme run by a non-profit association that extended to the Americas the Cultural Capital of Europe annual competition. Mérida won the bid, and was the First Capital Culture of the Americas during 2000.[4]

In order to increase the visibility of 'cultural' venues in the city, the Mayor's office undertook the construction of El Olimpo, a cultural

[4] While Mérida's Mayor Xavier Abreu Gomez informed that the award cost City Hall one million USD, it is not clear whether this entire amount went to the organization managing the programme, or whether it also covered other, associated costs. According to two Colombians I met during the Festival del Bambuco, newspapers in Colombia affirmed in 2001, when that country refused to pay after being granted the award, that less than half of that sum had gone to the Cultural Capital of the Americas International Organization. Apparently it was suggested in Colombia that Mayor Abreu Gomez had pocketed the rest of the money, but in Mérida I never heard of corruption suspicions during his tenure; on the contrary, City Hall received an international award for good management and transparency and most Méridans, myself included, were happy with the services we all had and the efficiency of his administration.

centre in the first square of the historical downtown, right across from the main, central plaza. The City also undertook the renovation of Teatro Mérida, an Art Deco theatre dating from 1949.[5] These two monumental buildings greatly increased the available movie projection and multimedia theatres in the city (there is a video-room, a multimedia room, a planetarium and an auditorium at El Olimpo, and two multimedia rooms and a 200-seat theatre at Teatro Mérida).

Throughout 2000 the City sponsored not only the presentation of local artists in Mérida's theatres, but also brought musical performers from around the world, to celebrate Mérida's year as the First Capital Culture of the Americas. The non-profit organization that ran the Capital of the Americas programme gave the city a wide projection not only outside Yucatán but also outside of Mexico. Teatro Mérida, El Olimpo, the main plaza and its surroundings, the Paseo de Montejo avenue, the Santa Lucia plaza, the Parque de las Americas Theatre and the two art galleries run by the municipal government in downtown Mérida became the main stages of hundreds of music, theatre and art shows that took place within the framework of the Cultural Capital of the Americas festivities in 2000. As a response, Cervera Pacheco's government also sponsored hundreds of music concerts, theatre performances and dance shows at the venues controlled by the State of Yucatán's Institute of Culture. These were the nineteenth-century Teatro Peon Contreras (which also was fully renovated for the occasion), the Teatro Daniel Ayala (also renovated in 1999) and the atrium of Pasaje Pichetas, a downtown shopping mall. Both the City and the State Government also sponsored shows in privately-owned theatres, such as Teatro Hector Ayala and Teatro Jacinto Cuevas, and the theatres and auditoria of the Autonomous University of Yucatán. With the ongoing competition between the City and the State Government, from 2000 to December 2001, the city of Mérida had busy calendar of 'cultural' events including music every day in fourteen theatres, four museums, and several plazas and even in at least four of the local shopping malls (Pasaje Pichetas, Plaza Dorada, Gran Plaza and Plaza Oriente). The shows featured artists from around the world, including Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Cracow, Tibet, and other parts of Mexico, besides hundreds of presentations of

[5] Marco Aurelio Diaz Güemez (2005), on the online magazine *Unas Letras. Industria Cultural*, makes the point that when the Teatro Mérida was built its owner, designers and masons did not consider it an 'art deco' building, but rather a 'modern' building in the latest architectonic style.

local artists. There were literary presentations featuring international writers, and art exhibits at all local galleries and even a public sculpture exhibit along the Paseo de Montejo avenue, also featuring work by artists of international renown. The end of-the-year music show featured a free outdoor concert by Armando Manzanero across the main square of downtown Mérida, attended by thousands of people. At the closing of the year's activities, the state and municipal authorities reported that over three thousand cultural events had been staged.

Three important events impacting the trova world resulted from the 'cultural competition' between City Hall and the state government: The institutionalization of Trova Tuesday at El Olimpo, an international festival of bambuco and the re-inauguration of the Museum of the Yucatecan Song with state government support. As part of the Capital Culture of the Americas festivities, the City funded the Second International Festival of Bambuco, bringing a group of artists and scholars from Colombia, where the Bambuco rhythm originated in the nineteenth century. Yucatecan trova occupied a place of prominence within the musical activities associated with the Cultural Capital of the Americas festivities and the competing programmes funded by the state government.

In 2001, with the victory of the PAN at the state level, a political re-structuring swept the state of Yucatán. For several decades, PRI had always—or almost always—held the state Governor's seat, although PAN candidates very often won the elections for Mérida's *Presidente Municipal* (Mayor). PAN is a right wing party, and its membership in Yucatán and especially in Mérida comes from the upper and upper middle classes, as do its objectives. PRI, instead, has a more plural composition, as its constituency comes from all social classes, including people in those sectors traditionally represented by PAN.

The city of Mérida has grown more than ever in the last two decades. Its population went from 250,000 in the 1970s to almost one million in 2005. Since the 1980s, urban vote for the Governor's seat has tended to favour PAN over all other political parties, and the large number of Méridan voters in 2000 finally tilted the vote in favour of PAN's candidate, Patricio Patrón Laviada. Mérida's Alcalde between 2001 and 2004 was Ana Rosa Payan, followed in 2004 Manuel Fuentes Alcocer, both elected through PAN (see Table 1). With Patrón Laviada's election and the PAN candidates as Alcaldes, the old elites of Mérida became once more, to an extent never seen after 1915, the main arbiters of cultural politics in the state at large.

One of the first things the new State Director of Culture appointed by Patrón Laviada did was to call on the members of the Banda Sinfónica del Estado de Yucatán (State of Yucatán's Symphonic Band) and fire all its members. The Banda Sinfónica had been active for over a century, and it was a well-established cultural institution in the state. There were rumours to the effect that the Orquesta Típica Yucalpeten, also a state-sponsored musical ensemble, would also be dissolved. The Orquesta Típica being one of the most prestigious regional orchestras of Mexico, the idea that it could be dismantled was almost unthinkable before 2001; after PAN's triumph in both the City's and the state's elections, however, it became an imminent possibility.

According to the rumours circulating afterwards among Mérida musicians, the members of the Symphonic Band had been distributed scores of music played by marching bands during sports matches in the United States. These scores were considered 'easy' to read and learn, and they had been asked to play impromptu from them, as a test of the Band's musical abilities. It was said that the members of the Band could not read the scores properly, and what came out each time, with each of the scores, was a confused noise, did not keep a proper beat, and could not be understood as 'music'. They were told they had flunked the test, which had shown that they did not deserve to be state-sponsored musicians. It was on the strength of this test that their contracts were terminated and the Band dissolved. At the same time, the state authorities sent envoys to Vienna and several other cities of Europe to recruit musicians for the new Yucatán Symphonic Orchestra, which was expected to bring a musical renaissance to the State Yucatán. Both the state government and the City issued instructions to change the systems of music reading and writing throughout the city, so that all music played in the Yucatán could be au pair with international music standards everywhere. It was feared by most of the trova musicians I met then that trova, seen by the new cultural authorities as old and monotonous, would be cut off from the main stages in the city and that it would have to go underground if it was to survive at all.

One of the main stars of the Orquestra Típica expressed, in a meeting of musicians where I was present, her ambivalence at the whole situation. She thought that the problem was that the members of the Symphonic Band, like the musicians in the Típica, did not understand the new systems of writing and thus could not play modern scores. From her point of view, it was somewhat justified to fire the old musicians, but she felt that new musicians learning with new methods will

find it difficult to catch the true essence of the traditional sounds of Yucatán.

The new developments in the musical scene of Mérida first made it look like the presence of Yucatecan trova in city- and state-funded venues was coming to an end. The state government stopped supporting trova musicians and trova-related activities during much of 2002. However, this new situation galvanized local trova patrons and civic associations into action. Several trova patrons are relatives of the cultural authorities and bureaucrats staffing the City and state cultural institutes. Trova patrons and trova associations began to ask for the recognition of trova as the traditional music of urban Yucatán. Trova, they argued, is the soul of Yucatecan people, and that soul should not be lost. Every year, on March 21st, Yucatán celebrates the Annual Day of the Trovador. In 2003 the musician's unions, the Amigos de la Trova Civic Association and the Museum of the Yucatecan Song got together to organize the Day of the Trovador celebrations and called on trovadors around the state to walk together downtown in a *callejoneada* (a musicians' parade). Trova concerts were organized around the state, including those venues in Mérida run by the associations and by individual families (Teatro Jacinto Cuevas and Teatro Daniel Herrera). The increased visibility of trovadores promoted by the civic associations, however, did not result in an immediate restatement of trova to its former prominence in the budget of city and state cultural programmes, as most 'popular' music, including cumbia, trova, jarana, hip hop and rock continued to be under-funded by the City and the state governments.

The festivities around the Day of the Trovador of 2003 marked a new turn in the strategy of trova patrons, as they began to ask the City and state institutes that trova be played in symphonic arrangements by both the Orquesta Típica and the several classical ensembles receiving public funding. Trova, they argued, belongs in the High Art Music category. They, with the support of the three local trova musicians' unions and several civic associations, began to lobby for the inclusion of trova music in the performances of the Yucatán Symphonic Orchestra and other public-funded musical ensembles. Also, they promoted a more prominent place for the Orquesta Típica as part of the classical ensembles of the city. That same year several chamber orchestras started to include token trova songs and the Orquesta Típica began to perform in a new style, more in line with the new orchestral arrangements undertaken by the Symphony.

Finally, in 2004 the face and fate of trova began to change dramatically, as the cultural authorities of the state accepted to include it as part of major classical music presentations. Both the City and the state governments started the year with programmes in all theatres dedicated to trova as the musical, classical patrimony of Yucatán. The City declared all of March as The Month of the Trovador, and a full programme of symphonic and orchestral trova was presented at Teatro Peon Contreras. Soprano Conchita Antuñano, a Mérida-born singer who has been part of Placido Domingo's team and now lives in New York, was invited as the leading soloist. On March 18 the concert 'Great Moments of Opera—Great Moments of Trova' took place on the stage of the Peon Contreras Theatre. In April of that same year the Orquesta Típica celebrated its 62nd anniversary with a concert at Peon Contreras. That same year, two trova CDs were launched by the Instituto de Cultura de Yucatán (ICY, Institute of Culture of the State of Yucatán) with concerts at the Peon Contreras Theatre. The first, 'De Chan Cil a Manzanero' ('From Chan Cil to Manzanero'), featured local trova star Jesus Armando, and included Yucatecan songs from the 1880s to the 1970s. The second was the concert 'La Alondra del Mayab', featuring five women musicians who sang and played guitars and the piano, accompanied by Los Juglares, one of the most prominent trova groups in the city of Mérida, who play guitars, bass and percussion. The lyrics of all songs were poems by Rosario Sansores (1889–1972), who was born in Mérida and lived many years in Cuba and then in Mexico City, but whose poetry has been set to music in many countries of Latin America.

That year, for the celebrations around the Day of the Trovador, the Museum of the Yucatecan Song organized a celebration at the Rotonda de los Trovadores (Garden of the Trovadors). In a two-hour ceremony, the ashes of Pastor Cervera, a renowned trovador who died in 2001 were placed in the Rotonda, and several trova groups, including Rondalla Yucatán, Los Juglares, Jorge Buenfil Group, as well as individual trovadores, sang trova songs. At night, for the annual Callejoneada de los Trovadores (Walk of the Trovadors), we were over 200 guitarists who paraded in full mestizo garb (the regional dress of Yucatán) through the streets of downtown Mérida, with our guitars, playing and singing. At the end of the Walk some 40 of us formed a large guitar choir and sang trova songs together. Afterwards, one trio and two individual trovadores received the Chan Cil Medal, which is granted by the three musician unions each year to those considered among the most illustri-

ous Yucatecan trovadores. That weekend there was a concert at Teatro Peon Contreras where the musicians who had been given the Chan Cil medal participated, and there was a special segment dedicated to four women trovadoras: Rosita Caballero, Maricarmen Perez and the sisters Layda and Marianella Espejo.[6] Trova had, in effect, become the contemporary classical music of Yucatán.

In 2004, however, the invitation extended to Yucatán by the Festival Cervantino to participate in its 2005 edition helped expand the presence of trova music in other forms. The Cervantino is one of the most important cultural festivals of Mexico, and Yucatán was the first state to be officially invited to showcase its distinct culture. This invitation made it possible for the trova patrons and associations to uphold the importance of this music as one of the main cultural features of Yucatán, thus gaining new leverage with the cultural authorities for the return of trio-based trova music to the state and city-sponsored stages. The full triumph of trova finally came in 2005, as thousands of people crowded the Alhóndiga de Granaditas, the main piazza of Guanajuato, to listen to the starts of Yucatecan trova during the Festival Cervantino. The newspaper *Crónica de Hoy* reported on June 10 of 2005 (translated by the author):

> More than six thousand people in this city, the 'Cervantine Craddle of Iberian America', attended the Gala Regional Yucateca (the Yucatán Spectacular), at the beginning of the 33rd Festival Internacional Cervantino, one of the most important cultural and artistic events in the world. During more than three hours, the Alhondiga de Granaditas was full with the talent, the colour and the images of the Yucatecan people, as over 100 artists carried out, with great relevance [sic], the first participation of Yucatán as the guest of honour.
>
> Present at the event were President Vicente Fox Quesada; the Governor of the State of Guanajuato, Juan Carlos Romero Hicks; the Governor'of Yucatán, Patricio Patrón Laviada; and the Mayor of Mérida, Manuel Fuentes Alcocer. All this took place in the context of a presentation that can be described as Yucatán having taken artistically the legendary plaza of the Alhondiga de Granaditas, where trovadores, the regional melodies

[6] Layda and Marianella Espejo have been active as *Las Hermanas Espejo* since the 1960s, one playing rhythm guitar and the other requinto, singing in two voices. Rosita Caballero has been a teacher of classical guitar, an orchestra conductor and a soloist singer since 1958. She has been an active performer of Trova music too. Maricarmen Perez started her musical career in 1974 and is today one of the most prominent local trova stars.

> and the colour of Yucatecan's dress made a very elegant display on the main square.

The prestige of the festival helped trova patrons and their associations show the continuous relevance of this music, along with other regional cultural symbols, as part of the image of Yucatán's culture outside the state. Local newspapers reported on the great success of the Yucatecan delegation, and especially of trova, at the festival. During weeks after the festival the musicians and the trova patrons rejoiced in the recognition they felt their music had received in Mexico and abroad through the music shows at the festival. At that point, it was certainly impossible for state and city authorities to ignore the public identification of trova as one of the most important symbols of Yucatecan culture. Trova shows at the theatres went back to include, besides the new arrangements that transformed it into classical music, presentations by trios and guitar choirs. The boomerang effect had worked its magic once more: trova finally was fully back, this time both as the traditional and as the contemporary classical music of modern Yucatán.

Conclusions

Tourism studies tend to emphasize the way in which local culture is turned into 'heritage' as a value-commodity complex for export. According to Kirshenblatt-Gimblet (1998: 150):

> Heritage adds value to existing assets that have either ceased to be viable (subsistence lifestyles, obsolete technologies, abandoned mines, the evidence of past disasters) or that never were economically productive because an area is too hot, too wet or too remote or that operate outside the realm of profit because they are 'free, inherent natural resources' or inalienable possessions. Heritage organizations ensure that places and practices in danger of disappearing because they are no longer occupied or functioning or valued will survive. It does this by adding the value of pastness, exhibition, difference and, where possible, indigeneity.

In this chapter, however, I have shown that 'the tourist' is also a value-added category that can be used for local purposes in the everyday, political construction of what heritage is and why it should be guarded. In Yucatán both the tourists and those who can be construed as having admired 'Yucatecan culture' elsewhere are continuously transformed, in local struggles surrounding cultural politics, into objective observers who can grasp the inherent value and beauty of such 'cultural heritage'.

Here, and perhaps elsewhere, the organizations upholding particular forms of music, food and theatre as heritage systematically try to prove, though the validation of the tourist's gaze, the present relevance of past songs, dances and other cultural artefacts. These are shown, especially through the rhetorical use of foreign gazes, to be not only of indigenous importance but also of cosmopolitan relevance: if non-Yucatecan people abroad like Yucatecan 'culture', Yucatecans, including Yucatecan politicians, should also learn to like it and protect it at home. The figure of the foreigner, including the tourist, becomes a card to be used in political struggles around what heritage is in Yucatán and how it should be so for all Yucatecans.

In the case of trova music, the organizations supporting it have managed to make it survive by conflating 'trova' with 'heritage for local consumption by tourists' but also by stating the importance of trova as a distinct, beautiful, worthy type of music that is very much tied to the export of images of Yucatán and Yucatecanness, and to the local creation of distinctiveness; 'the outsider' everywhere is made to represent 'the tourist' who will visit Mérida and Yucatán, and 'the tourist' becomes transmogrified into a generic, culturally informed expert who attends trova performances because of this music's natural appeal to both locals and outsiders. The othering gaze, then, is not only acknowledged, but also even invoked as a gaze of validation of the local. This process, however, requires the construction of settings for that othering gaze, or what Urry (1990: 120–128) calls 'designing for the gaze' in the constant re-creation of heritage. It has been through campaigns, as conceptualized by Keck and Sikkink (1998), that trova organizations have carried out this work: through the packaging of trova as representing the musical soul of Yucatán, through the export of trova in order to create a boomerang effect of pressure on local and regional groups including the local and state governments, and by managing the resources so produced as heritage. In this way, 'designing for the gaze' of outsiders, including tourists, is meant to generate resources to support the thriving, changing and hopefully long-lasting scene of Yucatecan trova. This is a strategy that has resulted effective so far; the PAN cultural bureaucracy had to give in and restore trova to its place of privilege as a result of this form of political construction of what heritage is and of why it has to be supported.

In short, trova music survives today as the main representative of 'the Yucatecan soul' only through the successful, never-ending efforts of those organizations leading the campaigns to make this music

validated as truly local with the help of the applause and appreciation of outsiders.

Acknowledgments

I wish to dedicate this chapter to the memory of my teacher and friend Rosita Caballero, *La Alondra del Mayab*, who left us in 2008 but is said now to be conducting the *Orquesta Típica del Cielo*. I would like to thank the trova composers, musicians, aficionados and patrons who made me part of their world between 2001 and 2006. This paper was first presented at CEDLA at the conference Tourism, Globalization and Indigenous Peoples of Latin America. My thanks go to the participants for their comments and encouragement. I wrote this paper while I was a fellow at the Society for the Humanities of Cornell University, in 2007, on sabbatical leave from the Autonomous University of Yucatán. Thanks also to Brett deBary, Timothy Murray and the 2006–2007 Fellows for their provocative comments, and to Mary Ahl, Linda Evans and Lisa Patti for their crucial help in many forms. I am especially grateful to my husband and colleague anthropologist Steffan Igor Ayora-Diaz, also a 2006–2007 Fellow at the Society, for his company and support during fieldwork and everyday life, and his careful feedback on this piece and all my work. Gissell Vargas-Cetina, Roxanna Chavarria-Caro and Genny Negroe Sierra gave me, as always, their invaluable time and help during my stay at Cornell. All errors and problems of misrepresentation, however, are only mine.

CHAPTER FIVE

'A SYMBOL OF WISDOM AND LOVE'? COUNTER-CULTURAL TOURISM AND THE MULTIPLE FACES OF MARÍA SABINA IN HUAUTLA, OAXACA

Ben Feinberg

Huautla de Jiménez, Oaxaca, is different from most communities that are known for cultural tourism. The state government does not promote the town or the surrounding region (the Sierra Mazateca) as tourist destinations for foreign visitors. In fact, the state tourism agency (SEDETUR) did not include any mention of Huautla in its brochures until 2007. And while the 2000 edition of Lonely Planet's guidebook had two pages on Huautla, subsequent editions omitted this section. Finally, while a few Huauteco families have incorporated relationships with frequent visitors as one facet of their overall economic strategies, the town as a whole does not collectively promote tourism or make any effort to cater to the interests of tourists—the economic impact of tourism, while not negligible, is probably not significant.

Yet despite the absence of the usual signs of tourism and tourist development, Huautla remains symbolically central as the epitome of a certain kind of cultural, or rather counter-cultural, tourism. Urban and Sherzer (1991: 10) point out that indigenous groups that may be seen as marginal within the nation may, in certain contexts 'come to be identified with the whole society, metonyms of the imagined community'. Similarly, certain specific, objectified forms of connection between indigenous and non-indigenous Mexico have come to play an important role in representing different models of Mexican identity within a global community. Huautla's centrality stems from the notoriety that the town gained in the 1960s as the home of a counter-cultural community of foreign hippies and Mexican *jipis* who lived in tents and cabins near the river five miles from town, and emulated the local Mazatec people by eating hallucinogenic mushrooms. While this community no longer exists, mushroom-seeking pilgrims still come to Huautla (as do those seeking salvia—a hallucinogenic form of sage) and form a predictable part of the landscape.

This article examines some of the social and political consequences of the 50-year history of this peculiar form of cultural interaction.[1] It focuses on how this encounter has motivated non-Mazatec Mexicans and North Americans to reconstruct utopian identities that have more to do with the future than the past. For each group—Mazatecos, urban Mexicans and foreign visitors—'authenticity' remains an important concept that gives legitimacy to certain forms of cultural encounter. But this authenticity takes quite different forms.

One important consequence of this history of interaction is that one Mazatec woman—the mushroom curer María Sabina (1896–1985)—has been elevated into an iconic symbol that stands for the entire region. One general feature of cultural tourism is the exaltation of particular individuals or symbols that stand *for* the culture as a whole, but are also lifted out from the local context as something that *transcends* the culture and speaks to more general concerns. María Sabina has become the primary engine of the metacultural discourses swirling around the Sierra Mazateca. The multiple uses of the shaman efface the heterogeneity of Mazatec culture, but in different ways, as foreigners and urban Mexicans construct their identities by connecting the myth of María Sabina with other mythological figures. In her visions, María Sabina interacted with great historical figures like Benito Juárez (Estrada 2003: 40). To understand how tourist discourses manipulate the meaning of visiting the Sierra Mazateca and consuming hallucinogenic mushrooms, one must also trace the path of María Sabina's feet outside the Sierra Mazateca, and see how middle- and upper-class touristic visions place her in pantheons with such figures as Ché Guevara. Visitors who originally arrived in the Sierra to consume mushrooms in an authentic context after reading or hearing about María Sabina ultimately reconstructed the meaning of the shaman in ways that positioned her as a symbol of their own national and class interests.

This paper is based on 20 years of conversations in and around the Sierra Mazateca and with men and women who have visited the region, plan to visit the region or have at least heard of Huautla and María Sabina. I first visited Huautla in 1987 as a tourist backpacker; in 1993–94 I returned for a year of doctoral research. Since then I have visited the

[1] Elsewhere (Feinberg 2003, 2006) I have explored the multiple ways in which differently situated Huautecos use the presence of foreigners to further their own identity projects.

area about once a year; I also visited it on numerous occasions during my six-month stay in Oaxaca in 2003. In addition, I have benefited from many interviews and conversations with North Americans who lived in the area in the 1960s or have visited it since. In 1998, I wrote a brief journalistic article about Huautla for an online journal, and this article has remained on the first two pages of links that result from a ‘Huautla’ Google search. About once a month, a prospective or former Huautla traveller contacts me after reading this article, and I have asked these travellers about their experiences.

The Sierra Mazateca

The Sierra Mazateca is located in the northern tip of the state of Oaxaca in southern Mexico. The mountains, though not overly high, are quite rugged and this, combined with the absence of mineral wealth, kept the area relatively isolated from the economic and political centres of Mexico. Most of the inhabitants of the Sierra Mazateca speak a variety of Mazatec, a tonal language known for its parallel whistle speech (Cowan 1948). In 1995, there were 215,057 speakers of Mazatec in Mexico (de la Vega Estrada 2001: 103). The region’s most valuable agricultural product is coffee, which has been planted in the Sierra since the 1890s. The price of coffee began a rapid decline in the 1980s, and this has led to increased migration from the region to urban centres and to the United States.

In the 1950s, a North American banker named Gordon Wasson visited Huautla after being informed by a missionary that the local Indians used hallucinogenic mushrooms in religious and curing ceremonies. Wasson had begun his lifelong study of the relationship between mushrooms and culture, and was intrigued by the idea of mushrooms as sacred substances. He ingested mushrooms with several Huauteco curers, including María Sabina, and wrote about his experiences for *Life* magazine in an article that coined the phrase ‘magic mushrooms’ (Wasson 1957). North Americans, following the precedent set by Beat writers such as Jack Kerouac and William Burroughs, had already been visiting Mexico to pursue dreams of decadence, freedom and simplicity (Gunn 2006). Wasson’s article stimulated more adventurers and scientists to visit Huautla and consume the mushrooms. By 1962, a trickle of foreigners were navigating the bumpy unpaved road from Teotitlán del Camino to Huautla. By 1964, a community of sorts had

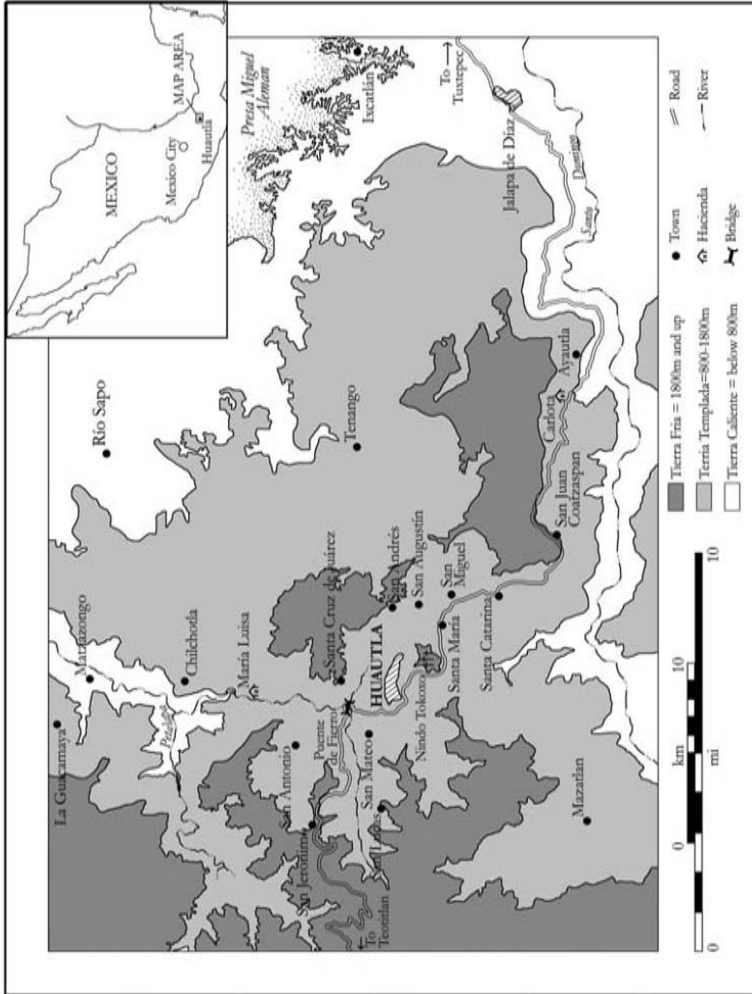

Illustration 1—The Sierra Mazateca of Oaxaca. Map by Susan Martin

formed along the river in a steep canyon area called Puente de Fierro, about five miles below the town.

María Sabina became a celebrity and many of the visitors made special pilgrimages to the mountain top area where she lived. Her life has been celebrated in books, movies and an opera (Balada 1995), and the rock band El Tri has memorialized her in a song. Another rock band—Santa Sabina—named themselves as a tribute to the great *curandera*. But despite her spreading fame, when María Sabina died in 1985 at the age of 91, she was poor and bitter that others had benefited from her name.

The presence of so many hippies camping out near Huautla led to tensions. Articles about the scandalous behaviour of these counter-cultural tourists appeared in *Excelsior* and the *New York Times.* Finally, in 1967, the municipal president asked the army to remove the foreigners. Many were rounded up and deported, and the army maintained a roadblock on the road from Teotitlán to Huautla until 1976, preventing outsiders from reaching the town. A few avoided this roadblock by trekking along back trails, but the community that had once existed at the Puente de Fierro was gone for good. Mushroom seekers continue to visit Huautla, but not in anything like the numbers of the 1960s. Most of the visitors rent cabins on the outskirts of town or stay in one of the hotels.

North American counter-cultural visitors to Huautla: authenticity

Authenticity was an important draw for most of the North American counter-cultural tourists who visited the Sierra Mazateca in the 1960s, but the source of that authenticity was not the 'Mazatec culture' but the foreign counter-cultural community itself. The stories told by mushroom-seeking foreigners who visited Huautla during this period consistently connect the region to a network of similar spaces where a global, utopian community was taking shape. These spaces were 'sacred', not because of the nature of the pre-existing native cultures, but because of the intense, often overwhelming *communitas* associated with the forms of everyday interaction practised by the foreign pilgrims. Just as the previous decade's Beat adventurers had found a 'magic land at the end of the road' (Kerouac cited in Gunn 2006: 76) in Mexico that derived from the 'primitive, the criminal, the exotic, and the hallucinatory—anything at the far end of society' (Gunn 2006: 77), these travellers

Illustration 2—Doña Julieta Casimiro, a Mazatec curer who has a large international clientele, during the Day of the Dead in 2003. Photograph by the author

found in Huautla the magical effervescence of the leading, exciting end of their own society. I would argue that this auto-consumption was a more important draw than the primitive authenticity represented by the indigenous people themselves.

Thus, in the 1960s Huautla was described as a 'poor man's Nepal' (Zolov 1999), not because of a connection between Mazatec and South Asian traditions, but because both areas housed large, permanent communities of foreign, drug-using hippies. Kenneth Langdon—an American who was raised in Mexico and who ran away from home at the age of 14 to come to Huautla in the late 1960s—described the scene at the Puente de Fierro as 'Haight-Ashbury South'.[2] Langdon should know: he later ran off to San Francisco. His stories align Huautla with other spots that were developing in Mexico, for example the beaches at Barra de Natividad and Zipolite and the campground next to the ruins

[2] I spoke with Langdon over the phone in March 2007.

of Palenque, places where the counter-culture could feel liberated from artificial constraints and revel in its own empowering authenticity.

In summing up his experiences in Huautla, Langdon repeatedly uses words that index liminality and authenticity, but also impermanence. He remembers the 'incredibly vibrant hills' of a 'different world', a 'magical time', a 'special' place 'not like any other', that was 'hard to get to' and 'an ordeal to stay'. But most of all, he remembers the people who gave it that unique quality. He hiked around the mountains, beyond Huautla and the Puente, and wherever he went, even in the remotest areas, there were 'hippies coming out of the mountain... really wild characters... all over the place'. He was not surprised when the *federales* arrived and cracked down on the foreigners—he had seen this coming. It was, he said, a 'crazy scene that I felt wouldn't last'.

The accounts of other foreign travellers echo Langdon's in extracting authenticity from the tourists themselves, rather than from the natives. Even the mushrooms were linked to other North American signifiers of special, sophisticated culture rather than some localized ancient knowledge. In 1970, a young man named David told a *New York Times* reporter that 'the difference between LSD and the mushrooms is the difference between a hamburger and a T-bone steak'. He links the Sierra to a hierarchy of classiness and high culture, constructing Huautla as a special place in comparison to other spaces of the transnational drug culture, with no explicit connection to its non-hippie Mazatec inhabitants.

A variation of this discourse bestows authenticity only upon the drugs themselves, which are described as an elite product whose effects can be degenerated only by the presence of people. I remember meeting a young, very serious German scientist in Huautla in 1993. He purchased mushrooms, but took them alone in his hotel room. He made it clear that he had come to experience them in pure form, and regarded the presence of Mazatec people as a contaminating distraction from this experience.

The subculture that developed at the Puente was not homogeneous. Some members of the counter-cultural community had special status, as people of knowledge, or gurus. Some of these men conducted mushroom rituals and dispensed wisdom. These men may have formed part of an elite and intellectual group whose members often forged closer relationships with Mazatec curers. Langdon, for example, describes a magical, enlightening trip led by 'an older gentleman' who more or less followed the Mazatec ritual, including four days of sexual abstinence.

This person later introduced Langdon to María Sabina. Here, wisdom and authenticity are linked to Mazatec culture, but only indirectly, through a mediator. The path to enlightenment, for most tourists, came from the class of experts that their community was able to generate, men whose presence bestowed that community with a sense of depth and legitimacy.

But if local Mazatecos were not important players in the tourist community of the 1960s and 1970s, they were impossible to ignore: hippy visitors purchased supplies from a store at the mouth of the Puente de Fierro, and mushrooms from the children who wandered through the encampment looking to make a few pesos. When describing Mazatec culture, the tourist discourse is quite uniform. Virtually every person I talked to used the word 'primitive' to describe the Sierra Mazateca in the 1960s and 1970s. Langdon called Huautla 'primitive and dirty'. Henry Munn (1973: 96)—a hippy mushroom seeker who later married a woman from Huautla and translated her brother's biography of María Sabina—wrote that 'until only recently, isolated from the modern world, the Indian lived in their mountains as people lived in the Neolithic'. A German who as a teenager had spent three years in the mid 1980s living in a counter-cultural community in Huautla, told me that 'it was like travelling 3,000 years back in time, and going to San Andrés [a village 5 km from Huautla] was still more'.

These visitors noticed class distinctions among the people of Huautla, but tended to view these as ethnic (calling the shopkeepers 'mestizo') or temporal (the shopkeepers were 'modern' or 'progressive'). This use of the trope of the primitive connects to other widely circulating discourses used to describe the place of Indians in Latin America. Michael Taussig (1993: 157, 142) writes that 'the Indians are there to fix history and restore its sublime order . . . an order of nature—as against history: matter in place. They are Origin . . . a sort of Eden before the fall when harmony prevailed'. For foreign travellers to Huautla, the primitivity of the Indians provided an idealized 'order' that simultaneously authorized the mushrooms (as 'spiritual' and not just a kind of degenerate drug), marked their location in a liminal space outside history, and provided a contrast against which they could perform their transgressive and utopian version of futuristic disorder.

The primitive order of the Indians was not stable, however. Tension marked the relationship between foreigners and locals—a tension increased by the foreigners' tendency to treat the natives as if they were invisible, to flaunt their drug use and freedom from sexual constraints.

As a backdrop, they could appear menacing. One Australian traveller told me that 'the people [in Huautla] are just creepy. I mean, they're *real* Indians, scary ones. Not your happy, smiling Maya Indians in Yucatán but real Indians who just don't like you'. In this comment, he juxtaposes two kinds of native backdrops to the foregrounded activities of cultural tourists: the good 'smiling' Indian and the bad 'creepy' Indian with his sullen stare.

The ordered Indian always has the potential to transform himself into something else—a manifestation of third-world danger and disorder; what Taussig (1993: 159) calls 'historical jetsam, matter out of place, the irrationality of history'. This dark flip-side of Mexico's utopian possibilities—its capacity to suddenly mutate from a space of freedom into a space of chaos—threatened the existence of Huautla's counter-culture when the *federales* arrived, deported the foreigners and shaved the head of anyone who talked back. It is also manifest in the deep suspicion often voiced by foreigners that natives who interact with them, including shamans, may in fact not really be legitimate cultural spokesmen rooted in space, but unscrupulous con men adrift in the world. Natives, it would appear, are caught in a catch-22; they are either too specifically culture-bound to participate as equals in a transnational world, or they are phoney manipulators who adopt a mask in order to deceive.

The native as a rite of passage

Most of the people who email me asking for advice about travelling to Huautla, hope to enjoy the experience of taking mushrooms with an indigenous shaman. But while this is now the main goal of foreign travellers, and many tell tales of marvellous experiences with wise shamans (Peck 1998), many other narratives of mushroom rituals with Mazatec *curandera/curanderos* often emphasize a tone of deep ambivalence that reinforces the conclusion that, ultimately, authenticity stems from Western culture.

For example, one recent Dutch visitor to Huautla emailed me and reported that he was left 'largely bemused by the experience'. As a native of Amsterdam, where the mushrooms are sold openly and legally, he was already quite familiar with the effects of psychedelic drugs, but he had hoped to achieve something special by taking them with an indigenous shaman. Disappointed, he returned to Oaxaca, 'having concluded that

my white skin and Western mind would forever deny me experiences of the "archaic" kind'. However, he decided to take mushrooms again in his hotel room, just for fun, with no cleansing ritual. This time, to his surprise, he had a 'uniquely powerful and uniquely "spiritual" experience' that seemed to bring his whole life together. Despite this experience, he was left feeling disappointedly sceptical, and describes himself as 'agnostic' regarding whether what he saw and felt was 'real'.

This man's method of describing a visit to Huautla is, in my experience, not unusual. An open-minded traveller visits Huautla wanting, like Fox Mulder on *The X-Files*, to 'believe'. They have a complex experience with a local curer, which leaves them feeling awkward, and quite understandably so. 'What do I have to do with this person?', they wonder. They fail to feel moved by the trappings of collective ritual, and the payment leaves them somewhat disillusioned. At the same time, the drug induces self-reflection that they characterize as a meaningful exercise of their individualized capacity for reason, and they leave for home with a better sense of their plans for the future in their home country.

Kenneth Langdon described his use of mushrooms in the 1960s in a similar vein. It was a mushroom experience with a group of North American hippies in Mexico City that led him to 'drop out' and leave his family, dedicate himself to the counter-cultural lifestyle and travel to Huautla. Two years later, it was a second, even more powerful mushroom experience conducted by the wise 'older gentleman' in a hotel room in Teotitlán del Camino (a mestizo town just outside the Sierra Mazateca), where he received a 'renewed sense of purpose and focus' that enabled him to get out of the drug scene and motivated him to go to college and, ultimately, become a scientist. For Langdon, these two mushroom experiences frame his time in the 1960s Huautla counterculture as a rite of passage that ultimately reinforces the ability of the non-native individual to take control of his or her own life.

These and other stories use Mazatec culture as the medium for an individualized journey that is specifically marked as inaccessible to Mazatecs themselves. They are too confined by the trappings of their culture—the candles, the chanting, the mountains and the whole ritual setting—to access a higher form of transcendence. 'Magical' settings are there to be moved into, and out of, by highly mobile travellers who are not limited by culture-bound definitions. People who live there cannot use them properly. This construction of supra-cultural mobility is a central component of the discourse of cultural and counter-cultural

tourism. The privileged traveller can move anywhere—from America to Mexico, from artist to political activist to scientist to hippy—while the meaning of the lives of others is fixed by geography and culture. The travel of the tourist makes borders clear, while the Others, unless they are phoney others, are incarcerated in time and space (Appadurai 1988).

María Sabina and the eclectic foreign self

María Sabina is the only Mazatec-speaking person to be singled out and named in most of the North American narratives, and meeting her or her descendants is often a necessary precondition of an authentic experience in the region. María Sabina's image now circulates far beyond the relatively small community of tourists who actually wish to visit Huautla. In English language representations, she tends to be used as an element within a predictable gallery of other figures that, collectively, serve as empty signifiers of a quirky or aesthetically attractive 'Latin America', which then becomes a tourist landscape, an evocative symbol of something absent in the foreigners' lives, a 'cultural heritage' to be spoken for by experts (elite artists, poets, writers and the state), a series of purchasable commodities. The Mexican state accomplished something similar with La Revolución—the various heroes, thugs and idealists who fought with each other were finally slaughtered, often by ancestors of the post-Revolutionary regime, are now de-particularized and presented to Mexicans as part of a glorious and monolithic history (Alonso 1988; Benjamin 2000). Statues, places, names—Zapata, Flores Magón, Villa, Madero, nothing more. *Mexico Lindo*.

In fact, a website called Mexico Lindo hawks images of Ché Guevara and María Sabina, along with Juan Diego, Zapata, Frida Kahlo and others, as 'a wonderful selection of items representing some of the most beloved and famous icons from Mexican and Latin American cultures'—as Mexican kitsch for foreign consumption that takes its place alongside the 'best bargains' of artisanry from the Huichol Indians. Ché and María Sabina are also paired as exemplars of eclectic Latin American wisdom, grist for a sumptuous and meaningful feast, as in a poem by Alice Walker (2003), in which she orders 'the heart of María Sabina, priestess of mushrooms' with a side order of 'serenity of Ché'.

The poet Anne Waldman linked herself to María Sabina in the 1970s with her poem 'Fast Speaking Woman', which was modelled

on the curer's chants as they appeared on the Folkways recording of the 'Mushroom Ceremony of the Mazatec Indians of Mexico' (1956). For Waldman, María Sabina is more than a member of a particular 'Latin American' pantheon of aesthetic objects; she represents a global, trans-shamanic 'tantric' tradition. Waldman (2003: 177) writes: 'I was a downtown-white-New York-young-sophisticate-college-graduate-bohemian, but real poet too, reading books, writing books, listening to jazz, dabbling in psychotropic drugs, magic, beginning an apprenticeship in tantric Buddhism, attracted to shamanic energies and pulses of all kinds'. For her, María Sabina is used less as an icon of a specific, indigenous, mushroom-using community, than as a part of a collectivity of practices linked to an eclectic, literary high culture.

In her history of the American tattoo community, Margo DeMello (2000: 181) writes that, beginning in the 1980s, 'non-western tattoos and belief systems were "liberated" from primitive peoples and can now be properly positioned as fine art'. For North Americans, María Sabina's meaning stems largely from her similar 'liberation' from the static indigenous world and her subsequent connection to a travelling high culture. She attracted writers (one of the first visitors to Huautla told me that the fifth name on the then brand-new hotel's sign-in sheet was that of John Steinbeck), scientists (Wasson and Albert Hoffman) and, later, rock stars (a long list that usually includes Bob Dylan, Donovan and the Beatles). María Sabina became marked as an authentic carrier of ancient Mazatec wisdom, but this authenticity ironically stems not from her pipeline to the past, but from her connection to international high culture. As part of this culture, she becomes elevated above her neighbours—the "friggin" Indian monkeys', as Langdon recalls hearing one 1960s hippy refer to them—she is made 'special'.

Mexican representations of Huautla: La Onda and indigenismo

In the 1960s, Mexican youth developed a counter-cultural style similar to that of their North American counterparts. *Rocanrol*, which in the 1950s had been condemned by elites as a dangerous form of foreign cultural imperialism that represented disorder, was purged of these immoral associations and promoted, according to Eric Zolov (1999: 62), as an 'apt metaphor' for the modernizing aspirations of the middle classes; it was 'cosmopolitan, consumerist, yet bounded'. By the late 1960s, Mexican rock was escaping its containment within the domes-

ticated forms promoted by record companies and the state (mostly closely matched imitation of foreign songs accompanied by new, non-threatening lyrics).

By 1967, Mexico could boast of its own full-fledged middle-class counter-culture, now called *La Onda*. La Onda, like most counter-cultural movements, was not culturally or politically homogeneous, nor was it received in a homogenous manner by authorities and elites. On the one hand, Mexico's full participation in a global youth culture represented the country's acquisition of a fully modern status, and as such its style was celebrated as being cutting-edge and avant-garde yet apolitical. On the other hand, *jipi* disorder was seen as a potential threat to *buenas costumbres* and a hegemonic political order. By the late 1960s, as the PRI responded to political unrest with massacres in 1968 and 1971, and as more lower-class *nacos* joined the upper-class *fresas* and *juniors* in the jipi community, the police increasingly targeted youths who appeared counter-cultural, and the police did so with violence. In turn, this repression helped provide jipis of all classes with validation and the psychological pay-off that comes with perceived membership of an authentic subcultural community (Thornton 1996).

Members of this emerging counter-culture quickly discovered their North American brethren in their encampment at Puente de Fierro. Perhaps even more than these Americans, most jipis had little interest in the indigenous residents of the Sierra Mazateca. As Zolov (1999: 111) writes, any adoption of indigenous elements into Mexican counter-cultural styles was 'unwitting…One might see this process as an ethnically complex double mirror: mestizo youth began to copy Anglo hippies who were copying indigenous Mexicans'. Members of La Onda tended to reproduce the *indigenista* values that they had been brought up with in the cities, and viewed the natives as a backward anachronism. At the same time, the mushrooms and the mushroom ritual could be lifted out of this context and be used as a symbol of membership in a utopian global modernity and to further a specifically Mexican nationalist modernity. Mexican memories of sixties' Huautla recall a 'fusion of modern and indigenous cultural experiences' that highlight the superior potency of the former—listening to Janis Joplin while tripping outdoors in the mountains, for example (Zolov 1999: 139). From the perspective of Huautecos, the presence of Mexican jipis often provided them, in contrast to their centuries-old pattern of indirect rule and exploitation, with a new experience—first-hand encounters with direct, blunt racism in their own hometown.

While the Mexican visitors to Huautla have undoubtedly displayed some heterogeneity in their origins, virtually every single one that I have met stems not only from the upper classes, but from the very upper reaches of the *fresa* and *junior* elite. I have met the children of judges, the offspring of members of Mexico's most prestigious symphonies and two children of federal deputies. When I was living in Huautla in 1994, I met a long-term resident—Eduardo—who lived with a mushroom curer from a wealthy Huauteco family. Eduardo was bearded and light-skinned, and he informed me that his grandfather had been a hero of Veracruz, a rich, political leader who had dared to confront the North American occupiers during the Revolution. Eduardo attached an indigenista, nationalist narrative to the Sierra Mazateca. He linked Huautla to a number of similar sacred sites throughout the nation, including Real de Catorce (where the Huichol Indians perform their peyote rituals) and told me, his voice quavering with the intensity of one revealing a deep secret, that Chikon Tokoxo (the Lord of the Sacred Mountain next to Huautla) was in fact Quetzalcoatl. This story tied the Sierra to the Mexican national narrative that privileges the Aztecs as the official indigenous culture and ancestor of the national culture. Just as Mexican New-Age 'Aztecs' win a battle over Anglo-American New-Age Mayas at the equinox celebration of Chichén Itzá (Castañeda 1996: 188), urban Mexicans like Eduardo claim Huautla for their active, spiritual, modernizing but unquestioned 'Aztec' Mexico while relegating Mazatecs to roles as passive spectators. For Eduardo, and for other Mexican visitors I have talked with, visiting Huautla is an important way for urban Mexicans to understand a hidden piece of *their* heritage.

Kenneth Langdon—who travelled throughout Mexico in the 1960s with both North American hippies and Mexican jipis—recalls that his Mexican companions were all from the elite, and says that encounters with Mazatec locals were fraught with tension and racism. One of his companions was the nephew of the governor of Tabasco, a fact that saved them from arrest and a severe beating when they were stopped by police after leaving Huautla and travelling into that state. Relationships between Mexican and North American jipis at the Puente could also be tense. While the Mexicans emulated the styles developed by the foreigners, nationalism and class identity also motivated them to distance themselves. Langdon says that they often would blame the US hippies for 'bringing down, messing up the scene'.

For many Mexican counter-cultural visitors to the Sierra, Huautla has remained a privileged spot to negotiate new versions of modern

Mexican national identity that retain significant doses of older versions of *indigenismo*. The Indians are the terrain upon which the enlightened members of the middle and upper classes meet and perform a hip, modernizing identity through new forms of interaction with each other and engagement with global discourses of empowerment.

Mexican images of María Sabina: the Revolutionary man and the Indian woman

Far more than in the United States, the image and name of María Sabina circulate in Mexico beyond the narrow group of individuals who have actually paid a visit to her homeland. She is genuinely famous, and almost everyone I meet who discovers that I have spent time in Huautla immediately mentions her name. Her photograph graces the posters and T-shirts that are sold on market stalls everywhere from Oaxaca to Ixtapa and Mexico City. There is even a 'Bar María Sabina' in Oaxaca—this bar's advertisement shows a group of smiling, sophisticated, light-skinned girls holding drinks and standing in front of a vast, trippy mural. The text of the ad playfully describes a series of wacky hangover cures, and concludes with a more serious message: 'Say no to drugs'.

The connection between the image of María Sabina and that of another, far more widely distributed Latin American icon sheds some light on how the Mazatec shaman is incorporated into a utopian, nationalist narrative. A few shirts over from María Sabina, one always finds the stern head of Ché Guevara. Ché appears to be everywhere at the moment, mostly on clothing—on trendy teenagers, beggar children, a graduating seminary student. Even Ché's daughter decried this 'totally irrational' exploitation of her father's image (Sánchez 2004).

One could read the proliferation of Ché images as pure kitsch, as a co-optation and domestication of a political image, or as a sign of a politicized undercurrent. David Stoll (1999: 281) bluntly dismisses the Ché phenomenon, claiming that he 'has become a Christ figure redeeming middle-class leftists from their inability to deal with the poor on their own terms'. Perhaps this is true, for some. But I suggest that in contemporary Mexico, Ché is too complex a figure to reduce to a single function, whether this be nostalgia, revolution or fashion. Instead, he is part of a system of images that both Mexicans and Americans use to negotiate both identity and politics in multiple ways.

I suggest that to understand the meaning that María Sabina has for Mexican youth, one must see her image in the context of its relationship

Illustration 3—Ché Guevara and María Sabina in the 20 de Noviembre Market, Oaxaca. Photo by Katie Fisher, 2007

with the image of the martyred Argentine revolutionary. This relationship is signified by the proximity of their T-shirts on the market stands and in consumers' households. In the popular movie *Y Tu Mamá También* (Cuarón 2001), director Alfonso Cuarón made an obvious and intelligible choice of dressing the wealthy young heroes' pothead friend in the María Sabina shirt, and placing him (in an apartment filled with young leftists) near a Ché poster.

Ché and María Sabina might profitably be understood in terms of their relationship with the myth of Cortés and La Malinche.[3] Rather than a Christ figure, Ché represents the ability of the present to redeem the conquistador. Cortés was a political, white, man of action with a pan-Latin American significance, while La Malinche, in the mythic version, is the local, Mexican Indian woman who opens herself up to the outside world with disastrous consequences. Ché and María Sabina

[3] Frances Karttunen (1994) has also made the connection between María Sabina and La Malinche as misunderstood cultural interpreters.

retell this story from a more hopeful perspective. While Cortés sailed from Cuba to Mexico to enslave a hemisphere, in the modern story, Guevara, another white foreigner, sailed from Mexico to Cuba to liberate all Latin America. And while the Malinche gave away the secrets of the local, essentially betraying her people, María Sabina willingly surrendered her mystical secrets, not as an act of betrayal, but to share understanding. The white, male, pan-Latin American action hero acts as part of the same mythological system with the hyper-local indigenous woman to retell an old story in a way that imagines a more harmonious Mexican future by undoing and redeeming the violence of the past, and María Sabina provides a model of cultural mediation that emphasizes the ability of non-indigenous Mexicans to achieve transcendence.

The level of specificity in this interpretation of the connection between Ché and María Sabina and Cortés and La Malinche may seem a little fanciful, but there are two points that are undeniably true. First, the symbols of Ché and María Sabina are connected to each other as part of the same system. Second, María Sabina is important in Mexican popular culture for her role not as a *possessor* of sacred knowledge, but as a *translator* of secret truths for the outsiders she is always associated with—visitors such as John Lennon, Bob Dylan, Led Zeppelin and John Wayne (the list varies) who allegedly experienced mushroom rituals under her supervision.

El Tri's song 'María Sabina' emphasizes the themes of María Sabina's special nature, which comes from her revelation of secrets to outsiders. The shaman becomes a central part of the national identity because of her relationship with people who came to see her—not just anyone, but qualified people such as 'philosophers', 'poets' and journalists. This relationship created her worldwide fame, which is the source of her 'immortality'. In turn, she helps to create a Mexican identity that draws on ancient indigenous wisdom—given freely, without exploitation—in concert with the vigour of poets, philosophers, rock stars and writers (people who go to see her while she sits still on her mountain), to make something transcendent, modern and new—something that places Mexico on an equal level with 'all the people from all the races'. Unlike La Malinche, who gave her powerful words to a violent villain who misused them for personal gain and the benefit of one nation and one race, María Sabina's words were made available to poets, philosophers and the public for the benefit of all; her wisdom is coupled with a 'love' that can free us from the conflicts of the past.

Original Spanish lyrics of 'María Sabina es un símbolo de la sabiduría y el amor' (El Tri 1992)	Translation of lyrics to 'María Sabina is a symbol of wisdom and love' by the author
Todas las personas de todas las	All the people from all the
razas la fueron a ver alguna vez	races went to see her
todos los periódicos	Some time
de todo el planeta	All the newspapers
la fueron a entrevistar	From the whole planet
alguna vez	Came to interview her
ella mil cosas les platicó	Some time
secretos les enseñó	She told them 1000 things
los ojos se los abrió a todo el	She taught them secrets
universo	She opened the eyes of
Todas las revistas	the entire universe
de todo el planeta	All the magazines
hablaron de ella bien	From the whole planet
alguna vez	Spoke well of her
todos los filósofos	Some time
todos los poetas	All the philosophers
la conocen bien	All the poets
chulada de mujer	Knew her well
ella alcanzó la inmortalidad	This priceless woman
y lo hizo a nivel mundial	She achieved immortality
en fin ella llegó a ser	At a worldwide level
casi casi como un Dios	At the end she became
ella es un símbolo	Almost almost a god
es todo un símbolo	She is a symbol
María Sabina es un símbolo de	Is totally a symbol
la sabiduría y el amor	María Sabina is a symbol of
Un día el Ser Supremo	wisdom and love
quiso que se fuera a viajar con Él	One day the Supreme Being
juntos los dos	Wished her to take a trip with him
y fue tan fuerte el viaje	Together the two of them
que los dos tuvieron que allá	And so strong was the trip
se quedó	That those two stayed out there
ya nunca regresó	And never returned
ella el camino nos enseñó	She taught us the path
la ruta nos la trazó	She showed us the route
los ojos nos los abrió	She opened the eyes
a todo el universo	Of the whole universe
ella es un símbolo	She is a symbol
es todo un símbolo	She is totally a symbol
María Sabina es un símbolo de	María Sabina is a symbol of
la sabiduría y el amor	wisdom and love
ella es un símbolo	She is a symbol
es todo un símbolo	She is totally a symbol
María Sabina es un símbolo de	María Sabina is a symbol of
la sabiduría y el amor	wisdom and love

In the sanctification of María Sabina as not only or even primarily a symbol of 'Mazatec culture' but as a symbol of a constituent element of a broader Mexican identity accessible to all, Mexican visitors to Huautla and listeners to El Tri's music do not question indigenista orthodoxy that relegates 'ordinary' Mazatecs to a lower, less-conscious status. Instead, Mazatecs who are not blessed by a direct association with María Sabina remain trapped in the 'hillbilly' cultural category—unable to live up to the standards of 'pre-Hispanic' authenticity or the modern, urban sophistication. In this discourse, María Sabina 'opened the eyes of the whole universe' and her legacy becomes the property of those who dwell comfortably on the universal plane, not Huauteco coffee growers and storekeepers.

Postscript: María Sabina and the social movement against Ulises Ruíz

In 2006, after the unpopular PRI governor Ulises Ruíz sent hundreds of riot police on a violent predawn attack against striking teachers and their families, the people of Oaxaca responded with the formation of a broadly based social movement. Oaxaqueños took to the streets to protest, took over radio and TV stations, and built hundreds of barricades to protect themselves from the death squads that police and PRI officials sent against them. In November 2006, the federal police entered the city, arrested hundreds of opposition activists (and unfortunate bystanders) and removed the barricades from the streets. At this point the conflict entered a new phase, but the opposition to Ruíz was not eradicated.

Much of the conflict was waged over images. When I visited the city in July 2007, the opposition was opposing the official *Guelaguetza* (the city's main tourist event, which consists primarily of two days of folk dancing by indigenous representatives of the state's 'seven regions') with a *Guelaguetza Popular* and other street performances that mixed traditional dances with new twists (such as folk dance done entirely in black, out of mourning) and political slogans. 'Tourist, come to Oaxaca', their posters read, 'and know about our resistance and struggle tradition'.

María Sabina played a role in this reconfiguration of traditional culture as a heritage of resistance. Among the hundreds of stencilled and painted images that appeared every night on the streets around the Zócalo, hers was the only indigenous face that could be specifically identified with a single individual. In conjunction with other images

of rebellion and struggle, she symbolized a 'deep' or 'true' Mexico that countered the 'fake' Mexico celebrated by Ruíz in the official Guelaguetza—and provided the resistance with an image of historical depth and authenticity.

The most extreme manipulation of María Sabina's image that I witnessed appeared on the backs of matchboxes in a store that would have catered to tourists, had there been any. The matchboxes were decorated with scenes representing Oaxacan culture—but instead of cathedrals and folk costumes, the boxes showed images of federal police firing water cannons at demonstrators, of youths throwing Molotov cocktails and of wounded Oaxaqueños being carried away from the battle by their companions. The only image that did not present the conflict was a picture of María Sabina, serene as ever, in front of a candle.

Conclusions

It would be misleading to characterize the 50-year history of counter-cultural tourism in Huautla de Jiménez as a situation in which an external, powerful 'culture' or process 'effects' local culture and identity. Instead, different actors in this cultural encounter—foreign mushroom seekers, urban Mexicans and differently situated Mazatec-speakers—creatively adapted existing discourses about themselves and their others to use the encounter to refashion their sense of cultural and national identity.

There are some features common to the ways in which each of these groups represents the touristic encounter. For all of these actors, authenticity became an important trope for making distinctions, and for each group the figure of a single individual—María Sabina—became elevated as a sort of master symbol for Huautla and the Sierra Mazateca. But authenticity can be constructed in a number of ways, and the image of María Sabina is contested and used for a variety of projects.

For the majority of the foreign counter-cultural visitors of the 1960s and 1970s, authenticity derived from their own community and the Sierra Mazateca served only as a scenic backdrop to their liminal practices. The post-tour narratives of these visitors highlight the gleaming intensity of the hippy presence in the Sierra—they portray the Mazatecos not so much as the object of the tourist encounter, but as a potential obstacle to the development of a utopian transnational community that

Illustration 4—Image of María Sabina that appeared two blocks north of the Zócalo. The image was erased three days later. Photo by the author, July 2007

congregates in places like Huautla and San Francisco. Their stories about María Sabina lift her out of her local context and make her serve as an element within a pantheon of figures who represent Latin American creativity, including Ché Guevara, Frida Kahlo and others, which in turn serves to validate the work of a literary and aesthetic elite.

For urban Mexican youth, visits to the remote Sierra Mazateca helped to demonstrate their own modernity and reinforce their indigenista sense of privilege as the mobile masters of different worlds, superior to the Indians who were trapped in their ‘spiritual’ yet archaic enclave. In Huautla, the ability of these youths to bridge the worlds of a global avant-garde and an ancient and local past is made visible. In contemporary Mexico, the image of María Sabina is paired with Ché Guevara in a way that reproduces the nationalist myth of Cortés and La Malinche and provides a charter for a transcendent national future that incorporates transnational and Indian elements. But this combination can also enable new meanings, such as resistance to a corrupt political order.

Both North Americans and Mexicans can creatively incorporate relationships with Oaxacan indigenous peoples into their strategies for reproducing and manipulating their own identities, but they do so within limits—they are rarely able to recognize the indigenous people as active participants in the tourist encounter. Scholarly accounts of tourism that emphasize the ways in which the tourist gaze lingers on the 'primitive other' and the nostalgic reconstruction of an imaginary past often underestimate the degree to which that gaze passes over the other and ends up focusing on the tourist's own community, and how that community models different kinds of national and transnational futures.

PART TWO

LOCAL LIVELIHOODS AND TOURIST ENCOUNTERS

CHAPTER SIX

SACAMEFOTOS AND TEJEDORAS: FRONTSTAGE PERFORMANCE AND BACKSTAGE MEANING IN A PERUVIAN CONTEXT

Beatrice Simon

For the past fifteen years, women from the mountain communities of the Pisaq district have been coming to the village on market days so that tourists can take their pictures. These women (*sacamefotos*) pose as 'authentic' people who present a certain, essentialized aspect of the cultural heritage. By using certain cultural presentations and artefacts these women try to make some money to improve their living conditions and to send their children to school in order that they will have a better future than their mothers. In this paper, I analyse how these *comuneras*[1] present themselves to tourists ('frontstage') and the processes that occur when tourists are not around ('backstage'). At the local level in Pisaq, there is a lively discourse surrounding these sacamefotos, which is very important to the system of giving meaning for both *Piseños*[2] and sacamefotos.

Another interesting phenomenon in this region is that nowadays women from the mountain communities sell their weavings (*tejidos*) directly to tourists instead of selling them to Piseño market dwellers, as they did in the past. These *tejedoras* (weavers) are quite successful but the question is whether their performance on the frontstage contributes to better living conditions and higher self-esteem. The aim of this article is to provide an insight into the societal consequences and cultural outcomes of tourism in a Peruvian Andean context. The article is based on an analysis of sacamefotos, tejedoras and tejedora-sacamefotos at the two most visited tourist sites in Pisaq: the marketplace and the ruins.[3]

---

[1] People from the mountains communities are called *comuneros* (males) or *comuneras* (females).

[2] The inhabitants of Pisaq are known as Piseños (males) or Piseñas (females).

[3] My research is part of CEDLA's multidisciplinary research programme 'Inca Tourism in the Peruvian and Bolivian Andes' and is financed by WOTRO Science for Development.

The data presented here are derived from empirical observations and from the informal conversations and interviews I held with sacamefotos, tejedoras, guides and inhabitants of Pisaq (Piseños) during fieldwork in 2003 and 2004.

Setting the stage

The district town Pisaq is located in the Sacred Valley of the Incas, some 30 kilometres from Cuzco, the former Inca capital and present-day tourist centre of Peru. Most tourists who visit Cuzco also visit the Sacred Valley and Pisaq, but most of these visitors stay in Pisaq for only a short time, spend approximately an hour at the ruins and then move on to other destinations in the Valley.

Until the 1960s, Pisaq was a quiet town whose inhabitants subsisted on agriculture and small-scale cattle breeding. In 1949, Pisaq was chosen as *capital de la indianidad* ('Indian capital') by the Congreso Indigenista, and this was a starting point in the development of Pisaq as a tourist destination (Pérez Galán 2004: 232). Following a UN declaration in 1963, tourism came to be seen as a good alternative income strategy in Peru (Zavala 1982: 9; Henrici 1996: 31). The Peruvian government started campaigns to attract tourists to Peru and the emphasis was put on the Cuzco region. Since then, tourism has grown and is still increasing (Paredes Chávez 2002: 106–111).

Pisaq is an important tourist destination for its ruins and 'typical' market, which form the stage where interactions occur between tourists and locals. Here I am particularly interested in these interactions at the local level. To understand them, I will apply Goffman's theatre metaphor. In *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959), the sociologist Goffman demonstrates how in different contexts, people use their status and identity in strategic ways. He argues that every social setting can be seen as a theatre that consists of a stage on which actors play certain roles. This frontstage performance takes place in public and is observed by everyone; it is separated from the backstage, which he defines as:

> ... a place, relative to a given performance, where the impression fostered by the performance is knowingly contradicted as a matter of course.... It is here that the capacity of a performance to express something beyond itself may be painstakingly fabricated; it is here that illusions and impressions are openly constructed. Here stage props and items of personal front can be stored in a kind of compact collapsing of whole repertoires

> of actions and characters. Here grades of ceremonial equipment, such as different types of liquor or clothes, can be hidden so that the audience will not be able to see the treatment accorded them in comparison with the treatment that could have been accorded them.... Here the team can run through its performance, checking for offending expressions when no audience is present to be affronted by them.... Here the performer can relax, he can drop his front, forgo in speaking his lines, and step out of character (Goffman 1959: 114–115).

Goffman derived the theatre metaphor from the idea that the way 'actors' present themselves to an 'audience' is based on their cultural norms and values and on the expectations of the audience. In the performance, 'impression management' is very important: the actors on stage are aware of the impressions they provide and try to adapt the performance to the expectations of the audience. These impressions can be influenced by using certain clothes (costumes), words or non-verbal actions (ibid.). Goffman's model shows that people's identities are not fixed but continuously changing, and that these changes occur through interaction with other people on various stages. Goffman also argues that on the frontstage, 'the front' or 'the masque' is standardized and often generalized and idealized. He also speaks of 'teams of actors', since a performance is seldom staged by individuals, and of 'mediators'. The latter learn the secrets of both the audience and the performing teams, usually with permission of both parties and can be seen as messengers who further communication between the teams.

The terms frontstage and backstage can be connected to terms that are frequently used in tourism studies, such as 'staging' and, in places where cultural tourism takes place, 'staging of authenticity' (MacCannell 1973, 1976, 1992; Stanley 1998). Although there are numerous studies on staging in tourism, the processes that occur backstage are usually left out.[4] Applying Goffman's theatre metaphor to the Andean context, the Pisaq theatre would be constructed in the following way: Piseños and people from the surrounding mountain communities are the actors who perform on the tourist stage. This stage, however, is not located in one setting: the largest part of the stage is in the central plaza and its surrounding streets. Another important stage is located at the ruins. Without these stages the actors would not be capable of performing, which includes selling their souvenirs and somehow representing of

[4] For interesting studies on staging, see: Sheller & Urry 2004, van Beek 2003, van den Berghe 1994, 1995, van den Berghe & Keys 1984, Chabbra, Healy & Sills 2003, Castañeda 1996, Cohen 1988, Edensor 2000.

themselves as 'authentic' Piseños. On these stages, various teams of actors (artisans, sacamefotos, tejedoras, etc.) perform their roles. These teams can be divided into sub-teams and are not always homogenous, as I will show later.

Frequent conflicts occur between and within the various teams over, for instance, the performance itself. The audience in the Pisaq theatre consists of tourists who come to watch and experience the performances. This audience has certain expectations of what it will encounter. In the Pisaq theatre, there are also Goffman's mediators: guides who influence what the audience wants to see and what the actors perform. Backstage consists of the 'private' lives of the actors; usually this is at people's homes, which tourists seldom visit. I include not only the physical setting of the actors (homes, agricultural terrain, and football fields) at the backstage, but also what the people think and do, the construction of meaning and their cultural models (cf. Shore's cultural models 1996: 157, see also Simon 2008). Pisaq is an example of a tourist location where cultural models are continuously reconstructed: the frontstage performances are acted out according to certain cultural models that exist in the minds of the actors and are presented to the audience of tourists. The audience, in turn, thinks and acts according to its own cultural models.

Expectation and performance of sacamefotos and tejedoras on the Pisaq stage

> On 16 March 2004, I was sitting in the plaza, drinking orange juice like on many market days. It was about eleven o'clock, a time when many tourists arrive in buses and when it starts to get quite busy on the market. Out of the blue a group of sacamefotos approached a group of tourists and surrounded them. All of them had a big smile on their face and simultaneously said: '*Una foto* please? *Si, Si? Una foto*?' They beckoned the tourists to approach them. The tourists did not seem interested. One of the sacamefotos tried to draw the attention of a tourist by pulling on his jacket, with the same big smile on her face. The tourists however continued neglecting this 'show'. It took a while but in the end the sacamefotos gave up and moved on.[5]

Any tourist who visits Pisaq is most likely to be confronted with sacamefotos, tejedoras or/and sacamefoto-tejedoras. The word 'sacamefoto' is a

[5] Observation, derived from my fieldwork diary (2004).

Illustration 1—A tourist taking a picture of sacamefotos. Photograph by the author, 2004

contraction of the words *sácame una foto* which means 'take a picture of me'. For some 15 years people from the district's mountain communities come to Pisaq in their 'traditional' clothes to earn money from tourists. These sacamefotos are usually women with their children, often accompanied by lambs, lamas or dogs. Their work is to present themselves as 'traditional' or 'authentic' as possible in order to encourage tourists to take pictures of them. Sacamefotos can now be considered one of Pisaq's main attractions. Tejedoras are women who weave all kinds of clothes and sell these *tejidos* to tourists. These tejedoras have entered the scene quite recently. These women used to sell their products to Piseños, who would sell them to tourists for higher prices (usually double what they had paid for them), but tejedoras are becoming increasingly aware of the cultural and economic value of their products. This recent awareness among tejedoras has been triggered by NGOs that started projects to revalue the weaving heritage in some mountain communities in the Pisaq region. In the mountain community of Chawaitire,[6]

[6] Chawaitiri is relatively distant mountain community in the Pisaq district; it is located at an altitude of almost 4000 metres above sea level and can be reached by foot (a couple of hours walk from Pisaq) or by minivan or taxi (approximately a one-hour drive).

Illustration 2—Sacamefotos outside the town hall. Photograph by the author, 2004

for instance, the weaving tradition has been revalued, and in the high season (May–September) tourists can visit weaving demonstrations in the community. Not all comuneros are included in the programme, however; they therefore come to Pisaq to sell their tejidos. Many tejedoras who sell their weavings at the ruins also work as sacamefotos. Both sacamefotos and tejedoras present parts of their culture and their identity to tourists on the different stages in the Pisaq theatre.

History, ethnicity and culture are referred to daily in the Pisaq theatre. Sacamefotos and tejedoras are examples of actors who perform certain aspects of these elements of cultural heritage. The cultural models that are presented by these comuneras refer to some 'indigenous' identity and fulfil the tourists' expectations that they will see 'real, Peruvian, Andean people'. These stereotypical presentations are often replicated on the Internet, in tourist brochures, in travel guides and on postcards.

The phenomenon of the sacamefotos in Pisaq started some 10–15 years ago when a family from the mountain community of Amaru[7] started to ask money for the pictures tourists took of them. It is interesting to see how the attitude of comuneros has changed in a relatively short time from being frightened of Western people with their cameras,

[7] Amaru is located at altitudes between 3500 and 3800 metres above sea level and is not very far from the Pisaq ruins.

to being open and sometimes even obtrusive. A Piseño informant explained to me:

> Look, señorita Beti,[8] in the past these women were scared to have their pictures taken. They were scared their souls would be taken away from them and that they would die. Nowadays it has become their work to have pictures taken of them. Before, they would hide from the tourists but presently, the opposite is taking place. The tourists started this process; they started taking pictures of the comuneras who came to Pisaq to sell their products. They would make a photo and give these women some money and this is how they got used to it and this is how for many of them this has become their job. In former days, the initiative lay with the tourist, but nowadays the sacamefotos are more and more in charge. They don't leave the tourists in peace, they even don't let them eat quietly and they beg, they even beg tourists to give them their soft drinks![9]

A comunera from the mountain community of Paru Paru[10] explained that she started working in Pisaq and underlined that it was Piseños who had convinced her to do this work. She said:

> One day I came to Pisaq with one of my babies who were dressed in typical clothes. There was a tourist who wanted to take a picture, and the artisans in the plaza said: 'Why don't you do that as a job?' So I started coming to the *posta de salud* (health centre) with a llama. Tourists gave me ten *soles*[11] each time, and that's how I got used to it.

This sacamefoto might well have received a positive reaction from a Piseño, but today most Piseños are not very happy about the explosive growth of sacamefotos and sometimes even see them as 'dressed-up beggars'. Most clashes, conflicts and conversations about this development occur backstage. On the frontstage, however, the irritation of this increase of sacamefotos is also quite clear. During my 2004 fieldwork, *wachimanes*[12] suddenly started to chase away the sacamefotos. This produced an interesting performance that was like a game of cat and mouse. The following performance occurred on a Sunday morning after

---

[8] Most of my informants called me 'Beti'.

[9] Interview 12, sr. C, 14 April 2004.

[10] Paru Paru is located around 4000 m above sea level and is closest to Amaru.

[11] The sol (plural: soles) is the Peruvian currency. A dollar is worth between 3.1 and 3.5 soles.

[12] A *wachiman* (contraction of 'watch' and 'man') is a word that Piseños use for security people.

Illustration 3—Mother and daughter from Paru Paru. Photograph by the author, 2004

the *varayoc*[13] who pose on the steps in front of the church before the mass starts, had entered the church.

> As soon as the varayoc left the steps of the church empty, they were occupied again by groups of sacamefotos who tried to attract tourists. They keep calling at the tourists: '*Una foto? Una foto*, take me picture, *una foto si?*' After a while a wachiman arrived and chased them away. He pretended he was going to kick them. After five minutes, the sacamefotos were back and fifteen minutes later their number multiplied. All the time they waved and called at the passing tourists. While a tourist took a picture, the other sacamefotos kept calling to other tourists. A few moments later, the wachiman passed by, but all the sacamefotos had gone. As soon as he was gone, the sacamefotos reappeared on the scene. They had hidden themselves behind a market stand.[14]

Although Piseños think that tourists do not like to be bothered by these sacamefotos, many tourists actually like their performance. On numerous occasions I heard tourists telling each other that they wanted to stop to take a picture. The reasons they gave for taking pictures varied from they are 'cute children', 'beautiful Indians' or 'authentic people', to 'they 'look so nice', 'have a sweet smile' or 'are beautiful'. Tourists are usually approached by the sacamefotos but sometimes it is the other way round, like the following fragment demonstrates:

> An American boy of approximately 12 years of age was ordered by his father to chase two sacamefotos. He trotted after them and he called at them: '*Chicas, chicas*!' Seemingly surprised, they followed him. The boy asked one of the girls who carried a baby goat in her *queperina:*[15] 'Is that a lama?' The girl answered affirmatively and the father of the boy took a picture of the two girls with their animals.[16]

Apparently, sacamefotos fulfil the wish of tourists to observe 'authentic', 'traditional' representations and 'the typical'. Many tourists do not realize that in order to perform, these women wear special costumes. It is striking to see how with each passing year there seem to be more sacamefotos on stage. The number of tourists does not really grow, which leads to growing competition among the sacamefotos, which

[13] Varayoc: traditional political and religious authorities of the mountain communities. Nowadays, they form one of Pisaq's main tourist attractions. For a detailed study on these varayoc and their changing position, see Perez Galan (2004).

[14] Observation 23/05/04.

[15] Queperina: a woven cloth usually used for carrying food or babies, and in this specific case, animals.

[16] Observation 13/06/2004.

is especially noticeable when talking to these women. The growing competition can also be noticed frontstage, and it is strongest between sacamefotos from the mountain communities of Amaru and Paru Paru. Sometimes these sacamefotos are quite frustrated because day by day it is becoming more difficult to earn some money. They not only perform in an increasingly obtrusive way but sometimes project their frustration directly towards tourists. In 2004, I noticed that this conflictive atmosphere had increased. The following is just one example; similar scenes occurred daily on the Pisaq stage.

> While I was talking to an artisan in the plaza, I saw how a sacamefoto tried to convince a Spanish tourist to have her picture taken. It was quite obvious that the tourist was not interested, and she passed the sacamefoto rather quickly without really looking at her. First the sacamefoto called at her: 'Please, take a picture of me, please? When the sacamefoto realized the tourist was not interested and she had just passed by, the sacamefoto said: 'Bad woman! Bad, bad woman![17]

Besides, they have to compete with other performances, for example those by 'retrained' beggars. A Piseño ('Mr A') drew my attention to this rather new phenomenon. He was selling his jewellery in the plaza and suddenly started laughing. I asked him what was so funny and he pointed at an old lady who was spinning wool. A tourist was filming this performance. Mr A said:

> Look at that Beti! See, she has found her way! A month ago this woman was begging in the church and on the stairs outside the church by looking pitiful—and now she is spinning! That is new. She forms the new competition for the sacamefotos![18]

While I was talking with Mr A, I saw how a group of sacamefotos was also observing this scene and tried to draw the attention of the tourist who was filming, but without success. The team of actors that form the biggest competitors for sacamefotos, however, are the tejedoras. Buying tejidos is an important activity and offers ample opportunity for visitors to make contact with and gaze at the 'authentic' women who sell them.

Tejedoras and sacamefotos work not only in the plaza but also at the ruins. The number of actors in the sacamefoto and tejedora teams on this stage has increased tremendously in recent years. When I visited

[17] Observation 10/06/2004.
[18] Conversation with Mr A. 13/06/2004.

Illustration 4—Sacamefoto from Amaru. Photograph by the author, 2004

Pisaq in 2001, there were hardly any sacamefotos or tejedoras at the ruins; in 2003 and 2004, however, their numbers had increased. Their work and the way they present themselves to tourists have not changed, however. Sacamefotos usually wait at the parking lot where the tourist buses and taxis stop, and as soon as the tourists exit the vehicles they are bombarded with such cries as 'Sacame una foto'. Most sacamefotos at the ruins also sell tejidos, which makes them sacamefotos and tejedoras in one. Usually the younger sacamefoto-tejedoras wait for the tourists while the older women are further up the road weaving and taking care of their children. A difference in the expectation and experience of tourists is that they consider the sacamefotos and tejedoras who perform at the ruins to be more authentic than their colleagues on the market stage. This has probably to do with the environment: nature and ruins. Like comuneros who work in Pisaq, these women at the ruins have a language barrier. Especially the older women speak only Quechua; the younger generations also speak Spanish.

As in many tourist settings, guides form an important link between the performers and the audience. During one of my visits to the Pisaq ruins I witnessed the arrival of a bus full of American tourists. Their guide told them the following:

> These women have nothing. They have no job and come from far, far away. However, they do have something very special: their language and their costumes. As a sign of their hospitality they will sing a song for you in their language, Quechua.[19]

The typically dressed women from the mountain community of Viacchia lined up in two rows and started singing a song that is usually sung during the carnival period. As soon as the women stopped singing, the tourists applauded and a moment later started to sing 'Life is Just a Dream'. The sacamefotos giggled and covered their mouths with their hands. When both 'teams' had finished singing, the guide encouraged his group to take pictures while underlining that it was important to give the sacamefotos enough tips.

Although some tourists said that they were bothered by the obtrusiveness of the sacamefotos, many others told me that they understood that it was important that the sacamefotos did this work. Especially tourists who had left the 'tourist bubble' (i.e. tourists who had visited

[19] Observation 25/07/2004.

Illustration 5—Sacamefoto-tejedoras performing at the ruins. Photograph by the author, 2004

rural areas and thus come into contact with poverty issues) took a rather comprehensive stance. The audience's appreciation was evidenced by its enthusiastic reaction. I witnessed many times how tourists wanted to touch the *monteras* (hats) and the flowers on top of them. Tourists would sometimes want to put monteras on their own heads, so that other tourists could take pictures of them. Sacamefotos always laugh about this kind of situation and always see the commercial possibility of selling the second-hand montera.

Going backstage

Before entering the backstage of sacamefotos, it is important to underline that it is not hermetically separated from the frontstage. There are also 'in between' or intermediating stages. Some sacamefotos come to Pisaq wearing the costumes they need for their performance, while others dress up after they arrive in Pisaq. The courtyard of the Pisaq town hall for instance, has become such an in between stage, and is used as a dressing room. Here, sacamefotos swap the clothes they wear on the backstage of their communities for colourful carnival clothes. This is the place where flowers are attached to monteras in order to look more attractive and exotic to tourists. After dressing up, the sacamefotos work

Illustration 6—Sacamefotos waiting for their audience. Photograph by the author, 2004

all day; at the end of the day, they get back into their usual clothes and go home. Sacamefotos sometimes even dress up in the plaza, just before the tourist buses arrive (see photo 7). Very shortly after I took this picture, the plaza was full of tourists. Thus, frontstage and backstage are not static locations: it depends on the time of the day and the presence of tourists whether a location belongs to a front or a back region. The frontstage is the meeting point.

For sacamefotos and tejedoras, backstage is located in places where tourists do not appear: in the mountain communities. This is where they can drop their personal front. In some communities, comuneras still wear *polleras*,[20] while in other communities they wear 'modern' synthetic clothes. The carnival clothing they use in Pisaq for their performances are used as working clothes, but are also used during carnival time when special dances are staged for locals and visitors alike. The sacamefotos I conversed with came from Paru Paru, Amaru and Viacchia. The sacamefotos from Viacchia also sell tejidos and since they work at the ruins they form a separate team. All the sacamefotos

[20] Polleras are usually embroidered skirts. In mountain communities, women originally wore several layers of skirts. Examples of the performance of polleras can be clearly seen in photos 2, 3, 4 and 5.

Illustration 7—Changing costumes in the plaza. Photograph by the author, 2004

I spoke with admitted that the clothes they wear in Pisaq are worn especially for the tourists and they were well aware that they should look attractive on the frontstage. As one sacamefoto stated:

> Tourists think that the way we dress is beautiful. They like it when I have my sheep with me and they touch the flowers I wear on my hat […] Tourists come to look at our clothes and they think the pollera and the montera are very special. They also like the babies and the sheep, and that is why they take pictures of us.

At home in their communities, sacamefotos usually wear different clothes because according to them, synthetic clothes are 'a lot more practical and are cheaper'. Except for changing costumes for their work, they also put on different clothing when they travel, for instance to Cuzco. Some comuneras told me that when they visit the city, they do not want to be associated with comuneras or with a 'sacamefoto' identity and try to engage a mestizo identity.[21] Tejedoras who sell tejidos to

[21] The phenomenon that people in the Andes are situated between an indigenous and a mestizo identity is analysed and elaborated on by de la Cadena (2000), who demonstrates how people in the Peruvian Andes strategically present themselves in different ways.

tourists also try to wear clothes that have a high degree of *lo típico*, and thus increase the chance that they will sell their products. The sacamefoto-tejedoras at the ruins, however, told me that they prefer wearing synthetic clothing because it is more comfortable, lighter, cooler and more modern. Some of these women also said that it is 'more beautiful because of the brighter colours'. Furthermore, according to the younger sacamefotos, polleras are cultural models for 'older people; my mother wears polleras'. According to one of these 'older people', although the young girls might dislike polleras, when they reach a certain age they will wear polleras, just like them. These women regarded the modern clothing worn by youngsters as a fashion phenomenon, which would pass by itself.

Comuneras started working as sacamefotos or tejedoras because of land shortage problems in their communities, an increase in illnesses among their livestock, or crop failure. How much sacamefotos earn, if anything, depends on how many sacamefotos from other communities work on certain days and on the number of tourists and how much tourists are willing to pay for the performance. This last condition also depends on the attitude of the guide towards the sacamefotos. As one sacamefoto put it:

> When guides tell their tourists that they should take pictures of us and should pay one sol, the gringos pay one sol; if the guide tells them to pay five soles, the tourists pay five soles. But if the guide tells the tourists they should not take any photos at all, the tourist will listen to him.

Guides not only play an important role on the frontstage—where they advise tourists whether or not to take pictures, whether or not to buy certain products, and how much they should pay for these performances/artefacts—but they also fulfil an advisory roll backstage for both sacamefotos and tejedoras. A comunera from Viachia who was working at the ruins told me the following:

> Tourists like the way we look, but more and more we know now how we should look. Guides sometimes advise us and tell us that we should be clean when we come to work. They also tell the mothers that they should wash their children and their clothes, because if not they will look dirty and the tourists will not buy from them.

Although the guides sometimes help sacamefotos to make money, some of them are rather critical. According to some guides I spoke to, sacamefotos and tejedoras want more and more money and sometimes disturb the tourists. One guide even argued that these women ruin the tourists'

views: sometimes tourists want to take pictures of a certain landscape, but it is obscured by the sacamefotos who pose in front of it.

In the community backstage, the earnings that comuneras make from their sacamefoto jobs influence especially the individual living conditions of the sacamefotos and their families. However, sacamefotos are often left with little income because they have extra expenses, such as bus fares or the hire of a lama or sheep in order to put on a better performance. Of all the sacamefotos I interviewed, not one told me that the community had improved; at the household level, however, they had managed to build better houses, are now capable of saving some money and have diversified their diet. Furthermore, because of the extra income they can buy clothes for their children and send them to school. Some sacamefotos and tejedoras also mentioned being very happy because they could afford a radio and sometimes even a television, which had improved their lives. Because of these improvements on individual levels, however, tensions within the communities in which the sacamefotos live have increased, as evidenced by the following quotations:

> The community does not agree with us doing this work and every time our fellow comuneros say to us: 'Why do you have to do that work?' People in the community think that we make a lot of money. They are jealous and don't want us to do this work because they want everyone to be equal.
>
> People in my community who know I do this work are jealous. They think I have a lot of money now because I do this work. Sometimes I don't have any money but they still ask me to help them. They say: 'You work as a sacamefoto, so you have enough!' But very often I don't make any money at all for long periods.

Some comuneras work as sacamefotos without their fellow community members knowing about it; sometimes even their families are not informed. Here are two of the many examples of hiding the performance from comuneros backstage.

> We come to Pisaq in a kind of hidden way. We only have our pictures taken when we are walking through the streets, so it does not really show that we do this work. We also never sit down. I am ashamed; that's why I hide. When I was still a child, I worked as sacamefoto, but now I have children and a husband, and if my husband knew this he would say: 'Why do you go to Pisaq to work?' [...] In town meetings, sacamefotos are always criticized. People always look down on sacamefotos and the question 'Why do you go?' is always asked. At the meeting they say it is bad and that we should stop doing this job.

> Nobody in my family knows that I do this, not even my husband. My husband would be angry and jealous if he knew that I have contact with gringos. Some other comuneros know that I work as a sacamefoto, but they don't say anything.

Although Piseños think that sacamefotos earn a lot of money, sacamefotos themselves told me that their main income-generating activity is subsistence agriculture in their communities. A sacamefoto from Paru Paru told

> I like doing this work, but sometimes I have to work on the *chacra* [plot of land] and cannot come to Pisaq. I do this work to earn some extra money. In my community, I have a chakra with beans, potatoes, *cebada* and wheat. I also have some pigs, horses and cows, but other people have a lot more. The yields from agricultural products are very low, which is why I sometimes work in Pisaq.

It can be concluded that sacamefotos and tejedoras are in general proud of themselves. Piseños, however, think about them in a rather different way. According to Piseños, they should be ashamed, because they ask for money for their performances and their jobs as sacamefotos prevent their children from going to school. Piseños are also rather critical when comuneras look dirty, because this gives tourists a wrong impression. Furthermore, the presence of sacamefotos results in tourists not buying Piseños's merchandise because they would rather take pictures, or because they flee from these 'beggars' and thus also from Pisaq's market stalls.[22] Sacamefotos are well aware of this negative stance of many Piseños. They are told that they are dirty, that they should be ashamed, that they carry dirty animals with them. Piseños hire watchimanes, who do not treat the sacamefotos very kindly. This not only takes away the pleasure of the sacamefotos' work and makes it difficult to earn some money in Pisaq, but also affects the self-esteem of these women. According to one sacamefoto, it is because of the negative attitude of Piseños, watchimanes, fellow comuneros and guides that she feels ashamed. Because of this and the growing competition, many sacamefotos have started looking for alternatives, of which selling artisan products (mostly tejidos) is the most common possibility.

Tejedoras and sacamefoto-tejedoras earn a lot more than sacamefotos who only have their pictures taken. This is because of the simple fact

[22] Various interviews with Piseños. For an elaborate description of what Piseños think of comuneras and sacamefotos, see Simon (2008).

that the value of a tejido is a lot higher than that of a photo. Woven ribbons, for instance, are sold for 10 soles and the large tejidos vary from 50 to 300 soles, depending on the complexity of the design and the size. Just like the money that is earned from pictures, the earnings derived from selling tejidos are spent on food, clothing and school. The economic effects are most observable at the individual and the household level. Although most sacamefotos and tejedoras work individually, the sacamefoto-tejedoras from Viacchia have created a communal system and really work as a team. One of the team members explained to me how they have organized themselves:

> My compañeros from Viaccha say that this is the work of the whole community, '*Todos bajan*'.[23] The community is divided into different groups. One group works on Tuesday, one on Thursday and one on Sunday. On Sunday, the work is done especially by younger girls who are still in school, because that is when they are off. The work is thus organized communally. […] People in Viacchia work together, which is really good because this way it does not occur that attention is continuously paid to who earns what, and that's why there is very little competition. The money we make with our pictures is evenly shared between all of us. We do not fight![24]

As mentioned, tejedoras are selling more and more of their weavings directly to tourists. In the following quotations it is explained why tejedoras prefer not to sell their products to Piseños:

> Before, my mother would sell to *caseros*[25] in the Pisaq plaza. Now we sell directly to tourists and I help my mother. She suffers because she doesn't speak Spanish, just Quechua, and that makes it very difficult to sell her products. Before, she had to do everything through Piseños, but now no longer. […] At least we earn some money now. Before we would sell but we would get less money. For example, we would sell a ribbon for five soles up to a maximum of seven soles to the *artesanos* but now we ask ten.
>
> I no longer sell to Piseños, because for a ribbon that is worth ten soles, a Piseño will offer us three. They could do this before, but no longer. They pay really badly and want to take advantage of us.

[23] 'All descend'; for most comunidades, the ruins are at a lower altitude than their homes.

[24] A few times during the interviews, one of her 'team members' passed by to give her 10 or 20 cents.

[25] Caseros: frequent clients.

It struck me that all the tejedoras I spoke to were very proud of both their tejidos and themselves. Tejedoras would always proudly show their work and explain in detail what all the symbols mean, at the same time underlining that they make these tejidos themselves. The strongest competition among tejedoras is between women from Chawaitiri who are associated in the weaving NGO, and those who are not. This weaving NGO obliges its members to dress in traditional clothing on Wednesdays to please the tourists who visit the weaving demonstrations. One comunera told me that if they do not wear their polleras and monteras, they have to pay a fine of 15 soles. Competition between tejedoras and sacamefotos is almost non-existent according to my informants, but tejedoras maintain a rather pitiful stance towards sacamefotos, as shown by the following:

> Sacamefotos earn quite well, better than me. On the other hand, I would not want to work like that. I would be scared to work like that and it is ugly how they walk the streets, they exaggerate and harass everyone. I feel much more at ease with weaving. Furthermore, the watchiman bothers the sacamefotos, but they let the tejedoras work in peace.

Tejedoras are also treated in a much better way than sacamefotos. Many Piseños are even proud of them, which became especially clear in my 'photo-elicitation experiment'. I asked Piseños to take photos of things in their village that were important to them. Various Piseños took pictures of tejedoras, expressed themselves very proudly and called their work 'art'. For Piseños who make a living from selling tejidos, the situation is of course different, since a large part of their business is dependent on buying tejidos as cheaply as possible from comuneras. Furthermore, these women have become part of the ever-growing competition.

Sustainable performance?

Although sacamefotos and tejedoras have never heard of 'sustainability' or 'sustainable development', from conversations with these women it can be concluded that they continuously think about improving their future living conditions. The reason for looking for new income-generating activities has especially to do with the shortage of good agricultural land. In some mountain communities, people have started producing ceramics for the tourist industry and for export, while others are revaluing their weaving tradition and other communities are well known for

their sacamefoto-tejedora performance in Pisaq, as we have seen. Some communities are even visited by tourists, and many communities have plans to develop small-scale tourism activities. The question that arises here is: will these activities be sustainable? Let us look at how sacamefotos and tejedoras think about their future.

In Chawaitire, for instance, a community from which many tejedoras come, people wanted to continue developing tourist attractions and, as we saw before, women are forced to perform in their traditional clothing, thus pleasing the audience and making the village more attractive both now and in the future. Although not all tejedoras are very happy with the requirement to wear the warm *ropa típica* (traditional dress), they have no choice for they need the extra money and cannot afford to pay the fine of 15 soles—which to them is quite a lot of money. Furthermore, tejedoras who are not included in the project feel rejected, which causes tensions at the local level. A tejedora explained how this worked:

> Only 55 people are included in this weaving project. They give special weaving demonstrations to tourists and the tejidos are sold in Cuzco for a lot of money. But the rest of the community is left out! This is not fair! Moreover, those tourists just come for the weaving demonstration, they just come to have a look but they don't do anything good at all for our community. What do we get out of it?[26]

These new developments might not help all comuneros, but they do encourage comuneros to think about their future. These tejedoras from Chawaitire, as well as tejedoras from other mountain communities, told me that they wanted more rights and they wanted to start their own organizations in order to reduce their dependence on guides, Piseños and NGOs. They told me they know that their traditions and weaving skills are often taken advantage of. This is where their ideas touch ideas of, for instance, UNESCO and the World Tourism Organization (WTO), which plea for a grass-root level tourist approach, local participation and growing awareness of the cultural heritage.[27] In addition to wanting to 'organize themselves', many comuneras come to Pisaq to sell their products directly to their audience. This saves them the income that they would lose in deals with middlemen.

---

[26] 7 April 2004, conversation with a tejedora from Chawaitire.
[27] See also www.world-tourism.org, www.UNESCO.org and Simon (2008, Ch. 1).

Something that sacamefotos and tejedoras have in common is that all of them want to improve their living conditions. However, the changes they consider positive are not always considered positive by other comuneros who do not work in tourism. Like Piseños, all sacamefotos and tejedoras are concerned with their future, and especially with the future of their children. An important reason for sending their children to school is to improve their Spanish. Especially the older sacamefotos and tejedoras, many of whom are monolingual Quechua-speakers, are well aware that their lack of Spanish hinders their contact with tourists. By speaking about their work in terms of 'in the future', it can be concluded that they think that they will continue working as sacamefotos and tejedoras and that their children will too, even when they are better equipped with extra schooling. Until now, the only alternative to tourism and agriculture for people in the communities has been migration. Various comuneras I spoke to had worked 'in the city' (mostly in Cuzco, though a few had worked in Lima), but they told me that it had been very difficult to adapt and they had been treated badly, and had therefore decided to return to their community. It could be said then that tourism activities partly prevent migration to the city.

In contrast to Piseños, all sacamefotos also work in agriculture; all of them have a chakra and some livestock. And although there is often not enough arable land and many communities suffer from crop diseases, crop failures, plagues and sick animals, agriculture is still the most important activity. Tourism might form an important extra source of income, but maintaining agricultural lands is seen as an important necessity. One tejedora explained this to me in the following words:

> I like everything related to weaving. I like both the chakra and tejidos, but the chakra stands out because it is always possible to live off chakras. Selling tejidos is not very sure, because sometimes you sell and sometimes you don't. The chakra offers more security.

The growing individualism within tourism can also be found at the agricultural level. As shown by the above quotation, agriculture is seen as the most sustainable income strategy because of the guarantees it offers compared to tourism; however, old Andean traditions (e.g. *ayni*)[28] become less and less appreciated by comuneras who also work in tourism. Various comuneras I spoke to who work in both agriculture and

[28] Andean system of reciprocity that already existed during the colonial period.

tourism told me that there was far too much ayni in their community, which often results in decreasing possibilities to spend time doing their own work. However, the work of sacamefotos from Viacchia is based on a particular form of ayni, because they work as a team and divide the earnings between all team members, which enhances everyone's profit and decreases tensions that could arise from an otherwise competitive atmosphere. It could be concluded that comuneras from Viacchia have far more sustainable contacts with each other than sacamefotos and tejedoras from other communities, in which competition and tensions are daily issues.

Conclusion

I have described how a small group of comuneros present themselves on the tourism stage and how the cultural knowledge they have is acted out on the frontstage. By listening to their stories, it was possible to come to a deeper understanding of how they see themselves, each other and their future. Sustainable tourism is directed towards local participation, but it does not occur very often that attention is paid to meaning or to contrasting views at the local level. The ideas and cultural models backstage are difficult to elicit and are seldom referred to. I have underlined the importance of these backstage worlds and cultural models, because these models are decisive for how culture is presented on the frontstage and how people 'live' this culture backstage. If one wants to answer the question whether tourism is sustainable, frontstage observations are not enough because ideas about the future are set in peoples' minds. I also argue that it is important to pay attention to tensions occurring at the local level. Local conflicting ideas about frontstage presentation have a major influence on identity formation, which not only influences how people think and act when tourists are not around but also how culture is presented on stage. Tensions between different actors have repercussions on how cultural models are presented and experienced.

Summarizing the backstage and the meaning-giving processes that take place there, it could be said that sacamefotos can be placed on a continuum between pride and shame. On the one hand they perform their identity in a proud way towards their audience, the tourists. They proudly present their most beautiful costumes. On the other hand, however, their surroundings keep reminding sacamefotos that they ought to be ashamed of themselves. Artisans in Pisaq think that

sacamefotos are dirty and *ociosos* (idle), that they get in the way and chase away the tourists. Wachimanes are hired to send them away, and fellow comuneros also disapprove of their behaviour. We have also seen that tejedoras are usually treated with more respect, which is probably because they are less obtrusive than sacamefotos. Furthermore, it might be because they sell a 'real' product, which is seen as more a part of the cultural heritage than some 'presentation'. Sacamefoto-tejedoras who only work at the ruins have fewer problems than the performers in Pisaq: they endure less stigmatization by Piseños and cannot be chased away by wachimanes. The interviews with all sacamefotos, tejedoras and sacamefoto-tejedoras demonstrated that the tejedoras were the most proud of their culture and identity, and the sacamefotos were less proud. This can be explained by the fact that sacamefotos are continuously insulted while working and that their job is disapproved of backstage in their community.

For most comuneras, tourism is just an extra income-generating activity and not the only way to achieve a better future. Having their pictures taken and selling their weavings does not guarantee a sustainable future, although it does mean some extra income. Although governments and NGOs encourage these women to revalue their culture and to develop a sense of pride in their heritage, it is the people themselves who attach meaning to their activities and experiences. Their ideas and performances, however, are influenced by the audience, mediators and other actors, who often compete with them.

CHAPTER SEVEN

TOURISM, THE STATE, AND THE MARKETING OF TRADITIONAL ANDEAN ARTESANÍAS: PROBLEMATIC ENCOUNTERS, PITFALLS, AND COMPETING INTERESTS

Lynn A. Meisch

International tourism is now the second largest legal source of revenue globally after petroleum (Dogar 1998: 41) and perhaps the illegal drug market (for which there are no firm statistics, for obvious reasons). Tourism is not new, but the increase in inexpensive jet travel since the 1960s has permitted unprecedented flows of people, both within countries and internationally. Global tourism is expected to increase by 44 per cent between 2000 and 2010 (Zakaria 2007: 42). Tourism—meaning voluntary, temporary travel for purposes of rest, recreation or knowledge—includes business travel and formal study abroad when visitors take time out for sightseeing. The boundaries between these travel categories (and such terms as adventure-tourism, cultural-tourism, heritage-tourism, green-tourism and eco-tourism) are mutable, because virtually everyone shops while abroad. Some business travellers, including exporters, may take time off to sightsee and shop, and some tourists decide to fund their trips by taking home textiles to sell. Business travellers often buy souvenirs, and visiting exporters of crafts and clothing frequently combine business with tourism, taking a side trip to Machu Picchu, for example, while waiting for the completion of their order of alpaca sweaters in Cuzco. For simplicity's sake, in this chapter the terms 'visitors', 'tourists' and 'travellers' include both locals and foreigners who are on voluntary, temporary journeys away from home.

Tourism is an important source of income for the Andean nations of Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia. In Peru, for example, according to the country's Ministry of Foreign Trade and Tourism, the number of tourists increased from under 1 million in 2002 to 1.6 million in 2006 (Hinchberger 2007: W9). Tourism income is generated not only by hotel, restaurant, airline, guide, ground transportation and park entrance expenditures, but also through the sale of souvenirs—textiles, jewellery, hats, shoes, ceramics, paintings, woodcarvings, etc.

The neoliberal state and traditional textiles

While the nation state has an interest in developing tourism as a source of income, since the 1980s neoliberal economic restructuring in the Andean countries, sometimes phrased as 'decentralization', has redistributed the responsibility for social services, including development, to the private sector. Families, for example, especially mothers, were expected to pick up the slack for food distribution in Quito, Ecuador resulting from the elimination of state services (Lind 2005: 110–111). The same can be said for the promotion and sales of *artesanías* (traditional crafts). While hotel, restaurant, airline and similar tourism expenditures are traceable, and therefore taxable, the small-scale sales of crafts are not so easily controllable and therefore far less lucrative for governments. That is, a government-published folder may include photos of artesanías to attract tourists, but stops there. In addition, a basic tenet of neoliberal economics is free market capitalism, meaning a minimum of state intervention in the market. These positions have several implications, often contradictory, for the marketing of tourism and artesanías. On the one hand, the nation state invariably uses images of its indigenous peoples in the promotion of tourism, but is far less interested in seeing that the benefits of tourism accrue to these same people (although this may be changing in Bolivia under the presidency of Evo Morales, a self-identified Aymara *indígena*). The vacuum, particularly in the promotion and sales of artesanías, is often filled by foreign parties ranging from anthropologists to exporters to NGOs. In addition, encounters between tourists and vendors of artesanías are often problematic with competing interests at stake. Put another way, a major issue is how artisans can control and benefit from not only the income from their crafts, but what Bourdieu (1984) calls 'cultural capital', meaning the non-financial aspects of culture that can be converted into economic wealth. For Andean artisans their cultural capital includes such material manifestations of their culture as their traditional dress, their artesanías, their ancient textile traditions and considerable technical expertise.

Globally, governmental and private tourism promoters know that difference sells, that foreigners and many nationals are attracted to native peoples in colourful dress, and that shopping ranks high among the favourite activities of tourists. After all, why go abroad if everything is the same as at home? Andeans wearing traditional dress are depicted in advertisements and travel brochures produced by a variety of organizations and travel companies, including those operated by indigenous

Illustration 1—Artesanías for sale in the Otavalo market. Photograph by the author, 2001

people themselves. Such publications invariably contain an image of or a reference to indigenous people (usually women) in traditional dress, and encourage such shopping opportunities as visits to 'Indian' markets. A full-page advertisement in *The Wall Street Journal* for 'Tourism in Peru' includes a colour photo of costumed male dancers at the Fiesta of the Virgin of Carmen in Paucartambo (*The Wall Street Journal* 2007: W9). Such portrayals of indigenous people engaged in ritual activities or wearing colourful dress are typical. Professional models are sometimes used in tourism advertising (e.g. some Ecuadorean tourist maps) because *indígenas* are not considered attractive enough.

Portrayals of indigenous people need not be related directly to the products being sold; they are a metonym for 'traditional and authentic'. An ad for Mon Repos (a vendor of high-end, high-fashion alpaca clothing) includes an offer of day tours in Lima: 'A fascinating trip to the ancient world of textiles stages in Peru'. My guess is that such a tour will include the Mon Repos factory (if they have one) and visits to artisans producing Mon Repos goods on knitting machines or treadle looms. The two accompanying photos in the ad, however, are of Chinchero women (Chinchero is near Cuzco) in their finest traditional dress photographed against a museum setting, probably the Centre for

Traditional Textiles of Cuzco (CTTC). In one photo they are weaving on back strap looms, in the other they are teasing what appears to be sheep's wool in preparation for spinning. In other words, the women are not making Mon Repos products using typical production-weaving technology, nor are they likely to be seen on the Lima tour at all, but their images evoke 'the ancient world of textile stages in Peru' (*Peru Guide* 2007: 26). Silver (1993) calls this strategy 'marketing authenticity' (See also Simon in this volume, for a discussion of issues of dress and authenticity).

The irony is that the Andean countries need indigenous people in colourful dress to serve as symbols of the region's uniqueness, but these countries do not necessarily take the steps to assure that *indígenas* have the economic opportunities to remain in their communities and reproduce their culture through community life including such customary activities as making and wearing their own dress. In 2008, at a community reunion in Chawaitiri, near Cuzco, Peru, a community leader thanked Nilda Callañaupa, founder of the Centre for Traditional Textiles of Cuzco (CTTC) for her efforts in reviving traditional textile techniques and helping market Chawaitiri textiles. 'Otherwise', he said, 'we would be moving to the cities or going to the Yungas (the eastern slopes of the Andes) to work in the coca fields'. In other words, a NGO rather than the state is working on the community's behalf.

Travellers have affected traditional Andean artesanías including textiles and traditional dress in various positive and negative ways, and Andean traditional textiles in turn have affected global fashion trends. For example, in the 1980s, Artesanías Millma of La Paz Bolivia—founded and run by expatriate Americans Laurie Adelson and Arthur Tracht—began making and successfully marketing abroad hand-knit (on knitting machines) alpaca sweaters with designs taken from Nasca, Tiwanaku and other pre-Hispanic Andean cultures. Finely knit alpaca sweaters from Peru and Bolivia are now sold in such upscale department stores as Barneys New York, and appear in the gift and clothing catalogues of many companies and institutions including the National Geographic Society and Norm Thompson Company ('escape from the ordinary'), where they retail for between USD 149 and USD 189.

I define 'traditional textiles' as those usually made by local people for themselves, their families or their communities according to local norms and customs which often have considerable time depth. 'Traditional' does not mean unchanging, because cultures are always changing,

although like the term 'authenticity', the term 'traditional' plays an important role in tourism discourse. Tourists usually want to buy something that they consider traditional and authentic, meaning 'genuine, known to be true' (*Oxford American Dictionary* 1980). Authenticity is important to me only insofar as it forms part of the discourse of tourism and marketing; it is not a judgment that I am making about artesanías. Both terms appear frequently in guidebooks, advertisements, brochures, conversations among tourists' discussions between vendors and buyers of crafts, and anthropological writing on tourism.

In Otavalo, Ecuador, visitors ranging from anthropologists to tourists have criticized the Otavalo indigenous healers, weavers and merchants as inauthentic for charging healing rituals, being 'too rich', using synthetic fibres, and driving trucks, among other complaints, as if Otavalos are required to meet our expectations of how they should live (Meisch 2002: 95–100). Simon has discussed tourism in Pisac (Peru) and the expectation that tourists will encounter what they consider to be typical, traditional and authentic—which includes indigenous people, especially women, in traditional dress both as weavers and as subjects for photography (Simon, this volume, 2006; see also Zorn 2004; Femenias 2005).

Many tourists are captivated by such traditional textiles as ponchos, caps, tunics, scarves, belts, coca-leaf bags and cloths, saddlebags, blankets, carrying cloths, grain and seed bags, mantles, hats, vests, skirts and jackets, which are made and worn by different Andean ethnic groups. Some tourists also prize such components of traditional dress as hats, jewellery, shoes and sandals.

Marketing of traditional artesanías and competing financial interests

When it comes to selling their artesanías, the artisans (of whatever ethnic self-identification) are generally on their own. Help, if any, comes from NGOs, the Peace Corps and similar international programmes, and such individuals as anthropologists and exporters, rather than from Andean governments. Given the endemic corruption in these governments, this benign neglect may actually be a positive factor for the artisans. In 2000, the Berlin-based organization Transparency International ranked Ecuador as the most corrupt nation in Latin America and 74th among 90 countries worldwide, with first place indicating the least

corrupt.[1] In such cases, keeping government officials out of the cash flow resulting from the sale of artesanías may be to the artisans' advantage.

Examples of the promotion of artesanías by individuals and NGOs in Ecuador include Peace Corps Volunteer Emily Gladhart's initiation of Ecuador's hand-knit sweater export industry in the 1960s, and Jill and John Ortman's work in the 1970s on new tapestry designs (Meisch 2002: 63). Gail Felzein—a Peace Corps Volunteer in Salasaca—helped the Pilla-Caiza family market their belts and introduced them to shop owners in Quito. Anthropologist and former Peace Corps Volunteer Linda Belote and her friend Ann Severine accompany the female bead workers of Saraguro to the annual International Folk Art Market in Santa Fe (New Mexico), while anthropologists Norman and Sibby Whitten have assisted in the marketing Amazonian Canelos Kichwa pottery. In Peru, examples include the late John Davis's promotion of Peruvian crafts beginning in the early 1960s; Peace Corp Volunteer Kevin Healy's work with textiles from Taquile Island (in Lake Titicaca, Peru) in the 1960s, anthropologist Elayne Zorn's similar efforts beginning in the late 1970s (Zorn 2004: 86–87), and Peruvian Nilda Callañaupa, anthropologists Ed and Chris Franquemont and other dedicated foreigners' establishment of the CTTC, which now has its own museum and shop in the heart of the city of Cuzco. In an interview, Jenny Callañaupa Huarhua of the CTTC observed that: 'In the past we had no market in which to sell our textiles. We began by selling to the directors' friends from the USA, who often bought our textiles even though the quality of the first weavings was very poor' (Doerr 2007: 3).

In Bolivia, Peter and Wendy McFarren have established a museum of Aymara artesanías in La Paz, and in 1987 Chilean anthropologists Gabriel Martínez and his wife Veronica Cereceda began a non-profit textile development and marketing programme (ASUR) among the Jalq'a and the indígenas of Tarabuco (Healy 1992, Fernández 2006). The above are just a few instances of individuals, some affiliated with NGOs, who have helped Andean artisans develop, promote and market their crafts.

These impressive and invaluable efforts at fostering sales of crafts at fair prices pale in comparison to the sales of most artesanías, espe-

[1] Transparency International (2000), http: //www.transparency.org, accesses several times in 2007.

cially traditional textiles, which usually involve individual transactions between tourists and sellers. Because indígenas are portrayed in traditional dress as timeless relics of the past—as people encased in amber, so to speak—shoppers expect to buy from them what they consider authentic and traditional indigenous crafts, perhaps the indígenas' clothing or something else they make and use, which is what is meant here by traditional textiles. Although the seller may be the original weaver, knitter or a middle person, these encounters are problematic and ambivalent for several reasons.

Competing financial interests

Capitalism demands the constant introduction of new products and fast adaptation to changing consumer tastes: 'Accelerating turnover time in production entails parallel acceleration in exchange and consumption. Improved systems of communication and information flow, coupled with rationalizations in techniques of distribution . . . make it possible to circulate commodities through the market system with greater speed' (Harvey 1989: 285). Although communication is improving in the Andes with the internet and mobile phones, many artisans still do not have access to these, which prevents them from adapting quickly to new trends.

In addition, sellers want and need to obtain the best possible price, while buyers want to pay what they consider a fair price; the negotiations are open. This 'let the market rule' supply-and-demand concept is core principle of neoliberal economics, which ignores cultural misunderstandings and power differentials. The fact that bargaining is unfamiliar to tourists, many of whom do not speak Spanish much less an indigenous language, plus the tourists' fear of being cheated, makes arriving at a fair price difficult. What seems fair to one party may seem (or be) unfair to the other. Tourists' concerns about this are not unfounded. More than one tourist has shown me a *vicuña* poncho bought in Peru or Bolivia, which was in fact polyester, and some indigenous vendors in the Otavalo (Ecuador) market call synthetic products 'wool' and assure tourists that products are entirely handmade when they are not (Meisch 2002: 100). Or consider the Mon Repos ad mentioned above, which suggests that their goods are made by indigenous women, who would presumably be getting paid for their work. Buyer beware. But what about the Andean artisans and vendors? What is fair to them?

Very few outsiders have any understanding of the amount of labour involved in producing a traditional textile, meaning one with hand-spun yarn and woven on the back strap or perhaps treadle loom, or hand-knitted or crocheted. Hand-spinning alone accounts for 70 per cent of the labour involved. Dyeing the yarn, warping the piece and weaving the beautiful motifs that attract tourists to these pieces demand additional time. In Tarabuco (Bolivia), where I documented spinning, weaving and traditional dress in the early 1980s, an accomplished weaver hand-picking the elaborate motifs on a woman's *ak'su* (Quechua, overskirt) took an hour to weave just one inch.

A man's poncho or woman's mantle made this way and sold for USD 50 would earn the weaver perhaps 25–50 cents an hour, not counting the cost of such supplies as the fleece, detergent for washing the wool, and dyes. No wonder the spinners often re-spin synthetic yarn, which reduces the labour time by a good 60 per cent. If the original weaver has sold the item to a middle person, the weaver's profit is even less. Very few tourists are willing to pay USD 50; some might like to, but are budget travellers—a status many of us remember from our college and graduate-school days.

Cultural disconnects

There are other cultural misunderstandings on both sides. One concerns aesthetics: colours that artisans consider beautiful (bright pink, neon green, flaming orange or yellow) are often too bright for foreign tastes, or the colour combinations seem strange. The fashion around Pitumarka in southern highland Peru at the turn of the twenty-first century was to decorate such handmade textiles as women's *lliklla*s (wraps) with glittery commercial sequins that are sewn on the woven *cocha* (Quechua: *qucha*, lake) motifs. The sequins represent the sunlight shimmering on the water (Heckman 2003: 23). Sequins do not meet Euro-American standards of tradition, which focus on the unchanging, natural, earthy and non-commercial, yet the Moche, Chimu, Inca and other pre-Hispanic cultures understood the appeal and power of flash, and wore clothing decorated with silver or gold that was blinding in the sunlight. In other words, many tourists assume that tradition is static, and they frequently have no understanding of what constitutes local tradition. This relates to tourists' search for authenticity, which is a slippery concept in and of itself. In Andean eyes, the knitted caps,

women's mantles and other textiles decorated with buttons and sequins are authentic and traditional; in tourists' eyes, they may not be.

In addition, artisans are often puzzled by tourists' requests. Local artisans in the Colca Valley (Peru), for example, do not understand why foreigners ask them to embroider vests with a black background because black is the colour of mourning and the embroiderers and vendors consider it a sad colour. For the sake of sales, however, they have acceded to tourists' demands (Femenias 2005: 289–291).

Another vexed issue is size, both the size of traditional textiles themselves (mantles, ponchos and blankets) and the size of textiles made specifically for the tourist market (sweaters, skirts, vests, shirts, pants, etc.). The Dutch are now the world's tallest people, with males averaging six foot one (ABC News 2007), and everyone has heard or read about or observed firsthand the expanding girth of Americans, Europeans and people of other nationalities. To many Andeans foreign visitors are giants, and sizing them is a problem. Although large multinational garment manufacturers charge more for the extra material in plus sizes, if Andeans do so, tourists seem to think that they are being cheated.

Sizing is better when foreigners are involved at the production level. The 2007 *Norm Thompson Catalogue* includes men's alpaca sweaters in sizes 'M-L-XL-XXL' (Thompson 2007: 4), foregoing 'S' for 'Small' and adding 'XXL' for 'Extra, Extra Large' in recognition of Euro-Americans' expanding waistlines. This change was undoubtedly instigated by the Norm Thompson buyers, who could track sales and ask their Andean knitters to make larger sizes.

In terms of the clothing market, the fast changing nature of global fashions, including colours being 'in' one year and 'out' the next, also confounds Andeans. Given the time lag between the emergence of a new global fashion and its arrival in local communities, by the time a new colour or style reaches the artisans and they can produce it, the fashion is already yesterday's news to potential buyers.

Another issue: most Andean artisans have no idea of the interior of foreigners' homes and how they are decorated. What would foreigners do with a standard woman's mantle given their often-limited wall space or the textile's possible conflict with the colours in their living rooms? Some hand-spun wool back strap loom-woven blankets weigh as much as 15 pounds (7 kilos), and fill up half a suitcase or duffel bag. Tourists may think that the blankets are beautiful and would like to have some in their summer cabins or on the back of their couches, but the blankets are too heavy to haul around, especially on a multi-country trip.

I expended considerable effort trying to convince a tapestry weaver from San Pedro de Cajas (Peru) that he would make many more sales if he reduced the size of his tapestries by a half or two thirds, from roughly two by three feet (60 × 90 cm) to half that size, and eventually, when he tried this, it was successful. In other words, tourists might really like to own a textile and be willing to pay a good price for it, but it must be portable and fit either the body or the available wall space.

Finally, there is a limited market for traditional textiles. When I show traditional Andean textiles to students in my university classes, I am met with disinterest or baffled looks. Appreciating such textiles is an acquired taste, and the majority of tourists have neither the time nor the desire to acquire a taste for textiles. In addition, there are many venues selling artesanías besides the artisans' co-ops or family market booths. Ypeij and Zorn have documented how on Taquile Island, non-indigenous guides from the mainland 'tell negative stories about the Taquileans, such as that the Taquileans are greedy and overprice their weavings, and that the tourists should not buy textiles on Taquile but rather in shops outside the island' (2007: 124).

The oversupply of traditional textiles is a result of several factors. Such textiles, if the skills remain within the family or community, are renewable resources and serve as a kind of cultural capital savings bank. Clothing, blankets and food storage sacks wear out; new ones must be made and Andeans always seem to have a textile on the loom. In times of drought, crop failure or other emergencies, people will sell their textiles for whatever they can get. In other instances, merchants visit the countryside to buy textiles from families that may need cash or are undergoing assimilation into the dominant white/mestizo culture and no longer wear or want their handmade clothing. I witnessed this first hand in Bolivia in the early to mid 1980s, when droughts devastated the countryside, sending *campesinos* (country people) to the city willing to sell the handmade clothes off their backs in order to avoid starvation. While understandable, sales at low prices undercut the artisans who are attempting to earn a living wage from their products.

The above is merely overview of the competing interests, desires, understandings and expectations in the marketing of traditional artesanías, especially textiles to tourists, with the sellers and buyers left to their own devices. As mentioned above, given the corruption of Andean governments, the lack of state intervention is probably a good thing. The question then is, given these competing interests and expectations,

are there any successful examples of win-win situations that leave the makers, vendors and buyers of Andean artesanías satisfied?

Successful resolutions

There are some notable success stories. By 'success' I am taking an emic approach: what do Andeans (admittedly a heterogeneous group) consider 'success' in the marketing of artesanías? Based on my long-term fieldwork in the Andes, I would say that the Andean artisans and merchants who produce and sell artesanías consider their labour successful if it sustains their households or augments their income. This definition does not depend on outsiders' concepts of success or authenticity. The Otavalos of northern Ecuador, for example, have moved away from the slow, laborious processes of hand-spinning, back strap-loom weaving, and hand-knitting towards the mass production of cloth, often using such technology as knitting machines, industrial sewing machines and electric looms. Many such items (sweaters, fabric for dresses, vests, shirts and pants) still involve hand finishing and are made in family-run workshops but are not necessarily what the Otavalos wear and use or consider traditional.

Other Otavalos use more hand-labour intensive production techniques but market their work as art rather than as clothing or crafts, and sign their pieces. Examples of the latter include the Cotacachi-Fichamba family in Peguche and Miguel Andrango's Tawantisuyu Weaving Workshop in Peguche. The indigenous owners of Artesanías Curichumbi in Ilumán not only make dolls in traditional dress and weave belts as art, but also mass-produce tapestry handbags. The Kayampi indigenous group—who live in the countryside on the northern, eastern and southern sides of Imbabura Mountain in northern Ecuador—have used their embroidery skills, normally employed in decorating the women's blouses, to make much more saleable towels, napkins and tablecloths. Not only are foreigners much more likely to buy and use these items, but they are far less expensive than the women's blouses.

In Salasaca, the Pilla Caiza family realized that their long, wide, intricately woven women's belts, which they sell to other Salasacas for around USD 40, were not being bought by the tourists who visit their home, as they want to buy something cheaper. And besides, what would tourists do with the belts? Because the family wanted to preserve their

belt-weaving tradition and supplement their income from selling artesanías, they decided to weave narrow belts and make smaller items that foreign tourists would use—for example key chains, hat bands, guitar and camera straps, bracelets, passport holders, cases for eyeglasses and Euro-American-style belts—and to buy commercial fittings and have the leather work done in nearby Ambato. They sell these items to visitors to their house for between USD 2 and USD 30, and they are making money, especially from smaller items.

The CTTC in Cuzco has taken the art approach and attempts to educate visitors to its museum and co-op shop on the time, skill and labour that go into their textiles. Their pieces are not anonymous but have the weaver's name attached, contain natural dyes to appeal to tourists' desire for authenticity and tradition, and some forms have been revised to suit modern homes. Instead of weaving mantles in two short sections that are sewn together, artisans make one long table runner that a tourist is much more likely to purchase.

The CTTC seems to have sparked a revitalization movement (youngsters learning to weave, nearly forgotten techniques revived, increased pride in indigenous textiles and dress). This success, however, may be evanescent if the centre doesn't continue to generate sales or if individual families split off. In Cuzco, where the CTTC is attempting to sell its textiles as art and to obtain better prices for them, the centre of the city is replete with shops and ambulant vendors selling traditional textiles for a fraction of the CTTC price. Jenny Callañaupa Huarhua of the CTTC said: 'Things have happened so fast that CTTC has grown from two staff members to twenty-one and only three communities to nine. In order to continue its work, the communities that are now working with us must learn to create their own markets' (Doerr 2007: 3). There are now around 800 weavers affiliated with the CTTC and supply is outstripping demand; the spectre of overproduction and marketing problems has reared its ugly head.

These are a few examples of sellers and buyers attempting, in some cases successfully, to find a middle ground between their competing interests. One common thread is that in each case, in addition to substantial individual initiative on the part of the artists or artisans, there has been outside help, some kind of cultural mediation. The Cotacachi-Fichambas and Miguel Andrango in Otavalo received marketing advice from foreign *compadres*, including this author, tour guides and anthropologists. Members of both families have been able to travel abroad, become anthropologists of a sort themselves and observe gringos in their native habitat. Nilda Callañaupa and others at the CTTC received

mentoring and advice from foreign anthropologists, a strong volunteer board and a number of NGOs. Nilda herself has also travelled abroad extensively.

Possibilities for development

Given the devolution of the responsibility for development including the promotion and sales of artesanías to local actors, and the competing interests of tourists, artisans, and the state, what kinds of interventions work to the maximum benefit of the artisans? While Andean artisans of many different ancestries and ethnicities are involved in tourism and make and sell artesanías, especially indigenous groups often stand to benefit. This is for several reasons. Since the Spanish conquest, they have constituted some of the poorest and most socially and economically marginalized populations, but they are embedded in the national and global cash economies and often need extra cash income. By custom, many groups have retained their traditional dress, often but not always hand spun and hand woven, and their textile knowledge can be adapted to the tourist market. Many groups are skilled in such additional crafts as pottery, basketry, woodcarving and jewellery making. Consequently, they already possess the technical skills that are necessary to make artesanías. As mentioned above, most tourists want and expect to see and buy from *indígenas* during their trips to the Andean countries, so there is a kind of built-in interest in indigenous products.

In terms of social and economic development, there is undeniable potential for economic benefits from the sales of artesanías (by all ethnic groups), but there are also pitfalls, including dependence on outsiders for advice and technical help, fluctuations in the number of tourist arrivals and the misappropriation of funds in cooperative ventures, which has led to the collapse of a number of co-ops.

Artisans ultimately must be able to operate their enterprises successfully on their own; indeed, two major goals of international development are local self-sufficiency and sustainability. Dependence on NGOs, anthropologists, helpful visitors and other outsiders leaves the artisans vulnerable if those outsiders become unable to help or withdraw their support. For example, such new technology as the Internet has made artisans more dependent on outsiders than before, at least temporarily, as the Internet becomes increasingly important as a marketing tool.

There is always a lag between the invention and introduction of new technology in industrialized nations and its adoption in less wealthy or

less industrialized ones, and access to computers and the Internet are no exception. In addition, in many parts of the Andes small or remote communities still do not have electricity or a telephone service, much less Wi-Fi; they lack the basic infrastructure for computer and Internet use. I introduced several Otavalos to computers when I brought my Apple Macintosh PowerBook to Otavalo for research in 1992, and taught several people to use Microsoft Word. At that time there was no Internet access in Otavalo. In 1998, one travel agency in town received and sent Internet messages for a fee, but customers could not use the computer themselves. Two years later, Internet cafes had sprouted like mushrooms, but foreign travellers and researchers initially monopolized the computers while locals crowded into the phone booths, delighting in the cheap international rates. Slowly, especially as Otavalos returned from selling merchandise and playing music abroad, more indigenous (and white-mestizo) Ecuadoreans went online, and some learned, often from outsiders, how to develop, launch and maintain websites.

Still, most people are dependent on outsiders for this. In the summer of 2008, US archaeologist Bob Gardner used his digital camera to take photos for websites for two Otavalo artisan families who want to attract tourists to their homes-cum-artesanías-shops in the small communities of Peguche (www.josecotacachi.com) and Ilumán (www.intichumbi.com). Bob and I translated from Spanish to English for these families so that they could have English-language websites, but the narration was theirs. In terms of self-presentation, that is control of their cultural capital as indígenas, we made no suggestions. In Peguche, José Cotacachi wore his usual version of Otavalo dress but did not change into his finest dress nor did he wear a poncho. The Conteróns in Ilumán, on the other hand, surprised me by wearing their finest traditional dress for a family portrait for their web site, even though they would usually dress less formally to spin, weave and sew. However, in this case, it was their choice to exploit their cultural capital for their own benefit. Bob then spent hours at the local Internet cafe creating a website for each family, establishing and paying for a domain name, and then going over the site with the family to check for errors. At the time, neither the families nor Bob had time for him to give them instructions on how to do this by themselves. If they want to change their site, they need to email Bob in California.

After I returned to the USA from that trip, an anthropologist friend Avi Tuschman came to lunch. His mobile phone rang while we were visiting and I was surprised to hear Avi speaking Quichua (to an artisan

in Ecuador I learned later). The caller, Gustavo Toaquiza, is a painter from Tigua (in Cotopaxi Province), a community known for its many artists who produce small acrylic paintings of local activities and folklore. Avi had helped Gustavo by translating into English a short book of folklore, and Gustavo was now calling to see if Avi knew someone who could translate into French his Spanish website text (www.gustavotoaquiza.com). These are just a few examples of artisans' reliance on friendly foreigners for translation and Internet assistance. I do not mean to imply that the exchanges are only one-way. Reciprocity is a core Andean value and my own research would be impossible without the generous help of people in the communities mentioned above, but my focus here is on the issue of Andeans' dependence on foreigners or other outsiders in marketing artesanías. With time and training, an increasing number of artisans will be able to create and maintain their own websites, although other issues (e.g. English translations) may still involve outside help. The fluctuations in international flows of tourists is another problem. In Peru, tourism nearly doubled between 1970 and 1975 and continued to increase into the early 1980s. The Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) Maoist insurgency (1980–1992), which led to the murders of both Peruvians and foreigners (including tourists), caused a serious drop in tourist arrivals throughout the 1980s. I worked as a trekking guide in Peru between 1980 and 1984, and watched as treks and tours were cancelled because clients dropped out following major Sendero attacks on Peruvian targets. Peruvians who depended on tourism, including those involved in the production and marketing of artesanías, were dismayed not only by the violence wracking their country and the massacres committed by both Sendero and the military, but also by the loss of their livelihoods. When Sendero bombed the Machu Picchu tourist train in 1986, I had had enough. I did not return to Peru until 1997.

In 1992, the year that Sendero leader Abimael Guzmán was captured, tourism dropped to 216,554 arrivals, but then increased as the violence diminished.[2] Between 1996 and 1998, tourism increased by 40 per cent, reaching approximately 725,000 visitors in 1998 (Hudman & Jackson 2003: 167). This of course has meant increased business for the tourism

[2] Organization of American States (1997), www.oas.org/tourism/peru.htm, accessed several times in 2007.

Illustration 2—Knit and woven sweaters and jackets for sale in Otavalo. The Otavalos included in the United States' flag motif as an appeal to American sentiment following the September 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Centre and Pentagon. Photograph by the author, 2001

industry in general, but a number of factors—including the increase in the price of petroleum and therefore airfares in 2008—could cause another drop.

In Ecuador, the attacks on New York and Washington, DC on 11 September 2001 caused a drop in US tourism abroad, including to Ecuador. My own trip to Ecuador was delayed for months because of 9/11. The tightening of visa restrictions and border security in the USA also created problems for Otavalo artisans, who suddenly had serious problems obtaining or renewing their US visas or had their shipments to relatives there held up by increased customs inspections and delays. In short, artisans in even the most remote communities in the Andes are tied into the global economy and are vulnerable to events that occur far beyond their borders. The worldwide economic recession of 2008 (and possibly beyond) bodes ill for those relying on tourism and the sales of crafts. The third main pitfall is the misappropriation of funds by short-sighted individuals involved in development projects, which has resulted in the demise of various ventures. In the 1960s, this occurred at the Peace Corps' co-op shop in Cuzco, after the Volunteers returned

to the USA. Many weavers from Isla Taquile (Peru) had consigned their textiles to this shop, and consequently lost both their textiles and the payment for them (Zorn 2004: 87). Note the dependence on foreigners: when the Peace Corps Volunteers left, the co-op failed.

Culturally, Andeans emphasize family ties, including ritual kin, in economic ventures, so co-ops are not always a good cultural fit. In many instances, co-ops have devolved into successful individual family marketing units when individuals have bypassed or withdrawn from the co-op. Examples include the sweater-knitting co-op in Mira, Artesanías del Norte in Otavalo and Ibarra (Ecuador) and the co-op shop on Taquile Island itself. In the last-mentioned case, individuals sometimes bypassed the co-op and sold textiles on the dock or to tourists who were visiting their homes (Zorn 2004: 89–91).

The case of Mira, Ecuador, is illustrative. The US Peace Corps arrived in Ecuador in 1962. Volunteer Emily Winter Gladhart first worked in Cuenca in southern Ecuador, where wool sweaters were hand knit for export. In 1964, she was transferred to Mira, a small white-mestizo town in Carchi Province, north of Otavalo. The next year she taught the women of Mira to knit wool sweaters using circular needles. She also bought wool and taught local spinners to spin yarn with the appropriate twist for knitting. Emily started marketing by personally taking sweaters to embassies in Quito to sell, then she took Mira women along with her to help them establish contacts with Quito shops and other possible buyers. The sweaters were profitable, with one sweater bringing a woman 68 sucres (USD 3.40 at the time), which was more than she could earn working in the fields for ten days (and for much less time and effort). As the industry grew, Emily and her husband organized a pre-cooperative in early 1966 with 28 women members ranging in age from 14 to 55. The Gladharts taught the co-op members to buy wool, supervise its spinning, knit sweaters in sizes large enough for export, control quality and market their product (Gladhart & Gladhart 1981: 10–11).

The Mira women initially bought wool in the Otavalo market and hauled it home on the bus, a three-hour round trip. Access to wool was a problem until the Otavalo spinners from the town of Carabuela showed up in Mira in 1972 with spun yarn. Meanwhile, provincial and national governments began to help artisans' co-ops, including the Mira women, by inviting them (in compliance with the Andean Pact Regional Accords) to participate in international art fairs. The Gladharts wrote that: 'Many women said that this participation was critical in

the opening up of the export market to the entire community when exporters started coming to Mira to search out sweater knitters'. In other words, people outside the co-op also began knitting and selling sweaters (ibid., 11–13).

Then the Otavalos got into the act in a more direct way. In 1979, an Otavalo indigenous woman living in Ibarra (a city located between Mira and Otavalo) spent a considerable amount of time going from house to house in Mira teaching women to knit. She established a 'sizeable business selling to exporters while continuing to sell in the Otavalo market' (ibid. 8). She demanded quality and insisted that her styles could not be sold to anyone else. She also paid cash if knitters delivered the sweaters to her home, enabling them to stop in Carabuela to buy more wool. In addition, she notified the Mira knitters when she was arriving and hired a car to speed up operations. This woman did not supply wool to her knitters, unlike the Mira-based entrepreneurs. Around this time, the Mira co-op disbanded, but the sweater industry boomed. Mira families working in the sweater industry on their own built new homes and sent their children to the university with proceeds from their sales. Otavalo indígenas, both male and female, began knitting sweaters, and more Otavalo merchants began producing and buying them. The producers advanced the dyed wool or cotton yarn, buttons, patterns and labels, oversaw quality control and ensured that the sweaters were shipped on time. In this system, all costs are borne by the producer and exporter; the knitters invest only their labour.

By 1985, foreign exporters were shipping abroad approximately 30,000 sweaters produced in northern Ecuador annually, and Otavalo merchants were buying and selling perhaps 3,000 more (Meisch 1987: 81–82). A 1993 report by CENAPIA (National Centre for Small Business) estimated that more than 100,000 wool sweaters were knit monthly (1,200,000 annually) in all of Ecuador, primarily by females (de Sarte 1993: B-4). At that time, hand-knit sweaters sold in Ecuador for an average price of USD 13, which meant that their sale grossed USD 15,600,000 annually. While the sweater market is subject to the vagaries of the global economy and international fashion trends, economic crises abroad, and exchange rates, sweater knitting and exporting continue to be sources of income for thousands of Ecuadoreans.

Could the Mira co-op be called a success in the sense of long-term viability as a co-op? The answer is no, although the hand-knit sweater industry is probably the most successful Peace Corps project in Ecuador. In other words, the co-op was not sustainable, but sweater knitting

Illustration 3—Members of the Conterón and Cabascango families in the Otavalo market with tapestry purses and embroidered blouses for sale. Photograph by the author, June 2008

certainly has been. Hindsight is easy, but perhaps sweater knitting could have been introduced in classes for interested knitters, without the time, effort and expense of establishing a pre-cooperative and then a co-op.

A second example of the problems with co-ops is Artesanías del Norte, which was a Peace Corps co-op in Otavalo and Ibarra in the 1970s. In Otavalo, the co-op ran into logistical problems in the early to mid 1970s. The member families lived in communities spaced miles apart with an infrequent bus service and no telephones, making it difficult for co-op members to coordinate duties and hand over the keys to the shop in Otavalo. The Otavalos were mainly subsistence agriculturists, and maintaining the co-op was simply not worth the effort because it interfered with agricultural chores. Members resumed selling artesanías in the Saturday Otavalo fair or from their homes and shops, often with considerable success. It should be noted that the Otavalos, more than the other groups mentioned in this article, have had a much longer history of both production weaving (producing textiles in large

quantities using European-introduced technology) and as merchants and traders.

Fernández (2006) has analysed the effects of ASUR's textile marketing programme in Tarabuco (Bolivia). Despite the good intentions of ASUR's founders, there are conflicts between the association's commercialization of textiles and marketing practices to tourists and indigenous community needs, disagreements over how much of the profits should go to the weavers, and subsequent splits involving the formation of a competing textile organization, as well as individual sales efforts.

Co-ops can give their participants invaluable confidence and experience in marketing their goods and dealing with foreign buyers. Fernández notes that ASUR has had positive economic effects for weaving families, but only under the conditions set by the organization rather than by the weavers themselves (ibid.: 7). Overall, development organizations and individuals wishing to promote the sale of artesanías for the maximum benefit of the artisans might consider ways of helping them other than reflexively suggesting the formation of cooperatives. Insofar as possible, computer literacy for artisans should also be high on the development agenda if the goals of self-sufficiency and sustainability are to be more than just slogans, and artisans are to control and benefit from their cultural capital. Overall, in the absence of the state, these non-governmental mediations help make the ambivalent encounters between buyer and seller, if not laissez-faire, at least more fair.

CHAPTER EIGHT

DISHING UP THE CITY: TOURISM AND STREET VENDORS IN CUZCO

Griet Steel

Tourism has proven to be a vital strategy for urban regeneration, and governments and the tourist industry are spending increasingly large sums to transform their cities into tourist paradises (Holcomb 1999: 54). In cooperation with private entrepreneurs, local governments are spending a lot of money to establish the physical facilities required to accommodate large numbers of visitors and to make cities attractive to tourists (Fainstein & Judd 1999: 7). Governments generally invest in infrastructure that is intended to attract and fulfil the needs of tourists; governments are also important actors in the promotion of tourism, that is, in marketing the city. Local governments must provide clear markers, or tourist icons, in order to 'sell' their cities to tourists. Because competence has increased on a worldwide scale, they have to construct—whether or not intentionally—landmarks that put their cities on the tourist map (Holcomb 1999: 58). By advertising their images, they transform their cities into objects or commodities that can be exchanged, possessed and owned.

Cuzco is an interesting example with which to illustrate the process of the objectification of the tourist city.[1] Each year, this city located high in the Peruvian Andes attracts more tourists than it has residents. The tourists are attracted by the historical and cultural heritage of the Inca Empire, which are the tourist landmarks or icons of Cuzco. These landmarks give the impression that Cuzco has not changed much since Inca times; that the city is still as famous, vivacious and beautiful as it was. However, this rather stereotypical way of presenting the city has important repercussions for contemporary urban life in Cuzco, as its residents experience the city in another way than the tourists do. For tourists, the city is a place of leisure, while for the local population it

[1] On the concept of 'tourist city', see Fainstein & Judd 1999.

is a place in which to live and work. The historical centre has been transformed into an island of affluence isolated from urban life in the poor neighbourhoods, which are characterized by crime, poverty and urban decay. This context of fragmentation raises questions about the position of the local population in the tourist picture of Cuzco: are they included in or excluded from these tourism developments? In this chapter, I look at this issue by focusing on ambulant street vendors and their position in the construction of a tourist city.

Street vendors are very visible actors in the tourist scene and form an illustrative example of the global-local encounter. However, as I show in this chapter, street vendors have an ambivalent position in tourism developments. I first look briefly at the Inca civilization and the decline of the Inca Empire, because the Inca and the colonial heritage are always used as symbols of local pride as well as to profile the city as the centre of national culture. I then illustrate the alienation of the historical centre from the rest of the city and describe how Cuzco has been transformed into a schizophrenic city in which the affluence of tourists stands in sharp contrast to the poverty of a large proportion of the local population. I follow this by describing the role of the local government in these tourism developments and in the process of alienating the tourist centre from the rest of the city. Finally, I focus on the ambivalent position of street vendors in the tourism picture that reinvents and glorifies the past.[2]

Reinvention of the past

Between 1200 and 1532, the city of Cuzco functioned as the ceremonial, political and economic centre of the rapidly expanding Inca Empire (Tahuantinsuyu), which at its peak stretched over the entire Andes and embraced a part of the rainforest and coastal strip of South America. The Inca civilization is generally regarded as a strong, well-organized civilization that achieved a substantial level of material well-being and cultural sophistication (Klarén 2000: 12). The sophistication of the

[2] This article is based on my PhD dissertation 'Vulnerable careers, tourism and livelihood dynamics among street vendors in Cuzco, Peru' (Steel, 2008). It is a result of the fieldwork I conducted between 2004 and 2007 in Cuzco as part of my project on the way street vendors can benefit from tourism in Cuzco. The project was financed by WOTRO.

Empire is reflected in the architecture of the capital. Various temples (e.g. Coricancha), fortresses (e.g. Sacsayhuaman), storehouses, and political and administrative centres were constructed in Cuzco. The city became known as the 'navel of the world', because the splendid imperial city, which was built in the shape of a puma, increasingly functioned as the centre of an immense and powerful empire. Its legendary reputation soon changed following the arrival of the Spaniards in Cuzco (1533) and the collapse of the Inca Empire (1536). Because of a shift in economic importance to Potosí, and later to Lima, Cuzco began to fade from the world's view (Bauer 2004: 3). After independence, Cuzco became an impoverished and slummy city (Tamayo Herrera 1978: 61). Industrial projects did not get off the ground and the city faced difficulties in recovering some of its former glory.

Cuzco has extolled its Inca past ever since Peru gained independence. In 1920, for example, the *indigenismo* movement applied one of the most prominent strategies to restore the glorious status of Cuzco (Baud 2003: 43; Mendoza, this volume).[3] According to de la Cadena, indigenismo became a project of the Spanish-speaking urban elite of Cuzco whose objective was to present a provincial alternative to 'Limeños' modernizing *mestizaje* proposal' (2000: 84).[4] *Indigenistas*, such as Luis Valcárcel, did so by considering themselves as Inca descendants and by glorifying their roots in Inca theatre, dance and festivities and in what de la Cadena calls 'indigenous folklore'. In 1930, some of these pro-Indian *Cusqueños* renamed themselves the neo-Indianists (de la Cadena 2000: 41). The neo-Indianists, such as Uriel García (1927), used the indigenous past to forge themselves a new identity. They 'reinvented' the city by creating Cuzco Day, a day on which they could express their pride in being *Cusqueños*. The central act during the inauguration of the first Cuzco Day on 24 June 1944 was the celebration of Inti Raymi, the Incaic solstice ritual (de la Cadena 2000: 155–157). This public ritual is a clear example of how the neo-Indianists used the past to define regional identity. They reinvented the pre-Hispanic celebration with the aim of achieving political gains and making Cuzco one of the world's most

[3] Baud (2003: 40–41) describes 'indigenismo' as: 'a current of intellectuals and politicians who wanted to improve the position of the Indian population and assign the indigenous cultural heritage an important place in Latin American society.... it concerned non-indigenous people who reflected on the Indian population and their culture and who sympathized with them from their non-Indian position'.

[4] De la Cadena describes *mestizaje* as a 'gradual process by which Indians gradually became literate and acquired urban skills' (2000: 29).

important tourist centres. At these Inca festivals, the neo-Indianists presented themselves as morally and racially superior Cusqueños—people or *gente decente*, in which a fusion of autochthonous and Hispanic elements had taken place (Mendoza, this volume). Although they generally considered the indigenous culture central to *Cusqueño* identity, they viewed the indigenous population as 'backward' and thus as a threat to their modernization project.

The glorification of the past became even more prominent within the promotion of tourism. As shown by the following extract from the Lonely Planet guidebook, it is used as a strategy to attract both national and international visitors to the city of Cuzco:

> Cuzco is the archaeological capital of the Americas and the continent's oldest continuously inhabited city. Massive Inca-built stone walls line most of Cuzco's central streets and form the foundations of colonial and modern buildings. The streets are often stepped, narrow and thronged with Quechua-speaking descendants of the Incas (Rachowiecki 2000: 234).

The above is representative of the way travel guides, tour operators and the local authorities present Cuzco to tourists. They all proudly emphasize that Cuzco is 'the archaeological capital of America', referring to the wonderful Inca ruins and colonial buildings that tourists can visit in the city and its surroundings.[5] They write that Cuzco and its sociocultural life can be considered a living testimony to what the Inca past was like. Like early twentieth-century indigenistas, such as Valcárcel, they try to connect some aspects of the ancient and admirable Inca culture with the remaining vestiges of present-day Cuzco. The tourist website of Cuzco introduces the city as the only place on the American continent 'where you can easily *experience* such an amazing culture as that of the Incas in such beautiful surroundings' ('About Cuzco' 2007, own emphasis). Ypeij gives examples of the policy documents of local governments and NGOs that also relate the contemporary indigenous people to the Inca people by defining them as the mystic and exotic others (2006: 41–44). This phenomenon is especially prominent in the

[5] At the 25th International Congress of Americanists (Ciudad de la Plata, Argentina, 1933), Cuzco was declared the Archaeological Capital of South America (Silverman 2002: 899). Cuzco has numerous honourable titles: Sacred City, Navel of the World, Historical Capital of Peru, Tourist Capital of Peru, Cultural Patrimony of Humanity (Diario El Sol del Cuzco, 3 May 2004) and Land of the Four Corners (van den Berghe & Flores Ochoa 2000).

pictures of the local population that appear in travel guides and tourist promotion materials (ibid.: 48). The images generally depict women and children adorned in 'native' dress and evoke nostalgic impressions of Indians fixed in an idyllic timeless past that is removed from the contemporary cultural reality of these people. These 'imaginary Indians' (Crain 1990) have become a particularly important component of the national identity that is presented for tourism promotion.

Becoming a tourist bubble

According to van den Berghe and Flores Ochoa (2000), tourism in Cuzco began after the rediscovery of Machu Picchu in 1911 by a Yale University expedition led by Hiram Bingham. The publication of the rediscovery led to a tourist influx of fewer than 20 persons a day. Cuzco and particularly the ruins were not accessible to a wider public. The city of Cuzco alone was not attractive to tourists, because it was just a small and poor provincial town where little attention was paid to cleaning or conserving the historical ruins and monuments.

The marginal status of Cuzco changed in 1950, however, as a result of an earthquake that severely damaged the region. The disaster sparked national and global interest in this underdeveloped and marginalized region (Angeles et al. 2002: 21). The rebuilding process (the 'modernization of Cuzco') attracted the attention of international organizations. UNESCO, for example, immediately sent a team of technical advisers from all over the world to protect and secure Cuzco's architectural patrimony (Silverman 2002: 884). UNESCO's reconstruction process had an indirect influence on the tourist influx by making the city more attractive to tourists. In this sense, the 'modernization' of Cuzco launched what has become an ever-growing tourist industry. The number of tourists, mostly national tourists and backpackers, steadily grew. Nevertheless, mass tourism did not really take off because of the region's political, social and economic instability. For a long period, Peru struggled with governmental mismanagement, international recession and civil war (Klarén 2000). In the 1980s, the biggest obstacle to tourist development was the constant danger posed by the Maoist guerrilla organization Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path). After this organization was repressed in 1992, tourism became a booming business in Cuzco and the number of tourists reached an unprecedented scale (van den Berghe & Flores Ochoa 2000: 9): more than 500,000 visitors each year

made the city of Cuzco one of the most important tourist attractions of Latin America.

Although tourism development was not the only force behind the transformation of the contemporary city, this tourist influx has reshaped the city of Cuzco in a significant way. Tourism especially framed the urban development of its historical centre, which in accordance with UNESCO stretches out over the former political and religious centre of the Incas, where the most important temples, shrines, public buildings and squares were located. Estrada Ibérico and Nieto Degregori (1998) point out how the historical centre became an area reserved for tourist activities, which resulted in its depopulation. Everything in the tourist centre is dedicated to the tourists' well-being in the form of entertainment and leisure. In the main square and its surrounding streets, it is hard to detect any economic activities that are not related to tourism. In recent years, private houses have made way for tourist facilities, such as hotels, pubs, restaurants, nightclubs, travel agencies, and arts and crafts shops. Most *chicha* bars (local 'pubs' that serve Andean corn beer) have been converted into tourist bars and nightclubs. Only a few local enterprises—such as the bookshop on one corner of the main square—have survived the tourist invasion.

Thus, the city centre of Cuzco has been transformed into a place where tourists can admire the city's marvels and spend their money, a process that Torres and Momsen (2004) try to capture with the concept '*gringolandia*'. They use the term to describe the tourist developments in Cancún and to reflect on the circus-like spectacle of the overbuilt resort embedded in a region that is deeply divided by uneven development and the ensuing inequitable power relations. Tourists dominate the street scene in the historical centre of Cuzco almost all year round, not just during the high tourist season. Early each morning, the first tourists flock to the historical buildings and other tourist attractions; they stay until late in the evening, spending their money on souvenirs and getting a taste of the tourist-tailored nightlife. They transform the city of Cuzco into a place of transnational consumerism, a place that is segregated from the livelihood of the local residents.

The local government of Cuzco is one of the principal actors responsible for managing this tourist invasion; for example, it invests large sums of money in advertising campaigns to attract visitors to the city (see e.g. the PROMPERU website, www.peru.info) and in adapting the urban infrastructure of the historical centre to the tourists' needs. Tarred streets make the historical centre (apart from some narrow, pedestrian-

ized streets) accessible to taxis and other forms of tourist transportation. The municipality of Cuzco puts a lot of effort into presenting a clean and safe city to tourists. They try hard to restore the historical centre by cleaning and modernizing it and by implementing a hygiene policy (Ronda 2000: 100). It is clear that the local government is investing a lot of money in keeping the city centre clean as well as making it a safe and attractive environment for tourists. They contract gardeners to maintain the public squares, and a cleaning team is always on stand-by to clean up after public events. One municipal employee commented:

> We have to take better care of the Casco Monumental because it is our patrimony and we have to take care of it, just like other cities that have their Casco Monumental or patrimony. In this case our patrimony has been acknowledged and is protected by UNESCO, which has declared it a World Heritage Site (...) This means that we are taking very good care of it, that we have the municipal police, the security force and the national police, whose main goal is to protect the visitors and our neighbours, and of course to guarantee them to some extent their free movement, so that they can visit the archaeological monuments in peace. For that we have to take better care of the Casco Monumental (Interview, July 2007).

During my fieldwork in 2007, the tourists' safety was watched over by a permanent team composed of national tourist police, municipal representatives and municipal security agents. The municipal representatives were in charge of controlling the commercial activities in the historical centre, while the security agents helped the national police to maintain public order and protect the security of Cuzco's inhabitants and visitors. In November 2004, a system of eight hidden cameras covering Cuzco's most important tourist spots was introduced (Municipalidad del Cuzco 2007a: 45). This system enables the authorities to check on public activity in the city and to protect both the Cusqueños and the visitors. These local measures are intended to ensure the tourist's positive experience of the city and to safeguard the growth of the tourist sector.

The level of order and safety in the historical centre is in sharp contrast to that in the poor residential neighbourhoods outside the tourist centre. A questionnaire survey conducted by Amilcar Sánchez Morales indicates that a considerable number of those who live in the *pueblos jóvenes* (peripheral neighbourhoods) of the Santiago district regard insecurity as one of the biggest problems they face (2002: 35). Robberies and other acts of delinquency are rife. Furthermore, the residents of these neighbourhoods live in squalid living conditions and have to put up with various infrastructural restrictions. They also have to struggle

to get access to the labour market, public transport, rubbish collection, water and electricity facilities, sanitary services and health services (see Villegas Ormachea 1986; de Vries 1991). The pueblos jóvenes generally give a dirty impression because rubbish collection services are limited or completely absent. Streets that are not tarred become large mud-pools during the rainy season and are the source of large clouds of dust during the dry season. Access to running water is a general problem for the households in these neighbourhoods. Villegas Ormachea (1986) and de Vries (1991) ascribe these water problems to insufficient capacity to install water services, uneconomical water use in tourist areas and other affluent neighbourhoods, and insufficient pressure in the water installations to pump the water up the hills.

In other words, life in the pueblos jóvenes is shaped not by tourism but by marginalization, vulnerability and social exclusion. Several of these neighbourhoods suffer from urban decay, poverty and other social problems. De Vries argues that 'the partial investments of the governments in the tourism sector also mean less attention to the development of industries, of public services, etc'. (1991: 77). The tourism investments in the centre of Cuzco partially explain the infrastructural deficiency in the pueblos jóvenes. Like other tourist destinations throughout the world, the wealthy tourist area of the city remains the major beneficiary of capital infrastructure and services, while the shanty towns continue to struggle with squalid living conditions and poverty (see Torres and Momsen 2004: 326).

This other, less rosy side of urban reality is hidden from the tourist gaze.[6] Tourists are hardly ever confronted with the reality of poverty or the extreme contrast between life in the marginal neighbourhoods and the richness and cleanliness of the historical centre. Most tourists do not leave the tourist centre or the artificial tourist enclaves in which only a romanticized version of urban life is presented (Fainstein and Judd 1999); instead, they circulate inside the tourist bubble that can be considered a safe, protected and normalized environment (Cohen 1972; Urry 1990). This bubble saves them from having to confront the local reality of urban poverty. This is why tourist cities, and particularly historical centres, can be considered a sort of artificial or virtual realities that are completely detached from their own social context (Fainstein and Gladstone 1999: 27).

[6] On this concept, see Urry (1990).

Politics of tourism and local development

It is difficult to refer to one particular local government in Cuzco because administratively Cuzco is very much divided: the name 'Cuzco' applies to the department, the province and the district. The province of Cuzco is divided into eight districts (Cuzco, Ccorcca, Poroy, Saylla, Wanchaq, Santiago, San Jerónimo, San Sebastián), each of which comprises urban neighbourhoods and rural communities. However, the city of Cuzco is generally considered to embrace the five districts of Cuzco, Wanchaq, Santiago, San Jerónimo and San Sebastián (de Vries 1991: 68). Each of these districts has its own municipality and its own mayor and city council, and these are represented in the provincial municipality, which cooperates with urban planners, international organizations (e.g. UNESCO), commissions, and several public and private institutions. The protection and construction policies of these institutions and organizations contribute to the attractiveness of the historical centre of Cuzco. Thus, when I speak about the 'municipality' or the 'local authorities' of Cuzco, I am referring to this complex amalgamation of social actors.

One of the main aims of the municipality is to prevent the destruction of the historical centre of Cuzco. As a member of the municipal council explained, the council invests large amounts of money in public order and security in order to satisfy the tourists' needs (Interview, June 2005). Furthermore, in cooperation with UNESCO the authorities have to protect their archaeological sites and cultural patrimony. As shown by the following decree, they want to preserve their tourist icon:

> Taking into account that the city of Cuzco, designated by UNESCO as World Cultural Patrimony, recognized by the Political Constitution of the State as Historical Capital of Peru, by virtue of its valuable past and the cultural patrimony its possesses, constituting itself as the most important tourist destination of Peru, visited by thousands of tourists from different parts of the country and world, for which reason the municipality must be concerned for the good appearance of the city (Decree No. 004–00–MC of 26 May 2000; quoted in Silverman, 2002: 891).

However, as Silverman correctly states, the creation of a city that is attractive to tourists cannot be the sole concern of local governments (2002: 884–885), as they also need to take into account the everyday social life and culture of the city. Local governments have to deal with the multiplicity of economic interests of the various social actors (Caraballo Perichi 2000: 115). To avoid the creation of historical centres that are completely devoted to tourists, they have to consider the dynamics of

urban life, to search for development perspectives and to improve living conditions in the historical centre. In this sense, the administrators of historical centres face the challenge of achieving a good balance between conservation and development. Several studies have indicated that it is difficult to combine the responsibility for the general well-being of the local population with tourism promotion and management (e.g. Bromley 1998; Fainstein & Gladstone 1999; Carrión 2000; Ronda 2000; Middleton, this volume). Carballo Perichi argues that tourists, planners and politicians tend to represent their historical centres as 'frozen' environments (2000: 107). He points out that the image of the urban space they try to present corresponds much more with that of a 'Main Street' in Disneyworld than with the contemporary social dynamics of tangible and intangible urban life (ibid.). Silverman states that in the case of Cuzco it is indeed a difficult challenge for the municipality to rebuild the ancient city to meet international tourist market expectations and to honour the needs and expectations of the local population (2002: 884–885). The greater part of tourism revenues—such as that from the *boleto turístico* (a tourist entry-ticket to historical monuments and sites in and around Cuzco)—is not used to contribute to regional development. Hardoy (1983: 61) argues that 'the population does not feel the impact of the boleto because the revenues are destined for the improvement of tourist infrastructure only and not for resolving other alarming problems in the city (housing, water, sewers, drains, etc.)'. In other words, since the general well-being of tourists receives the biggest attention in local politics, the local inhabitants are becoming second-class citizens.

Despite tourism, Cuzco can be considered a very poor department in which economic development remains below the Peruvian average (van den Berghe & Flores Ochoa 2000: 3). Cuzco ranks among the five Peruvian departments with the largest number of people living in extreme poverty (INEI 2003: 169). Although statistics show that the majority of the extremely poor live in the countryside (Webb & Baca 2002: 533), it is exactly these rough living conditions in the countryside that put pressure on the city, namely through migration of the poor. In contrast to de la Cadena (2000), who believes that the commercial activity of tourism is accessible to all walks of life, various studies show that the poor generally participate only on the margins of or are excluded from the tourism sector. Tamayo Herrera states that although it is impossible to neglect the multiplication effect of tourism, ultimately most of the tourism income ebbs away to Lima or

another country and only a few crumbs are left behind for the Andean city (1978: 300–1). Van den Berghe and Flores Ochoa (2000: 18) also criticize tourism in Cuzco:

> …the main beneficiaries of tourism are members of urban middle and lower-middle class of Cuzco itself: the entrepreneurs who own and run the hotels, restaurants, shops and travel agencies, the craftsmen who produce the wares and services consumed by tourists and to a limited extent the street vendors and service workers who occupy the lowest tier of the tourism trade.

A small survey carried out in some of the pueblos jóvenes of Cuzco indicates that although tourist development appeals to the local inhabitants' imagination, only 22 per cent of the economically active population works in the tourism industry.[7] For the majority of the local population, working in tourism means performing low-paid, insecure and easily accessible jobs, mass-producing earrings, for example, or street vending, or working as chambermaids or as porters on tourist hiking tours. Although the historical centre is an important workplace for tourism workers in general and for street vendors in particular, the local authorities provide little support in gaining access to it.

The position of ambulant street vendors in the tourist picture

There have been street vendors in the city centre of Cuzco since pre-colonial times (Caraballo Perichi 2000: 118). Today, thousands of ambulant street vendors wander the streets of Cuzco trying to sell their merchandise. The tourist streets of Cuzco in particular are overwhelmed by a vast number of street vendors who make their way down from the outskirts of the city to sell souvenirs and services to tourists. Children are permanently visible on the streets, working as shoe shiners, *sacamefotos* (vendors who dress up like Incas and ask for money to pose for photos, see also Simon, this volume) or as vendors of postcards, finger puppets or sweets. Young women wander the streets with babies strapped to their backs, offering passers-by textiles, Andean dolls, painted calabashes or silverwork. Male and female vendors accost tourists with their *tarjetas* (painted postcards), watercolour paintings, CDs or DVDs, or with

[7] The survey was conducted in three pueblos jóvenes in the Santiago district, namely Construccíon Civil, Los Jardines and Virgen Concepción.

wooden trays of cigarettes hanging round their necks. But what is the position of these vendors in the tourism developments?

For years now, municipality administrators of Cuzco have been searching for ways to regulate and control the activity of street vending to suit their ideals of public order and state control (Seligmann 2004). Especially in their efforts to modernize the city, urban authorities have tried to purge Cuzco of urban undesirables such as mestiza market women and street vendors, whom they consider the embodiment of filth, immorality and misdirected enrichment (de la Cadena 2000: 77–8). In line with the modernist development visions that permeated the academic reasoning of the 1950s and 1960s, these forms of commerce were seen as backward, inefficient and detrimental to national development programmes (see also Cross 2000). The municipality of Cuzco perceived modernity as inconsistent with the continued presence of street vendors; consequently, they thought it better to hide the 'uncivilized' side of Cuzco from potential foreign industrialists and investors (Seligmann 2004: 23). As Swanson also indicates, 'street vendors do not fit into the global city ideal' (2007: 712). They are considered the main barrier to modernization of the city (Middleton, this volume).

Local governments have considered the presence of street vendors even more problematic ever since tourism developments began to dominate the urban landscape. Local authorities in many parts of the world regard vendors as a hindrance to tourist development and as an indirect threat to the attractiveness of urban city centres (Bromley 1998, 2000; Cross 1998; Seppänen 2001; Silverman 2002; Martinez Novo 2003; Little, this volume; Middleton, this volume). Especially in cities that are on UNESCO's World Heritage List, street vendors are being expelled from the protected historical centre because they are considered a potential threat to the images of these centres. An illustration of this is the historical centre of Lima. Since it was put on the List in 1995, the municipality has tried to exclude all street vendors and poor residents from the city centre (Seppänen 2001).

In Cuzco, the control of the activity of street vending intensified when the historical centre was put on the World Heritage List in 1983. The authorities have tried to adapt urban images to tourism development needs. The municipality hopes to ensure the security, morale and health of visitors and the local population by controlling the activity of ambulant street vendors. As illustrated by the following extract from the Master Plan for the Historical Centre of Cuzco (Municipalidad del Cuzco 2000), the municipality clearly associates the presence of street

vendors with several negative aspects: 'The invasion of street vendors, causing congestion, immobility, public disorder, noise and pollution from solid waste disposal, makes the condition of these arteries a truly critical one'. In the same line of reasoning, a municipal representative explained why street vendors do not belong within the sites protected by UNESCO:

> They are not going to let street vendors enter the main square, because it is an intangible zone (…) that is, a tourist zone where the tourist wants to be left in peace, to see the whole view, and I believe they need to sit for a little while without being harassed by the vendors (Interview, July 2007).

Another municipal representative explained that the presence of street vendors in tourist areas may tarnish the city's modern image and the tourists' positive experiences:

> The tourists come to visit our nation and our town, and they are not allowed to buy from ambulant vendors. They do not want to either, because in their home countries everything is more organized and they always try to buy in formal establishments where they can make a complaint, and that is their guarantee (Interview, July 2007).

Thus, the municipality highlights the presence of ambulant street vendors as a problem that they have to hide from the tourist gaze. The reason is that the vendors confront the tourists with urban poverty and hence make them feel uncomfortable: the tourists do not know how to refuse a sale or how to deal with insistent street vendors who follow and call out to them. Furthermore, as indicated by the Decree on the Use of Public Space, street vendors of arts and crafts pose a threat to the cultural heritage of Cuzco, because they often cheat the tourists and harm the traditions and cultural heritage by pretending that they are selling 'authentic' goods, namely objects 'from the Inca period' (Municipalidad del Cuzco 2007b). Various municipal employees told me that many tourists are cheated.[8] The cultural heritage of the city can truly flourish only by purging its streets of street vendors. Street vendors may represent the needle that burst the tourist bubble because the vendors are a potential threat to the tourists' sense of comfort and safety.

[8] The local newspaper has emphasized this aspect of street vending, speaking about it in terms of 'micro commercialization of *narcotics* in the main square and surrounding streets' (Diario del Cuzco 15 March 2007: 8, emphasis added).

However, despite the fact that the local authorities in Cuzco generally consider street vendors a potential threat to the city's attractive appearance, in some exceptional cases they do recognize the street vendor's role as a member of the cast of players in the local tourism industry. Two striking examples serve to illustrate the municipality's conduct.

There is only one street vendor in Cuzco whose presence is informally permitted by the municipality. This vendor—'the Inca'—had the bright idea of dressing up as an Inca and posing in front of the famous rock of twelve angels in exchange for tips from tourists. This Inca ruin is part of the historical pride of Cuzco. Since the rock has been damaged by the influx of tourists over the years and vandalized with graffiti on several occasions, the municipality has begun to consider the presence of 'the Inca' a constructive way to protect the stone (Interview, July 2007). Furthermore, the vendor's outfit is an important reason to turn a blind eye to his presence, because it corresponds to the romantic notion of indigenous people—a notion that the municipality is trying to present to tourists. After all, in contrast to other street vendors in the streets of Cuzco, 'the Inca' presents himself as a representative of their cultural heritage while protecting the historical heritage of which *Cusqueños* are so proud.

In certain cases, street vendors are permitted or even invited to sell their arts and crafts at temporary tourist markets. For example, for the Fiestas Patrias (national holidays) the municipality of Miraflores (Lima) invited the vendors of Chinchero (who also sell on the streets of Cuzco) to sell their handcrafts in the main square of this tourist neighbourhood. At the annual Inti Raymi festivities, Cuzco's street vendors are allowed to sell their merchandise to tourists on the ruins of Sacsayhuamán. Every Saturday, arts and crafts vendors are invited by the municipality to sell their merchandise to tourists at the weekly open-air market in San Blas square. However, in these cases the municipality determines how the street vendors must present themselves to tourists: they are only allowed to sell at these markets if they produce their own merchandise and wear traditional Andean clothes. An interview with a former municipal councillor made it clear that the municipality considers the 'indigenous appearance' of street vendors an important condition to be allowed to participate in tourist-related activities. He told me about plans to construct a tourist market in Mercado San Blas. He explained that they planned to attract tourists by organizing weaving demonstrations and obliging the vendors to dress flamboyantly in 'typical' Andean clothes (Interview, March 2004). These and other tourist attractions

give street vendors authority as Inca descendants and distinguish them from the ordinary or more assimilated street vendors who are being expelled from the scene. Nevertheless, it is obvious that these dressed-up vendors merely correspond to the image that tourists have of Indians, rather than being realistic representations of the ancient Inca (or of their traditions, for that matter). They are a clear example of how representations of the past are re-created for tourist promotion (Silverman 2002). Only when street vendors are represented as what Ypeij (2006) calls the 'exotic other' and what Crain (1990) calls 'imaginary Indians' can they be successfully used in touristic consumerism.

In short, the role of street vendors in the tourism developments offers a new perspective on the ambivalence of their position in the Cusqueño society. When street vendors appear in their everyday city clothes (i.e. jeans and other second-hand Western clothes) and accost tourists, they confront the municipality with their incapacity to keep order in the city centre and keep street vendors out of the tourist bubble. Street vendors are considered eyesores in the areas the city is trying to upgrade for tourism (see Cross 1998: 18). When street vendors portray themselves as Inca descendants and meet the municipality's criteria and definitions related to this, they are strategically used as promotional objects or tourism products. It is through being singled out as Inca descendants, wearing their 'traditional' outfits and selling hand-made arts and crafts, that indigenous culture can be reduced to objects for the tourist gaze. Thus, they become an integral part of the local pride in the Inca past and of the 'Incanization' project of Cuzco. This is why Martinez Novo argues that 'the concept of culture is used to freeze a particular socio-economic position as well as to exclude a group of people from access to available resources' (2003: 264). After all, in the case of Cuzco, the essentialist perception of culture in general and cultural heritage in particular discriminates against and further excludes the majority of street vendors from the tourist market.

Conclusion

The historical developments of Cuzco are shaping the tourist character and politics of the city. Since the country's independence, the local government of Cuzco has put a lot of effort into modernizing its city and into becoming independent of Lima. Like the indigenistas, they do so by extolling the city's past and by giving the impression that its

contemporary urban life continues in the shadows of its Incan times. What draws both national and international visitors to Cuzco are the remnants of the Inca civilization. The local government of Cuzco believes that international tourism is one of the most important catalysts for prosperity (Silverman 2002: 883). The restoration of the historical centre and the conservation and protection of the cultural heritage have thus become primary political issues on the urban planning agenda. The city of Cuzco was reconstructed on the basis of tourist needs, and tourists have begun to dominate socio-economic life in Cuzco. Today, especially in the historical centre of Cuzco, almost every economic activity is directed at tourism. The centre is becoming a 'tourist ghetto' in which the majority of the local population participate only on the margins of touristic developments (Flores Ochoa, personal conversation).

The numerous attempts to profile the city as the centre of national culture and the consequential tendency towards conservation have important repercussions for the people to whom the city is a place to live and work in. A central argument of this article is that street vendors do not fit in the modernization project of Cuzco, because they are historically associated with indecency and accused of being the cause of congestion and insecurity. The municipality wants to present to tourists only those street vendors who produce their own merchandise and who are dressed in typical clothing that befits the historical heritage. The more the street vendors look assimilated and non-indigenous, the more they are stigmatized as people who disturb the public order. They conflict with the modernity to which the municipality aspires and they render the public space atypical or uncharacteristic (Estrada Ibérico & Nieto Degregori 1998: 29).

CHAPTER NINE

CAUGHT BETWEEN NATURE AND CULTURE: MAKING A LIVING WITHIN THE WORLD HERITAGE SITE OF MACHU PICCHU, PERU

Keely B. Maxwell and Annelou Ypeij

Machu Picchu is world renowned as an Inca archaeological site. Less well-known is the Machu Picchu Historical Sanctuary, a protected area that covers 32,592 ha (INC/INRENA 2004: 2).[1] The Inca Trail—a popular four-day hike over a pass 4,200 m above sea level to the Machu Picchu ruins—is part of the Sanctuary.

Approximately 250 *campesino* (peasant) families live in small villages scattered throughout the Sanctuary. These villagers are subsistence agriculturalists who also earn some income from tourism. Since 1983, the Sanctuary has been inscribed on UNESCO's World Heritage List, based on both cultural and natural heritage criteria. UNESCO has expressed concerns about the preservation of the area, particularly since the late 1990s (e.g. INC/INRENA 2004: 7/8). On various occasions, it has urged the Peruvian government to implement a consistent conservation master plan to deal with many challenges, such as forest fires, landslides, increasing tourism, uncontrolled urban development of Aguas Calientes (the town at the foot of the ruins), endangered species and a proposed cable car to the ruins. This chapter touches upon the Sanctuary's conservation problems only in an indirect way. Its principal focus is on tourism politics, the related definitions of conservation, natural and cultural heritage and their consequences for the livelihood of the campesinos. Is nature perceived as changeable or as something that should always be in equilibrium? Is culture a relic from the past or is it something that changes constantly in daily interaction?

The answers to these questions have far-reaching consequences for the campesinos living within the Sanctuary. By analysing the discourse

[1] We are grateful to Elayne Zorn for her comments on an earlier version of this article.

of the two state agencies responsible for the preservation of the Sanctuary—namely the Instituto Nacional de Cultura (INC; National Institute of Culture) and the Instituto de Recursos Naturales (INRENA; Institute of Natural Resources)—we argue that natural heritage and cultural heritage are defined in such a way that there is little room left for the campesinos. This has resulted in conflicts between the state agencies and the peasants in which ethnicity/indigeneity are often an underlying issue. The peasants' interests are both subordinate to and threatened by proposed solutions to the conservation concerns. State agency discourses acknowledge neither the peasants' presence nor their agricultural activities as part of the natural or the cultural heritage. Policies that have reduced agricultural livelihood options are one reason why in the 1990s increasing numbers of campesinos became involved in tourism, which is now their principal income source.

However, this livelihood strategy has been constrained by the recent implementation of new Inca Trail regulations. In 2003, a daily carrying capacity of 500 tourists, guides, porters and cooks was established.[2] As a result, opportunities for local residents to earn income through tourism have been greatly reduced, impacting the campesinos' livelihoods in ways that exacerbate gendered divisions in income-earning opportunities.

Our focus in this chapter is on the tourism strategies used by the campesinos that live within the Sanctuary. We conclude it by presenting the varying interpretations of the campesinos, UNESCO and Peruvian institutions as to what the relationship of the campesinos within the Sanctuary to Machu Picchu's touted natural and cultural heritage is and should be.[3]

---

[2] Resolución N° 02–2000-UGM-CD and 02–2003-UGM-CD, see also INC/INRENA 2004: 93.

[3] This paper is based on ongoing research. Keely Maxwell carried out extensive anthropological research among the campesinos living within the Sanctuary and alongside the Inca Trail between 1999 and 2002. Annelou Ypeij visited the Machu Picchu area and the Sacred Valley of which the Sanctuary forms part on various occasions between 2003 and 2007. She visited the village of Huayllabamba, where Maxwell also worked. Huayllabamba is one of the largest villages within the protected area and is an important campsite for tourists.

Tourism within the Sanctuary

Between the fifteenth century and the Spanish conquest (1532–1537), the Incas expanded their control across large parts of the Andes. At its peak, the Inca Empire stretched from Peru to Colombia and Ecuador in the north and to Bolivia and Chile in the east and south. Since the early twentieth century, the archaeological remains of the Inca Empire—of which the ruins of Machu Picchu are the most famous example—have been heralded for their historical importance and architectural grandeur and for the beautiful landscape in which they are set (cf. Mendoza, this volume). The hills and valleys around Machu Picchu boast a unique combination of archaeologically significant sites, beautiful landscapes, and rare species and ecosystems.

The modern Peruvian state has since long claimed to be the institution best able to preserve this valuable heritage. In 1929, Peruvian legislation turned Machu Picchu and other archaeological sites into state monuments. Machu Picchu has received several specific protected area designations over the years, and this has gradually increased the state control of lands around the ruins. Part of the current Sanctuary was first designated a national park as early as 1944. In 1968, the government established the Machu Picchu National Archaeological Park, which consisted of roughly a quarter of the current protected area, to be managed by INC's precursor. Machu Picchu's ecosystems and its archaeological sites first received explicit protection in 1981 with the creation of the Machu Picchu Historical Sanctuary, which was to be managed by both INC and INRENA. In 1983, the Sanctuary was declared a UNESCO World Heritage site.

Machu Picchu's many archaeological sites and gorgeous views appeal to the imagination of the many visitors to the region. In 2006, over 550,000 tourists visited Machu Picchu.[4] Although no roads connect the park with the outside world, a PeruRail train runs between Cuzco and Aguas Calientes, a town on the Urubamba River 300 m below Machu Picchu. From Aguas Calientes, tourists take a bus to the archaeological site. The prices for these services have risen sharply over the past few years. For example, in 2001 the least expensive round-trip ticket to Machu Picchu cost USD 30; by 2008, the price had risen to USD

[4] Http://portal.inc-Cuzco.gob.pe/portal/descargas/estadisticas/Estadisticas-Visitantes2006.pdf, accessed October 2008.

108. During the same period, the bus fare increased from USD 4.20 to USD 15.

The hot-spring town of Aguas Calientes[5] has many small restaurants, bars, hotels, souvenir stalls and other tourist services. Its population of around 3000 people includes a growing number of small-scale entrepreneurs who migrated to Aguas Calientes from nearby rural villages and from throughout the Cuzco region to benefit from the booming tourism industry. The town also has a number of large, luxurious hotels, such as the Machu Picchu Sanctuary Lodge, which is located at the entrance to the archaeological site. The first hotel on that site was built in 1934. Today, the Lodge is operated by an international conglomerate.

It is no coincidence that private companies now control access to Machu Picchu. In the 1990s, the government of Alberto Fujimori privatized state resources, including the state-owned railroad, bus company and hotel on the site. This privatization has had a significant impact on tourism development in Machu Picchu. PeruRail is part of Orient Express Hotels Ltd., a company specializing in luxury travel worldwide. Orient Express is also the owner of the Machu Picchu Sanctuary Lodge and was affiliated with the proposed cable car project. These alliances between Peruvian and foreign investors feed sentiments of loss of control and anti-globalization among the inhabitants of Aguas Calientes (Nelisse 2003).

The other principal tourism route to Machu Picchu is along the Inca Trail, from which tourists can see several archaeological remains as well as vistas of mountain peaks and cloud forests. In 2008, the Inca Trail entry fee was USD 82. Since 2001, tourists who wish to hike the Trail are required to travel with a guide or a tourist agency. Travel agencies offer multi-day trekking packages that include entry tickets, guides, food, porters, camping equipment and return train tickets for USD 250–450 (or more, depending on how luxurious hikers want their trek to be). During the 2001 high season (June through August), over 1200 tourists a day started out on the Trail (Maxwell 2004: 220). New regulations have restricted the number of tourists to fewer than 500 a day. Now tourists must purchase Trail tickets months in advance, particularly if they wish to hike it during the high season. Tourist agencies have also

[5] As of 2008, Aguas was calling itself 'Machu Picchu' and trying to get associated with that name, instead of calling itself Aguas Calientes. It has shifted names back and forth over the years.

started offering a variety of 'alternative Inca Trails'. One such alternative is a two-day trek that starts much closer to Machu Picchu; others include hikes in completely different parts of the Cuzco region.

Apart from tourism development enterprises, the Sanctuary contains other infrastructure that is intended to promote Peru's economic development, for example a hydroelectric power plant that provides electricity for the city of Cuzco. The dam and the plant were built in the 1950s to promote Cuzco's industrialization; they were financed by a fund to reconstruct Cuzco after the 1950 earthquake that levelled the city. During its construction, the plant was seen as an expression of a modern Peru; today, though, its existence and the many power pylons that run through the park are perceived as a threat to conservation and as a form of visual pollution for tourists. Discourses of development in Machu Picchu now conceptualize development as achievable only through tourism. For the campesinos who live in Machu Picchu, it is not solely an issue of development through tourism, but of development through tourism for whom.

Apart from the town of Aguas Calientes, there are a dozen small rural villages within the Sanctuary, located at altitudes ranging from 1,800 to 3,800 m above sea level. Approximately 250 families live in these villages.[6] The campesinos are primarily engaged in subsistence farming, and also exchange or sell part of their produce. The most common crops are potatoes and maize. At the lowest elevation (1,800–2,400 m above sea level), where the climate is humid and warm, the campesinos grow a wide variety of vegetables and fruits, such as bananas and citrus fruits. They also raise both small and large livestock (cows, donkeys, horses, pigs, sheep, goats, guinea pigs, poultry, etc.) for sustenance or transportation. In many villages, the campesinos have access to running water—which is piped to taps in their yards—but not indoor plumbing. A 1990s development project to install outhouses throughout the rural countryside outside Cuzco stopped at the border of the Sanctuary, since Sanctuary officials worried that the bright orange, metal outhouses would not blend in with the Sanctuary's heritage. Rural villagers within the Sanctuary are without electricity for the same reason—which is

[6] World Bank 2002, Peru-Vilcanota Valley Rehabilitation and Management Project, Report no. AB850, Document date: 2004/05/07, Factual technical document: HSMP Process Framework de las Familias de Q'ente y Wayllabamba, Mincetur, Ministerio de Commercio Exterrior de Turismo, p. 1. (www.wds-worldbank.org).

ironic, considering the existence of the power plant and the transmission lines and towers on hillsides above the villages.

Heritage discourse

Through their protection policies, INRENA and INC have a large impact on the daily lives of the campesinos who live within the Sanctuary. These institutions use temporally and spatially static definitions of nature and culture in their management policies, thus creating conflicts with rural villagers.

The ways that parks around the world are managed involve underlying cultural constructions of nature (Cronon 1996; Neumann 1998). Is nature perceived as inherently variable or as something that should be in equilibrium (Maxwell 2004: 353–354)? What is the relation between nature and culture? Are people perceived as being part of their surrounding ecosystems—or are nature and non-human life forms regarded as better off without human interference? If the nature in parks is defined as 'untrammelled by man' (Wilderness Act 1964), then human activities are perceived as a harmful disturbance to nature (see Eckersley's anthropocentric and ecocentric environmental politics, 1992). And what about culture? Is it something determined that people possess and that influences their practices, ideas and perspectives in a far-reaching way? Or is culture the outcome of a process of constant negotiation, construction and change through daily social interaction, which is the most accepted approach to culture within social sciences (Baumann 1999: 90; see also Apffel-Marglin/Pratec 1998)?

To understand the ways in which nature and culture are constructed in Machu Picchu protection policies, we first look at the Sanctuary's status as a UNESCO World Heritage site. While UNESCO has World Heritage categories for natural heritage, cultural heritage and cultural landscapes,[7] Machu Picchu is protected only as cultural heritage and natural heritage, and each type of heritage is seen as distinct and unrelated. This separation of nature and culture helps frame the management of the Sanctuary.

One of the main reasons Peru made Machu Picchu a Historical Sanctuary in 1981, even though it was already an Archaeological Park,

[7] UNESCO 2008.

was to secure UNESCO World Heritage status for both natural and cultural heritage. Under UNESCO policy, doing so required legal protection of Machu Picchu's nature and culture. Establishing a Historical Sanctuary where there was already an Archaeological Park also created the legacy of having one state agency responsible for natural heritage (INRENA) and another for cultural heritage (INC), and their institutional policies have maintained this dichotomy.

By separating natural from cultural heritage and by not recognizing Machu Picchu as a cultural landscape (a heritage category that celebrates the ways that people shape their environment), UNESCO discourse excludes campesinos within the Sanctuary from belonging to either Machu Picchu's natural heritage or its cultural heritage. Several times over the past decade, UNESCO has considered placing the Sanctuary on the list of endangered Heritage sites because of the excess and intractability of conservation problems (INRENA/INC 2004: 8). It has sent several missions to analyse threats to the Sanctuary. Reports from these missions continue to accuse the rural residents of the Sanctuary of damaging its ecosystems, citing their use of fire in agriculture and their grazing of cattle and other livestock. These missions, however, acquire their data from interviews and information from INRENA and INC, and thus perpetuate the cycle of static discourses of nature and culture. According to Peruvian protected area law, a Historical Sanctuary is:

> ...destined to protect, with an *intangible character*, the settings in which memorable events of national history were developed. *Intangible character* is understood to be the management, in a natural state, of all the associations of flora and wildlife, of the beautiful landscapes, of the geologic formation and of the settings of historical places. The scientific, tourist, educational and cultural uses of these areas is to be done in zones specially designated for such ends, assuring the minimum possible environmental modifications (Law 26834, art. 22, Congreso de la República, authors' emphasis).

'Historical places' are perceived as being set in 'a natural state', which implies that the historical activities that occurred there did not significantly alter the natural state of the surrounding ecosystems. The heritage that is celebrated is not human influences on the Sanctuary's ecosystems and landscapes, but the cultural heritage of the archaeological remains and the natural heritage of Andean ecosystems. Protected area law restricts the modern-day human activities that are allowed in a Historical Sanctuary to scientific, tourist, educational and cultural activities (whatever is meant by 'cultural'). This definition of a Historical

Sanctuary does not leave any room for people who actually live within the Sanctuary and who develop activities and use resources to ensure their daily survival.

The intangible character of Historical Sanctuaries is a critical component of management decisions. '*Intangible*' in Spanish means 'untouchable', or 'that cannot or should not be touched'.[8] In daily policy implementation by INRENA personnel, intangible often becomes imbued with the specific meaning of being untouchable by the Sanctuary's residents, rather than by the thousands of tourists who visit the site each day. Sanctuary institutions consider rural residents to be external to the Sanctuary, so by using the Sanctuary's resources, the residents are 'touching' these resources from the outside. The act of touching untouchable resources has, in and of itself, a negative impact on the Sanctuary's heritage, regardless of how much the campesinos actually impact on the Sanctuary's ecosystems. Whenever Maxwell asked INRENA personnel why they prohibited tree cutting and other campesino activities, the response was always 'because the Sanctuary is *intangible*'. Even though tourists, too, are outsiders, their use of Machu Picchu is not considered an inherent violation of the Sanctuary's untouchability. The Historical Sanctuary offers space for culture, but it is the culture of a dead nobility that has been turned into a place of historical interest and set in a beautiful landscape.

The Sanctuary's master plan, which was drawn up by INC and INRENA in 1998, contains other indications of static perceptions of nature and culture. The plan depicts Machu Picchu's ecosystems as being in a static equilibrium (INC/INRENA 1998: 8). However, current ecological theory increasingly rejects the idea that ecosystems are in a constant quest for ecological equilibrium. It recognizes the importance of disturbances as a major force behind the development, structure and function of ecosystems. Wind, fires, falling trees, snow, floods, river dynamics, rainfall, drought, landslides and earthquakes are just a few of the natural events that impact and change ecosystems (Attiwell 1994; Veblen et al. 1994; Kessler 2001). By not recognizing the dynamic nature of Machu Picchu's ecosystems, management institutions have paved the way for interpreting any ecological change as ecological degradation. Moreover, Sanctuary management documents blame degradation on the Sanctuary's residents (Galiano 2000: 51).

---

[8] Real Academia Española, http://www.rae.es/rae.html, accessed October 2008.

In the Andes, human settlement, animal domestication and agricultural land-use go back millennia; for example, evidence of crop domestication in the Peruvian highlands dates to 8000–6000 BC (Pearsall 2008: 110), and camelids were domesticated by 3500 BC (Wheeler 1995: 280). It is well accepted that humans have long shaped Andean ecosystems in a myriad of ways. Nevertheless, Hispanic and post-colonial land-use practices are deemed particularly disruptive, in stark contrast to the supposedly more sustainable pre-Hispanic land use. The Spanish introduced cattle and sheep, brought in European ploughs that could not be used on Andean terraces, and felled trees for construction and firewood—practices that are cited as contributing to environmental degradation, such as soil erosion (Sarmiento 2000).

Incan agricultural practices, on the other hand, are often praised for being in harmony with the environment (e.g. Degregori 2001), a perspective that is based more on a romantic image of the Inca than on evidence of their actual land-use practices. For example, the Inca did not invent terraces, and they used them not to prevent environmental degradation (as is claimed) but to control water resources (Donkin 1979; Kendall 1984). Furthermore, although the Sanctuary's managers say that the campesinos' agricultural practices are destroying the land in Machu Picchu's Cusichaca Valley, this land was used under the Inca even more extensively than it is today, namely for widespread and intensive maize production that produced a surplus for the state (Kendall 1984).

The perception that the Inca were more in harmony with the environment than the Spaniards and the people who occupy the area today is a contested claim. It is based on an essentialization of the Inca past, and it negates the history and agency of a people who have lived in the area for the last 450 years and condemns their activities (cf. Pratt 1992: 135; Apffel-Marglin/Pratec 1998; Maxwell 2004: 349). Elsewhere, Maxwell has claimed that we need a new approach to Andean ecosystems that stresses not only the impact of present-day human activities (as is done in current conservation practices) but also the natural and human disturbances of long-ago origins (Maxwell 2004: 360). The region in which the Sanctuary is located is prone to natural disasters, because the steepness of the mountains leads to frequent landslides and debris flows that erode hillsides and deposit huge quantities of rock and mud.

Sanctuary protection policies construct culture in a similarly static way; in this case, culture is relegated a historical artefact of the Inca past. Machu Picchu's management plans do not acknowledge that the

current inhabitants comprise part of the Sanctuary's cultural heritage. While these plans do say that rural villages should undergo sustainable development, they focus primarily on the supposedly destructive agricultural practices of the inhabitants (INC/INRENA 1998, 2004).

The campesinos are characterized as lacking culture which is not unique to Machu Picchu. Ypeij analysed many governmental and non-governmental policy texts that are focused on tourism development in Peru. In these texts, there is a strong tendency to perceive culture as something static and essential (Ypeij 2006). Culture is generally heavily associated with indigenous peoples and their historical roots, traditions and rural territories. Such culture is considered to be very important for tourism and as something that can and should be commercialized.

Cultural change is seen as a threat and a loss. Indigenous peoples who change their lifestyles, clothing and hairdos are perceived as 'losing their culture'; they simultaneously lose their value for tourism and Peru's national identity as the 'Land of the Incas'. Peru's government uses essentialized representations of indigenous cultures to serve its goal of promoting Peru as a tourist destination. The photos and videos on the website of PROMPERU (the public institution that promotes Peru as a tourist destination) show that the marketing of indigenous peoples leads to a process of defining them as mystic and exotic others, beautifully dressed and wearing elaborate masks, playing music, smiling, dancing, weaving and clapping their hands. Only a few photos show indigenous people wearing their daily attire and going about their daily activities, and thus expose their poverty.[9]

Controversies over land and indigeneity

The 2004 master plan characterizes the villages within the Sanctuary as undergoing uncontrolled growth and correlates this growth with such environmental problems as waste, polluted water, slash and burn

[9] Http://www.peru.info/peru.asp (videos, photo gallery; last accessed September 2008). In three 30-second film clips, Peru is promoted by presenting indigenous people (two adults and two children) in a rather mystical and occult way. The clips end with the slogan 'Pack your six senses: come to Peru, Land of the Incas'. The photo gallery is frequently updated. Photos have recently been uploaded that show the interaction between indigenous vendors and tourists, which is a more realistic representation of daily life.

agriculture, extensive cattle breeding and illegal building construction (INC/INRENA 2004: 67).

The agricultural activities of the campesinos that live within the Sanctuary are being increasingly restricted, not only by the formal text of the master plans but also by the conservation practices that INRENA personnel implement on a daily basis. The number of cattle the campesinos are allowed to keep is being reduced (ibid. 68); there has even been talk of requiring the campesinos to remove all their cattle from the Sanctuary. The production of potatoes at high altitudes is being reduced as more areas are turned into campsites. Campesinos are not allowed to extend their houses or to have electricity. Villagers depend on firewood for cooking, but are only allowed to collect fallen wood. The implication of these restrictions is that although the campesinos may still undertake agricultural activities, they are not allowed to develop their activities further.

The long-term consequence of this is that the future of their children lies outside the Sanctuary—a fact to which the villagers are resigned. The general trend in the Peruvian Andes over recent decades is for campesinos' children to seek their future outside their rural places of origin. Forced by poverty and in search of education and better living conditions, rural populations have been migrating to urban centres in large numbers (Brougére 1986; Collins 1986). The campesinos within the Sanctuary hope that one their adult children will take over from them and continue living in their houses and working their lands.

Sanctuary policies restrict farming activities because of underlying, immutable perceptions of campesinos and their current agricultural practices as 'external' to the Sanctuary's heritage. Sanctuary institutional discourses define contemporary agricultural activities as 'non-traditional' because they incorporate agricultural and livestock husbandry techniques that were introduced by the Spanish. In the 1998 master plan, and in the environmental assessment report on which the plan is based, these activities are labelled 'wrongly called traditional agriculture':

> ...the impact of wrongly called traditional agriculture where slash and burn is practised, fertilizer and agro-chemicals are used and 'migratory agriculture' is done with the excuse of enlarging the agricultural frontier, which goes against the essence of being a protected area... (INC/INRENA 1998: 118).

Calling all agriculture 'non-traditional' because it is influenced by Spanish practices provides the campesinos with little opportunity

to modify their agricultural strategies enough to meet sustainability standards as established by Sanctuary institutions. Campesino agriculture within the Sanctuary will always bear the hallmark of its Spanish influence. Management institutions consider it their mission to restore Inca environmental harmony as it supposedly existed before the Spanish conquest. The fact that by doing so, 450 years of history are being erased is accepted without much discussion.

The phrase 'wrongly called traditional' expresses the struggle between the campesinos and the authorities over the former's locality and identity. Villagers claim that they have historical roots in the Sanctuary and therefore form part of it, while the authorities perceive them as external to the Sanctuary and as a threat to conservation goals: 'touching' the 'untouchable' Sanctuary damages its cultural and natural heritage. Instead of promoting more sustainable agricultural practices and developing social programmes, Sanctuary institutions deny the historical presence of campesinos and depict them as not belonging to the area.

The director of INRENA, who authorized Ypeij's latest stay within the Sanctuary, expressed surprise that an anthropologist would be interested in the villagers of Huayllabamba, because 'they are not native'. Tourist guides claim that the campesinos are not 'authentic'. The terms 'native' and 'authentic' relate back to being 'indigenous', which implies a strong relation between people and land. In contrast, the villagers within the Sanctuary are depicted as 'peasant farmers who have illegally settled on the land inside the Sanctuary' (Reaño Vargas 2000: 31). They are often referred to as 'invaders'. An employee working at the INRENA office in Cuzco expressed her perception of the campesinos as follows: 'The peasant communities are not registered by the Ministry of Agriculture. They are the workers of the ex-haciendas. Several of them have invaded the land. They do not have their clothing, their histories' (Interview, Cuzco, May 2004).

This INRENA employee perceives campesinos as non-indigenous because their relation to the land is contested (their villages are not officially acknowledged by the state as 'campesino communities') and they do not wear typical indigenous clothes, and the employee regards these two conditions as expressions of their lack of history, traditions and indigeneity. Most of the campesinos do not have titles to their land and are not officially registered as campesino communities; these facts weaken their socio-political position in their struggle for the right to live within the Sanctuary. Until the mid 1970s, the current Sanctuary

area consisted of four haciendas. For centuries, campesinos living in the area were forced to work for the *hacendados*, farming their land, herding their cattle and doing their household chores. In turn, they received usufruct right to small plots of land for subsistence farming and cattle grazing. The older generations of Sanctuary inhabitants still have vivid memories of what their lives and those of their parents were like under the hacienda system: 'We were exploited. We worked like slaves. And the hacendados were the kings'. One of the things they regret most is that the hacendados did not allow campesino workers to be educated.

Land reforms that were launched under the military government of Velasco (1968–1975) have had mixed results in the Sanctuary. The north-eastern part of it is still in private hands, and the family that owns it rents plots of land to campesino families. The eastern part underwent agrarian reform and in 1974 land was distributed among 55 families. Although these campesinos managed to pay off the loans with which they had bought the land, they still do not have formal titles and are not inscribed in the public registry as landowners, which would give them state recognition of land ownership. This delay in formal titling is not uncommon in the Peruvian land reform process. Nevertheless, even without formal titles their land tenure is more or less secure because their mortgages have been redeemed.

There are many land problems in the north-western and western parts of the Sanctuary. Although these parts underwent land expropriation from 1974 onwards, the process had not been completed when the area was turned into a Historical Sanctuary in 1981. This new territorial claim led to many new actors appearing on the scene. Nowadays, state agencies, local residents, hacienda owners, a tourism agency and a NGO all strive for land control (Maxwell 2004: 219–220). Officials perceive Machu Picchu's territory pre-1981 as a tabula rasa, going so far as to say that children born since 1981 have no residential rights at all. The claims that the campesinos are invaders and are not native to the area because they worked for the hacienda obscure the political processes that have historically denied campesinos state-recognized territories throughout the Andes.

These land controversies make the campesinos' position in the area extremely insecure. All over the globe, people who live in protected areas have had resource use rights severely constrained or have even been forcibly removed (Colchester 1999; Dangwal 1999; Maxwell 2004: 9). The campesinos of Machu Picchu are aware of this and are convinced

that INRENA would prefer the Sanctuary to be without inhabitants. Villagers anticipate a future resettlement of at least some inhabitants.

The villagers' fears are not without reason: the 2004 master plan bluntly recommends the relocation of villagers (INC/INRENA 2004: 68). The World Bank, which is financing a development project in the region, does not exclude resettlement as a possibility. The project plan concludes that the people living in the area cannot be considered indigenous.[10] The World Bank project will offer 40 families economic alternatives within the tourism sector, such as cleaning and guardian work. If the families do not accept this offer, they will be resettled.[11]

Being defined as 'non-indigenous' denies villagers not only their history and their right to live within the Sanctuary, but also the legal means to claim residential rights based on international and national laws that are designed to protect indigenous peoples. Although they are defined as non-indigenous people, the campesinos themselves are proud to be Quechua-speakers. Their social organization demonstrates such Andean characteristics as *ayni* (symmetrical reciprocal exchange) and *faena* (obligatory community work) (Mayer 2001). Ninety per cent of the villagers were born and raised in the area and are related to other residents through kinship and *compadrazgo* (godparent-hood) ties; the remainder were born outside the Sanctuary (Maxwell 2004: 289) but are living there because they are married to residents. Indigeneity is not a cultural expression that comes and goes with clothing style, as the static definitions of culture used by World Bank and Sanctuary officials would have us believe. Villagers consider themselves indigenous, as forming part of the Sanctuary's history and as belonging there today.

---

[10] In paragraph 9 of the project information document (World Bank 2004) it is stated that it has been determined that the indigenous peoples policy is not triggered by the project based on the fact 'that the communities…to be directly impacted by the project do not exhibit characteristics as outlined by the five eligibility criteria in paragraph 5 of OD 4.20'. The document OD.4.20, September 1991, is the World Bank Operational Manual Indigenous Peoples. The criteria are: close attachment to ancestral territories, identification as members of a distinct cultural group, an indigenous language, presence of customary social and political institutions, and primarily subsistence-oriented production.

[11] World Bank 2004: 1–12.

Profiting from tourism under new Inca Trail regulations

The principal means by which villagers earn cash income is by working in tourism. Women sell sweets, drinks and other items to Inca Trail hikers. They also sell food and *chicha* (home-brewed corn beer) to the porters who work for the tour operators. Many families have transformed agricultural fields or pasture near their homes into campsites. Although they are prohibited from charging tourists to stay at their campsites, they earn money through the sale of beverages and other products.

Since the advent of Inca Trail trekking in the 1970s, village men have worked as the tourists' porters during the four-day hike. These men gradually began to specialize in working as one-day porters, hauling tourist backpacks from campsites up to the highest pass at 4,200 m above sea level. Although the villagers did not necessarily find work every day, they could earn significantly more per day than they could working as porters for a tourism agency. Also, instead of having to stay away from home for up to a week, they could still get in an afternoon's work in their fields.

In 2000, new Inca Trail regulations were established in an effort to reduce the significant environmental impacts that tourists were having on the Trail. These regulations have resulted in an increased state presence along the Trail and decreased income opportunities for campesinos who live beside the Trail. The regulations cover four principal aspects of Trail trekking: 1) tourists must travel with guides or tourist agencies, so that the latter can be legally held responsible for any infractions of Trail regulations, such as littering; 2) trekking groups must have their rubbish weighed at each of the five INRENA checkpoints; 3) the weight of the packs that tour company porters carry is limited to 25 kilos, and the packs must be weighed at INRENA checkpoints; 4) the carrying capacity of the Trail is limited to 500 entrants a day, a figure that includes the tourists and their guides, porters and cooks (this is a more recent modification to the 2000 rules). The Trail is closed in February to allow it to regenerate.

Although the restrictions on the Trail's carrying capacity have not been fully implemented, they have impacted Trail tourism by making it more difficult to purchase an entry ticket. Sanctuary officials are working to implement advance campsite assignments, which will reduce the villagers' control over the campsites they have created.

Before the introduction of the new regulations, many campesino families benefited from tourism and some of the women became

successful businesswomen. One woman—'Señora Ester'—started selling candies and beverages to tourists more than 20 years ago. She was one of the first to do so and was fortunate that her house was located at a strategic point on the Trail. For almost 15 years, her business thrived and she extended her shop supply to include a wide variety of products that meet tourists' needs, such as soap, toilet paper and batteries.

According to Señora Ester, sales have been sky high in the past. She used her income to finance new constructions near her house (the regulations were not so strict at the time) and to send her children to secondary school and then university. Nowadays, one of her daughters works as a tourist guide on the Trail. One of her sons is being trained as a cook and to work with tourist groups. Señora Ester also bought plots of land in the nearby town of Urubamba and built two houses there. She is not the only one to have set up a new household in Urubamba and to send her children to school there. Children as young as six are sent to the city to go to school. They are taken care of by their siblings, other family members, landladies or their mothers, who travel to the city twice a week. At weekends, the children return to the Sanctuary.

Villagers have reported that the number of tourists who bought their products has dropped steadily since 2000 and that each year regulations are implemented more strictly.[12] Cooks and porters carry all the food and drink the tourists need, which is why they are not buying in the same amounts as before. Another effect of the regulations limiting pack weight is that the number of porters working for tour companies has doubled. This flow of porters has enabled Señora Ester and other women who live beside the Trail to extend their sales of chicha and meals to the porters. However, these activities can never compensate for their decreased sales to tourists, because the purchasing power of the porters is low and turnovers are modest. In addition, only a few women sell to the porters, as the market has been cornered by a few chicha-selling specialists. Village women have lost more than they have gained from this change in regulations.

Village men have felt the impact of Trail regulation in a different way. Most tourists now pay their tour operators to have porters haul

[12] This doesn't mean that the number of tourists has dropped. On the contrary, compared to 2003, the number of tourists increased in 2006 from 126,244 to 139,909, which means an average of 383 tourists a day (http: //portal.inc-Cuzco.gob.pe/portal /descargas/estadisticas/Estadisticas-Visitantes2006.pdf accessed October 2008; Maxwell 2004: 217.

their backpacks for the entire trip, instead of hiring locals to work as one-day porters. Some village men have responded to the change in regulations by returning to work as porters for the entire Trail. This strategy is complicated by the huge amount of competition: over 2500 men compete in the porter labour market. Village men also have opportunities to work for the Sanctuary management institutions and are engaged in restoration and conservation work throughout the park. While many rural men work full time for INC, only a few work for INRENA. Other rural men and a few women work seasonally for INC on archaeological restoration projects that operate only in the dry season. Although the men's income has also been reduced significantly as a result of the lack of one-day opportunities as porters, they have more alternatives than the women do.

INRENA objects to the sale of soft drinks and sweets to tourists, partly because of the rubbish produced: many tourists used to litter the ground with plastic soft-drink and water bottles. However, this problem seems to have been mitigated as a result of the new regulation that obliges tour groups to weigh their rubbish at checkpoints along the Trail. Another objection is that INRENA personnel perceive the selling of soft drinks alongside the Trail as disrupting the tourists' experience of nature and history. Management discourse also promotes the notion that selling soft drinks is not part of the 'traditional' Andean livelihood, even though women have a history of being vendors in rural and urban markets in the Peruvian Andes (Seligman 2004).

The Sanctuary's managers worry that tourism activity is eroding 'traditional' culture. Discourse about the campesinos takes a strange turn here: on the one hand they are perceived as 'non-indigenous', while on the other hand they are not indigenous enough and are losing what indigeneity they once had. Villagers have been endeavouring to obtain electricity in their villages, but the Sanctuary's managers and tourist guides assert that electricity would make the villages less attractive to tourists because they would lose their 'authentic' and rural character. Indeed, many tourists have a romantic perception of rural life as a relic from the past (cf. Mowforth & Munt 2003: 69–78). Señora Ester recently installed a solar panel and a satellite dish on her roof so that her sons could watch televised football matches. This act led to a fierce dispute with the Sanctuary's managers—which she has won for the time being (the TV set was still working during Ypeij's last visit).

State agencies have suggested alternative livelihoods for campesinos, such as the making and selling of handicrafts or putting on dances for

tourists. Both proposals demonstrate a static definition of 'traditional' Andean cultures. The Sanctuary's residents have argued that they do not know how to make handicrafts, they do not have a tradition of weaving, the tourism market in Cuzco is already over-saturated with handicrafts, and they do not think that tourists would purchase objects that they would have to carry for four days (Maxwell 2004: 301–302).

Another example of how authorities intend to give tourists an experience of 'traditional' Andean cultures comes from INC, which has introduced llamas and alpacas to the ruins of Machu Picchu. These animals are frequently and enthusiastically photographed by tourists. Although the altitude of the ruins (2,400 m above sea level) is too low to support endemic camelid populations, Machu Picchu is promoted in tourism brochures by means of pictures of llamas and alpacas happily grazing the exotic grass on the terraces. This generic depiction that equates the Andes with llamas and alpacas disregards camelid biology.

Tourism, land reforms and other developments have undeniably impacted the customs, practices and lifestyles of the Sanctuary's residents. Education levels have risen considerably since schools were opened in some villages, and many residents now earn enough to send their children to urban schools and universities. Quechua is the main language used in daily interaction, but the majority of the population manages Spanish very well. Only the oldest generations are monolingual Quechua-speakers. Typical indigenous clothing and hairstyles such as *polleros*, hats and braids are worn by the older women, but the younger generations dress in a more urban style. Most men do not wear indigenous clothing, although a generation ago, many wore ponchos. The young men favour football shirts and sneakers, as do most young men throughout the Peruvian Andes.

Conclusions

Tourism along the Inca Trail has a large impact on the daily life of the campesinos that live within the Sanctuary. Their agricultural and cattle breeding activities are restricted by state authorities. Although tourism offers income-generating opportunities, it also divides families. Some women had developed businesses selling sweets and soft drinks to tourist along the Trail, but new regulations have led to a severe drop in sales. Although the state agencies increasingly hire local residents to carry out construction, conservation and restoration work, the jobs that are

created are often meant for men, not women. A sharp division based on gender emerges as new regulations erode women's economic strategies and agency funding for tourism offers new opportunities to men.

Social inequality is evident in other ways as well. Some families have been able to benefit from tourism and improve their socio-economic position: they have set up additional households in the nearby town of Urubamba and sent their children to school and university. Like many other students, these children may pursue careers in tourism as guides or cooks. However, campesinos who do not live close to the Trail or whose economic circumstances do not allow them to invest in campsites or other enterprises have far fewer opportunities to benefit from tourism. Their economic situation lags behind the general increase in cash income. They especially suffer from restrictions on agricultural activities, a loss of livelihood possibilities and increasing poverty.

Despite the social stratification that results from tourism, the villagers' approach to tourism is generally very positive. They often see it as the only way to improve their socio-economic position. Nevertheless, they strongly object to the way in which the state institutions manage the Sanctuary.

State agencies utilize static perceptions of nature and culture, and thus do not perceive the campesinos as partners in the Sanctuary's management or as part of the Sanctuary's heritage. Literature shows that a glorified Incan past has been deliberately divorced from the contemporary culture and lifestyles of the Andean campesinos: the campesinos are heralded when they are safely in the past, while their contemporary practices are often perceived as backward and illegal (Apffel-Marglin 1995: 870; de la Cadena 2000; van den Berghe & Flores Ochoa 2000).

In the case of the Sanctuary's management, this perception of the local campesinos as both backward and non-traditional has resulted in a discriminating discourse in which the campesinos are defined as harming the environment by simply living their daily lives. They are regarded as invaders and categorized as both non-indigenous and not indigenous enough. Because campesinos are perceived as not belonging to the Sanctuary, the state's conservation policies result in exclusion and far-reaching control of the campesinos' daily lives.

The World Heritage status of the Sanctuary merely aggravates this situation. The static perception of nature and culture can already be found in the global criteria according to which the Sanctuary has been placed on the UNESCO list. It is reinforced by INC's and INRENA's

self-evaluated threats to the Sanctuary's heritage and information flows to UNESCO.

Tourists from all over the world travel to Machu Picchu and other static examples of heritage. As tourists lose touch with what heritage, cultural landscapes, sustainable relations with nature and sustainable cultural practices might be, their desire to see relics from the past is being fulfilled, but with severe consequences for the modern-day residents of these areas.

PART THREE

POLITICS OF HERITAGE TOURISM

CHAPTER TEN

TRIVIALIZING CULTURE, SOCIAL CONFLICT AND HERITAGE TOURISM IN QUITO

Alan Middleton

The Strategic Plan for Tourism of the Metropolitan Tourist Corporation of Quito proposes that Quito should present itself as a city that has history and that evolves and knows how to combine the past, the present and the future, like the majority of the world's most important tourist cities. Consequently, its future in international tourism is highly dependent on what happens in the historical centre of Quito (HCQ), for this is the central element in the attractiveness of Quito, perhaps the icon of its international image (Corporación Metropolitana de Turismo de Quito 2002). The Plan argues that Quito's position as a Cultural Heritage Site of Humanity ought to be its central product and the basic element in its promotion. In studies of what tourists value most about Quito, its 'friendly people' come at the top of the list. The vision for 2010 is of a lively historical centre, exemplified by its cultural dynamism and the friendliness of its people. By promoting the physical, cultural and human elements of the city, Quito is thought to have the potential to be recognized internationally as the 'cultural capital of the Andes'.

The development of heritage tourism in Quito, however, has depended on the removal of some of Quito's people from the streets, opening access to colonial and republican buildings, and reducing indigenous culture to colourful representations and processions that confirm the 'otherness' of people who are integrated into society at the bottom of the social structure. In the competition for global tourism, the physical attributes of the city's history have been given pride of place in the tourist literature. The grand houses, churches, cathedral, museums and public spaces express the dominant Spanish culture in a city that was created by extracting surpluses from the country's rural areas. As is the case with other colonial centres in Latin America (Dias Velarde 2001), the HCQ is testimony to the historical concentration of power and wealth in Ecuadorean society. The beauty of Quito is a

physical manifestation of the exploitation of the indigenous population over half a millennium. The 'particular representation' (Hall 1994) of history that is provided for the heritage tourists in the HCQ is selective and distorted. As an expression of colonial wealth and to the extent that it ignores the suffering of indigenous populations, the reality that is defined for the tourist is the result of political choices. From the social and economic history of the forced labour for private gain of the colonial times through to the debt bondage of *huasipungo* in the twentieth century, unpaid indigenous labour was used to accumulate the wealth that allowed the church, governments and private individuals to create the buildings and the spaces that the tourists enjoy (Perez 1947, Jaramillo Perez 1962). The 'selective identification, interpretation, conservation and marketing of the inherited built environment' (Tunbridge 1994: 123) of Quito results in a cultural message that airbrushes out the colonial and post-colonial repression of a society and economy that has been part of the world's political economy for more than 500 years. Also lost is the culture of indigenous resistance.

What heritage tourism sees but does not recognize is a physical world that is an expression of a particular set of values that derive from a historical struggle for power and that continue to define social, cultural and economic relations. These relations have certainly changed over time, but the values of local elites are more consistent with the consumerist lifestyles of international tourists than with the values and needs of indigenous populations (Crick 1989). In order to make the HCQ available for the international tourists, the descendants of those whose labour created this concentration of power and wealth were removed from the streets and other public spaces that surrounded the magnificent architecture of the convents, churches, monuments and other historical buildings (Middleton 2003).

International tourism's income-earning potential encourages city officials to support elite interpretations of history and heritage and, just as nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century elites saw indigenous populations as major obstacles to development (Guerrero 1997; Clark 1998; Garrard-Burnett 2000), street traders were identified as the main barrier to the modernization of the city at the end of the twentieth century (BID 1994; Herrera & Cordova 1998). These people, whose livelihoods depend on the continuing economic vitality of the HCQ, were characterized not only as an obstacle to the modernization plans but also as the creators of the congestion, rubbish and insecurity that sends tourists elsewhere.

The historical city is therefore the physical manifestation of social and economic forces, and the growth of heritage tourism has amplified the fact that the use of these urban buildings and spaces continues to be contested by the descendants of the invisible indigenous labour force that was exploited in their creation. This continuity between the visible and invisible attributes of history and the globalization of heritage consumption in turn creates its own local consequences. The conflict between the heritage consumption of an international elite and the survival needs of local populations creates spatial, cultural, economic, social and political outcomes.

Social cleansing and the use of space

By the time Quito became the first city in the world to be recognized by UNESCO as a Cultural Heritage Site of Humanity in 1978, the upper and middle classes had moved out of the 'colonial centre'—as the HCQ was known at the time—to take up residence in the north of the city, close to the new offices and sources of employment in government ministries, the financial sector and commerce. Popular housing developed mainly in the south of the city and the city core remained the centre of small-scale trading and artisan production. UNESCO recognition placed the area in a global cultural context and encouraged the development of a framework for conservation. Following earthquake damage in 1987, a heritage rescue fund (Fondo de Salvamento de Patrimonio, FONSAL) was created to support the rehabilitation work of the council (Carrión and Vallejo 1992; Bromley & Jones 1995). The concept of rehabilitation was extended beyond buildings and monuments of architectural importance to cover public spaces, buildings of less architectural merit, and the improvement of services and infrastructure, including transport.

The Master Plan for the Integral Rehabilitation of the Historical Centre of Quito, which was drawn up in 1988 and became part of the District Metropolitan Plan for Quito in 1991 (Municipio de Quito 1988, 1991), was based on the principles of democratization, decentralization and participation, and led to the formulation of a policy that emphasized both conservation and development. At the time, the rehabilitation of the cultural heritage and the improvement of the living conditions of those who lived in the HCQ were seen as inseparable, and the proposals put forward for the economic regeneration of the area included increasing employment and providing training for street traders.

The funding obtained through partnerships with various national conservation agencies in Belgium, Spain, Italy and the United States, however, was for the restoration of Quito's monasteries, churches and squares (Corzo 1997). As a consequence, conservation policy concentrated on buildings and monuments and on cosmetic measures to renovate streets and squares (Bromley 1998). When encouraging tourism became important in FONSAL's plan for the HCQ in 1994, the exclusion of the informal traders became part of the city's conservation strategy.

A Company for the Development of the HCQ (Empresa) was set up in 1995 to manage a USD 51 million loan from the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), and its programme consisted of the rehabilitation of public spaces and buildings of particular historical and architectural value, improvement of the urban infrastructure and the provision of services that would rescue the historical area from decline. This was seen as a means of improving the quality of life of residents as well as making the centre more attractive for visitors; however, the IDB was concerned about informal trade and argued that the traders were holding back other forms of private sector investment (BID 1994). The IDB asked that a study be carried out on the street traders, and between 1996 and 1998 four studies were carried out (Municipio de Quito 1996a; Empresa de Desarrollo del Centro Histórico de Quito 1997; Middleton 1997; Herrera & Cordova 1998).

The first three studies acknowledged that informal commerce was a dynamic aspect of the local economy, offering employment and income to a sector of the workforce and supplying cheap goods for consumption by lower and lower-middle income households. Empresa recognized that informal trade was a creative response to a lack of other employment opportunities and that any strategy for the reorganization of the use of space in the HCQ should take this into account. However, for the IDB and local planners, the removal of these informal activities from the streets was a necessary part of the conservation policy and a precondition for private sector investment and the growth of tourism in the city. As the fourth study confirmed this view, it was therefore more acceptable to the authorities and provided a context for future conflict. The development of heritage tourism and what to do about the street traders emerged as a major political issue for Empresa as it tried to redevelop the HCQ and reposition it as an international tourist attraction.

Empresa in particular had to confront a fundamental set of interrelated dilemmas, namely how to reconcile the use of public space for tourists and the middle classes with the interests of the traders; how to tackle the issue of the restoration of public buildings with the practice of traders; how to measure and compare the contribution of the city traders to the city economy with the potential contribution of tourists who were thought to be put off by their activity; how to reconcile the planners' need for control over public and private spaces with the aspirations of the traders; and, ultimately, how to promote the rational use of space in the context of the global trends of international tourism and the local interests of a significant segment of social, economic, cultural and political life in the city (Middleton 2003).

There was no doubt that views of the churches and other buildings of architectural interest were being obstructed by trading activities, and that if tourism was to be developed these buildings needed to be viewable. The area was congested, the generation and management of waste was costing the council more than they were earning in revenues from traders, buildings were being damaged by the nails that secured makeshift stalls, dampness was being created by stalls being pitched hard against walls, and access to formal premises was blocked off. In spatial-physical terms, there was much that needed to be done. However, for the council planners—who had difficulty in recognizing that tourism policy involved more than the monumentalism that had driven FONSAL's earlier policies—the easiest way to deal with the socio-economic complexities of the HCQ was to clear the streets, by force if necessary.

Following a proposed Master Plan for Informal Commerce in the HCQ (Herrera & Cordova 1998), the three agencies responsible for planning and land use in the HCQ drew up a Plan for the Modernization and Ordering of Popular Commerce in Quito (the Modernization Plan; Municipio de Quito 1999) that completely ignored the interests of the street traders. The Master Plan, which was written to support the perspective of the city planners and the middle and upper classes of the city, was concerned with the recovery of urban spaces occupied by informal traders and establishing regulations that would control the traders in future (Middleton 2003). The remit was clearly written to deal with the issue of clearing the space for an international tourist elite. All the problems of the city were blamed on the traders, and the idea that the traders could contribute anything to the development of

tourism was not considered. As an expression of the values of the planners and the local and international elites, the content of the Master Plan serves to expose the political nature of tourism policy. When the authors advised the mayor that the execution of the strategy needed 'an unyielding and very tough political decision' (Herrera & Cordova 1998: 47–48) and that there should be no negotiation over its key principles, its rejection by the traders was inevitable.

Although the Modernization Plan recognized that there was scope for a more supportive approach to be adopted for popular trade and its 'fundamental principles' spoke of transparency, efficiency, promotion, facilitation and harmonization, its objectives for the HCQ were to reorder the land use and change its image for the development of tourism. The mayor's discourse became increasingly hostile: he said that there would not be a single trader left on the streets by the middle of 1999 (*Últimas Noticias* 22.1.99) and that 'if we don't get collaboration, the police will intervene' (*Hoy* 5.2.99). Political allies of the mayor joined the attack on the traders by employing the language that characterized the racist anti-indigenous discourse of Ecuadorean history. The president of the Commission for Historical Areas, arguing in support of increased tourist activity in the HCQ, said that it was impossible to project a good image of the city if the monuments were converted into petty markets 'where none of the norms of hygiene are observed' (*La Hora* 8.2.99), while a local headmaster complained that the traders not only left their rubbish behind but that their children were using the public spaces as toilets. These are clear expressions of middle-class perceptions of indigenous culture that have been long held in Ecuador.

International tourism and the trivialization of indigenous culture

There is a deep-seated racism in Ecuadorean society that is often expressed in terms of the 'culture' of indigenous peoples, emphasizing their 'lack of education' and their 'irrationality' (Clark 1998). This encourages a paternalistic view that holds that they do not really understand what is best for them. From the point of view of the planners, this 'problem of culture' stopped the traders from understanding their point of view and from behaving in a way that the officers thought appropriate. It was, in the words of the planners, 'impossible to deal with these people'.

Although around 60 per cent of the market traders in Quito were born in the city (Herrera & Cordova 1998), many of them are the sons or daughters of indigenous immigrants and there is been a link between street trading and the rural indigenous population that can be traced back to the nineteenth century. Pressures to remove indigenous traders from the central area at that time were partly based on the argument that they lowered the cultural tone of the area and that they dirtied the pavements of the city centre (Kingman and Goetschel 1992). The link that was made in the minds of the planners between the modern traders and indigenous groups is therefore not without foundation. There is a long-standing perception that identifies the traders as part of this indigenous culture, which is despised by the middle and upper classes. It is a perception that has its historical roots in the nineteenth-century thinking and in the analyses of the European Hygienists (Anderson 1995; Guerrero 1997; Garrand-Burnett 2000; Zulowski 2000). It is a 'way of seeing' that is also supported by the fact that although the migrants from the rural areas and from the other towns and cities of the Sierra are a minority, they are highly visible. The greatest concentration of indigenous people from Chimborazo province, for example, is to be found in the HCQ. They work in the streets of Ipiales and San Roque and a few of them also live in this area (Tocagón 1997: 194). The majority of them work in informal trade, selling such goods as clothes, fruit or vegetables. Some are porters in the market, and their children work as shoe-shiners in the streets and squares in the HCQ during their free time and school holidays. As they emerge from the rural areas to find work in the cities, they 'pose a danger to white-mestizo power and society as they advance economically or move physically into schools, shops, government offices and other institutional settings' (Colloredo-Mansfield 1998: 192–193). Their presence in the historical city centre is seen by many middle-class Quiteños as an expression of this threat to the well-being of themselves and the city. In their view, they are precisely the type of people who had to be removed from the streets in favour of international tourists.

Many of the international tourists who visit Ecuador to see its cultural attractions, as expressed in the churches, monasteries and museums, also have an interest in indigenous culture. However, the culture that they wish to absorb should be safe, friendly and welcoming. There is a preference, at least in the minds of those who most actively seek to attract tourists, that the indigenous peoples and their culture should

harmoniously adorn the colonial spaces. They have no interest in the indigenous culture of resistance. Tourists do not wish to participate in such events as the processions and marches that have led to the indigenous population, with the support of the street traders, overthrowing a succession of the country's presidents since 1997.

Throughout the 1990s, there was a close affinity between informal traders and indigenous movements. The traders joined the indigenous uprisings that closed down the Sierra in 1990 in a dispute over ancestral lands, helped to depose the corrupt populist President Abdala Bucaram in 1997, closed down the Sierra again in 1999 in response to President Mahuad's neoliberal reform package and supported the coup that overthrew Mahuad in 2000. It was the planners of Mahuad's municipal government of 1997 who complained about the 'culture' of the traders, lamented that it was impossible to deal with them, and sought to remove them from the streets in order to give the tourists access to the churches and other monuments in the historical centre.

In some historical centres, if the 'culture' of the street sellers is expressed in traditional costumes and the sale of 'authentic' indigenous wares, they can be viewed as making a positive contribution to tourist development. In her chapter on street vendors in Cuzco, Steel (this volume) shows what happens when historical centres are dedicated to the well-being of tourists, and romanticized versions of urban life are detached from the urban decay and poverty in other parts of the city. If street traders can be portrayed as indigenous-looking descendants of Incas, they can become promotional 'historical objects'; if not, they are seen as 'contemporary subjects' who should be excluded from the tourist areas.

As Little points out in his contribution on the Maya population of Guatemala in this volume, urban indigenous populations also have a vested interest in tourism, which creates a state of ambivalence in relation to tourist activities. In Antigua, the ladino population wants to see the Maya removed from the physical space that carries a World Heritage designation; however, the Maya are an essential attraction for the international cultural tourist, who expects to find them in this physical context. The fact that they are considered to 'both pollute and beautifully adorn this contested place' creates social, cultural and political ambiguities that are also found in Cuzco and to some extent in Quito, in the situation of street traders and in the treatment of indigenous culture. In Ecuador, however, in contrast to the situation in the early 1990s, the rural indigenous population is now a powerful

political force that has brought down governments and, with urban allies such as the street traders, can create new ones.

The angry culture of resistance that finds political expression in this way, however, implies violence and scares tourists away. The tourists prefer the folklore of costumes, music and dance. The presentation of their culture for heritage tourism creates an image that is safe and friendly, rather than conflictive. Social relations that embody a culture of repression and resistance—a culture that has been passed down from generation to generation over half a millennium—are reduced to a harmonious vision that is acted out in a newly sanitized urban space. This partial representation of indigenous culture is acted out in the same spatial context from which the traders have been removed.

Indigenous culture is trivialized when beliefs and ways of behaving that were established in a conflictive colonial environment and learned through transmission from generation to generation as part of an expanding social heritage, are plucked from their historical context and reinterpreted for the cultural world of the international tourist. Cultures will change through interaction with constantly changing environments. In her chapter in this volume, Meisch points to ways in which traditional artisan production in Ecuador is modified through interactions with tourists, whereby 'tradition' is negotiated by sellers and buyers, as the former seek new production methods to make their businesses more efficient while the latter insist on authentic indigenous crafts. However, in the case of the promotion of the HCQ, indigenous culture is made insignificant by removing it from the environment that produced it and replacing it with a new interpretation of beliefs and behaviour that suits the heritage tourists' world view.

Ballet Jacchigua

In the streets around Plaza San Francisco, the members of Jacchigua (Ecuador's national folkloric ballet), dressed in clothes that they pretend are typically indigenous, wait for groups of tourists. The women who are part of this ballet have lipstick on their lips, mascara on their eyelashes and they are wearing clothes that constitute a mixture of some indigenous and some modern elements, such as plastic collars and machine-embroidered blouses. In a church, which is now accessible because there are no longer traders blocking the streets and where the welcoming event for the tourists takes place, they perform dances that

apparently recapture their indigenous roots. These dances, however, provide examples of the way in which the rich and profound diversity of Andean culture is trivialized for tourist consumption.

It must be recognized that Jacchigua provides employment for indigenous families. It is a show with as many as 90 dancers, musicians and technicians that presents a spectacular interpretation of what they claim are the traditions and customs of Ecuador. The total company is composed of more than 350 dancers and their families and it supports a Children's Ballet, the Golden Ballet, the Young Deaf Ballet, the Ethnic Ballet and a ballet for young people with learning difficulties. It is a successful artistic endeavour that has been in existence for almost 20 years and it was set up with the fundamental objective of stimulating culture in Ecuador. It has provided Quito with 'a ballet like other important cities in the world' (www.jacciguaesecuador.com). In contrast to the anti-indigenous sentiments of Quito's middle classes and planners, Jacchigua is a permanent cultural investment that is presented as a part of Quito's contribution to world heritage. However, in the HCQ, the final destination for the indigenous marches that overthrew presidents, the ballet emphasizes unity, coexistence and a national consciousness. It recovers and maintains the memory of a 'multicultural' nation, 'transmitting the joy of life with values and sensitivity'. 'The spectator can enjoy, cry and ultimately feel free to create memories according to the collective memory of a diverse nation.... Jacchigua is humility, solidarity, colour and peace' (ibid.).

Jacchigua creates and sells an image of an ideal past in which there is no conflict or resistance, and its relationship to indigenous culture is tenuous at best. The publicity material for the ballet says that:

> The dance creates human persons that are useful, it unites families, and it creates national conscience, thus, reaching the pleasure of dance as an element of human coexistence. Jacchigua is 'life with dignity', full of colours, wrapped in necklaces and shawls, ponchos, blouses embroidered with threads wet with sweat and tears of joy, it is the reflection of a few for many. Jacchigua is Ecuador, with its feelings and sensitivity, because we have patrimony and cultural memory, inherited from *taitas* and *mamas*.

On occasions, this one-sided presentation of indigenous culture is reinforced by a dancer who is disguised as a shaman and dressed in a tiger skin, which would never happen in real life, distorting the ritual and role of a person who is of profound religious importance in the indigenous cosmology. The overall effect is to misrepresent the complexity

of historical social relations in Ecuador and reinforce the inequalities of the present.

Jacchigua comes from the word *jacchima* in quichua. It was the festivity that the *patron* (landlord) would give to his workers on the patio of the hacienda, after having collected the grain and stored the seeds. *Husicamas* (house workers) and *hausipungueros* (share-workers) 'would enjoy a day of festivities with the landlord and his family along with food, drinks, dance and music' (www.jacciguaesecuador.com). These dances, however, which in the colonial era and post-independence took place in the month of June throughout the Ecuadorean Sierra, constituted a unique moment in which, following the harvests, the rural social structure of *patron-hacendado / indio-huasipungero* was renewed and reinforced. It was only at this time that the large doors of the hacienda were opened to admit the indigenous people with their traditional indigenous dances, giving thanks to the sun, the *inti raymi*. Once a year the *patrones* permitted them to socialize with their families, giving them alcohol and food. For a brief moment, they were welcomed into the home of the boss, who would receive them with an embrace. They could walk around the grand patio, usually around the cross that was always a feature of these patios, absorbing these symbols of colonialism. The patrón permitted their presence for they knew that when the Indians had left the patio of the hacienda, the annual pact of servitude had been renewed for all of these Indians. This ritual, constantly renewed, permitted the continuing exploitation of the indigenous peoples and the permanence of the economic institution of the hacienda.

An alternative perspective on huasipungo, therefore, is that it was a relationship that bound indigenous workers to a hacienda after *concertaje* was abolished in 1918, extending debt peonage into the twentieth century. Its heritage is rooted in the enslavement and forced labour of the *encomienda* of colonial times, through which the Spanish crown gave Spanish settlers in Ecuador the right to use Indian labour and receive tribute from them. When the encomienda was replaced by the concertaje, slavery was replaced by feudal servitude. In this system, the Indian became permanently attached to and dependent on a white landowner through a system of land sharing and debt peonage, whereby they were forced to work for the land owner in exchange for a small salary, the right to use a parcel of land for subsistence production, and access to water, firewood and pasture for their animals. Indians could buy food and other supplies only from the landowner's store, which

charged inflated prices and extended credit at high interest rates (Becker 1998). It was common for Indians to fall deeper and deeper into debt, for this debt to be passed on from generation to generation, and for the indebted Indians to be sold with the hacienda, included as part of the value of the property and listed with the cattle and other items of value. In this system, *huasicamia* was forced domestic labour, whereby the *concerto* and his family were required to provide personal services on a rotating basis in the master's house on the hacienda or in his main residence in what is now the HCQ.

This system of debt peonage continued through the period after independence, to the debt bondage of huasipungo, which extended from the Liberal era to the middle of the twentieth century. Indigenous workers continued to be exploited and abused by hacienda owners and treated as a material asset in the white man's economy, more of a piece of property than a human being. In elite culture, rather than educating the indigenous peoples as the law required, they were abused and alienated from the benefits of progress. Huasipungo was also a land-sharing system, whereby the huasipungero would be given a small, less than subsistence-level plot and access to pasture land, in exchange for work on the hacienda for three to six days a week. The free labour of huasicama and the inheritance of debts were abolished but, despite the intention of the law of 1918, debt bondage continued to be an integral part of the system. Until the Agrarian Reform Act of 1964, it was a system that was at the heart of the development of indigenous ethnicity, through their historical attachment to the land, and it was an important catalyst for the nature of rural protest throughout Ecuador (Becker 1998).

When these historical antecedents—this social and economic heritage of Ecuador—are transposed into its modern cultural interpretation, we have a folkloric ballet that takes certain music, certain movements and certain clothes, and presents them for consumption by tourists who visit the recently sanitized HCQ. Sometimes, through the medium of dance, emerges a *chola cuencana*, a folkloric mixed-race character from the south of the country who would have had no relationship with the celebration of the indigenous harvest. It constitutes a trivial presentation of Andean culture that has neither historical substance nor anthropological justification. Indigenous attachment to land, as an essential part of their ethnicity, is ignored. The struggle for land is central to Indian identity, as important as and intimately connected to their dress, language and music. Indigenous culture cannot be understood without reference to

it. The folklore of Jacchigua is art and perhaps we should not expect music, costume and dance to be explicitly political, but in trivializing indigenous culture it becomes political. Presenting their dances in the contested space of the HCQ reinforces the political content.

Trivializing culture for heritage tourists, however, happens not only with indigenous culture, but also in the interpretation of a colonial culture that has incorporated aspects of pre-Columbian belief systems. Religious ceremonies in modern Quito represent examples of this.

Semana Santa *in Quito*

The *Semana Santa* processions in Quito are more than four centuries old. Today, this holy week is celebrated across the city and in the HCQ in particular, through a variety of rituals of faith that derive from the colonial period. Religious images and icons—such as the *Señora de Dolores*, with swords driven through her heart, or the life-sized crucified Christ, which was brought from Europe by the St Augustine monks during colonial times—are brought out of museums to become part of the living religious culture of Quito.

On the Tuesday following Palm Sunday, the *Minga* of the Grains is enacted, in which an old tradition of bringing grains into the city for the preparation of the Fanesca soup is played out in a procession. A minga brings together people from the community to carry out communal work, a pre-Columbian tradition that is still widely practised in Ecuador and was used by the church in the seventeenth century to get work carried out on their properties by indigenous communities. On the Tuesday of Semana Santa, Jacchigua performs a dance about the entry of the *Jocheros* (harvesters); this supposedly re-creates the bringing of the products of the recent harvest, which are used in the preparation of a dish—*la Fanesca*—that is enjoyed in this epoch. This event is an element that is totally superimposed on a religious Catholic ritual, which in itself has rich and important meanings of cultural significance, an adaptation of a ritual in the new world and which ought to be carefully recovered and re-created. However, the coarse superimposition of elements—such as the entrance of the Jocheros—trivializes the social and economic roots of this cultural display.

On the Wednesday, in the medieval ceremony of the Dragging of the Cloth, a priest walks over prostrate participants to pass the virtues of Jesus to them and to remind them that, no matter what their position in

life, they all have to die to live like Jesus in glory. On Maundy Thursday, following communion across the city, the churches of the HCQ display their finest treasures and the next day, following morning prayers, the great Good Friday procession takes place. In the procession of *Jesus del Gran Poder* (Jesus Almighty), which starts and finishes in the church of San Francisco, up to 100,000 people are said to participate, acting out the roles of everyone who participated in the crucifixion—Christ, Roman soldiers, penitents and thieves.

One can observe an assembly of the religious images of the colonial period and watch the procession of penitents through the streets: *cucuruchos* walking bare footed in their purple capes, their faces covered in hoods that rise to a point a metre above their heads; others flagellating their naked torsos with a variety of types of whips, carrying heavy crosses and wearing crowns of thorns that lacerate their heads. This devout declaration of religious faith includes members of all social classes and ethnicity in Quito, but repeated in towns across Ecuador, it has a high proportion of indigenous participants. In Quito, this week of deep-seated religious ritual is converted into a spectacle for tourists whose connection to it may be no more than voyeurism. The procession of *Jesus del Gran Poder* is promoted as the most important celebration in Quito and one of the most important in Latin America. The spectators (tourists without whom this would be a minor festival) watch in order to be enthralled and entertained by the spectacle, rather to atone for their sins. In this process, devout religiosity as an aspect of Ecuadorean culture is trivialized and reduced to a spectacle of suffering and blood-letting that conveys a sadomasochistic message to the tourist.

On the Saturday of Semana Santa, after the death of Jesus—following which, in accordance with the liturgical tradition, the ceremony of the Solitude of Mary is carried out and the Easter vigil is begun—the women of Ballet Jacchigua perform a procession in which they sing songs to accompany the Virgin Mary in her sorrow. This is neither a religious ceremony nor a historically based lay event, merely the trivialization of a very solemn moment in the Catholic celebration of Easter.

The reduction of indigenous culture to the celebration of folkloric interpretations of a dark past and the voyeurism of Semana Santa serves to confirm the 'otherness' of indigenous groups. In their performance for tourists, the dances of Jacchigua lose their indigenous cultural significance. Their form is visible to the tourists, but the performance itself strips the dance of its cultural meaning. The form becomes absorbed in a new cultural context that can be understood only in relation to

the international structure of wealth and power. In this context, indigenous culture is viewed as an exotic 'other' that confirms the place of the indigenous peoples as outside the elite world and/or at the bottom of the socio-economic structure. The relationship between the tourist and the dancers confirms the 'happy innocence' of the Indian and the superiority of the traveller, who has come thousands of miles to see the performance. The processions of Semana Santa also become reduced to performance. The performance takes on a new meaning, becoming absorbed in a new culture, and is paid for by a small fraction of the tourist's accumulated wealth, and in spite of providing a salary for the dancers and contributions to the churches, it helps to condemn indigenous peoples to their impoverished situation.

Tourism and economic integration

It is assumed that the benefits of international tourism will trickle down to all sections of society. However, the integration of indigenous groups into the urban economy has been threatened by tourist development in Quito, as street traders and others have been relocated from the streets to the invisibility of markets that serve local populations. Following a change of political control of the council in 2001, this position was negotiated with the agreement of the traders by the new mayor, General Paco Moncayo. Further conflict with the traders was therefore avoided but, as was the case during the conflicts with previous regimes, the traders did not want to be merely left to continue with their traditional trading activities. On the contrary, both residents and traders in the HCQ wanted to be involved in the new developments that were taking place in the historical centre and to participate in the benefits that would accrue from any tourism development. Thus there was a clash of cultures that was related to different material interests; but as in the case of the Maya in Antigua (Little 2008), there was also an opportunity to integrate the urban poor into the international tourist agenda.

Since the 1970s, indigenous integration into the global market has existed through the sale of folkloric artisan production. This integration, however, has not been without its problems. Despite the commercial success of sections of the indigenous populations—such as the Otavalan Indians, who cling to their culture and sell their handicrafts throughout Europe and North America—and despite the growing cultural self-confidence of new ethnic political movements, deep-rooted

racist attitudes persist. As inheritors of the hygienist ideology discussed earlier, many of the white and mestizo elite and urban middle classes 'use pernicious images of disease, irrationality and "dirty Indians" to characterize indígenas and justify their poverty' (Colloredo-Mansfield 1998: 186). Successful entrepreneurs still get ignored or abused by the white-mestizo population. The old prejudices remain in spite of new wealth. In fact, the wealthiest indígenas are not only not accepted, but their wealth is also explained away through contemptuous comments that deny the possibility that it could be based on legitimate trade. They are not seen as successful traders, but are often dismissed as 'narco-traffickers' whose success is seen as a threat to the legitimate white-mestizo economy. Similarly, successful traders in the street markets of the HCQ are classified as smugglers, illegally importing goods from neighbouring Colombia, a charge that may have historical roots but for which, as a generalization, there is little evidence at present. This denial of indigenous success and the racism that lies behind it reinforces their 'otherness' and promotes their exclusion from the world of the tourists, except at the margins.

Tocagón (1997: 199) laments any socio-economic integration into the mestizo city and the acculturation that results, particularly, but not exclusively, of the children of indigenous migrants. However, the traders themselves clearly wanted to participate in any benefits that derive from increased tourist activity, but this has not happened. The tourists are served by the expensive shops in their hotels, the shops on Avenida Amazonas and malls in the north of the city, and by the artisan markets close to Hotel Colon. Almost all the tourist outlets are in the north of the city. Some of them have indigenous owners and almost all provide income to rural communities where the goods are manufactured. The main beneficiaries are probably the indigenous traders who provide the links between the manufacturers and the outlets in the north of the city, while the indigenous manufacturers are integrated into the bottom of the economic structure through the sub-contracting of home-based production at extremely low rates of pay (Martínez 1994).

Indigenous labour is also incorporated into the tourist industry in low-paid jobs, such as cooks, cleaners, porters and guardians. Outside the kitchens, this labour force often dresses in indigenous dress, particularly in the most expensive hotels. This extension of domestic service pays higher salaries than the people who occupy these positions would be able to earn elsewhere in the urban economy, but their clothing, as cultural artefacts, nevertheless confirms their indigenous status as low-

income servants for white elites. In satisfying the international cultural tourist's need to experience 'otherness', the socio-economic position of the indigenous group is experienced as culture.

Conclusion

The racist attitudes that lay behind the removal of the street traders from the streets of Quito are reinforced by the trivialization of their culture. Although they have been mistreated over the centuries by landowning elites, despised by the middle and upper classes and excluded from the benefits of a developing society, their history is presented by heritage tourism as a happy spectacle that celebrates humility and peace. Colonial and post-colonial adaptation to the new elite religion emphasizes their sins and their guilt, demanding penitence and forgiveness. International tourism reinforces this self-flagellation by focusing on colourful processions and ignoring the inhumane treatment of the indigenous population, their resistance, and the central importance of their struggle for land as a defining feature of their ethnicity and culture. Indigenous history is removed from the heritage that is offered for consumption by the international tourists and they are made invisible.

The artistic activities that are presented for the international elites reduce indigenous culture to colourful photographs of a culture in denial. Marginalized from the economic benefits of heritage tourism and labelled negatively when they do have some commercial success, heritage tourism reinforces the myth of their separateness. This 'otherness' confirms what in the eyes of the national and international elites is their rightful place as an excluded minority at the bottom of the socio-economic structure. All of this produces downward pressures on indigenous expectations, but in the urban areas their aspirations are the same as those of other urban dwellers. Denied these aspirations, indigenous migrants to the city and others with indigenous roots join the rural resistance when it is brought to the capital as part of the modern struggle for land and other natural resources.

If, as the Strategic Plan for Tourism argues, Quito's position as a Cultural Heritage Site of Humanity ought to be the city's central tourism product and the basic element of its promotion, why is it necessary to hide the indigenous contribution to this heritage? That the grand houses, churches and other monuments were made possible by the enforced labour and inhumane treatment of indigenous peoples is

clearly a part of that heritage. The magnificent churches and convents were created by the wealth that was extracted from the unpaid toils of indigenous labour on the haciendas that were swept away by the Liberal Revolution. Can the Church face up to this and tell this part of the heritage story? What are we afraid of? Indigenous ethnicity is defined by the struggle for land, and their culture in the twenty-first century, as expressed in their dress, language, customs and beliefs, is intimately linked to this. The city should be honest about this history and celebrate the indigenous struggle for land and dignity. This would provide it with its 'unique selling point' as an important world destination and the 'Cultural Capital of the Andes'.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

CONTESTING HERITAGE IN ANTIGUA, GUATEMALA

Walter E. Little

Antigua, Guatemala, has been a tourism destination for over a century, a fact that residents and workers there promote with pride. They are also proud that Antigua has been named a National Monument, a Monumental City of the Americas and a World Heritage site. These designations, however, come with burdens, including building codes, imposed ideas about what constitutes cultural heritage and the expectations of tourists.

The cultural management of Antigua—ranging from debates about building construction codes to the attitudes of those who live and work there—has increasingly come into dispute. Residents, workers and tourists have vested interests that do not always complement each other. Residents' desires for a quiet, quaint town with modern amenities do not sit easily next to tourists' desires to see decaying Spanish colonial architecture by day, and to drink and dance in the bars and discos at night. Historical conservationists, tourism-oriented business people and Maya vendors also disagree about the aesthetics and uses of the town. These groups often do not reach consensus among themselves. Simply put, Antigua is a contested place with respect to its designation as a historical site.

The conflicts and contradictions that result from the World Heritage site designation engender new forms of exclusion and inclusion for Mayas who work in Antigua. Because Mayas are considered to both beautifully adorn and pollute this contested city, their sociocultural place in Antigua can be ambiguous. Their material and ideological conceptualizations of Antigua offer an insight into how cultural heritage is defended and constantly remade, not as a uniform ideology and type of property, but as a shifting sociocultural field of power. One avenue to discuss this is to review the conceptualization of the Mayas in Antigua in relation to ladinos and tourists, attending to how Mayas think about heritage.

Like Alan Middleton in this volume, I offer an analysis of the political dynamics of public space within a heritage site designation. Both Quito and Antigua are cities in which indigenous vendors are marginalized and subjected to elected officials' arbitrary decisions that are based on racist attitudes. Unlike in the Quito case, however, both Mayas and international tourists oppose the removal of indigenous people from Antigua. Despite the vision of Antigua as an indigenous-free Spanish colonial heritage site by ladino elites and politicians, tourists, tourist discourses and Mayas themselves consider Antigua an indigenous place where Mayas are literally part of the site's heritage. This case also shares some parallels with Griet Steel's chapter, as she too is concerned with how indigenous vendors in Cuzco do not always fit into the ideological projects of politicians and preservationists.

Problems of cultural heritage

It was a drab, rainy evening in June 2005 when residents, business persons and representatives of 23 civic and preservationist organizations gathered in the city hall of Antigua to meet with Mayor César Antonio Siliezar Portilla and a few of the city councillors to talk about common problems that confront the people of Antigua. As is typical of these meetings, crime, traffic and Maya handicraft vendors were discussed all together that evening.

Although the meeting was open to the public, my Maya vendor friends would not accompany me. 'Go spy for us', they said. 'Let us know if you learn anything that can help us'. For two years, roughly 100 street vendors had met regularly with the mayor in order to be allowed to sell in specifically designated streets, plazas, parks and other public places. During the summer of 2005, they procured the support of the governor, a congress person, international labour and vendor organizations, and human rights lawyers for the UN in Guatemala and the Guatemalan government.

Although they rallied influential support, they still felt marginalized. Public meetings for residents and business persons were deemed *kichin ri mo'soi'*, which, ironically, means 'possessed by the foreigners'. This sentiment held by Mayas working and living in Antigua—namely that the non-Mayas running the city hall and the residents and business persons presenting grievances are foreigners—is suggestive of just how outside city politics Mayas feel. These feelings, however, do not mean

that they are without access to alternative economic and political forms of power.

As the meeting progressed, it became evident that Mayas in general are ambiguous in local economics and politics. This ambiguity can work to their advantage, especially with respect to Antigua's designation as a UNESCO World Heritage site. During the meeting, a number of contradictory positions were raised that illustrate this. There was a uniform call to reduce car traffic, which has caused damage to the cobblestone streets and Spanish colonial era buildings. The primary culprits are weekend tourists from Guatemala City and El Salvador, but instead of calling for the construction of cat parks on the peripheries of the city, the strict enforcement of traffic laws and the imposition of fines on motorists, one hotel owner diverted the discussion and claimed: 'If we're going to address congestion and pollution, we need to remove the street vendors'. In support, a resident said: 'Yes, that's true, those Indians get in the way. They block the legitimate businesses and our homes. They leave their rubbish in the streets and parks'. Another said: 'The street vendors constantly bother the tourists in the central plaza. They scare them away and we lose money'. In contradiction, one ventured that 'there are good and bad vendors; not all of them should be expelled'. The few business owners who have developed good working relations with Mayas (such as Nim Po't, a handicrafts emporium) and Spanish schools (such as the Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquin) were conspicuous by their absence. The individuals who run these businesses view symbiotic relations with Mayas as mutually beneficial, and they have taken measures to promote Maya culture and commerce by Mayas.

Many of the hotel owners, residents, shopkeepers and others who at the meeting were advocating the removal of Maya street vendors, employ Maya workers to tend their shops, work in their hotels, tend their gardens or watch their children. Some purchase for resale the handicrafts that the vendors manufacture. The double yet contradictory tension of wanting to remove Mayas from Antigua yet being reliant on them is seated not only in historical conditions of racism and ethnocentrism (see Carey 2001; Euraque et al. 2006), but also within the particular context of Antigua's World Heritage site designation.

With respect to non-Mayas (ladinos, US expatriates and other immigrant residents), the Mayas' place in Antigua is not easily resolved. Antigua is all about image—positive images of place, people and attitudes. Livelihoods, political careers and tranquillity all hinge on the

local self-image and on foreign perceptions of the place and the people who work and live there. The issue of how to promote a positive image to attract tourists, business people and international organizations has resulted in wide-ranging public debates, often with discussions on how exactly Mayas fit into the colonial-style city being left unresolved.

Antigua as a Cultural Heritage site

For more than a century, Antigua has attracted tourists from Central America, the USA, Europe, Japan and elsewhere. The combination of Spanish colonial architecture and earthquake-shattered baroque-style churches at the feet of the Agua and Fuego volcanoes contributes to Antigua being commonly regarded as a quaint, beautiful place of historical importance. It was named a National Monument in 1944, a Monumental City of the Americas in 1965 and a UNESCO World Heritage site in 1979. These honours, however, contribute to the untenable expectations held by Antigüeños (persons residing in Antigua), Maya workers and the tourists who visit concerning what exactly constitutes cultural heritage. As other authors in this volume recognize, this presents an analytical problem since the construction of heritage comes about not just from a set of mandates and objective criteria from UNESCO, but also through local places, like Antigua, being acted on and described by locals and international tourists.

Antigüeños, Mayas, tourists and others have varying ideas about what Antigua's cultural heritage is and how to maintain it, despite UNESCO's requirements. Reviewing Antigua's World Heritage site designation, including how it is maintained, is a necessary precursor to understanding why different concepts of Antigua are debated and what emerges conceptually as Antigua from the contexts of tourism, elite residents' interests and vendors' positions. What this means, how it is interpreted and how it affects those who work and live in Antigua, especially with regard to Mayas, is addressed in subsequent sections.

In order for a city to be designated a World Heritage site, it must meet at least one of eight criteria, depending on how significant the city is. Most cities on the list, however, meet more than one criterion. In Antigua's case, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS, the branch of UNESCO that reviews and makes World Heritage site recommendations) report from April 1979 concluded: 'A fundamental site, a well understood history, an appropriate inscrip-

tion'. ICOMOS found Antigua to be an uncontroversial example and no additional rationale for its designation was given. In comparison with other Latin American cities (e.g. Cuzco, Peru and Oaxaca City, Mexico), this was unprecedented. Cuzco's ICOMOS recommendation in June 1982 was supported by several pages of explanation, as was the recommendation for Oaxaca City in December 1986. The designation of Antigua as a World Heritage site was based on three criteria:

A. to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town planning or landscape design;
B. to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;
C. to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape, which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history.

It is difficult to ascertain from these criteria where Antigüeños and Mayas fit in, other than as caretakers and preservationists of this historical and cultural legacy. One of the difficulties in maintaining cities like Antigua is reconciling how people live within the site. As Breglia (2006) and Castañeda (1996) demonstrate in their respective research in Yucatán, living near designated heritage sites can be enough to cause political and economic conflicts. Having one's home so designated compounds this. Decisions about how to build, what paint to use, what kinds of windows to install, whether a wall can be removed, what business signs are acceptability and a myriad of other issues, including who are appropriate residents and workers, come under the scrutiny of local preservationists as well as UNESCO itself.

For cities such as Antigua, there is a lot at stake in being deemed a World Heritage site. In 1979, Antigua received USD 60,710 from UNESCO in emergency assistance to help it recover from earthquake damage. In 1994, the city received USD 20,000, while in 2000 and 2003 it received USD 20,216 and USD 55,000, respectively, to mitigate earthquake damage and promote conservation. These are small amounts of money over the course of nearly 30 years. What UNESCO endorsement did and continues to do is make valid local claims to and self-promotions of Antigua's distinctly preserved colonial heritage. What trumps it over places like Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia (Hander & Gable 1997), and New Salem, Illinois (Bruner 2004), is that Antigua is a living place. Residents, merchants and workers commonly

perceived that having UNESCO recognize Antigua's important cultural and historical place would help them out-compete other similar places for tourism dollars.

In order for World Heritage status to be maintained, UNESCO reviews conservation and preservation efforts on the part of the Guatemala government and local residents and business persons. Maya handicraft vendors, like ladino business persons, worry about negative UNESCO reviews and threats to revoke the World Heritage designation, which it is assumed would destroy the city's thriving tourism industry. In fact, UNESCO reviews can precipitate city hall meetings, as previously described. UNESCO reports in 2003 and 2004 (WHC-03/27.COM/7B, 2003, WHC-04/28 COM/26, 2004) resulted in local gossip about Antigua being sanctioned and possibly losing its World Heritage charter. Finger-pointing ensued in 2004 (and has continued since then), whereby politicians, tourists from Guatemala City and especially Maya street vendors were blamed for UNESCO's negative reviews. Specifically, the 2003 UNESCO report identified a number of issues that threatened the preservation and conservation of Antigua. These include (WHC-03/27.COM/7B, 2003, p. 73): 'Urban Pressure; Tourism Pressure; Lack of capacity in conservation techniques; Lack of management mechanism (including legislation); Lack of monitoring system; Lack of institution coordination; Earthquake'.

The 2004 report was less condemning, although it did cause concern among local business persons and politicians, because it put pressure on the Guatemalan state and local governments to better monitor conservation and 'implement a Master Plan for Antigua, including clear delimitation of the property's buffer zone, detailed management plan, risk preparedness programmes, traffic regulation studies and tourism revenue policy for conservation' (WHC-04/28 COM/26, 2004, p. 140). Its praise of the preservation efforts by the Spanish Agency for International Cooperation (AECI) was of particular worry to local politicians, who consider the AECI a potentially coercive foreign power. Casual remarks include the questioning of the Spanish government's motives, even positing a reconquest of Antigua or instigating an ethnic/race revolt by Mayas, at least with respect to an economic or political takeover. Most of those concerned with maintaining the coveted UNESCO status, however, felt relatively powerless to address the substantive issues listed in the 2003 report, especially those related to governmental regulation and institutional coordination. Wealthy business owners and residents ignored or bribed their way around the

regulations, but foreign property owners were better monitored by state conservation agencies. They also tended to be more in favour of abiding by and promoting the preservation of historical architecture. In fact, they constituted a large portion of two home-grown preservation organizations, Amigos de Antigua and Salvemos Antigua.

The effect on Antigua of the World Heritage designation is to encourage utopian discourses of the city. Antigua is generally conceived of as a place in which 'to plan a city is both to *think the very plurality* of the real and to make that way of thinking the plural *effective*; it is to know how to articulate it and be able to do it' (de Certeau 1984: 94, emphases in original). Antigua is the consummate 'concept city'. The already prevalent discourses of its enduring Spanish colonial characteristics, despite the modernizing and changing world of which it is a part, are fortified by the UNESCO status. But as de Certeau argues, the 'concept city is decaying' (de Certeau 1984: 95), because operating beyond the totalizing reach of this powerful discourse are contradictory and counter-positional forces. In fact, some of these counter-forces are located in the multiple ways in which heritage is conceived of by the social actors who live, work and consume in Antigua.

While most may agree that Antigua's colonial heritage charm is historically and culturally what makes it distinctive and important, there is not always consensus about what heritage means or even what Antigua's specific Spanish colonial heritage is. In other words, when ladinos or Mayas comment that Antigua is 'our national patrimony' (*nuestro patrimonio nacional*), 'cultural patrimony' (*patrimonio cultural*), 'our cultural and historical heritage' (*nuestra herencia histórica y cultural*), what they mean and how that relates to the conservation of Antigua may differ dramatically.

Conceptions of Antigua

Michel Foucault's (1986: 25) concept of heterotopia (that which 'is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible') provides a lens through which to view and conceive of Antigua. By placing this concept in relation to de Certeau's considerations that there are 'tricky and stubborn procedures that elude discipline without being outside the field in which it is exercised' (1984: 96), I intend to discuss concepts of Antigua in relation to everyday practices. As places in which incompatible spaces

(and incompatible actors) coexist within one place, heterotopias foment contradictions and allow for actors to elude or even reconfigure discursive, state and other forms of discipline. In respect to how power plays out in heterotopias, the Antigua case contrasts that presented by Middleton. Indigenous vendors in Quito engage heritage, municipal politics and tourism very differently from the way indigenous vendors do in Antigua.

All contemporary cities—including Antigua—are heterotopias. The problem here is that the dominant discourses of its enduring, stable characteristics oppose the diverse everyday practices of those who live there and contribute to its particular heterotopic form. UNESCO discourses of timeless Spanish colonial and pre-modern tranquillity contradict how Antigua's residents, workers and visitors experience the place, and can conflict with local and touristic concepts of heritage. Mayas, as ambiguously defined social actors, can gain small economic and political advantages in these contradictory, in-between spaces.

Ladinos' conceptions: social hierarchies

In general, ladinos—and especially Antigüeños—claim Antigua as theirs. To claim to be an Antigüeño means, in their view, to be a ladino who was born and raised within the city limits of Antigua. Since the 1976 earthquake and the later gentrification of Antigua throughout the 1990s until the present, many Antigüeños have moved to neighbouring communities, yet maintain their Antigüeño identity. Foreign immigrants, Guatemala City transplants and Mayas do not claim this social-spatial identity. In fact, there is a tension between the wealthier ladinos from Guatemala City who have purchased Antigua properties, and the middle-class and poorer Antigüeños who have been forced out of Antigua proper. Both make claims on what Antigua should be and how it should develop.

The prevailing ladino discourse about Antigua is that it is an architecturally suspended-in-time Spanish colonial city, in which its cosmopolitan characteristics are cloaked. Antigüeños tend to romanticize it as a slow-paced, crime-free and socially interconnected place where historical social and class hierarchies among ladinos themselves and between ladinos and Mayas are maintained. This is not to imply that Antigüeños are oblivious to the contemporary problems mentioned in the first meeting with the mayor and the negative 2003 UNESCO

review. Individuals demand that the mayor fix problems related to urban congestion, the destruction of colonial architecture, prostitution and drug trafficking, among other concerns, particularly the presence of Maya street vendors.

Although prostitution and drug dealing are considered significantly more problematic than Maya street vendors, the vendors' attractiveness to foreign tourists unsettles ladino sensibilities about social order. Older ladinos spoke about how 'before' the 'indígenas knew their place' and 'were respectful'. Since the 1970s, Maya presence has become increasingly more visible. For example, although the municipal marketplace is still managed by Antigüeños working for the city government, K'iche' and Kaqchikel vendors now constitute the greatest number of sellers there. Whereas in Guatemala one could count the Maya handicraft vendors by the dozens in the 1970s, today one can count them by the hundreds. Shops and banks that had been solely attended by ladino clerks now employ Mayas. As one older ladina women lamented: 'When I sold in the market, it was more civilized, because we knew how to maintain order. Not today; the indígenas have no respect'.

For ladinos, the difference between criminal activities and Mayas is partly related to their ability to control and fix what they consider a problem. Regarding the increase in crime in Antigua in recent years, one elderly ladino couple said: 'What we need is a strong mayor. That's why there is so much crime today. In the 1970s, the mayor and the city councillors expelled all the prostitutes and thieves'. Indeed, periodic police sweeps against prostitutes, thieves, drug dealers and excessively unruly bars yield quick results, even if they are not permanent. Similar sweeps against Maya street vendors, however, have not been as successful, since the vendors seek legal recourse to remain in the city, complain to human rights lawyers about abuses, and forge alliances with Spanish language schools and other businesses to secure places in which to sell. Unlike prostitutes, thieves and drug dealers, who may be recurrent problems, Antigüeños have not been able to successfully counteract Mayas' persistent mobilizations to stay and work in the city.

Even with a large and visible Maya presence, Antigüeños portray their city as one free of Mayas. Since at least the 1920s, Antiguan and Guatemalan tourism publications have ignored, downplayed or erased Mayas' active and visible roles in Antigua (see Little 2004: 74–76). Instead, Antigua is represented almost as a warehouse of Spanish colonial artefacts and architecture. Aside from giving information about tourism amenities and services, both past and present guidebooks

emphasize historical buildings and places as remnants of colonial times. Ladinos, especially Antigüeños, would like to reduce the Maya presence in Antigua, as they consider them a threat not only to the social order and hierarchy of the city, but also to their own livelihoods. One frustrated Antigüeño said that: 'Because of human rights, the indígenas are taking our jobs, but it is not the same here now. There is less order'.

Since many of the Antigüeños rely on tourism, they have had to acquiesce to the presence of Mayas and reluctantly maintain business relations with them. They comprise the families who host foreigners who are studying Spanish. They manage the restaurants, hotels, shuttle buses and other services used by tourists. They constituted almost 100 per cent of the tour guides, with one notable exception being Elizabeth Bell,[1] who emigrated from the USA when she was 14 and is the author of several books focusing on Antigua's history. Incidentally, she, like most Antigüeños, has little tolerance for Maya street vendors.

Although Antigüeños feel that they must temper their attitudes about Mayas when they are around tourists, more recent, wealthier Guatemala City immigrants do not feel such compulsion, since they are less concerned about what foreigners think of them. As a group, they alternately support Maya causes and deride them as *indios brutos* (brutish Indians) who are *sin cultura* (without culture/breeding). Relatively secure financially and in positions of power, and thus less threatened by Maya political and economic ascendancy, these wealthy ladinos can affirm traditional racial and social hierarchies when it is convenient. At the same time, they can champion Maya political platforms, which in the contexts of racial ambivalence and neoliberal multiculturalism[2] (see Hale 2006) does not affect their social, economic or political positions. Such a stance would impact the middle-class and poorer ladinos who find themselves competing more directly with Mayas and having to compromise their values and attitudes about Mayas because of their dependence on international tourism.

---

[1] Bell is also a member of Salvemos Antigua—a grass-roots activist organization with architectural conservation agendas to enforce building codes and guide city planning.

[2] According to Hale, racial ambivalence pertains to ladinos who reject overt forms of racism, defend ladino privilege and claim that Mayas are responsible for their own subordination. Neoliberal multiculturalism is a political-economic agenda that grants individual and collective forms of cultural rights while reaffirming political and economic hierarchies.

Ladinos' conceptions: architectural conventions

Architectural conventions are even more politically controversial and divisive. Antigua's particular architectural style is a result of local, national and even international politics, idiosyncratic individual tastes, earthquakes, and more than 500 years of historical economic and political processes. Although Christopher Lutz (1994) describes the founding and early history of Antigua—and I myself have touched on building codes and regulations, as well as the political and social debates engendered by them (Little 2004, 2008)—my research on this topic is still in progress. What follows is a summary of these politics with respect to property owners.

Building codes are a source of local debate and they are regularly violated. In recent years, the national media have widely reported on these controversies. An article by Pellicer in *Revista Domingo* (the Sunday magazine supplement of *Prensa Libre*) in 2004 summarizes the residents' most common infractions:

> Painting facades in different colours
> Converting windows into doors
> Mixing the architectural features of a house with those from other cities
> Splitting facades such that they are less than ten metres wide in order to split properties
> Building second storeys
> Covering traditional courtyards

There is a real concern that if property owners do not abide by the building codes, the World Heritage designation will be revoked (Montenegro 2005). Over the past three years (2003 to 2006), Maya vendors, ladino families who host Spanish language students and others in the tourism industry have worried that this would happen and their sources of livelihood would be threatened. Although it is difficult to predict how losing the World Heritage status would affect Antigua economically, some Antigüeños believe that such a measure would bring tourism to an end. This, according to one resident, would be 'another example of Guatemala's shameful behaviour'.[3]

[3] She referred to the history of discrimination against Mayas and the 36-year-long civil conflict. See Carmack 1988 and Smith 1990 for analyses of ethnic and structural violence against Mayas.

There are numerous reasons for code violations, but most are related to socio-economic differences and one's reliance on tourism, as well as the ambiguities of the National Law of Protection of Antigua's Cultural Patrimony.[4] Rebuilding or renovating property is expensive, especially since the use of cheaper, manufactured building materials is prohibited. The cost of renovating properties is simply beyond the economic means of most Antigüeños. Residents also violate building codes because they want to construct houses that are more functional for their everyday lives. They want garages that are large enough to accommodate their cars. They want second and third storeys to house their growing families and businesses.

In its 464-year history, earthquakes and, less frequently, hurricanes and heavy tropical storms have regularly wracked Antigua. During the colonial period, especially from 1543 to 1773, buildings were regularly rebuilt and renovated after natural disasters. Today, property owners encounter remnants of multiple periods of building construction over the colonial period. It makes renovating a house seem an impossible task. Owners are expected to leave all colonial architectural features intact, as well as to assist in their conservation. As they contend with several generations of walls, which may criss-cross in nonsensical directions, they must come up with creative solutions to incorporate or hide these pre-existing features. Those who have the economic resources to hire architects and engineers have managed to rebuild creative and functional houses, while those without economic means let their houses languish or clandestinely renovate their homes, hoping that city inspectors will not discover the changes. Some wealthy residents blatantly ignore the regulatory codes, building higher than two storeys, altering doors and windows, and removing inconvenient colonial-period walls. They bribe inspectors or pay the fines that are levied on them for their infractions. I know of no cases in which a property owner was asked to rectify an illegal construction.

The end result of liberal readings of the building codes by residents who let their properties decline due to financial limitations or who build

[4] La Ley Nacional de Protección del Patrimonio Cultural de la Antigua, 1969: Artículo 13: se consideran protegidos los inmuebles construidos durante la época colonial y aquellos posteriores a la independencia, ya sea que se encuentren dentro o fuera del perímetro urbano de la Antigua Guatemala; Artículo 14: queda prohibida la reconstrucción de los edificios o monumentos, las obras que se emprendan tendrán como finalidad únicamente el cuidado, protección, conservación, restauración y consolidación del edificio o de las partes que lo necesiten (Pellicer 2004: 13).

Illustration 1—Three Antigua houses in violation of UNESCO and city codes: one property split into three with corrugated steel and poorly maintained roofs. Photograph by the author

in violation of codes is that Antigua has become more architecturally heterogeneous. Further complicating this situation, local preservation organizations like Amigos de Antigua and Salvemos Antigua, not to mention local historians and architects, do not have a unified vision of what Antigua should look like, that is, which particular colonial-style architecture should dominate. To the outsider, however, the city looks 'Spanish colonial'.

Property owners who are not economically oriented towards the tourism industry tend not to feel constrained by UNESCO or government regulations. They want aesthetically beautiful and functional homes that 'feel colonial' but are far more comfortable. One man commented: 'Sure, it's good to keep Antigua's colonial character, but the regulations are just not practical. You don't see the UNESCO regulators living in houses that are stuck in the sixteenth century'. The former conservator of Antigua, Antonio Tovar Maldonado, put it bluntly: 'The authorities are interested in creating a regulatory plan that plans for growth, because, it is assumed, Antigua will not be saved by just being beautiful' (Pellicer 2004: 13).

Illustration 2—The corner of the Portal on the Central Plaza in violation for having a corrugated-steel roof in poor repair. Note the kneeling vendors selling contrary to city officials' desires. Photograph by the author

Tourists' perceptions of Antigua

Tourists' perceptions are tied to popular images of Antigua. In the majority of cases, this means that they form their opinions according to what they read in tourism-oriented publications (guidebooks, advertising, travel stories) and hear from friends, acquaintances and family members who have visited Antigua. Debates about social order and the appropriate architectural style are mostly lost on them or are simply non-issues.

As could be predicted, tourists most associate Antigua with Spanish colonial architecture. This is how the city is overwhelmingly presented in guidebooks and travel articles and on the websites of tour companies, INGUAT (Guatemala National Tourism Institute) and tourism bloggers. In comparison to ladino-composed tourism material and that written by foreigners for foreigners, tourists associate Mayas with the Spanish colonial architecture. The majority of visitors to Antigua expect to see Mayas, especially handicraft vendors, and consider them natural.

Over the years, tourists watching me interview street vendors frequently asked for tips on where they could find handicraft marketplaces and on how to bargain with street vendors. When the local police make sweeps against street vendors and expel them from Antigua, and when the city reorganized and moved the official handicraft markets, these same observant tourists enquired about what had happened to the Maya vendors. Not once during these casual, fortuitous encounters did a tourist praise the city's policies of vendor removal.

It is risky to claim that most foreign tourists are interested in seeing Mayas while they are in Antigua, or that they associate Mayas with Antigua. However, during the hundreds of random interviews and conversations that I conducted with tourists, they consistently commented on how they enjoyed seeing and interacting with Maya vendors. Furthermore, in a survey of foreign tourists that I first conducted with Guatemalan and US colleagues in November–December 1996 (245 participants) and then repeated in May–June 2005 (140 participants)

Illustration 3—Old movie theatre, now handicraft marketplace, in the Central Plaza violates codes for having two stories and having a corrugated-steel roof. Photograph by the author

and June–July 2006 (200 participants) with my students, more than 90 per cent of the tourists associated Antigua with Mayas and wanted or expected to have some sort of positive interaction with them.

When foreign tourists are asked to say why they decided to visit Antigua, they say that they wanted to see the Spanish colonial ruins or attend one of the inexpensive Spanish language classes—and promotional brochures include pictures of Maya handicraft vendors and weavers at both locations. Spanish language schools offer trips to nearby Maya towns, help students make connections with Maya women to study weaving, and facilitate Maya handicraft vendors by letting them sell to students during class breaks.

The interests of tourists and how they conceive of Antigua, and particularly their association of Mayas with Antigua, are in dramatic contrast to ladinos' conceptualizations. The obsessions and worries held by ladinos, and especially Antigüeños, about the UNESCO designation are contrary to what matters to tourists. Tourists do not visit Antigua because it is a World Heritage site. Most just think that it is a curious fact and a 'nice honour for Antigua'. According to tourists, the World Heritage designation did not influence their decision to visit.

Given that Antigua's demographic composition is changing—many of the new, wealthy residents from Guatemala City and other countries are less dependent on and interested in tourism—what tourists think may not be important. Here, however, is where local political sensibilities and attitudes contrast with those of the national government. Tourism is big business. According to INGUAT (Guatemalan National Tourism Institute) and the Guatemalan National Bank statistics, the country received 800,000 foreign tourists in 2003 and 65 per cent of them visited Antigua. According to the Guatemalan Ministry of Economy (http: //www.mineco.gob.gt/, accessed on 5 June 2007), tourism in 2005 produced USD 869 million in revenue. The Guatemalan National Bank reports that in 2006, 1.5 million tourists visited Guatemala and that Antigua received the highest percentage of tourists. It is the most visited tourism destination in Guatemala and brings in the most revenue of all tourism sites.

The Guatemalan government does not intend to let the tourism revenue from Antigua disappear. The state exercises its influence in Antigua in a number of ways; however, two are relevant to this case. First, tourism promotional material produced by INGUAT invariably includes pictures of Mayas in Antigua, which can be seen as a response to the general tourism market in which foreign tourists expect to see

Maya people when they visit Guatemala. Second, the legal conservation of Guatemala is determined by national laws, not local, municipal laws. According to the two congress persons I interviewed, Guatemalan politicians, at least at the national level, must pay attention to both tourists and to UNESCO when considering policies related to Antigua. As one of them commented: 'They can be very short-sighted and provincial in Antigua. We have to be more far-sighted than that'.

In sum, tourists have come to expect the melding of Mayas with Spanish colonial architecture. They see it reproduced in tourism promotions, in advertising and in cyberspace. The web page of professional photographer Robert Leon of Canada is an ideal example of it. In his series 'Pictures of Semana Santa Procession—Antigua Guatemala' (http://www.robertleon.com/gallery/photographs-2.htm, last accessed 5 June 2007), he includes a number of photographs of Mayas in Antigua, and in the captions he identifies Antigua's World Heritage designation.

Such photographs suggest that foreigners conceive of Antigua as a place comprised of Mayas and colonial architecture. In fact, although Leon notes Antigua's World Heritage status, his photographs downplay the colonial architecture, giving the impression that Mayas may be the reason that Antigua received that UNESCO designation.

Maya understandings of heritage

How Mayas conceive of heritage in Antigua is tempered by a number of culturally and historically informed factors, such as their social and economic relationships with ladinos, local and national politics, and tourism. As with the Yucatec Mayas discussed by Breglia (2006) and Castañeda (1996) in their respective books, Mayas working in the Antigua tourism industry have vested interests in tourism. In the Yucatán, however, Breglia (2006: 9) explains that Mayas are 'ambivalent about tourism development'; in the end they 'exploit the ambivalent character of heritage to serve multiple and continually renegotiated ends'. Similarly, Olwig (1999) explains that Caribbean islanders from St John have mixed feelings about heritage. Although Mayas in Antigua do not share this ambivalent attitude towards heritage, they live and work in a comparable state of ambivalence, which, in part, comes from the interplay of more powerful actors (national and international, individual and collective) making claims on and constructing particular kinds of heritage. At the same time, living within this state of ambivalence where

they are excluded from the processes of heritage making and even from history itself, Mayas and Caribbean islanders actively engage these exclusionary heritage sites. In other words, being excluded does not preclude their using the site to try to improve their lives economically.

Mayas in Antigua present an interesting case in academic debates about the politics of heritage (Handler & Gable 1997; Olwig 1999; Bruner 2004; Breglia 2006). Maya vendors working in Antigua have suffered a long history of exclusion from politics, local social events and the most lucrative ways to make money. They have been relegated to the economic and social margins of the place, derided and demeaned for behaving in culturally specific ways, that are different from, if not in contrast to, those of ladinos and foreigners.

As John Watanabe (1992) and I (2004) address in our respective studies of Mayas in Guatemala, Maya identity is tied to the particular active ways in which they interact and live in a specific place over time. That, according to Watanabe, defines how they participate in a series of economic, social and religious activities with other Mayas from the same place, their hometown. Mayas working in Antigua live and work for significant periods of time away from home, yet still maintain their local hometown identities. Their conceptualizations of heritage are like their concepts of identity. Just as claiming a particular community-based identity requires a history of continued participation with a collective of people in a specific place, so do their concepts of heritage. Maya vendors' economic and political strategies (see Little 2004, 2005, 2008) are reinterpreted in relation to how they conceive of heritage, not just in terms of their cultural identity. In other words, Maya conceptualizations of identity and heritage are rooted in the same processes of acting as members of a group and performing particular cultural practices over time in a specific place.

The above generalizations can be seen in the self-conscious ways in which Mayas working in Antigua frame their concepts of heritage. When directly asked what cultural heritage means to them, common responses were: 'We are the cultural heritage' and 'Guatemala's national heritage is us Mayas'. As one Maya vendor woman said: 'We Mayas are the jewels of Guatemala's cultural treasure. Without us, there is no national heritage'.

Knowing full well that by claiming that Mayas are literally Guatemala's heritage, she—like others—was giving me the answers she assumed I wanted to hear, as well as teasing me, I commented: 'Come on, Antigua's full of heritage; it doesn't need Mayas. Perhaps the mayor

and the Antigüeños are right. The city doesn't need to have Maya street vendors distracting tourists from the beauty and colonial charm'. 'Well, Walter', she responded. 'You don't think tourists will visit Antigua if we're not here. Besides, we have the right to be here: we are the heritage of Antigua'.

Most Maya handicraft vendors iterated this final comment. In this context, they are clear and consistent about what heritage means, and this partly constitutes their argument to the city officials to let them sell in Antigua. Their position can be summarized as:

> We built Antigua when it was founded.
> We have maintained and taken care of it since it was founded.
> We help keep it safe and clean.
> The tourists expect us.
> We live and participate in the economic, social and religious life.

Historical research by Lutz (1994) indicates that Mayas were forced to build Antigua. Contemporary ethnographic observations show that this is still the case today, since the majority of construction workers and day labourers are Mayas. Maya men worked on the renovation of the house in which I rent a suite. They were the primary workers on the luxury hotel, Casa Santo Domingo. In fact, the brother of a street vendor friend of mine regularly visited me with updates on the restoration of that hotel. Kaqchikel Mayas living in the neighbouring communities of Antigua often talked about their participation in construction projects. Because the buildings being renovated are often elaborate and distinctive (even those that violate building codes), workers are proud of their craftsmanship and claim that it 'builds Mayanness' into these edifices.

For generations, Maya families have worked in Antigua as gardeners, domestic servants, night watchmen and nannies. Here, too, Maya handicraft vendors' friends and relatives have dominated this service-oriented workforce. Some of these workers have used these work connections to establish *compadrazgo*[5] relations with wealthy ladinos, who as godparents to Maya children are expected to assist by contributing to fiesta and religious expenses, as well as education costs. Some Mayas consider these fictive kin relations a way for their ladino patrons to make up for their loyalty and good service, since their pay can be dismally

[5] This is a well-established Mesoamerican institution. See: Wolf (1956) and Isaac & Gudeman (1982).

low. Mayas argue that these social relations indicate that they are part of the history and heritage of Antigua.

With respect to the third position, Maya handicraft vendors actively try to keep Antigua safe and clean. It is a common sight to see them cleaning up the litter that Guatemalan and foreign tourists leave behind. When language is not a barrier, they are vigilant about advising tourists when thieves are present and tell them what areas have had problems with crime. They say that they do these things to keep themselves occupied in productive ways, to look after the interests of their customers and to provide an example of how they benefit the city. These acts, they claim, give them to the right to sell in the city. On one occasion, I watched a Maya vendor woman pick up the remains of a large picnic lunch that a ladino family had eaten next to her and left on the ground. I asked her why she bothered, since she had not littered. She replied: 'Well, if Antigua isn't clean and tourists don't feel comfortable, they won't come. Who then will buy my handicrafts?' As she picked up the litter, ladinos walked by commenting: 'What an Indian pig' and 'Typical filthy Indian'. Although he had watched the ladino family eat the lunch, a tourism police officer told her to pick up the rubbish or he would fine her for littering.

It is a fact that tourists want to see Mayas in Antigua. Mayas do not need the statistics I collected to know this, but they do use them—as well as tourists themselves—to demonstrate to the city officials that they are desired. They draw up petitions that defend their selling rights and circulate them among tourists and present them to the mayor and city councillors. When they arrange meetings with these officials, they round up tourists to come with them. By enlisting the support of foreign academics and tourists, they demonstrate to the city politicians how they are wanted and that they should be given space to be in the city.

The final point is related to their concepts of heritage. Maya vendors explain that a place is dead if no one lives in it. Furthermore, what makes Antigua special to them is that it is a place where life happens; it is not a museum. One woman argued: 'If we did not work here, attend church and purchase our groceries in the marketplace, then we would not have the right to be here. Yes, tourists want us, but that is not enough, just being decoration'. Although her hometown is San Antonio Aguas Calientes, she explained how she regularly buys goods for her household at the municipal marketplace, how her children attended Antigua's private schools and how she regularly participates in one of the Catholic churches, all in addition to working as a vendor. 'Sure',

she said, 'the tourists may want to see Mayas, but we're interested in helping our children get ahead, to do better.[6] For us Kaqchikels from San Antonio, our history, our heritage is Antigua, because this is where we live too'.

Maya discourses of heritage have largely been ignored by city officials, many ladino business owners and local property owners, all of whom continue to perpetuate the myth that Mayas do not belong in Antigua and have no historical claims to it. They persist in trying to erase Mayas from the historical and contemporary social and physical terrain of the city. Ladinos produce maps, brochures and guidebooks that literally write Mayas out of Antigua (Little 2004). In doing so, they produce a discourse on Antigua's cultural heritage that excludes Mayas, rather than opening up new spaces for them. To date, Mayas have not been asked to participate in any municipal-based heritage planning. However, as in the cases described by Breglia (2006) and Olwig (1999), Antigua is not considered the sole property of Antigüeños or wealthy immigrant property owners, but as a national and international patrimony. This likewise produces a state of ambivalence, as Mayas' conceptualizations of place, social participation and heritage get placed into larger, more powerful discourses that are being generated by regional, national and international actors who recognize Mayas' places in Antigua for their own, sometimes selfish causes. The multiple denials contrasted with affirmations of Mayanness serve to make Mayas' place in Antigua ambiguous.

Maya ambiguity and contestations of cultural heritage

Especially Maya handicrafts vendors find themselves in a political context that defines them ambiguously in relation to the place and heritage of Antigua. They have little economic or political power, and they do not actively participate in the making of official heritage policy, which is in the domains of the municipal government, the state and such international organizations as UNESCO. They exist on the margins of such economic and political power, but it is on these margins that they can make small economic gains. Although ignored by some local politicians,

[6] Fisher & Benson (2006) and Goldin (2003) show that highland Guatemala Mayas enter non-traditional export agriculture for similar reasons.

they do not have uniform relations with all who hold power in Antigua. In relation to local, regional, national and international agendas, they serve different purposes and are ascribed to having varying social roles and statuses with respect to Antigua. The disagreements and miscommunications between more powerful actors open ways for handicraft vendors to find opportunities. These same disagreements and miscommunications make idealistic discourses of Antigua's heritage difficult, if not impractical or even impossible to fulfil as a practised, lived reality. Instead, residents, tourists and vendors find themselves making decisions about daily practical concerns related to building renovations, basic amenities and services, the cultural aesthetics of Mayas in (or outside) Antigua and cultural heritage that do not conform to local, state and internationally determined heritage. Each seizes on the discrepancies of this heritage- making in order to gain some kind of advantage.

Three events that occurred within a few weeks of each other between 16 June and 9 August 2006 offer an appropriate example to illustrate moments when the incompatible spaces of the Antigua heterotopia with their incompatible social actors came into conflict and brought Mayas into the centre of debates about heritage. These events also demonstrate how incompatible some spaces within the heterotopia can be, just as they offered economic and political openings for Maya vendors and other Mayas in Antigua.

The first controversial event was the discovery, as reported in *Prensa Libre* on 16 July 2006, that a fortified Maya city existed before the foundation of Antigua. Local Maya oral histories locate pre-Hispanic Maya cities in the general region of Antigua (see Carey 2001; Little 2003). This oral history contradicts the written documented history, which does not mention any prior settlements or evidence of settlements. According to *Prensa Libre*, the city existed around '1000 years before the Christian era' (Ramirez 2006). This information was particularly unsettling to some Antigüeños and local politicians. In informal settings they discussed whether Mayas would make claims to the site. There was concern that outsiders would identify Antigua as a Maya rather than a ladino place. Such worries parallel those of the middle class ladinos discussed by Hale (2006), who feel squeezed by ascendant Maya intellectuals, politicians and others who appear to be gaining political and economic ground, even though economic indicators do not show that this has happened to any significant extent.

The importance of the report on the pre-Hispanic ruins was not lost on Mayas, vendors and others, working in Antigua. It provided a

small measure of vindication for four centuries of mistreatment and exclusion. For the first time since September 2004, vendors were more confident about thwarting police sweeps and municipal fines.[7] For nearly two years, vendors had endured regular police seizures and fines, which forced many out of the city. Those who remained resorted to clandestine selling tactics in which younger vendors posed as students, old women acted as though they were on shopping errands, and others fortified their alliances with Maya-vendor-friendly businesses, which they would enter whenever they saw the police.

By May 2006, however, these tactics had become less effective, as the police had become bolder and were now entering shops to arrest the vendors, much to the annoyance of both the tourists and the shop owners. On one occasion in June, a small group of vendors from the Lake Atitlán town of Santa Catarina Palopó dashed into a shop in which I happened to be. When they recognized me, they quickly initiated a conversation in Kaqchikel Maya just as two tourism police officers entered the shop. Ignoring the vendors, they asked me whether the *indios* were bothering me, to which I replied: 'I don't see any indios here; we're just old friends talking'. Exasperated and still out of breath, the officers left. One of my friends turned to me and said in Kaqchikel: 'See! This is how it is. They have no respect'.

With the news that a major Maya city had existed prior to Antigua, the confidence of the vendors grew and the police, who had been acting on the orders of city officials, reduced the numbers of seizures and fines. More handicraft vendors returned to sell on the streets, in front of the Spanish colonial churches and in the public plazas—often in plain view of the police officers who had been levying fines, arresting them and seizing their merchandise.

The second event was the General Assembly of the Consejo Cívico de Vecinos de La Antigua Guatemala, on 19 July 2006. In many ways this meeting paralleled that which initiates this paper, but with one important difference: the mayor refused to attend. This group of concerned business owners, property owners and other residents met to

[7] In 2003, the city started fining street vendors 300 quetzales (roughly USD 40) for selling in public places, streets and plazas. Merchandise was seized and not returned. When vendors saw the relatives of the police officers selling their handicrafts, they complained to human rights attorneys in June 2005. Only small amounts of the merchandise were returned, but police and city officials are now more careful to return merchandise when vendors pay the fine.

discuss the four major issues they had discussed at the meetings the year before, namely insecurity and crime, traffic and general car disorder, environmental contamination, and urban disorder and lack of urban planning. Ladinos from the capital (*capitalinos*) who drove to Antigua in the evenings and at weekends to go to the bars and discos created most problems. Antigüeños who did not participate in the meeting commented that residents and city officials will never do anything to address the traffic problems because they are afraid of the capitalinos, who tote guns and are not afraid to use them when drunk. Despite their cynicism, city officials responded to residents' complaints about unruly patrons of bars by making arrests and even closing some bars.

As at the previous meeting, Maya street vendors were identified as one of the parties contributing to all four problems, but ladinos, and especially capitalinos, were referred to in vague ways rather than being directly identified. It was as though no-one drove the cars that jammed the narrow cobblestone streets and contributed to the rupturing of water mains and the dirtying and even cracking of the facades of buildings. No mention was made of the litter they left behind or the arguments and fights that periodically broke out among them. One person did make the casual observation that many of the Spanish language students left Antigua at weekends because of the 'traffic and ill-bred people, like the indígena vendors'. Students leave at weekends for many reasons, though the primary one is not the vendors but the influx of weekender Capitalinos. In fact, some of the students spend their weekends in nearby Maya, visiting the families of Maya vendors they had met.

After the meeting, the Consejo Cívico de Vecinos de La Antigua Guatemala printed and circulated a flyer identifying Antigua's four major problems. It demanded another public meeting with the mayor and referred to a municipal code that obliged him to attend. The members of the Consejo threatened to take legal action against the mayor if he did not respond to them. The mayor did not respond and has ignored the Consejo Cívico (situation in August 2007).

The conflict between the mayor and the Consejo was treated with curiosity by the vendors. Their being identified as part of Antigua's problems was nothing new, but the increasing tensions between the city and its business persons and residents was considered something that could be beneficial to them. As one remarked, 'If the ladinos are fighting with each other, then they're not going to bother with us'. Others commented in ways that mirrored the comments of ladinos that 'nothing was going to change as long as the Capitalinos pay bribes and

carry guns. We don't cause problems, so they [ladinos] bother us'. Some framed this situation in terms of their ambiguous position in Antigua. One of them said, 'It's good that the ladinos argue. They won't be able to focus on us. Besides, they don't know if we're here to go to school, shop in the market, pay our bills, eat in a restaurant or just enjoy the architecture'. Interestingly, this last comment ('enjoy the architecture') was what clandestine street vendors told police when questioned about their activities, 'We're just tourists admiring the architecture'.

The third event, the first International Day of Indigenous Peoples, took place on 9 August 2006. It illustrates not just heterotopic incompatibilities and the production of ambivalence (in the way that both Breglia 2006 and Hale 2006 note), but also how Maya ambiguity plays out in the spatial politics of Antigua. It also illustrates local ladino forms of resistance to more powerful national and international forces. Once again, as ambiguously defined, handicrafts vendors were able to gain small advantages.

Throughout Guatemala, communities were under pressure from international, national and local political organizations, NGOs, governmental organizations and Mayas themselves to recognize the International Day of Indigenous Peoples. Special events were held throughout the country and widely reported in the news media. On that day, *Prensa Libre* published a two-page special report on the ongoing discrimination faced by Mayas. Editorials called for social and political change to make life better for Mayas. Prominent Maya leaders like Jose Serech, the director of the Centro de Documentación e Investigación Maya, were interviewed. In the days following 9 August, the event received additional positive media coverage and more articles described the dire conditions in which most Mayas live.

Despite pressure from the Guatemalan government and such organizations as the UN, local political leaders refused to participate in the ceremonies. No municipal spaces were used for activities and municipal officials did not attend the events. No Antigüeño-owned businesses recognized the day. Viewed from the perspective of the municipal government and Antigüeño businesses, the International Day of Indigenous Peoples never happened.

Antigua was filled with Maya-centric activities. In the morning, Maya leaders and local, national and international leaders met at the UN offices in Guatemala, where a Maya ceremony was performed to initiate the day. They then walked twelve blocks to the Governor's Palace, which is on the central plaza, opposite the city hall. A plenary session

sponsored by the Annual Foundation (a Meson-American think-tank run by indigenous people) convened. The speakers included internationally known scholar and UN adviser, Delbert Torres-Rivas, former Guatemalan Minister of Economy and leftist scholar, Alfonso Bauer Paiz, and Maya community organizers, Lilian Zamora Guachin and César Sactic. A brief Maya ceremony opened the event.

Mayas, including handicraft vendors, comprised a good proportion of the audience and mixed with foreign and national academics, development workers, language school students, and regional and national politicians. When the session finished, the participants walked to the Spanish Cooperation Training Centre, which is located in the Compañía de Jesús. Participants gathered to eat tamales and traditional food, listen to music, purchase handicrafts from vendors selling for the occasion, and simply mingle. In an inversion of social hierarchies, ladino served food to Mayas, who were addressed in terms of respect. It was a rare occasion on which Mayas, ladinos and foreigners listened to each other and engaged in dialogue.

Illustration 4—Anthropology students led support to the Maya street vendors in a meeting with the Mayor and City Council. Photograph by the author

It was an idyllic moment, but it has yet to be sustained. Municipal political and business leaders viewed it as an invasion of their social and political domain. The events were held in places that were beyond the jurisdiction of the city (the UN office, the governor's palace, the Spanish Cooperation Training Centre). Local leaders chose to ignore the day in what can be interpreted as an act of resistance. Most of the participants did not notice the absence of local politicians and ladino business persons, although the handicrafts vendors did.

During one of the breaks, a group of vendors made various comments. 'They should be ashamed of themselves', said one vendor woman about the absence of local politicians. 'The mayor didn't even come'. One man in the group joked: 'That is because he's afraid. We Mayas have too much power today'. A woman cautioned: 'We'll have to be careful, because the mayor is just waiting for this to end. He'll order the police to bother us again when all this is over'. There was consensus that the day's events were not going to sway local politicians' or residents' opinions about Mayas, and especially about Maya vendors. However, as one man noted a few days later, as he was brazenly selling handicrafts in front of a tourism police officer: 'Look Walter, they [the police] are still afraid to doing anything to us. Because of our day, the Day of Indigenous People, the mayor and the Antigüeños know we have the right to be here. We are part of the traditions'.

Months later, ladino residents and the municipality are still at odds and Maya handicraft vendors continue to sell, but not as welcome business persons. Ambiguously conceptualized—wanted by tourists, ignored by ladinos, and arrested and fined by the police—the vendors continue to play upon their archaeological and historical connections to the place and heritage of Antigua, which they confirm through daily interaction with and participation in that place and heritage.

Conclusions

One way to interpret the contrast between ladinos' conceptualizations of Antigua without Mayas and tourists' conceptualizations of Antigua with Mayas is that ladinos use biased interpretations of history in combination with UNESCO's criteria—which focus on architectural features, not people—to exclude Mayas from the place. This overt practice is manifested in police actions to expel vendors and the racist, demeaning treatment of Mayas. These are in concert with Antigüeño, ladino and

in many cases Guatemalan discourses, which also exclude, obscure or minimize Mayas' actual place in Antigua.

It is ironic that within this context of discursive exclusion and occasional physical expulsion, Mayas—and particularly Maya handicraft vendors—recognize differing perspectives of local Antigua politicians, regional and national politicians, local and international tourists, and non-Maya business persons. It allows them to enlist the support of the governor, congress persons, UN human rights lawyers and tourists to bolster their own economic positions and better establish themselves as an enduring part of Antigua's heritage. As a part of public debate, discourse and practice, Mayas' conceptualizations of the material and ideological features of heritage contribute to how cultural heritage is constituted, defended and constantly remade, not as a uniform ideology and type of property, but as a shifting sociocultural field of power.

However, Maya vendors, as well as those who work or go to school in Antigua, find themselves in a similar predicament as indigenous vendors in Quito (Middleton, this volume), that is, marginalized to the hegemonic elitist constructions of heritage and demeaned by the racist attitudes of these same non-indigenous politicians and business persons. Likewise, Cuzco is constructed as a Mestizo place in contrast to indigenous folkloric performance and handicrafts that have become instrumental to tourism development (Steel, this volume; Mendoza, this volume).

Maya vendors remain marginal to local political power and reap the fewest economic benefits from tourism. International tourism's globalization effect on Maya vendors has been to bolster their place within Antigua as appropriate to the heritage. Mayas become more entrenched in the place, and especially economically fortified when tourists buy their handicrafts. Global forces—international tourists and UNESCO regulations—act on the place and the people there in ways that unsettle ladino constructions of heritage and help provide openings for Maya vendors. Heritage in this case relies not only on UNESCO criteria, but also on the desire of tourists to see and interact with Mayas. This desire acts in concert with the Maya vendors' strategies to sell, and contributes to resistance to ladino conceptualizations of Antigua as a Maya-free city.

CHAPTER TWELVE

HACIENDA HOTELS AND OTHER IRONIES OF LUXURY IN YUCATÁN, MEXICO

Lisa Breglia

Hacienda tourism is a form of cultural tourism that has developed in Yucatán, Mexico, since the 1990s and is something quite distinct from the two other easily definable modes of tourism in the region: Cancún-based beach tourism, and colonial cultural tourism, based in Mérida. Both of these are, of course, hinged to the other huge tourism draw of the region, namely Maya archaeological sites of international renown. Hacienda tourism geographically, thematically, economically and ideologically mediates the other forms of tourism available in the Yucatán Peninsula as it offers luxury getaways with a historical, cultural flavour to a niche market. Since the late 1990s, the development of hacienda tourism has been occurring on a rather small scale in a tightly circumscribed region. As small scale as hacienda tourism may currently be, its development from the business end is virtually a monopoly. Although there are a handful of independently owned and operated hacienda hotels, these pale in comparison to those under consideration here, which are the jewels in the crown, so to speak, of Yucatán's 'hacienda route': Starwood Hotel and Resorts Worldwide's Luxury Collection's hacienda hotels.

Hacienda tourism is not based on the commodification of the 'Maya' as a culturally marginal and exoticized Other as in the typical mode of so-called 'ethnic tourism' (van den Berghe 1994). There is little emphasis on people as subjects of tourism itself—or 'tourees' (ibid.)—in Yucatán's hacienda tourism. Instead, the focus is destination-driven: the hotel itself. As such, the development of hacienda tourism is centred on property and tied to the restoration of plantation houses and outbuildings that served as production and population centres for the intensive cultivation of a rope-like fibre known as henequen.

Beginning in the latter half of the nineteenth century, booming through the *fin-de-siècle*, until waning then dying as a private industry in the first decades of the twentieth century, henequen haciendas—large

centres for the growing and processing of Agve fourcroydes (a hard, sisal-like fibre used in the manufacture of agricultural twine)—dominated the social and economic landscape. From 1860 until the 1930s henequen monocrop production for commercial export product ruled north-western Yucatán, as henequen production climaxed in the 1880s/1890s. As if in a war effort, all land and labour resources of the region were dedicated to producing henequen, most of which went directly to the United States for use in McCormick harvesting machines (Joseph 1982; Joseph and Wells 1982). As land, labour and capital were rolled into intensive production on scores of henequen haciendas, tens of thousands of indigenous Maya people (and others) were forcibly relocated to work the fields as 'debt-peons'. For them, the great economic expansion that henequen brought to Yucatán in the nineteenth century was *de facto* slavery. Even if one were to build a luxurious hotel, how, one might ask, do you turn this history into a tourable heritage?

Haciendas: the other Maya heritage

Henequen hacienda heritage is the 'other' Maya heritage of Yucatán. Hacienda heritage exists 'under erasure', so to speak, overshadowed by Yucatán's monumental archaeological heritage heralding ancient Maya civilization. Yucatán's hacienda heritage has perhaps been invisible only to the outsider's eye. In other words, hacienda heritage has been visible to, and lived by, local residents all along. While foreigners' eyes were drawn to archaeological sites and early tourism development in Yucatán catered to this fascination, Yucatec writer Ermilo Abreu Gomez pointed out both ironically and prophetically in 1940 that 'a tour of the Maya ruins means a visit to our henequen haciendas' (Joseph 1982: 228). Alongside its more famous pyramids, Yucatán has many of the hallmarks of a post-colonial landscape, none of which resound as strongly as the hulking and haunting ruins of the *casas grandes* sitting in the centre of dozens of rural Maya communities, especially in the north-west of the peninsula.

A few years ago, I had the chance to live in one of these haunting and perhaps haunted half-ruined houses (far from a restored luxury hotel!) when I first began to learn about the phenomenon of hacienda hotels. One of the five premier 'Luxury Collection' properties was located a couple of towns away from where I conducted extensive ethnographic

fieldwork for my book *Monumental Ambivalence* at the archaeological site of Chunchucmil and its surrounding Yucatec Maya communities, where I was part of a comparative study of the effects of archaeological development on Yucatec Maya communities. At Chunchucmil, archaeologists from a US-led excavation project had recently begun a public dialogue about the ancient Maya, a civilization with which residents previously felt little connection. In other words, excavations were not beginning at a site with which local people believed themselves to have ancestral connections. Nevertheless, the inception of archaeology in the community was opening up the distinct possibility for local communities that their future literally lay in ruins; that is, although they were down and out economically, the rich cultural heritage represented by the archaeological monuments in their midst could, if tied to other infrastructural development, mean a future in cultural tourism for their off-the-beaten-track, rural ex-hacienda.

Because of my guest researcher affiliation with the archaeologists, I often stayed for a few days in their headquarters house (the ex-hacienda's well-preserved and semi-restored *casa principal*, which project members called 'the hacienda') and I was also occasionally invited on various outings, some of which were occasions upon which we would dress up and visit other haciendas. And this was my initial introduction to the Luxury Collection—a small group of former plantation houses converted into high-priced hotels.

There was something very curious that connected rural Maya communities, archaeology, the dressed-up visits to Luxury Collection haciendas and the Mexican businessmen we would meet. At least on its surface, the link appeared to be a desire to mutually engage in cultural tourism development in north-western Yucatán. Thus the archaeological site could be drawn into a niche tourism market drawing upon the more popular fun-and-sun beach tourism of Cancún and other coastal resorts, or the colonial city tourism of capitals such as Mérida or the neighbouring state of Campeche. This newly opening market also had the potential to tie itself to the developed but less heavily visited Maya archaeological sites such as Uxmal and the Ruta Puuc. Nascent here, then, was an ambitious plan for a unique, exclusive tourism route based on the 'hacienda heritage' of the north-western Yucatán peninsula. Although only five properties have been turned into luxury hotels to date, some thirty hacienda *cascos* (former houses, outbuildings and central grounds) have actually been purchased by the same private developers. This buying spree represents a massive monopolization of

historical properties in the region and a tidal wave of privatization of *de facto* public space in ex-hacienda communities, as the cascos are now literally at the centre of scores of contemporary communities.

Today, business-as-usual profit-seeking is better at hiding its ruder machinations. Indeed, this is the case with the Luxury Collections Hacienda Hotels. Developers go to great lengths to make this not look like for-profit greed. But at the same time, there is absolutely no problem with making it look like white, elite paternalism. The hotel development has a non-governmental appendage to mitigate the alienation of capitalism: this self-generated arm is known as the Haciendas del Mundo Maya—a five-year-old non-profit foundation whose stated mission is to promote the sustainable development of rural Maya communities in the Yucatán Peninsula. According to the foundation's president, María de Lourdes Hernández, the foundation's efforts have integrated hotel-based tourism business with efforts to 'return life to these communities and thus preserving their Maya cultural heritage and traditions' (State of Yucatán 2005). The foundation won the 2005 World Travel and Tourism Council's 'Investor in People' award. The following passage is an excerpt from their winning entry:

> In their heyday of the 1920s, the haciendas were booming plantations which supported their local communities but by the 1990s they had been abandoned, leaving the communities in poverty. Over the past years, the haciendas have been rebuilt by teams of specialist historians, architects, hoteliers, trainers and social workers to breathe life back into these communities. Now, operated by Starwood Hotels & Resorts Worldwide, under the brand of 'The Luxury Collection', the Haciendas are a successful tourism business providing jobs, support and social welfare for the communities which surround them (World Travel and Tourism Council 2005).[1]

In the mode of business philanthropy, the multinational corporation, through an NGO, is presented as providing the traditional accoutrements of a welfare state that have long been scarce in rural Yucatán: cultural and educational programmes, job skills training and employment services.

However, the organization's rhetoric has another implication running through it that merits attention. In the above passage, the hacienda system is described as once having 'supported' their communities. The

[1] World Travel and Tourism Council (2005) 'Tourism for Tomorrow Awards', http://www.tourismfortomorrow.com/prevwinners/2005.htm.

loss of the system is not celebrated, but seemingly lamented, as the resultant effect of the loss of the system was 'poverty'. The framing of the intricacies of the system's collapse as community abandonment puts the history of Yucatán and the experiences of several generations of tens of thousands of rural indigenous Maya into a bizarre vice-grip of social, racial and economic othering. The Maya, both historical and contemporary, are portrayed as worse than an unproductive population, simply in need of economic development. The Organization's representation is of an abandoned, lifeless community in need of breath, impulse and revitalization. All of this, as the above logic goes, because they lost the hacienda system. Is this philanthropy—or perversity?

For local communities, activists, scholars and other stakeholders of all stripes, a sustainable tourism development project that uses local resources—in this case cultural, historical and architectural resources, labour resources and so on—in order both to create a rich experience for tourists and to 'give back' to the community is a win-win situation. Far from being naive do-goodism, such models are very much part of the hybrid business model that looks like public, non-profit humanitarian endeavour but really is private, for-profit business, a public veneer that fits the UNESCO recommendations for heritage tourism '…that the right balance be struck between the issue of valorizing heritage as a means to generate both welfare opportunities for the host community—which bears the cost of tourism exploitation—and the financial means needed to preserve and promote heritage itself' (UNESCO 2003, in Scarpaci 2005: 28).

Making history a tourable heritage

The ex-haciendas in north-western Yucatán are indeed historical places, the reminders of which lie at the centre of dozens of modern Maya communities. Not only may a casa grande form a powerful *lieux de memoire*, but other buildings—chapels, factories for processing the henequen leaves, company stores where the workers fell into debt, infirmaries, jails—show that the hacienda was a whole way of life. At the heart of cultural tourism in Yucatán, arising betwixt and between Mexico's statist tourism development ideology and the wily ways of private enterprise, is the centuries-old 'problem' of coming to terms with these very scenes as part and parcel of the political economy of Mexico's rural landscape. Unfortunately for tourism promoters, the history behind the heritage

is perhaps not exactly what the market ordered. Unless the specifically cater to 'disaster tourism' niche, itineraries that highlight the centuries of cumulative effects of displacement, dispossession, disempowerment and chronic post-colonial underdevelopment make for less than relaxing getaways.

The political and technical aspects of a socio-economic system based on the exploitation of land and labour could never be staged for tourism in Mexico. Thus, it would seem that exploitation would have to be bundled with a more genial aesthetic. On the one hand, a more palatable narrative is created surrounding the haciendas, and on the other hand, a spatio-temporally disjunctive aesthetic is produced. Both work together in order to package hacienda heritage for a high-end market. Ironically, Starwood's luxury Hacienda Hotels are built as faithful replicas of the nineteenth-century political economy of Yucatán: boastful casas grandes as global crossroads of capital and power in the rural hinterland. Only now, of course, the hotels are set amidst a landscape of wage-labour as opposed to debt-peonage, and patronage comes to the local community in new forms such as the non-profit organization.

There is not much to cover over and repackage when the Hacienda Hotel is marketing nostalgia for precisely this ambience, which, incidentally, is advertised as 'colonial'. Yet at the same time, other aspects of the hacienda are recuperated, re-remembered and wholly fabricated to form a 'tourable' heritage, one that is redolent with lush romantic imagery set in an indistinct bygone era. It should not be surprising, then, that hacienda heritage, bundled with the already marketable aesthetic of the 'colonial' (which operates very well in 'colonial city' tourism throughout Mexico and all of Latin America), would eventually become par for the course in both state-led and private tourism development schemes in Mexico.

The new hacendados

In my previous research on Maya cultural heritage in Yucatán, I used the case of archaeological patrimony in Mexico to make the assertion that 'making heritage' is an eminently spatial practice (Breglia 2006). Looking more broadly at cultural heritage tourism across the Americas, I believe that many of the case studies in this volume support my argument. A major part of accounting for the spatial dimensions of heritage-making (and thus heritage and history-based cultural tourism) is

an examination of property relations. So, for the case of the hacienda hotel development, what we want to look at most closely is how the private sector, which no doubt had its stranglehold on nearly the whole of the north-western Yucatán 'henequen region', has only recently begun to reassert itself. When private developers began buying up dozens of seemingly abandoned former hacienda properties across north-western Yucatán in the mid 1990s, they were entering a very complicated and, in a strong sense, painful history of land struggle in this unforgiving landscape.

Why would the private sector have lost a footing they firmly held throughout the first decades of the twentieth century? National agrarian reform laws on the heels of the Mexican Revolution crafted basically two kinds of property out of the privately-held haciendas. *Ejido* (communal agricultural) lands were distributed to those resident peons who were tied to the hacienda. People were granted usufruct tenure (not title) to ejido lands according to Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution.[2] The hacendados were allowed to retain a 300-hectare landholding known as a *pequeña propiedad*, or small private landholding. In some case, the descendants of the original hacendados held the titles to the pequeñas propriedades for decades after the original hacienda expropriations.

Most cascos (the original set of core hacienda buildings) stayed with the pequeña propiedad. In other cases, the properties were sold, thus immediately beginning their inevitable passage through a series of hands, becoming decreasingly valuable on the whole and increasingly divided between multiple parties over the years. Until this very day, the actual ownership of the cascos is in some cases 1) unknown by local residents, or the cascos are secretly owned by a private party, 2) shared between dozens of people, 3) in the hands of a bank (repossessed after default on a mortgage) or 4) (in a very few number of cases) the collective property of the ex-hacienda community itself. Nearly all the casas principales had been vacant since at least the 1940s (following

[2] Hacienda populations averaged 100–150 persons, the majority of whom were Maya *peones acasillados* (resident peons). At the turn of the twentieth century, more than 400 communities in Yucatán were haciendas that were producing henequen monoculture. Although the national agrarian reform laws initiated the distribution of lands to the peasantry across Mexico in the early 1920s, this practice was slow to benefit the peones acasillados on the henequen haciendas of north-west Yucatán. In August 1937, Cárdenas visited Yucatán to preside over the largest single episode of land distribution ever to occur in Mexico, creating 272 collective ejidos in just two weeks (Joseph 1982: 292).

the tradition that 'owners' or hacendados never actually lived in the houses themselves, leaving the day-to-day management to on-site overseers). Some of the houses were cared for and minimally maintained, while others were severely looted, right down to the door frames.

The private sector has recently re-emerged as a significant economic force in the Maya communities of north-western Yucatán and these faded buildings once again have patrons at their helms. Only this time they are overseeing investments not in monocrop henequen export production but in what tourism analyst Michael Clancy (2001a) would call 'exporting paradise'. The cascos (literally 'shells') of the hacienda system are being purchased at an alarming rate by big business developers who have not only monumental bank accounts but also political and financial connections of the highest order. Clancy asserts that 'the hotel business constitutes a unique economic activity in that it is really two businesses: providing hospitality services and real estate' (ibid. 72). If this is true, then at least the primary developers behind the hacienda hotels have realized that real estate comes before hospitality.

Since the late 1990s, Mexican banker Roberto Hernández Ramirez has purchased some thirty haciendas with a group of associates through the Grupo Plan real estate company. Hernández is a former stockbroker turned banker, who is best known as the head of the largest bank in Mexico (Banamex), which he won at auction when it was privatized in 1991 during the administration of his crony, President Carlos Salinas. Hernández, who is easily one of the richest men in Mexico, had become a billionaire around the time he began buying the hacienda properties in Yucatán. In 2001, Hernández sold Banamex (part of the Banacci financial group) to Citigroup for USD 12.5 billion, making it the largest banking merger in Latin American history (Gori 2001).[3] After the sale, Hernández remained chairman of the board of Banamex and garnered a seat on Citigroup's board of directors. In February 2006, Hernández was listed by *Forbes* magazine as number 382 in a listing of the world's richest people.

While the purchase and subsequent development of the hacienda cascos into hotels may seem like a straightforward private sector enter-

[3] The sale of Banamex was also an issue of national patrimony, sovereignty and the machinations of global finance capital. On 8 August 2001, bombs were placed at three branch offices of Banamex in protest. A group known as FARP (Revolutionary Armed Forces of the People) claimed responsibility for the bombings, in which one injury was reported (Gonzalez et al. 2001).

prise, Hernández blurred the public-private sector line when several of these properties were subsequently restored under the auspices of the Fomento Cultural Banamex, a non-profit affiliate of the Grupo Financiero Banamex. The Fondo Cultural was founded in 1971 to support Mexican cultural traditions. Indeed, Hernández purports deep involvement in the cultural sector in a wide variety of activities, ranging from his position on the board of directors of the Nature Conservancy, to Mexico's Museo Nacional de Arte,[4] his position as an external adviser to the David Rockefeller Centre for Latin American Studies at Harvard University, his support of the World Monuments Fund and his patronage of archaeological exploration in Yucatán. Capital breeding capital is, of course, business as usual in today's global financial world. And as Hernández' business practices show, recourse to the cultural sector through interest in museums, historical preservation projects, rural development, education and so on, adds profit and value to his multifaceted 'portfolio' rather than siphoning them off from it.

Just as Hernández hides his name as a private owner through the Foundation, his name is removed from the architectural restoration process. The non-profit Fomento Cultural Banamex hired Grupo Plan (a development firm that was founded in 1992 and specializes in historical properties for niche tourism markets) to organize the restoration of the properties. In 2004, Grupo Plan handed over the management of five of the hacienda properties to Starwood Hotels and Resorts Worldwide. Starwood is an American company and one of the world's leading hotel and leisure companies: it has more than 725 properties in 80 countries and 120,000 employees at its owned and managed properties. With internationally renowned brands, Starwood is a fully integrated owner, operator and franchiser of worldwide hotels and resorts including some of the most recognized names in the industry: St Regis, Sheraton and Four Points by Sheraton, Westin, W Hotels and Le Meridien.

Grupo Plan also has properties on Mexico's Pacific coast, namely El Tamarindo and Los Careyes—two resorts that are part of Starwood's Luxury Collection. Grupo Plan is currently constructing three 18-hole golf courses in Yucatán, awaiting an influx of US baby-boomer retirees (*Diario de Yucatán*, 2007). Strategically, Grupo Plan not only used the banner of the Fomento Cultural Banamex to carry out their

---

[4] In 1999, Hernández was involved in getting the massive restoration of the MUNAL off the ground, which was carried out with 50 per cent private funds (Lee 2005).

redevelopment project, but they involved other governmental agencies, academics, journalists and the like in their work. What is more, since the outset of this discussion the foundation Haciendas del Mundo Maya has also sprung up to help further the connection between the business side of tourism and the sustainable development of the affected Maya communities. That Grupo Plan is headed by architect Luis Bosoms—the son-in-law of Roberto Hernández (who is married to Marilu Hernández, president of the foundation Haciendas del Mundo Maya)—shows that private and public, business and not-for-profit are not discrete arenas when it comes to cultural tourism in Yucatán. Add to this that Hernández' business partner, Alejandro Patrón Laviada (who owns several cascos in his own right), is the older brother of the recently replaced state governor (Patricio Patrón Laviada 2001–2007)! One small, well-connected, financially and politically powerful group of people are, in the case of the Hacienda Hotels, in control of each of these purportedly different dimensions of one and the same project.[5]

In the early phase of the Hacienda Hotels, this complicated business profile did not prevent the public from becoming suspicious about the hotel development activities and their presence in local communities. There were widespread rumours, fuelled by reports in the Mérida-based newspaper *Por Esto*, that both the renovated and the non-renovated properties owned by Hernández and Patrón not only represented land swindles (suspect land purchases, usually of community-owned lands) in and of themselves, but that the properties were used as way stations

[5] Controversy over the ever-expanding interests of the Hernández family has recently reached fever pitch. In April 2007, the Chamela-Cuixmala Biosphere Defence Council, in the state of Jalisco, urged President Felipe Calderón to stop a tourist development project slated for construction by the ever-further reaching arm of Roberto Hernández through what is being called an 'illegal' authorization issued by outgoing President Vicente Fox in the eleventh hour of his administration (it was his last day in office). The move was seen as illegal because the proposal to construct a tourist complex in La Huerta of hotels, condominiums, a beach club, private residences, a petrol station, a water treatment plant and an artificial marina violated the environmental protection law established by the Comisión Nacional para Áreas Protegidas (CONAP). The ambitious project was blocked several times by environmentalists, as the area is a sanctuary for sea turtles and migratory birds, and represents the most well-preserved coastal area on Mexico's Pacific coast. In typical fashion, Roberto Hernández' own name is not attached directly to the project. In this case, as in the Yucatec hacienda project, the associated names are those of daughter Marilú and her husband, Grupo Plan's Luis Bosoms (Davila 2007).

in activities such as drug trafficking.[6] For residents of the ex-hacienda community of Santa Rosa and surrounding towns, for example, the establishment of a federal military checkpoint along their otherwise quiet rural road at the same time as the renovation and opening of the Hacienda Hotel Santa Rosa justified their suspicions that their community was serving as a way station for trafficking.

The Luxury Collection: 'Antebellum Nostalgia'

Five former henequen haciendas are part of Starwood's Luxury Collection, which comprises some 50 properties in 25 countries across the globe. No other unifying aesthetic links the properties to one another than the brand itself. All Luxury Collection properties (Temozón, Santa Rosa, Uayamón, San José and Puerto Campeche) have on-site restaurants with professional chefs, swimming pools and fewer than 30 rooms. All have some local Maya staff (housekeepers, gardeners, chauffeurs, dining room servers, etc.) with foreign (usually European) managers. The local staff live near the hotels and this is both a selling point for the 'authenticity' of the hotel atmosphere and *raison d'etre* for the activities of the Haciendas del Mundo Maya foundation—the mechanism by which the hotel business purports to reinvest in the local ex-hacienda communities.

The hotels are located within established communities and, as such, on locally travelled transportation routes. Santa Rosa, for instance, is serviced several times a day by *colectivos* (ramshackle vans and station wagons) that leave every couple of hours from Maxcanú, the nearest large town and a stop on the major Mérida-Campeche bus route. There are no posted schedules or advertised stops for these modes of transport, and waiting times at either end can be as much as several hours. However, it is impossible to imagine a hotel guest reaching his or her destination by these means. Accessibility for guests and visitors is therefore designed for private transportation, typically rented cars or hotel vans. Another option is helicopter, which is convenient for the travelling elite and ideal for security-minded visitors. The helicopter is Roberto Hernández' preferred method of transport when he wishes to

[6] Roberto Hernández has been linked to cocaine trafficking in a series of investigative reports published by *Por Esto* newspaper since the mid 1990s.

visit his properties in Yucatán, and US presidents Clinton and Bush and Mexican presidents Fox and Calderón have used this mode of transport during their visits to the peninsula. Especially due to security issues, access to certain Luxury Collection properties (particularly Temozón) is at times completely closed to other guests and visitors.

That the Luxury Collection properties cater specifically to 'elite' visitors is no surprise. As the company itself states: 'The Luxury Collection is a group of unique hotels and resorts offering exceptional service to an elite clientele. All of these hotels, some of them centuries old, are internationally recognized as being among the world's finest' (Starwood Hotels and Resorts n.d.). Yet the categories 'elite' and 'luxury' merit a bit of unpacking. In the case of the former, elite may refer to heads of state but also to American families with children, Mexican businessmen, international holidaymakers or entire wedding parties who marry on-site. Elite refers to those who can afford to stay in the Starwood properties, although the pricing of rooms (USD 245–600 per night) and of meals for non-overnight guests is competitive with high-end accommodation in any market. The elite label is also expansive enough to encompass guests who are interested in ecotourism. On the National Geographic Adventure trip planning website that focuses on the Yucatán Peninsula ('Mexico's Maya to the Max'), an adviser tips off readers to an 'Ecotrip' perk offered by operators of the Luxury Collection hotels on the hacienda route: guests can bike between properties while staff arrange the transportation of their luggage (Christ n.d.).

As for the standard of 'luxury', this is certainly not an empirical constant across the global network of Luxury Collection properties. In other words, it would be hard for a savvy traveller to not notice that they were paying a locally incongruent price for an experience that would not measure up to 'five stars' in Dubai or London. Yet what the Hacienda Hotels do offer is specificity of experience that is historically and culturally tinted—perhaps enough to make up for a 'star's worth' of luxury. In other words, the ability of the aesthetic of the hacienda hotel and its grounds to transport the guest back in time crystallizes rather than obfuscates class relations between masters and servants, thereby consolidating another sense of luxury-as-leisure.

San José, Santa Rosa, Temozón and Uayamón have been revived from their supposed suspended animation as ex-haciendas and reinvented as haciendas through a three-step process: their purchase by private-sector banking mandate and entrepreneur Roberto Hernández, their restoration by Grupo Plan, and their marketing, promotion and management

by Starwood. This general process takes on specific locational distinctions at each property. Hacienda Temozón Sur is the flagship property among the Grupo Plan/Starwood Luxury Collection hacienda hotels. Starwood pitches the property as a family *estancia*, reaching back across several centuries to anchor the historical environment in the cattle-raising activities of the land's first Spanish owner, Diego de Mendoza, a relative of Yucatán's famed conqueror Francisco de Montejo. Thus, the property's signifying framework is the seventeenth century. Indeed, the phrase 'seventeenth-century hacienda'—which is a complete misnomer—is often repeated in the hotel's promotional materials.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, a later owner of the property, Carlos Peón Machado, transformed the hacienda into henequen production. At its height, the hacienda relied on the labour of 640 workers cultivating nearly 7000 hectares of henequen. Like its kindred communities, Temozón Sur began to undergo the formal process of expropriation. After the remaining pequeña propiedad (inclusive of the casco) passed through the hands of a series of private owners, it was acquired from Miguel Angel Cervera by Grupo Plan in 1996. An event that placed the renovated property on the map of power, so to speak, was a political summit between President Clinton and Mexican President Vicente Fox in 2000. It was most recently the site of George Bush's March 2007 visit to Mexico.

Located in the southernmost area of the henequen region, much closer to the capital city of Campeche than to Mérida (the capital of Yucatán), Uayamón, not unlike Temozón, was a seventeenth-century cattle hacienda, drawing workers from nearby settlements. When the hacienda made the Conde Nast's 2001 *Hot List*, Starwood's press release was accompanied by an appropriately tempting description of the property:

> The Hacienda Uayamón hearkens back to Mexico's colonial past evoking a rich nineteenth-century sense of antebellum nostalgia. A shining jewel created from a refurbished sisal plantation, the Hacienda Uayamón conjures up a unique sense of history.... Each of the Hacienda Uayamón's luxurious rooms features a terrace and private garden. A magnificent pool set among crumbling walls of an old factory awaits the weary traveller. The hacienda's ceiling fans, louvred windows, mahogany furniture, outdoor daybeds and black-and-white tile floors add to the allure of Mexico's rich colonial past. Ten beautiful *casitas* converted from former workers' cottages also lend to the mystique of the hacienda's by-gone heyday. (PR Newswire 2001)

The swirl of temporal references here—'antebellum', 'colonial' and, mysteriously, 'nineteenth-century'—is dizzying. But there is perhaps more to the assertion that Uayamón is at once antebellum and colonial than the free-wheeling postmodern frisson of temporal pastiche. Of course, there is the matter of historical anachronism: the henequen haciendas in Yucatán were established well *after* Mexico's declared independence from Spain in 1821. It is important to emphasize here that the hacienda form of land and labour exploitation was not utilized by the Spanish colonial administration on the Yucatán Peninsula. Rather than colonial institutions, henequen haciendas are nineteenth-century capitalist enterprises controlled by a relatively small, white Yucatec oligarchy (Wells 1982). The term 'antebellum' most readily calls to mind the plantation-based lifestyle of the pre-Civil War American South. Used in the context of Yucatán, it would make reference not only to the aesthetic of this very same slave-based economy but also to the decadent rural lifestyle before the Mexican Revolution (1910–1917). The Revolution was slow to come to Yucatán, and its legislative effects of liberal land reform were even more belated. It could perhaps be said that that 'antebellum' on the henequen hacienda lasted until the 1930s, when mass expropriations were finally carried out and the debt peons were granted land and liberty. While it would seem that invoking an exploitative past would negatively rather than positively contribute to an agenda of making history into a tourable heritage, this example demonstrates the inverse. By anachronistically repackaging the hacienda as 'colonial', the hotel is actually able to latch onto a dislocated and depoliticized nostalgia in which visitors one and all might participate.

The 'restoration' of the casco properties accomplished by the private sector operating through the arms of a philanthropic, non-profit foundation, and with aid and support from government agencies, is perhaps best described as a deceptive, faithful re-creation of a staged inauthenticity. In other words, the properties are restored, highlighting some of their original architectural and aesthetic details, but the notion of original use is eschewed in favour of surprising 'repurposing'. At Uayamón, the extensive henequen hacienda's hospital, school and chapel have been incorporated into the reconstruction of the hotel. The decor of this property has a notably Asian aesthetic, as it was specifically designed by an Indonesian architect to achieve this effect. Because of its proximity to the lesser-known and less-visited archaeological site of Edzna, Uayamón also promotes itself as a home base for cultural

excursions, even to the somewhat distant sites of Calakmul and Xpujil, some 250 km to the south-east.

Another property in the Luxury Collection—Santa Rosa de Lima—lies just a few kilometres from the towns and the archaeological site where I previously carried out ethnographic research (Breglia 2006). Residents of Santa Rosa pueblo's main street leading to the gate of the casa grande (now hotel) live in small, uniform houses that until the 1930s were the quarters of the *peones acasillados* (resident peons of the henequen hacienda). As luxurious as Grupo Plan and Starwood have attempted to make the constituents of the Luxury Collection, roads leading to some of the hotels, such as Santa Rosa, are sometimes rebelliously unsightly. This is despite the paint and stucco (and the uniform rubbish bins that are occasionally distributed to the community's local residents) that are meant to maintain the appearance of the neighbourhood. At the time of the hotel's opening, the houses were painted, appropriately enough, *rosado* (pink).

Because of their imposing presence at the physical centre of the ex-haciendas, almost all the properties continued to serve as some sort of focusing presence in everyday social life. Although many are technically private property and have always been so, the cascos are also *de facto* public space. For the ex-hacienda communities of north-western Yucatán, they are the *gran plazas* of typical colonial-style Spanish American towns. In other words, these are the spaces in which people meet, hang out, play sport and even graze animals. In the ex-haciendas such as this one, original hacienda chapels, which are still used by the local Catholic parish, might anchor one end of the plaza. The long municipal building that would otherwise represent state power in the colonial *zócalo* is, in the case of the plaza created by the hacienda casco, an abandoned henequen fibre processing machinery building (some such buildings still have pieces of rusting equipment lying around in them). At Temozón, one can still see the original *disfibradora*. *Fútbol* games are played on the wide grass plazas that front nearly every casco, as these private lands become transformed into public lands—much like the ejido agricultural lands where corn and other crops replaced henequen over the decades—in both substance and meaning.

At one ex-hacienda (whose casco was recently purchased by the same group of developers who were converting the luxury hotels), I spoke to a group of four men in their fifties whose regular evening hang-out was a row of cement blocks on the grass just inside what had been the

gate on the road leading to the casa principal. When the conversation turned to the issue of the ownership of the casco, the mood turned grave. Rumours abounded about the development the property would undergo. Having recently witnessed a nearby community become host to a Starwood property, local residents worried about rather than hoped for a similar fate. What will our community do, they asked in earnest, without access to this property? 'Where will the kids play? Where will we pass the time? What will become of us?'

Back on the hacienda

For some communities that have Hernández-owned cascos, the latent 'promise' of a cultural tourism development venture is more of a spectre on the horizon. And this spectre is not one drummed up through rumour-mongering or mere idle speculation regarding such ongoing acts of privatization by Mexico's new billionaires. Even if the conversion of the ruined cascos into luxury hotels brings jobs to an ex-hacienda, how does a community measure a handful of jobs against the reinvigoration of an ideology playing out quite literally at the centre of the residents' everyday lives?

The case of hacienda hotels in Yucatán is far from unique and indeed turns out to be instructive for what is common in many contemporary cases of cultural tourism development, especially as it clearly demonstrates that heritage and cultural tourism are spatial practices. The analysis of heritage tourism as a spatial practice requires attention to both the material dimensions of space (property ownership, public or private status, the uses of space by a community, etc.) and the intangible dimensions of the meanings of space as they transform over time. This latter dimension includes attention to those meanings imposed and inscribed through a specific project of rehabilitation or restoration.

What is especially highlighted in the case of the Hacienda Hotels is how this seemingly very locally specific project is linked to both national and global phenomena. On the national level in Mexico, the state's role in provisioning both finance capital and 'vision' for tourism development (which had been very important) is on the wane and the age of the fully state-backed *megaproyecto* is over. There will never be, for example, another tourism development project on the scale of Cancún. The state, embracing neoliberal ideology and policy, is looking at a variety of other channels through which development might

be carried out. Thus, what we have already begun to see is a proliferation of 'fourth way' sustainable tourism development: private-sector projects with government partnerships and non-profit arms, such as the Haciendas del Mundo Maya.

As the former henequen hacienda properties are incorporated into the Starwood Luxury Collection, they are inseparable from the global machinations of finance capital and transnational tourism. Through an ideology of restoration that hearkens back to an atemporal, dislocated 'colonial' period, the hotels become chronotopes: particular organizations of time and space that represent a tacit agreement between the Mexican state and the private sector on how to turn the region's political economic history into a profitable heritage.[7] Coming full circle, the properties are made haciendas again.

What, then, is most significant to contemplate about Yucatán's hacienda route and the incorporation of haciendas into Starwood's Luxury Collection? The development of hacienda tourism in Yucatán on the ruins of the nineteenth-century henequen industry effaces what many local resident see as a significant constituent of their hard-won heritage—liberal land reforms, acknowledging the legacy of the hacienda system with their promise of retribution through access to land and the end of exploitation (Breglia 2006). This is perhaps the greatest irony about the 'restoration' we find in the creation of Hacienda Heritage: after decades of becoming *de facto* public spaces in the ex-hacienda communities across north-western Yucatán, the reassertion of private-sector ownership and development of land and property has re-territorialized the political economic landscape as well as the built environment in such a way as to put local Maya residents back 'on the hacienda'.

[7] See Clifford 1997 for his discussion of hotels as chronotopes.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

HERITAGE AND INDIGENEITY: TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE POLITICS OF TOURISM

Quetzil E. Castañeda

Just after Christmas 2004, a group of handicraft vendors and artisans invaded the archaeological zone of Chichén Itzá in order to sell their products directly to tourists. Throughout Mexico, the sale of souvenirs inside sites of patrimony is regulated by law, and the unsanctioned mass entry into sites by locals for this purpose is illegal and typically referred to as an invasion. This was the third such invasion of Chichén since 1982 and it seemed to follow a previously established pattern. Within two months (February 2005), however, a radically new political strategy emerged that centred on Maya and indigenous identity. This strategy was designed by the vendors' new legal representative—a Maya lawyer who had recently been fired as chief administrator of Chichén Itzá, a post he had held since the 1990s when he had been hired to bring the unruly vendors of the second invasion under control. In Mexican political slang, he 'flipped the tortilla' (*dio vuelta a la tortilla*). As their new lawyer, he created a network of alliances with indigenous organizations, rights advocacy NGOs, social movements (EZLN) and international governmental organizations, and deployed an array of legalities and laws.

This intervention of identity politics and the concomitant 'use of law as tactics' (Foucault 1991: 95) significantly transformed the usual politics of tourism at Chichén into a new form of conflict that takes heritage as the means, mode and goal of struggle. By situating the third invasion in the historical contexts of previous conflicts, I argue that these changes in the politics of tourism constitute a transformation in the nature and mode of heritage of Chichén Itzá. According to the theory I propose here, these ruins of national 'patrimony' became 'heritage'; that is, there has emerged a new configuration of conflicts over the ownership, use rights, control, regulation and management of this materiality that are, properly speaking, heritage politics. This thesis

is argued through an ethnographic history of the politics of Chichén, whose key moments are synthesized in table 1.

Politics of tourism: contexts

Chichén Itzá was reconstructed into an archaeological site of tourism by Mexican and North American archaeologists between 1923 and 1941 (Kidder 1930; Jones 1995; Castañeda 1996, 2005c). In addition to the scientific goals of knowledge, the archaeological restoration had the objective of creating a tourism destination as a means to promote archaeology (Kidder 1930: 97–99). Tourism at Chichén, however, was sporadic until the early 1960s, when the elimination of Cuba from the US 'pleasure periphery' facilitated the growth of mass tourism to Yucatán.

Tourism development in Yucatán has always been contingent on broader socio-political context and factors. Thus the initial creation of the Yucatán tourism market was stimulated by the political crises that closed Cuba as a site of US tourism. Historically, large-scale tourism in the Yucatán Peninsula had been organized around Mérida in the state of Yucatán with excursions to archaeological sites, principally Chichén. Minimalist tourism developed at Isla Mujeres and Cozumel as an extension of Key West, Florida based yacht and sailing culture. The development of Cancún as a destination created a more encompassing regional tourism network with two axes, the Mexican Caribbean (which stretches from Isla Holbox, north of Cancún, to beaches south of Tulum) and the Cancún-Mérida corridor. In the early 1980s, the completion of initial construction phases of Cancún, in the state of Quintana Roo, coincided with the crash of the Mexican peso and inaugurated a tourism boom in Mexico and especially the enlarged Yucatán tourism region beginning in 1982 that lasted until the socioeconomic destruction created by Hurricane Gilberto in 1988 (Garcia Fuentes 1979; Lee 1978; Castañeda 1996; Clancy 1999, 2001a, 2001b; Pi-Sunyer and Thomas 1997; Pi-Sunyer et al. 2001; Torres 2002; Walker 2005). Chichén Itzá, situated as the primary destination between Cancún and Mérida, benefited significantly from this exponential growth of regional tourism, despite the near total absence of strategic planning in the state of Yucatán in contrast to the highly coordinated and funded development strategies deployed in Quintana Roo.

Tourism services for and the volume of visitors to Chichén and the nearby Maya town of Pisté grew exponentially, as did the size of this Maya village. This community, whose intertwined history with Chichén goes back to pre-Columbian days, had grown in population from under 500 in the 1930s to over 1,000 in the early 1980s to reach nearly 5,000 by 1990 (Castañeda 2003, 1996: 76). Other nearby and smaller communities, such as Xcalacoop to the north and San Francisco to the east of Chichén, also grew significantly in the 1980s in relation to the rise of the local tourism economy.

One settlement that did not undergo significant growth was the small outpost of the families of the park wardens (*guardianos* or *custodios*) who were hired by the Mexican Monumentos Prehispánicos, which was later reorganized into the National Institute of Anthropology and History (hereafter, INAH), to care-take the archaeological zone. Their houses were strategically located on the main plaza of Chichén between the Ball Court, to the west, and the pyramid of Kukulcan, to the east, on the road that had been built in 1936 from Mérida to Chichén Itzá (see illustration 1). The INAH homes—from which the custodios and their families sold food, beverages, guidebooks, postcards, stamps and souvenirs—were aligned along the road, which cut across the main plaza of Chichén, the south-west corner of which was used for the ticket entrance and car park.

This organization of space, which was established by the mid 1930s, is significant, for it has structured and shaped the politics of tourism. This politics is fundamentally characterized by actors seeking to order/organize space so as to assert and maintain economic control of it as a means for economic ends—at least this is what characterizes the politics of tourism at Chichén until the third invasion, when the irruption of conflicts over the forms of legal ownership of archaeological heritage transformed the groundwork of these economic strategies.

By the early 1980s, as many as 20 men and women from Pisté were selling various products outside the entrances to Chichén on this strip of road. While the women tended to sell food and fruit, the men sold slushies (blends of water, ice and flavoured syrup), newspapers and, especially, the home-made wood carvings that one INAH custodio had invented as a souvenir in the mid 1970s (see Castañeda 2004a, 2005b). When the new entrance, the Cubertizo, was built in 1982 (directly west of the Ball Court), these men were forced into the new car park as illicit street vendors. By 1983, the number of vendors had increased from 20

Table 1. Historical time line of events at Chichén Itzá and Pisté, 1900s–2005

Years	Chichén Itzá	Pisté
1900s–1910	Chichén Itzá owned as private property by Edward H. Thompson as a means to collect archaeological specimens for the Peabody Museum of Harvard University,	Pisté slowly became repopulated after being a war zone during the Caste War (1847–1902); low-intensity violence created by soldiers from the military garrison stationed in Pisté.
1910–1923	Hacienda Chichén was abandoned during the period of the Mexican Revolution and the years of the governorships of Salvador Alvarado through Felipe Carrillo Puerto.	Pisté in the middle of a micro-region in which sporadic violence is used to subjugate communities during struggles between Liberales and Socialistas.
1923–1938	Carnegie Institution of Washington and Mexican Monumentos Prehispanicos (institutional ancestor of the INAH) initiate excavation and reconstruction; CIW rented Hacienda Chichén from Thompson, who sold it to Fernando Barbachano Peon.	Political stabilization of Yucatán and region. Inmigration to Pisté of skilled labourers to work for US archaeologists (Morley); Pisté is main supply of labour for the archaeologists, ranging from 50–120 men in different seasons.
1940s–1960s	Barbachano pioneers low-volume tourism Chichén using the Hotel Mayaland and Hacienda Chichén; National Geographic sponsors an attempt to dredge and excavate the Cenote Sagrado in 1961–62.	Some Pisté men develop careers as masons and work at other archaeological sites, some become INAH *custodios* living inside Chichén, while others find employment in the Mérida office of INAH in restoration and care-taking.
1970s	Tourism to Chichén increases slightly, mostly due to the emergence of Yucatán as a tourism destination. Yucatán tourism also includes Mérida and adventure-recreational tourism on Isla Mujeres; no strategic planning or regulation of tourism by state government. Club Med built at Chichén.	Pisté continues to grow at slow pace but initiates first attempt to become an independent *municipio* in late 1960s, second attempt in 1970s; the economic power of INAH families converts into political power in town politics & society; custodios and teachers control town until 1988.

Table 1 (*cont.*)

Years	Chichén Itzá	Pisté
1974	Invention of the equinox phenomenon due to the publication of Luis Arochi's book about the interplay of light from setting sun with corners of the main pyramid; the symbolism of the configuration of light and shadow is interpreted as the arrival or descent of Maya god Kukulcan ('feathered serpent').	An INAH custodio invents a handicraft tradition, wood carvings stylized by pre-Columbian statuary; many from Pisté begin to carve wood and sell it at Chichén; with capital accumulation other regional & national crafts are commercialized; invented Pisté tourist handicrafts develops into art tradition by 1990s.
1982	State government creates a coordinated analysis of the underdevelopment and the development needs of each county; conception of a limited plan to correct infrastructural problems at Chichén, which includes: a detour of the road around north end of site, relocation of the INAH families and destruction of those houses, construction of Cubertizo (new ticket entrance).	During 1970s many communities of Yucatán experience mass out-migration to Cancun during construction phases. End of Phase 1 generates a return of Pisté men to Pisté in search of work, where they find entrepreneurial opportunities in the handicraft economy of Chichén, as well as in Pisté's growing hotel, restaurant, taxi and small-shop sectors.
1984	State begins sponsoring rituals for spring equinox, which becomes key income for locals due to the high volume of tourists (30,000–60,000 visitors to the one-day event every 21 March); Mexico signs the UNESCO Convention on World Heritage.	

Table 1 (*cont.*)

Years	Chichén Itzá	Pisté
1982–1987	Invasion of Chichén Itzá by up to 600 artisans and vendors of handicrafts and food; the majority are from Pisté, a minority from smaller nearby villages, and a handful of non-local, non-Yucatecan Mexicans from Cancún and other parts of Mexico. Conflicts and crisis of control of the site, frequent police and military raids on the vendors, acts of violence between factions of vendors; federal government attempts to assert coercive control of vendors through the creation of labour unions; unique agreement between state and federal government leads to the creation of CULTUR, which is charged with supervising and regulating the touristic dimensions of archaeological and historical heritage sites of Yucatán state; the director is hand-picked and supervised by the governor—the agency is an example of state capitalism. The state constructs a handicraft market (Tianguis) as an annex to the new entrance complex (Parador); only 120 vendors enter market, others relocate to Mayaland entrance and Pisté hotels.	
1987–1994	Relative tranquillity in Chichén, except for the increasing popularity of the equinox ritual that is sponsored by the state government to promote tourism and the Maya. Chichén placed on Mexico's World Heritage List in 1988.	Town politics in Pisté escalates into a social movement with goal of becoming an independent county; motivation is to effect greater local control of tourism benefits of Chichén for development of town infrastructure and tourism development.
1994–1999	Barbachanos seek to displace the handicraft vendors camped in front of Hotel Mayaland; they force the closure of the Mayaland entrance to Chichén and create a disenfranchised group of vendors; begin expansion of Mayaland Hotel.	Pisté undergoes a series of intense political conflicts, factionalism and betrayals, including imprisonment of the mayor, scandals in *ejido* financing, hijacking of a tractor used to build toll road, and the creation of a local PAN party.
1994–1997	Second invasion of Chichén Itzá by a new group of vendors dislocated from the Mayaland vending sites or who are otherwise without a legitimate market venue; they petition government for a new market inside the archaeological zone with support of Barbachano family; INAH refuses request and state government creates extension of the Tianguis marketplace to resolve crisis.	

Table 1 (*cont.*)

Years	Chichén Itzá	Pisté
1999–2005	PAN congressman proposes privatization of archaeological heritage; mass popular mobilization against this, including by the INAH at local, state and federal levels; Barbachano senior is inspired to return from Florida retirement to initiate a takeover of the Sacred Cenote Palapa and the Cooperativa Palapa; this enabled by the political conjuncture of the rise of PAN at state and federal levels, favourable changes in INAH leadership, and the death of Cevera Pacheco, PRI caudillo or political boss in Yucatán for over 20 years. The vendors, with support from a faction of Chichén custodios (new workers), respond with a third invasion.	

Sources

- Pisté history and town politics up to 1990s, see Steggerda (1941), Castañeda (1996: 35–93, 259–297; 2001, 2003a)
- State-sponsored tourism ritual of the equinox, see Arochi (1974), Himpele and Castañeda (1997), Castañeda (1996: 175–200)
- Legal basis of the private and communal ownership of Chichén and of archaeological patrimony in Mexico, see Breglia (2006)
- First invasion, see Castañeda (1998), Peraza López & Rejón Patrón (1989), Peraza López et al. (1987), Morales Valderrama et al. (1989)
- Pisté art and Yucatán handicraft industry, see Castañeda (2004a, 2005a, 2005b), Morales Valderrama et al. (1989)
- Chichén archaeology, see Ramírez Aznar (1990); Sullivan (1991), Jones (1995), Castañeda (2003b, 2005c)

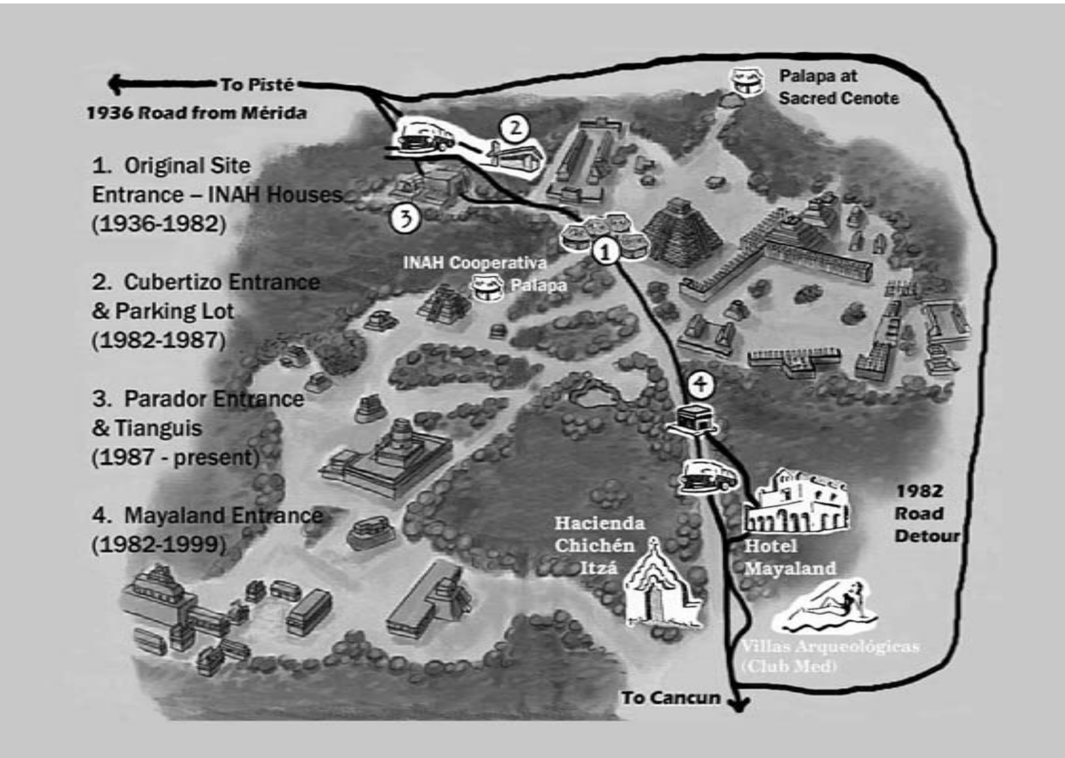

Illustration 1—Map of Chichén Itzá showing historical changes in the location of entrances and market venues. Map designed by the author, 2008

or so to 200 or 300; the number was estimated to have risen to 600 vendors during the high tourist seasons of 1985 and 1986.

The initial group of artisans and vendors petitioned the state government to construct *palapas* (traditional Maya pole-and-thatch huts without walls) to protect them against the elements. These requests encountered a bureaucratic machinery that was geared to stall, dissuade, exhaust, buy off and otherwise ignore any such demands from citizens for help. At the same time, there was an almost complete lack among Yucatecan politicians and government agencies of an understanding of the significance of tourism for the state and of a vision of tourism development. In this vacuum, the state finally constructed two makeshift venues—pole-and-thatch palapas with no walls—on the edge of the car park, for the initial group of 40 vendors (see illustration 2).

Meanwhile, the number of vendors who were excluded or who excluded themselves from these two groups increased in line with the continued skyrocketing volume of tourists. Without adequate, regulated space for them to sell, new vendors and artisans simply invaded the archaeological zone to find a space alongside the main tourist paths, rest areas and stopping points (see illustration 3). The vendors

Illustration 2—Wood carvers sit on a rock outcrop in the parking lot of the Cubertizo (1985). In the background are palapa #1 (right) and palapa #2 (left)

Illustration 3—These vendors begin wrapping up their sales of the day, while tourists walk to the Parador Turístico on the path to the left. The grandfather, father and uncles of the boy, all veterans who belonged to palapa no. 2, had always claimed this piece of territory during all three invasions. Photograph by the author, March 2005

in the car park palapas therefore also invaded the zone in a double strategy, which was to pressure the state government to create a truly adequate marketplace and to take advantage of the economic opportunity to have immediate contact with several hundreds of thousands customers. These vendors sought to establish self-governing norms of civility and conduct with the goal not only of installing order among themselves, but also of appeasing the state government and the INAH; these required that they clean up their garbage, protect archaeological remains and, especially, interact respectfully with tourists. Other vendors eschewed imposed rules of behaviour regardless of source as they sought to maximize their profits via direct sales to tourists inside the zone. The state pressure to remove the vendors—which included military and police raids, political threats, intimidation and bribing of leaders—merely entrenched the demands of those vendors who were seeking a market and fortified the refusal of other unruly vendors to submit to governmental authority and regulations.[1]

The invasion was a political, social and economic crisis not only at the level of the state of Yucatán, but also for the Mérida-Cancún tourism network and for federal institutions. While the federal government sought to retain administrative control of archaeological sites throughout Mexico, and especially in such significant sites of tourism as Chichén, it had no practical means to police sites to prevent these invasions, which occurred at all major archaeological-tourism destinations in Mexico (e.g. at Tulum, Teotihuacán and Tajín). While the INAH custodios could use their whistles to dissuade tourists from climbing the pyramids, they had no regulatory mechanisms, management protocols or policing procedures to prevent the country's citizens from flooding archaeological sites with tourist goods. My thesis is that the invasions began to occur in the absence of both heritage and tourism policies, and that these invasions triggered responses that developed into explicit strategies and sets of management protocols. While the initial invasions were politics over the organization and use of space, the third invasion entailed a struggle over the ownership of space itself. It is in this sense that I argue that Chichén became heritage in a new and different way.

The first invasion at Chichén was triggered by a plan initiated by the state government to improve the infrastructure of tourism services in

[1] On the first invasion, see Peraza López & Rejón Patrón 1989; Peraza López et al. 1987, Morales Valderrama et al. 1989; Castañeda 1996: 232–258, 1998.

a way that would also protect archaeological materials. This plan had three points: the construction of a more modern entrance building (the aforementioned Cubertizo), the building of an illuminated pavement running three kilometres from Pisté to Chichén, and the re-routing of the original road built in 1936 from Mérida to Chichén around the north end of the archaeological zone so as to rid the centre of the pre-Columbian city of heavy car and bus traffic. It is important to note that this plan was a corrective device that was totally devoid of any grounded analysis of long-range planning of tourism in general, and of archaeological tourism in particular. The absence at the state level of government of both strategic development plans and management protocols for administration of 'heritage resources' contrasts strongly with the conception, design and implementation of Cancún. The chaos of the invasion is clear evidence that this very delimited 'plan' was less a programme for the future than a corrective, ameliorative device.

The closing of the road entailed razing the homes of the INAH workers, who were relocated to Pisté. The custodios were able to negotiate compensation for the loss of their homes and business interests. While senior custodios opted for choice stalls in the new Cubertizo, others sought rights to vending concessions inside the tourist zone of Chichén at two distinct venues called palapas. Two custodios were each granted a half share of the palapa venue at the Sacred Cenote. The struggle to retain rights over this palapa is a crucial element of the story. The *palapa* was run by INAH wardens and their heirs until the state government took it over in the 1990s; in 2002, it was appropriated—'privatized'—by the Barbachano family, an oligarchic and entrepreneurial family of Yucatán that had pioneered tourism to Chichén by building the first major hotel at the ruins (Hotel Mayaland) in 1930. The other palapa, located to the south of the main plaza along the pre-Columbian road leading to 'Old Chichén', was granted as a cooperative business to the twelve remaining INAH custodians. This group of *custodios* came to be known as the *antiguos*, not only because of their seniority as INAH workers but also because they formed a dominant political and economic interest group that was powerful not only in the Chichén workplace and in Pisté, but also in the regional office of the INAH (cf. Breglia 2006).

These concessions given to the INAH custodios were viewed as prejudicial by the growing number of disenfranchised vendors who had no commercial venue. The invading vendors considered that they had the same rights as the custodios to benefit from the economic use

of Chichén. In petitioning the government for a market, the rationale of the invaders was that they have the economic human right to fair working conditions; this right was infringed by the state-sanctioned privilege accorded to certain Pisté inhabitants (INAH workers) and not others. This claim in turn was built on the unquestioned assumption that the vendors had use rights to Chichén as inhabitants of Pisté, since Chichén 'belongs' to Pisté in two ways. First, given the intertwining histories of Chichén and Pisté, the Chichén is part of the historical-cultural and social legacy or heritage of Pisté. Second, portions of the land of Chichén were given under the federal land grant laws (*ejido* reform) to Pisté, which granted a restricted number of Pisté farmers the use rights to this land as *ejidatarios*. It is crucial to note, however, that the entitlement to use rights as *ejidatarios* is itself based on the assumption of the legitimate right of the federal government to act as the steward of the nation's communal, agricultural lands.[2] Further, the *ejido* entitlement does not provide any rights to the ownership, use or control of historical-cultural materials, that is, heritage resources. In other words, the invasion was not legitimated, much less triggered, by claims that the vendors *owned* Chichén as 'Maya heritage'!

After five years of crisis, during which tourism to Chichén, Cancún and Mérida continued to escalate, the state government, under the governorship of Víctor Cervera Pacheco, finally yielded to the vendors' demands for a permanent market venue. The building called the Tianguis (Nahuatl for 'market') was added on to the second new entrance complex (the Parador Turístico) that had been opened in time for the ritual of the spring equinox on 21 March 1987 (see illustration 4 and 5). The new market, however, was not enough to persuade the vendors to give up their vending locations inside the zone. In addition, the state government had to reach an agreement with the INAH that restricted the palapas to the sale of snacks, beverages, postcards and tourist literature. In order to protect the economic human rights of the artisan-vendors who produced and sold their own wood carvings, the palapas run by INAH workers were prohibited from selling handicrafts.

The politics of tourism at Chichén had and still has multiple foci. For the vendors, their politics was primarily focused on claiming and

[2] Breglia (2006) analyzes the different kinds of claims and conflicts that occur over land that is simultaneously patrimonio and heritage collectively owned by ejidatarios.

Illustration 4—Vendors from the first invasion were given the option to rent stalls in the Tianguis, whose location by the site of the new entrance of the Parador Turístico created a precipitous drop in sales. The new-Maya faux-corbelled arch of the Parador, middle background, was constructed to frame the temple top of the Pyramid of Kukulcan. Photograph by the author, 1989

Illustration 5—A vendor sells hats and parasols in the plaza area between the Tianguis and the Parador. Although this woman was only a child during the first invasion, her mother was one of the political leaders of one group of vendors that moved from the palapas to the Tianguis in 1987. Photograph taken from the arch entrance of the Parador. Photograph by the author, 2005

maintaining use of coveted space inside the archaeological zone. This fed internal factionalism and their solidarity against diverse economic interests that sought their expulsion from the zone. At stake for the INAH workers was the material protection of archaeological materials and their own socio-economic interests that derived from their employment. For the owners of handicraft stores and for tour guides, the issue was simply a loss of market share—not a question of identity, culture, property rights, human rights or interpretation of Maya civilization. As for the Barbachanos, they were not engaged in community politics, which included the invasions of Chichén, and until 2003 they did not assert any rights of ownership of the land on which the ruins stand. These struggles, therefore, were not about heritage as this term has come to mean in the last decades. These struggles certainly occurred in the very space of what we unthinkingly categorize and routinely label as 'heritage'. However, these conflicts actually did not centre on heritage as the object, objective or mode of these struggles.

In fact, the legitimacy of the state control, regulation and administration of Chichén as national patrimony was presupposed by the vendors, as well as by all the other social actors. Even those vendors who refused 'domestication' by the state and who asserted their economic independence and rights to pursue freely their economic livelihood, only claimed rights to use Chichén—that is, use rights, not a right of any type of ownership. Further, the ongoing petitioning of the government to intervene and the recognition by the majority of vendors that the invasion was only a mechanism to put pressure on the nation-state to create a market, is the clearest expression that the vendors accepted, assumed and took as legally legitimate the state prerogative to manage the site as the steward of national patrimony.

A theory of heritage: concepts and ideal types

It is certainly true that the word heritage has come to be the dominant, all-encompassing category for any and all things that come from the past (or present) as the meaningful and valuable legacy of a social group or community. I retain the use of heritage as this umbrella category, devoid of theoretical and analytical value. It is simply a descriptive word and a marker of a diversity of forms. Precisely because of the common usage of this word, 'heritage' as a concept is woefully weak, underdeveloped and untheorized. Yet, the shifting terms, stakes and

forms of politics of Chichén have suggested the urgent need to theorize 'heritage'. Specifically, the disjunction between Chichén as a site of 'national patrimony' and as a site of 'world heritage' offers a path to exploit. Consider that the concept of 'heritage' is most often translated into Spanish as *patrimonio*. Thus, for example, in Mexico—and in Latin America generally—the builders of nations since the nineteenth century have been concerned with patrimonio as means to forge images of national belonging and unity. However, patrimonio translates into English as either 'patrimony' or 'heritage'. The conceptual and semantic differences between these terms suggest the potential to convert these terms into theoretical notions of analytical value. Although they could be the same and be implicated in each other, the long span of imagining and fashioning Latin American nations makes it evident that analytically, empirically and historically speaking, not all 'patrimony' is heritage and not all 'heritage' is patrimony.

I suggest that patrimony is a specific type of heritage that is distinct from and predates contemporary discourses, meanings, usages and practices of the word 'heritage' that have emerged on the global stage over the last three decades. I define the concept of patrimony as an ideal type of heritage that operates precisely as Clifford Geertz (1973) theorized his concept of primordial origins. These are materials that are appropriated by nation-states, their agents or other actors in civil society to create (that is, forge, imagine, image, narrate and build) *national* identity, belonging, passions and sentiments of community. These materials can be anything that is shared, or are invented as though they were shared: although Geertz discussed only six 'primordial origins'—blood, race, language, region, religion and 'customs' (or culture)—we can certainly add other categories and forms of primordial origins. For example, material culture, archaeological heritage and natural environment are other source materials from which primordial sentiments of identity and belonging to a national community can be created.

Ultimately, the value (and concept) of any primordial origin, including any archaeological heritage that serves as 'primordial patrimony', is that the materials, whether tangible or intangible, can be narrated, exhibited and represented in images that function to symbolize and signify the nation. It is through the narration, exhibition and representation of these origins that nation is experienced and felt with passion. While there might be conflict over the meanings and interpretation of the symbolism of this patrimony-heritage, there is no conflict over the actual materials in terms of legal ownership, use rights or market

value. The conflicts over patrimony are interpretive and representational regarding the symbolic meanings, messages, narrative elements, signification and signifying practices of the way the primordial heritage is used. Sociocultural inclusion or exclusion is typically at the heart of such controversies and conflicts, *but not as a conflict or question of the legal or cultural forms of ownership of heritage*. Heritage in this sense can be called primordial heritage, patrimony heritage or, simply, patrimony.

Given the dictionary meanings of the word 'heritage', we should not be surprised that this ideal type is fundamentally a substance that functions and is marked by transference and continuity, that is, processes and dynamics of inheriting and inheritance. The politics of patrimony is therefore primarily a politics of representation.[3] A new semantic valorization of the word heritage, however, has come into existence in the social practices of people throughout the world in the last 30 years.[4] The way people practise heritage is no longer in terms of its transferability and function to link together ancestor and descendant in a relation of continuity, but in terms of the ownership, use rights and marketability of heritage as a resource or a property. Patrimony is about symbolic and exchange value, whereas heritage is defined as a use value that demands legal mechanisms of control and management.

In this new socio-economic functioning of heritage as use value, the symbolization of identity by patrimony is no longer a diagnostic feature. Rather, socio-political and economic conditions have triggered a dynamic inversion: whereas identity is defined by patrimony, identity defines heritage. The pre-given, assumed cultural identity of groups and communities has become the social fiction that defines the legalities of ownership, use rights and the management of heritage. Further, the identity in this equation is no longer just the identity of 'nation' or the 'patri-land', but rather of diverse types of cultural, indigenous, racial-ethnic, linguistic-religious and other marginalized communities that reside within and across nation-states. Whereas patrimony was all and only about the nation, heritage is, as it were, 'relativist' (like

---

[3] In Mexico, 'heritage' has fundamentally been a politics of patrimony from the formation of a stable nation-state in the 19th century through to the end of the twentieth century. Mexican archaeological patrimony started to become heritage only in the last decade.

[4] The UNESCO conventions on World Heritage (1972) and on Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) serve as arbitrary landmarks for the emergence of this new heritage.

the concept of culture), which is precisely what provides this category with descriptive power.

Alongside patrimony-heritage, we can therefore identify two additional types of heritage. The second ideal type of heritage is the substantive form, whether tangible or intangible, that has come to be viewed or construed as resources with multiple economic and sociocultural use values. What is crucial about this analytical type is that the concept of heritage resource, points us towards asking about the cultural construction, logic, assumptions and filters that make such and such a tangible or intangible 'thing' *valued* as an exploitable 'resource' that must be conserved, protected, owned, used or commercialized irrespective of the interpretive politics of representation and regardless of legal ownerships. It is this pre-given web of practices and meanings that transforms heritage things into objects of contestation, debate and struggle.

The third ideal type of heritage hinges on the existence of heritage resources construed as an economic use-value. This third type refers to the strategies, practices and protocols that target these heritage values with practical mechanisms that regulate, control, manage and manipulate the actual heritage resources. Heritage is therefore a governmentality, that is, a strategic vision and practice of using various forms of law (or legalities), identity and administrative protocols as the mechanisms for governing heritage. In other words, heritage governmentality refers to strategies and practices for managing and governing cultural-historical values and things (whether or not they are patrimony) *as heritage resources*.

In summary, there are three ideal types of heritage: patrimony (primordial heritage), resources (heritage recourses) and heritage (heritage governmentality). These three substantive forms of heritage have no necessary correlation or causal relationship to each other. It therefore becomes the task of investigation to analyse how exactly they are present or absent and intertwined or implicated in any given situation. The theoretical terms facilitate the study of the socio-political processes that pervade their presence in historically particular contexts.

Chichén Itzá: patrimony or heritage?

I have argued that the politics of the first invasion was not a politics of heritage. Certainly, Chichén was, and still is, heritage in the sense

of patrimony and primordial origins.[5] Nonetheless, neither patrimony nor resources were the objects or targets of the conflicts triggered by the first and the second invasion—and thus these forms of heritage are not of primary concern in this chapter. The struggles to control space for marketing tourism goods did not in any way involve or implicate conflicts in the meaning and interpretation of Chichén as national patrimony (primordial heritage). These conflicts were not essentially about the management or regulation of heritage—that is, of Chichén Itzá as a heritage resource—but about the management and regulation of tourism activities via the organization and control of spaces in an archaeological site of tourism.

Although the INAH was concerned about the protection of archaeological ruins, the custodios used this mandate as ideological cover for their own commercial activities. The INAH and governmental officials used the banner of 'the vendor invasion presents a bad image to the tourists' as a weapon against the vendors. This clearly points to the fact that this was a politics of tourism, not of heritage in any of the three senses of patrimony, governmentality or resources that I have proposed. The history I have charted here illustrates that a defining condition of possibility that enabled the invasion was the absence of both tourism strategies and heritage governmentality—that is, state strategies and practices for managing and governing Chichén *as heritage* (i.e. heritage resource).

First, unlike the federal planning involved in Cancún and other mega-tourism resorts (e.g. Huatulco), the state government of Yucatán did not envision or plan tourism development—let alone archaeological heritage development—in Yucatán.[6] While the Yucatec private sector struggled to capture a piece of the Mexican Caribbean, the Yucatán state government, for reasons that cannot be elaborated here, apparently did not consider tourism a worthy economic sector to develop. This attitude, however, began to be reversed under Governor Cervera Pacheco (1984–1988) in the triggering context of the first invasion of Chichén (1982–1987).

---

[5] In earlier work I analysed the representational politics of patrimony in terms of anthropological discourse, New Age spiritualism, guided tours and tourist art (e.g. Castañeda 1996: 35–67, 97–200, 2000a, 2000b, 2004b, 2005b, 2005c).

[6] Although Mérida has always been conceived as a colonial attraction (historical tourism), the development of historical heritage is only a recent goal of Yucatec private sector (see Breglia, this volume).

Under Cervera Pacheco there emerged a unique state agency that had two objectives. The long-term goal was to create what would essentially be a state-owned tourism business based on a monopoly control of services as historical-cultural destinations in the state of Yucatán. The short-term goal was to resolve the problem of the invasion of Chichén precisely in order to begin to take control of the income generated at this site. With these objectives in mind, in 1985 an intra-governmental agreement between the federal Secretaria de Educación Pública, the INAH and the state government of Yucatán established CULTUR (Patronato de las Unidades de Servicios Culturales y Turísticos del Estado de Yucatán) under the direct supervision of the governor by ceding the socio-economic prerogatives of the federal stewardship of national patrimony to this unique agency.[7] CULTUR was designed to programme, supervise, regulate and plan the *touristic* (i.e. consumer and service) dimensions of archaeological, historical and natural heritage (CULTUR 1985).

In a startling example of state capitalism, CULTUR was also charged with operating tourism businesses and investing in the creation of new income-producing tourism projects. Thus, CULTUR was a forceful answer to the invasion. It embodied the beginnings (at the state level) of governmental strategies and practices for regulating *not heritage but tourism*, that is, the interface of consumers visiting historical-cultural sites and the various commercial suppliers of services and commodities. CULTUR was created to monopolize the regulatory control and functions of the services, administration, arbitration and management of the tourism aspects of heritage sites.[8] This tourism governmentality is not at all equal to or the same as a heritage governmentality. However, nor is it the same as a comprehensive rationality for regulating,

[7] Part of the experimental novelty of CULTUR was that a space had to be made for yet another state agency that dealt with tourism. These other pre-existent agencies include the federal agencies of Secretaria de Turismo—which also has state-level offices—and FONATUR, which operates like a bank brokerage between international banking, the private sector and the government to finance huge tourism development projects such as Cancún. There is also the institutionally separate Dirección de Turismo, which is part of state governments and is fundamentally a statistics collecting state-level agency. SECTUR at the federal level is of course charged with the strategic development of tourism, but at the level of state offices (at least in Yucatán) SECTUR functions primarily in supervisory, regulatory and credential-giving capacities over diverse business sectors and agents, such as the hotel industry and tour guides. Thus, CULTUR was a unique institution.

[8] Based on its success, other Mexican states created similar agencies in the 1990s.

managing, arranging and developing archaeological (or historical-cultural) materials as heritage resources.

Heritage governmentality has been largely absent from Chichén and Mexico's other major archaeological sites. Although it is impossible to elaborate on the history of archaeology and museum methods, it suffices to point to the suggestive evidence offered in an August 2006 interview with the recently appointed chief administrator of Chichén Itzá, Eduardo Perez de Heredia, who stated that his primary task as director was to create and implement a comprehensive strategy and protocols for heritage management. In fact, the INAH has only recently developed a comprehensive heritage strategy. Chichén, along with five other key archaeological sites, such as Monte Albán, were model targets for the development and implementation of a new strategic vision and set of practices for managing and regulating heritage, that is, heritage resources. Significantly, this strategic plan is based on US and Australian cultural resource management concepts (Perez de Heredia, personal communication, 14 August 2006). It should be reiterated that this form of heritage governmentality has only recently begun to take shape at Chichén, namely following the initiation of the third invasion, which I argue is what most forcefully and dramatically inaugurated the conversion of Chichén into heritage.

The introduction of heritage governmentality correlates to the emergence of heritage resources. The archaeological past or cultural materials are no longer just patrimonial origins, but also resources whose use value (not representational-symbolic value) triggers conflicts that begin to focus on previously dormant issues of property ownership, cultural entitlements and use rights. Further forms of legalities—laws of nations, international conventions, customary laws, universal rights—and cultural-communitarian identity begin to be used as mechanisms for waging political struggles to assert ownership over the value.

The plurality and legality of ownerships

In the first and second invasions, all those involved in the conflicts tacitly accepted and at times expressly promoted the nation-state as the legitimate steward of archaeological patrimony. The nation as owner and the state as guardian of patrimony was never contested, doubted or even raised as an issue—as occurred in the third invasion. Nonetheless, this ownership by the state and stewardship by the INAH was and continues to be quite fraught.

Mexican heritage laws specify that the historical materials belong to the nation, but not the land on and in which such patrimony exists. As Breglia (2006) lucidly explains, the intricacies of changing Mexican heritage laws (leyes de patrimonio), the land in which there is heritage/patrimonio, can be owned as private property, communal property by communities (ejido land grant) or, more rarely, as state-expropriated land owned by the government. It is only the artefacts—the ruins, objects, temples, pyramids, murals, etc.—that are owned by the federal state. Given that in Yucatán alone there are an estimated 2,000 pre-Columbian Maya settlements, the vast majority of archaeological and historical patrimony are on land that is owned as private property or as community ejido land.

Thus, the land on which heritage exists can be and is owned in a variety of different ways. While the state can no doubt own such lands, ruins are primarily on private property or communal ejido grant. In the case of Chichén Itzá, the land the archaeological patrimony occupies is unevenly divided into private property owned by the Barbachano family, and ejido lands granted by the 1917 Land Reform Laws by the towns of Pisté, Xcalacoop and San Francisco.[9] While this multiplex ownership of national patrimony may seem odd, it is a legal norm and logic that has infused everyday life in Mexico since the nineteenth century when the ancient ruins of *indios* began to be re-valorized as national patrimony and the state began to constitute primordial origins as a way to forge a nation.[10]

Just as the legitimacy of the nation-state as steward of patrimony was not contested but consolidated by the conflicting parties of the first invasion, the private ownership of the land of Chichén was not brought into question. Nor indeed were the general use rights of ejidatarios

[9] There are discrepancies and confusions in the printed and online information about when, what and from whom Fernando Barbachano Peon purchased the properties that are now the Hotel Mayaland and the Hacienda Chichén. Breglia (2006: 219, fn. 19) notes that the property was divided into five pieces between 1957 and 1970s. Today, it seems that there are three separate entities: the Mayaland Hotel property, owned by Fernando Barbachano Herrera (grandson); the Hacienda Chichén hotel property, owned by Carmen Barbachano Gómez Rul (daughter of F. Barbachano Peon, aunt to Barbachano Herrera) and managed by Belisa Barbachano Herrera (sister to Fernando and Carmen's niece); and a third property, which apparently consists mostly of archaeological ruins, owned by Hans Thies Barbachano (grandson and cousin to Fernando and Belisa). See Albright 2007, Anonymous 2007a; 2007b.

[10] On the general issue of Mexican patrimony laws see Breglia (2006: 29–95). Her analysis of the land ownership of Chichén from the end of the 19th until the mid twentieth century, especially regarding the *ejido* properties, is illuminating.

questioned; in other words, while their general ideological legitimacy and claim to have access to and be able to benefit from Chichén were never disputed, the state and the private sector did seek to strictly delimit and attenuate these benefits. The private ownership of the land of Chichén by the Barbachanos has been a well-known fact or perhaps forgotten assumption for decades. However, the viable, practical, even symbiotic dynamic that had been established between private ownership and national stewardship was jeopardized only after the second invasion which, in effect, is an event that enabled the third invasion. This ambivalent symbiosis of the private ownership of Chichén with the federal stewardship of national heritage/patrimony was permanently disturbed only by the nomination of Chichén as one of the new Seven Wonders of the World (7 July 2007).[11]

The second invasion (1994–1997) did not threaten but made this otherwise invisible symbiosis evident for everyone to acknowledge. Beginning in 1994, the resurgence of tourism (following setbacks from Hurricane Gilbert and the first Gulf War) triggered an increase in new vendors at Chichén. Locked out of market venues in the Tianguis, these new vendors organized a new (the second) invasion as a way to petition the government to create a handicrafts market. Surprisingly, the Barbachano family lent their support to the vendor movement and even offered to build a venue for the vendors on Barbachano property *inside the zone* at just about the same location where the INAH custodios once had their houses. Many viewed this support as a lightly veiled attempt by the Barbachanos to gain government approval for a building that they could easily take over after a few years of pretending to be benevolent patrons of the vendors. INAH custodians were horrified at the possibility of the Barbachano being able to establish state-sanctioned commercial businesses inside the zone. The state office of the INAH, however, rejected the request and the state government eventually resolved the second invasion in 1997 by building an extension of the Tianguis—a market that had originally been constructed in 1987 as a means to resolve the first invasion (see Himpele & Castañeda 1997). Noteworthy here is that although the land was private property, the site itself as a whole was under the stewardship of the nation, and its agent (the INAH) had the publicly accepted and legitimate authority to mandate and determine its protection.

[11] See Breglia (2006) on this ambivalence.

The second invasion was followed by a brief lull in the politics of Chichén. Then in 1999 a federal initiative by PAN to allow for the 'privatization' of archaeological patrimony provided a new context for the politics of tourism at Chichén. Although private ownership of ruins had been a fact in Mexico since national independence, this neo-liberal manoeuvre was startling and dangerous. Various sectors of society mobilized against this initiative, including the INAH and, in particular, the Chichén custodians. The privatization of patrimony was, however, way too scandalous for Mexico and was eventually eclipsed as an issue in the national arena.

However, the election of a PAN governor in 2001 shifted conditions in the state that allowed for the Barbachanos to begin their own 'privatization initiative'. In hindsight, it seems clear that the Barbachano family devised a concerted strategy of converting their *de jure* private ownership of Chichén into *de facto* control over the site. Note, however, that the target of control was not archaeological patrimony, but archaeological heritage as a resource that could be used to create and control an economic market of tourism products. The strategy and practices that the Barbachano family deployed should be analysed as a continuation of the politics of tourism. The family used techniques of bribery, faked documents, intimidation and cajoling to take over the two palapa venues inside the archaeological zone that had originally been given as concessions to the INAH antiguos (first generation of custodios). Further, they were able to have the secondary Mayaland or eastern entrance closed (see illustration 6) to all tourist traffic except for the clients of the Hotel Mayaland and the other two hotels located inside the archaeological zone of patrimony, that is, the Hacienda Chichén Itzá (owned by Carmen Gomez Rul de Barbachano) and the Villas Arqueológicas (owned by the Club Med chain).

The transformative moment in this 'privatization' effort came on the heels of the death of Víctor Cevera Pacheco and the eclipse of his political dominance in Yucatán (cf. Anonymous 2004). This two-time governor (1984–1988, 1995–2001), mayor of Mérida (1971–1973) and ex-secretary of Agrarian Reform (1988–1994) had been a key architect of CULTUR and state tourism planning. As a populist leader in the PRI-run 'dictatorships' of the governor, he supported vendors with negotiated compromises geared to resolve crises, such as the first invasion. Cervera Pacheco lost a controversial bid to run as governor for a third term, which enabled PAN to elect its candidate. As governor, Patricio Patrón Laviada (2001–2007) oversaw personnel changes in

Illustration 6—T-shirts hang from the gate where the road ends at the Mayaland entrance to Chichén Itzá. The actual thatch roof of the entrance is visible. Primarily wood carvers occupied the north side of the road (to the right of the image). The Barbachano family forced the vendors out of this area in 1995 and forced the closure of this entrance to the general public. Photograph by the author, 1989

government, including the replacement of Alfredo Barrera Rubio as director of the state office of the INAH, a position he had held since the early years of the first invasion. In this context, Barbachano senior returned from retirement in Florida to oversee and direct a new power play. The strategy for taking over Chichén included lawsuits against the state government, the federal government and individual INAH custodians for imposing entrance fees on the guests of the Barbachano-owned Hotel Mayaland and charging visitors to see the ruins on the Barbachano property. We should note that the use of law as a weapon or tactic, as here, is one key aspect of Foucault's definition of governmentality as a new kind of rationality of the state. Foucault argues that:

> ...with sovereignty the instrument that allowed [the state] to achieve its aim—that is to say, obedience to the laws—was the law itself; law and sovereignty were absolutely inseparable. On the contrary, with government it is a question not of imposing law on men, but of disposing things: that is to say, of *employing tactics* rather than laws, *and even of using laws themselves as tactics—to arrange things* in such a way that...such

> and such ends may be achieved (Foucault 1991: 95; emphasis added; cf. Gordon 1991; Rose 1996, 1999; Hindess 1996).

Foucault's concept allows for the productive extension of governmentality into areas for which the notion was not originally devised. The core idea focuses attention on the logics and strategies of practices used to manage and regulate things as a means of achieving determinate objectives.[12] In the case of the state, the goal is governing and governable subjects. The Barbachano attempt to take over the archaeological zone did not have the goal of creating self-disciplined citizens, as would governmentality put into operation by the state. Their strategy, however, was to use property law, land and rights to create manageable tourists via the regulation of heritage things and the arrangement of consumption practices and commodities.

With allies positioned in the state and federal governments, including the governorship and the INAH, the Barbachanos initiated a takeover of the ownership of the market venues of Chichén. By 2004, the Barbachanos had taken over the palapas and begun to sell handicrafts, among other products, from these locations. In response, the vendors located in the Tianguis and its extension left their stalls to invade the zone for a third time. In the first two months, the political strategy reiterated earlier logics; in other words, this was still a politics of tourism (struggles over space), as previously noted. However, law (specifically private property rights) and identity politics began to be used in new ways in this politics such that the heritage value of Chichén as a resource became increasingly evident. Chichén as heritage resource initially became a tool and tactic used in this economic struggle, but then became the object of control and the target of political struggles that pit plural forms of ownership and use rights against each other.

Within the first month of the invasion, rumours began to spread that the lawyers and even the vendors' leaders had been bought off by the Barbachanos. In an internal struggle that displaced the leadership that had been in place since the mid 1980s, a new *mesa directiva* (board of directors) was appointed, and a new lawyer, Villevaldo Pech Moo, was hired. This man changed not only the tactics but also the stakes of the political game.

[12] On governmentality, see Foucault 1991, Rose 1996, Hindess 1996, Gordon 1991. See Smith 2004 and Castañeda, in press, for heritage theorized as governmentality.

The politics of heritage: indigeneity

Pech Moo transformed the invasion—an economic struggle over tourism stakes—into an identity politics social movement. The key shift in strategy was the creation of alliances with indigenous support groups and NGOs. Prominent among these alliances was a courtship with Marcos and the EZLN. In July 2005, the vendor leadership travelled to Chiapas to participate in forums and workshops with Marcos. One result was a pledge of support that was prominently announced in the Yucatán newspapers, which is a crucial arena of and for political actions, conflicts and struggles. Throughout the summer and autumn of 2005, the vendors organized various events, protests and proclamations that kept their cause in the media.

These alliances with human rights organizations and the EZLN gave the vendors greater visibility in the regional and national media. In this struggle, the presence of unrest and protest in the media is crucial as a mechanism of pressure. Thus, articles appeared throughout 2005 that asserted, for example, that the vendors were all 'poor, humble artisans' or that the crisis of Chichén could happen in Mitla or Monte Albán in Oaxaca.

Significantly, although the 'enemy' or ultimate target in the last analysis is Barbachano, vendor politics is oriented towards the state. Petitions for human rights must address the state, not a private citizen, given the fact that matters of human rights are legally the domain of state-citizen relationships not citizen-citizen. Thus, the protest against Barbachano requires the state to act and demands that the state act responsibly for and in the name of its citizens. Thus, the INAH, as the legitimate state authority in questions of heritage and patrimony, became a key interlocutor-target of requests and protests. The national director of the INAH, Cedillo Alvarez, was explicitly petitioned; his media responses comprised statements that he was working with the state government, the secretary of Social Development and the Commission for the Development of Indigenous Pueblos to devise a master plan to remove the vendors from inside the zone (Acuña Lopez 2005). In the autumn of 2006, vendor hostility toward this plan—which only promised the use of the police or military and not the satisfaction of demands—escalated into protest in which an effigy of the director of the INAH was burned at the base of the pyramid of Kukulcan.

Vendor politics cum social movement also had to have a 'generic target'—that is, the generalized state, the state in general or the government

writ large—in order to attract public support and sympathy, which is ultimately crucial to attain goals. The alliance with the EZLN and Yucatán-based indigenous organizations and human rights NGOs was the means for this generalization of the conflict that otherwise would have remained 'local'. This strategy of generalizing the conflict via indigeneity is best exemplified in the staging of spectacular events such as Subcommandante Marcos's 'surprise' visit to Chichén Itzá in January 2006 to meet with vendors during his travels as the 'Zero Candidate' on the 'Other Campaign' of the presidential elections.

Under Pech Moo, the goal of the vendors shifted from the tourism objectives of previous invasions: the goal was no longer to have a new market constructed. Nor were the vendors seeking to force the state government to prohibit the Barbachanos from selling handicrafts in the palapas. Rather, the stakes had changed, as the vendors began to make claims never previously asserted, that is, ownership of Chichén as Maya.

The protest/celebration on 30 July of the 158th Anniversary of the Caste War illustrates the interconnected series of changes in vendor politics. In the *declaración* that was circulated that day and was published in the newspapers, the rhetoric of struggle, resistance and marginalization is combined with a critique of neoliberal government that sides with foreign economic interests. Using expected rhetoric of indigenous identity, the text pits indigenous people marked with 'tradition' against the state as it invokes human and indigenous rights as the grounding of demands:

> We Maya artisans and vendors, who come from the nearby communities that surround Chichén Itzá, are the legitimate heirs to this commercial centre that was built by the work and blood of our ancestors. Nonetheless, we live threatened by the neoliberal government that discriminates against us, and with authoritarianism abuses us with its laws with the goal of forcing us out of our own home,[13] (translated by the author).

The geographic place, blood and cultural descendants are construed as primordial origins, that is, an identity that is imbued with the power to claim, if not always attain, rights of entitlement to (inheritance) and cultural ownership of (proper heritage) Chichén. Significantly,

[13] The news often sought to insinuate the inauthenticity of the vendors as indigenous and thus of their claims by pointing out that they were wealthy and not poor artisans.

the discourse and practice of the assertion itself is transformative; it is what initiates the conversion of archaeological patrimony into heritage resource. Further, the claim distinguishes the Maya *of the nearby communities*—not Maya in general—as the proper heirs. The subtly of this statement is crucial, for it establishes an invisible equation between the otherwise local concerns with distant national imaginaries of Mexican citizenship and with even more disconnected global ideologies of indigeneity. This slippage between specific Maya and generic Maya creates the image of the singular Indian whose cultural rights and entitlements are infringed.

This invocation of indigeneity is crucial, for it is another element that converts the politics of tourism into a politics of heritage. The conflicts over what was becoming heritage-resource became a matter of governmentality and a conflict to be waged through laws, legalities and legal consciousness of differing scales and types. Thus, the declaration grounds the legitimacy of the vendors' invasion and demands by invoking Convention 169 of the International Labour Organization; UNESCO Convention 2003 for Safeguarding Intangible Heritage; Article 2 of Federal Mexican Law, which allows for a multicultural state and legitimizes the 'uses, customs and traditions' of indigenous communities as customary law; the Sixth Declaration from the Lacandón; and the Maya cultural logic that grants towns and town 'citizens' customary entitlement and collective proprietorship over the Maya archaeological ruins that are located within the town land holdings. These weapons of heritage conflicts are aimed at a new objective that is couched in an interpellation of the state to act as legitimate government, that is, to act as democratic protector of its citizens and arbiter of social problems:

> We are not against entrepreneurs, we only want equal conditions in life and in work…The government must act, and in accordance with the law, expropriate the archaeological zone [from the Barbachanos], so that the state can recuperate its true governing role and direct the [income] benefits [of tourism] to everyone. Sticking to the law, the State should indemnify the affected (Translated by the author).

The goal of expropriation and indemnification is sought via indigenous identity, yet the goal itself manifests a centrist versus a radical (anti-capitalism, anti-state) politics. The request is much different than either a NAGPRA-based demand for the repatriation of heritage or the Greek demand for the return of the Elgin Marbles. Nor does the Pisté vendors' demand have anything to do with the cultural re-appropriations of

sites, such as of Utatlan-Gumarcaah by Quiche Maya shamans asserting cultural authority or the intergalactic, ritual reawakening of Mexican archaeological sites by neo-Aztec and New Age spiritualists seeking to cleanse individual, national and galactic karmas. Instead, this interpellation 'in reverse' (of Althusser's original concept) is significant, for it is based on the tacit assumption that the state is the legitimate steward of both national patrimony and of heritage resources that are simultaneously Mayan and Mexican.[14] The demand of expropriation presupposes that the state should legitimately hold this heritage/patrimony in the name of all its citizens—Mexican, Maya, Yucatecan and other ethnic-indigenous groups. This is not a demand for archaeological heritage to be returned to the Maya as the proper heirs and descendants of the pre-Columbian people; rather, the demand for expropriation of Chichén and indemnification of local Maya from specific nearby communities such as Pisté is a political tool, a weapon, to stop the further *de facto* privatization of this heritage site by private capital, the Barbachano family, whose power extends from Mérida to Mexico City, and from Cancún to Florida and beyond.

The vendor goal is not an anti-capitalist, anti-state, indigenous takeover of *their* Maya heritage. Although it may contradict some people's vision of the 'authentic Indian', the Maya of Yucatán use their implicit ethnic and indigenous identity lightly, that is, strategically (see Castillo Cocom 2005, 2007; Castillo Cocom & Castañeda 2004). Further, the Maya vendors and artisans are themselves entrepreneurs in pursuit of economic success in the tourism market. They used indigenous identity for the modest objective of empowering the state as steward of public patrimony and for their own very capitalist interests. In this they have succeeded marvellously, for on the one hand the vendors are still (spring 2008) inside the archaeological zone selling handicrafts to tourists.

On the other hand, the Mexican state and its agent, the INAH, have collapsed under the weight of protests against the private ownership of Chichén by the Barbachanos. As the voting for the New Seven Wonders of the World came to its finale on 7 July 2007, the national

[14] This inversion of Althusser's original concept seems particularly useful in this context of the vendors requesting the government to acknowledge their demands for it to act in particular ways that correspond to an image and ideal of a democratic/populist government in service of its people. Putting interpellation 'in reverse' as it were is clearly a basic process of social movements, but is certainly also a dynamic present in different ways in the interface of the state with its citizens or subjects (Althusser 1971).

campaign by government and businesses (e.g. Coca-Cola) to vote for Chichén spurred a widespread public movement in support of state expropriation (see illustration 7). The amount offered by the state at the headwaters of these movements was nevertheless rejected by the Barbachanos, who asked for millions of pesos more for *their* indemnification. The outcry merely escalated when a Barbachano family member (but not one of those who own any of the Chichén properties) surprisingly stated to the press that the family had long ago donated the Chichén lands to the INAH! Despite the death of family patriarch Fernando Barbachano Gómez Rul (son of Fernando Barbachano Peon, who bought the property from Edward H. Thompson in the 1930s), the plans for expropriation have simultaneously disappeared in the machinery of the state and reappeared in the public news media as an imminent and impending actuality. In the meanwhile, the new conflicts over ownership, including the use of legalities and indigeneity to wage these battles, have inaugurated the transformation of Chichén from (just) archaeological patrimony to (also) heritage resource amenable to governmental strategies of heritage management.

Conclusion

This ethnographic history of socio-political conflicts at Chichén relied upon a set of specific concepts. In contrast to the non-analytical, descriptive sense of the word, I proposed a theory of heritage that differentiates between heritage as patrimony, as resource and as governmentality. I have therefore also differentiated the politics of patrimony from that of heritage, and both from the politics of tourism. These analytical notions, I suggest, can be productively applied to other Latin American and global contexts in order to understand the particular historical configuration of agents, interests, stakes and dynamics.

Using the case of Chichén Itzá, I analysed the shifting politics of tourism to identify the emergence of a politics of heritage at Chichén. From the 1980s to the present, this substance of politics has shifted from conflicts over the organization, control and use of space at Chichén Itzá for commercial purposes to conflicts over who has legal and cultural rights and entitlements of ownership over the patrimony and the land in which the patrimony exists. Heritage conflicts pit diverse forms of legalities, entitlements and ownerships that are based in property rights, sociocultural identity, customary law, international conventions and

Illustration 7—The Coca-Cola can used to promote Mexicans to vote for Chichén Itzá as a new Seventh Wonder of the World. Photograph by the author, 2007

nation-states against each other in a battle to attain rights to own and manage heritage resources. In the politics of tourism, the ownership of Chichén (i.e. of the archaeological site as either land or as assemblages of artefacts) was not an issue. Nor was the value of Chichén as a 'heritage resource' at stake. Thus, I argue that previously Chichén was not heritage, but only patrimony. Further, the tourism politics that I have charted in this chapter did not in any way intersect with the politics of national patrimony, by which I mean conflicts over the interpretation, representation and meanings of patrimony understood as a Geertzian primordial origin. In light of these differences in types of conflicts, I have argued that Chichén, in relation to the events of the third invasion, has 'become' heritage in an additional, analytical sense of heritage resource and heritage governmentality. It should be clear from the analysis of Chichén that the theory of heritage presented here assumes that 'heritage' is less the thing itself than the specific configuration of social forces, agents, conflicts, legalities and interests in which the (tangible or intangible) thing is embedded.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABC (American Broadcasting Corporation) (2007) 'Television Evening News' (Saturday, 31 March).

About Cuzco (2007) *Travel Guide* [Online] Http://www.aboutCuzco.com (accessed 26 April 2007).

Abram, Simone and Jacqueline Waldren (1997) 'Introduction: Tourists and Tourism—Identifying with People and Places', in: Simone Abram, Jacqueline Waldren and Donald V. L. Macleod (eds.) *Tourists and Tourism: Identifying with People and Places* (Oxford and New York: Berg); pp. 1–11.

Acuña Lopez, Manuel (2005) 'Los artesanos dispuesto a ir a las últimas consequencias', *Por Esto!* (18 November); http://www.poresto.net/index.php?ID=50874 (accessed 21 November 2005).

Adams, K. (1998) 'Domestic Tourism and Nation-Building in South Sulawesi', *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 26(75): 77–96.

Albright, Evan J. (2007) 'Ownership of Chichén Itzá. Everyone's Got an Opinion', *American Egypt* (12 July); http://www.americanegypt.com/blog/?p=132 (accessed 24 February 2008).

Alcaldía de Panamá (1998) *Memoria '98: Alcaldía de Panamá* (Panama: Administración de la Alcaldesa Mayin Correa).

Alonso, Ana Maria (1988) 'The Effects of Truth: Re-Presentations of the Past and the Imagining of Community', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 1(1): 33–57.

Althusser, Louis (1971) 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses', in: *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (New York: Monthly Review Press); pp. 127–186.

Amilcar Sánchez Morales, M. (2002) *Margen Derecha, PDA Pachacutec y Santiago* (Cuzco: ASODECO).

Análisis del registro catastral del Centro Histórico', *Crónicas Urbanas*, 6(67): 3–37.

Anderson, Warwick (1995) 'Excremental Colonialism: Public Health and the Poetics of Pollution', *Critical Inquiry*, 21: 640–669.

Andrews, George Reid (2004) *Afro-Latin America: 1800–2000* (New York: Oxford University Press).

Angeles, C. M., I. F. Baca, C. G. Ordóñeze, et al. (2002) *Plan Estratégico de Desarrollo Regional Concertado, Cuzco Al 2012* (Cuzco).

Anicetti, Denis (1998) 'Economy', *Destination Panama*, p. 55.

Anonymous (2004) 'Víctor Cervera Pacheco, 68, Former Governor in Mexico', *New York Times* (23 August). http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9C06E2D7173EF930A1575BC0A9629C8B63 (accessed 31 October 2007).

—— (2007a) 'Hacienda Chichén Resort, 2007. The History of Hacienda Chichén'. http://www.haciendaChichén.com/history.htm; (accessed 24 February 2008).

—— Anonymous (2007b) 'Mexican Standoff: The Battle of Chichén Itzá'. *The Independent* (7 November); http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/mexican-standoff-the-battle-of-Chichén-itza-399310.html (accessed 24 February 2008).

Aparicio, Manuel (1994) 'Humberto Vidal Unda: Siete décadas de cusqueñismo', in: Carlos Milla, E. Miranda and E.Velarde Pérez (eds.) *Cincuenta Años de Inti Raimi* (Cuzco: EMUFEC-Municipalidad del Qosqo); pp. 125–164.

Apffel-Marglin, Frédérique (1995) 'Development or Decolonization in the Andes', *Futures*, 27: 869.

Apffel-Marglin, Frédérique and Proyecto Andino de Tecnologías Campesinas (Pratec) (eds.) (1998) *The Spirit of Regeneration: Andean Culture Confronting Western Notions of Development* (London: Zed Books).

Appadurai, Arjun (1988) 'Putting Hierarchy in its Place', *Cultural Anthropology*, 3(1): 36–41.

Ares Queija, Berta (1984) 'Las danzas de los Indios: un camino para la evangelización del virreynato del Perú', *Revista de Indias*, 44(174): 445–463.

Arochi, Luis E. (1974) *El piramide de Kukulcan y su simbolismo solar* (Mexico: Panorama Editorial).

Attali, Jacques (1985) *Noise. The Political Economy of Music* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press).

Attiwel, P. (1994) 'The Disturbance of Forest Ecosystems: the Ecological Basis for Conservative Management', *Forest Ecology and Management*, 63: 247–300.

Ayala, Hanna (1998) 'A Bridge to the Millennium: The Ideal and the Promise of a Heritage-Driven Economy' International Conference on 'Heritage Tourism for the Next Millennium', Miramar Inter-Continental Panama, Panama.

Ayora-Diaz, Steffan Igor (unpublished manuscript) *Foodscapes, Foodfields and Identities in Yucatán* (Book manuscript).

Balada, Leonardo (1995) *María Sabina* (New York: New World Records).

Banco Interamericano de Desarollo (BID) (1994) *Ecuador: Programa de Rehabilitación del Centro Histórico* (Quito: BID).

Baqueiro Foster, Gerónimo (1970) *La canción popular de Yucatán* (Mexico: Editorial del Magisterio).

Baud, Michiel (2003) *Intelectuales y sus utopiás. Indigenismo y la imaginación de América Latina* (Amsterdam: Cuadernos del Cedla).

Bauer, Brian S. (2004) *Ancient Cuzco. Heartland of the Inca* (Austin: University of Texas Press).

Baumann, Gerd (1999) *The Multicultural Riddle. Rethinking National, Ethnic and Religious Identities* (London and New York: Routledge).

Beals, Ralph L. (1976) 'Anthropology in Contemporary Mexico', in: James W. Wilkie, Michael C. Meyer and Edna Monzón de Wilkie (eds.) *Contemporary Mexico. Papers of the IV International Congress of Mexican History* (Berkeley etc. /Mexico: University of California Press/El Colegio de Mexico); pp. 753–68.

Bean, Susan S. (1987) 'Review: The Objects of Anthropology', *American Ethnologist*, 14(3): 552–559.

Becker, Marc (1998) 'Land Tenure Patterns and the Huasipungo in Cayambe, Ecuador', paper presented to the Social Science History Association, Chicago, Illinois, 19–22 November.

Beek, Walter van (2003) 'African Tourist Encounters: Effects of Tourism on Two West African societies', *Africa*, 73(2): 251–289.

Benedict, Burton (1981) 'World Fairs and Anthropology', *Museum Anthropology*, 5: 2–7.

Benedict, Burton (ed.) (1985) *The Anthropology of World's Fairs: San Francisco's Panama Pacific International Exposition of 1915* (Berkeley, CA and London: Lowie Museum of Anthropology and Scholar Press).

Benjamin, Thomas (2000) *The Revolución: Mexico's Great Revolution as Memory, Myth, and History* (Austin: University of Texas Press).

Bennett, Andy and Kevin Dawe (eds.) (2001) *Guitar Cultures* (London and New York: Berg).

Berger, Dina (2006) The *Development of Mexico's Tourism Industry: Pyramids by Day, Martinis by Night* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan).

Berghe, Pierre L. van den, and Charles F. Keyes (1984) 'Introduction, Tourism and Re-created Ethnicity', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 11: 343–352.

Berghe, Pierre van den, and Jorge Flores Ochoa (2000) 'Tourism and Nativistic Ideology in Cuzco, Peru', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 27: 7–26.

Biersack, Aletta (2006) 'Imagining Political Ecology: Culture/Power/History/Nature', in: Aletta Biersack and James B. Greenberg (eds.) *Reimagining Political Ecology* (Durham: Duke University Press).

Bock, Philip (1992) 'Music in Mérida, Yucatán', *Revista de música latinoamericana*, 13(1): 33–55.

Bouissac, Paul (1985) 'Book review of 'The Anthropology of World's Fairs: San Francisco's Panama Pacific International Exposition of 1915' by Burton Benedict et al.', *American Anthropologist*, 87(4): 929–930.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1984) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul).

Breglia, Lisa (2006) *Monumental Ambivalence: The Politics of Heritage* (Austin: University of Texas Press).

Bromley, Ray (2000) 'Street Vending and Public Policy: a Global Review', *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 20(1/2): 129.

Bromley, Rosemary D. F. (1998) 'Informal Commerce: Expansion and Exclusion in the Historic Centre of the Latin American City', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 22(2): 245–263.

Bromley, Rosemary D. F. and Jones, G. A. (1995) 'Conservation in Quito: Policies and Progress in the Historic Centre', *Third World Planning Review*, 17(1): 41–60.

Brougére, Anne-Marie (1986) Y *porqué no quedarse en Laraos? Migración y retorno en una comunidad altoandina* (Lima: IFEA INANDEP).

Bruner, Edward M (2002) 'The Representation of African Pastoralists: A Commentary', *Visual Anthropology*, 15(3–4): 387–392.

—— (2004) 'Tourism in the Balinese Borderzone', in: Sharon Gmelch (ed.) *Tourists and Tourism: A Reader (*Long Grove, Illinois: Waveland Press); pp. 219–238.

Bruner, Edward M. (2005) *Culture on Tour. Ethnographies of Travel* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press).

Bruner, Edward M. and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1994) 'Maasai on the Lawn: Tourist Realism in East Africa', *Cultural Anthropology*, 9(4): 435–470.

Bryman, Alan (1995) *Disney and his Worlds* (London and New York: Routledge).

—— (2004) *The Disneyization of Society* (London, Thousand Oaks, CA and New Delhi: Routledge).

Cantwell, Robert (1992) 'Feasts of Unnaming: Folk Festivals and the Representation of Folklife', in: Robert Baron and Nicholas Spitzer (eds.) *Public Folklore* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press); pp. 263–305.

Caraballo Perichi, Ciro (2000) 'Centros históricos y turismo en América Latina. Una polémica de fin de siglo', in: Fernando Carrión (ed.), *Desarrollo cultural y gestión en centros históricos* (Quito: Flacso Ecuador); pp. 105–119.

Carey, David (2001) Our *Elders Teach Us: Maya-Kaqchikel Historical Perspectives Xkib'ij Kan Qate' Qatata'* (Tuscaloosa: University Alabama Press).

Carmack, Robert (1988) *Harvest of Violence* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press).

Carrión, Fernando (2000) 'Introducción. El gobierno de los centros históricos', in: Fernando Carrión (ed.), *Desarrollo cultural y gestión en centros históricos* (Quito: Flacso Ecuador); pp. 5–17.

Carrión, Fernando M. & R. Vallejo (1992) 'La Planificación de Quito: Del Plan Director a la Cuidad Democrática', in: Fernando M. Carrión (ed.) *Ciudades y Políticas Urbanas en América Latina* (CODEL, Quito); pp. 143–170.

Carstensen, Fred and Diane Roazen (1992) 'Foreign Markets, Domestic Initiative, and the Emergence of a Monocrop Economy: The Yucatán Experience, 1825–1903', *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 72(4): 555–593.

Castañeda, Quetzil E. (1996) *In the Museum of Maya Culture: Touring Chichén Itzá* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press).

—— (1998) 'On the Correct Training of Indios at the Handicraft Market at Chichén Itzá', *Journal of Latin American Anthropology*, 2(2): 106–143.

—— (2000a) 'Approaching Ruins: A Photo-Ethnographic Essay on the Busy Intersections of Chichén Itzá', *Visual Anthropology Review*, 16(2): 43–70.
—— (2000b) 'The Topography of Maya Culture: On the Political and Scriptural Economy of the Modernizing Maya', *Estudios de Cultura Maya*, 21: 249–265.
—— (2003) 'New and Old Social Movements', *Ethnohistory*, 50(4): 611–642.
—— (2004a) 'Art-Writing in the Maya Art-World of Chichén Itzá', *American Ethnologist*, 31(1): 21–42.
—— Castañeda, Quetzil E. (2004b) '"We Are Not Indigenous!": Introduction to the Maya Identity of Yucatán', *Journal of Latin American Anthropology*, 9(1): 36–63.
—— (2005a) '"No somos indígenas". Gubernamentalidad y la Identidad Maya de Yucatán', in Castillo Cocom, Juan A. and Quetzil E. Castañeda (eds.) *Estrategias Identitarias: Educación y la antropología histórica en Yucatán* (Mérida: Universidad Pedagógica Nacional/The Open School of Ethnography and Anthropology/Yucatán, Secretaría de Educación).
—— (2005b) 'Between Pure and Applied Research: Ethnography in a Transcultural Tourist Art World', *NAPA Bulletin*, 23: 87–118.
—— (2005c) 'Community Collaboration and Ethnographic Intervention: Dialogues in the Pisté Maya Art World', *Practicing Anthropology*, 27(4): 31–34.
—— (2005d) 'The Carnegie Mission and Vision of Science', *Histories of Anthropology Annual*, 1: 37–74.
—— (in press) 'Notes on the Work of Heritage in the Age of Archaeological Reproduction', in: L. Mortensen and J. Hollowell (eds.) *Archaeologies and Ethnographies* (Gainsville: University Press of Florida).
Castillo Cocom, Juan A. (2005) '"It was Simply Their Word": Yucatec Maya PRInces in YucaPAN and the Politics of Respect', *Critique of Anthropology*, 25(2): 131–155.
—— (2007) 'Maya Scenarios: Indian Stories In and Out of Context', *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers*, 96: 13–35.
Castillo Cocom, Juan A. and Quetzil E. Castañeda (eds.) (2004) *Estrategias Identitarias* (Mérida: SEP, UPN, and OSEA).
Centro Qosqo de Arte Nativo (1988) *Estatuto del Centro Qosqo de Arte Nativo* (Cusco: Centro Qosqo).
Certeau, Michel de (1984) *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley etc.: University of California Press).
Cheong, So-Min and Marc L. Miller (2004), 'Power Dynamics in Tourism: A Foucauldian Approach', in: Sharon Gmelch (ed.) *Tourists and Tourism: A Reader* (Long Grove, Illinois: Waveland Press); pp. 239–252.
Chhabra, Deepak, Robert Healy & Erin Sills (2003) 'Staged Authenticity and Heritage Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 30(3): 702–719.
Chambers, Erve (1997) *Tourism and Culture: An Applied Perspective* (Albany: SUNY Press).
Christ, Costas (n.d.) 'Yucatán Peninsula: Mexico's Maya to the Max'. http://www.nationalgeographic.com/adventure/travel/mexico.html (accessed 26 August 2008).
Clancy, Michael J. (1999) 'Tourism and Development: Evidence from Mexico', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 26(1): 1–20.
—— (2001a) *Exporting Paradise: Tourism and Development in Mexico* (Oxford/New York: Elsevier/Pergamon).
—— (2001b) 'Mexican Tourism: Export Growth and Structural Change since 1970', *Latin American Research Review*, 36(1): 128–150.
Clark, A. K. (1998) 'Racial Ideologies and the Quest for National Development: Debating the Agrarian Problem in Ecuador (1930–50)', *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 30: 373–393.
Clifford, James (1992) 'Traveling Cultures', in: L. Grossberg, C. Nelson, and P. A. Treichler (eds.) *Cultural Studies* (New York: Routledge); pp. 96–112.

—— (1997) *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press).

Cohen, Erik (1972) 'Toward a Sociology of International Tourism', *Social Research*, 39(1): 164–82.

—— (1988) 'Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 15(3): 371–386.

Cohen-Hattab, Kobi and Jenny Kerber (2004) 'Literature, Cultural Identity and the Limits of Authenticity: A Composite Approach', *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 6(2): 57–63.

Colchester, Marcus (1999) 'Foreword' in: Marcus Colchester and Christian Erni (eds.) *Indigenous Peoples and Protected Areas in South and Southeast Asia* (Copenhagen: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, Forest Peoples Programme); pp. 10–18.

Collins, Jane (1986) 'Migration and the Life Cycle of Households in Southern Peru', *Urban Anthropology*, 14: 179–299.

Colloredo-Mansfeld, Rudi (1999) *The Native Leisure Class. Consumption and Cultural Creativity in the Andes (*Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press).

—— (1998) '"Dirty Indians", Radical Indígenas, and the Political Economy of Social Difference in Modern Ecuador', *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 17(2): 185–205.

Comisión de La Verdad y Reconciliación (2004), *Informe Final (Perú 1980–2000). El proceso, los hechos, las víctimas—exposición general* (Lima: UNMSM, PUCE).

Congreso de la República (1997) 'Ley 26834: Ley de Areas Naturales Protegidas' (Lima: Congreso de la República).

Corporación Metropolitana de Turismo de Quito (2002) *Plan Estratégico de Turismo* (Quito).

Corzo, M. A. (1997) 'Rediscovering Quito's Past Through Partnership', *The Urban Age*, 4(4): 14.

Cotler, Julio (1978) *Clases, Estado y Nación en el Perú* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos).

Cowan, George M. (1948) 'Mazateco Whistle Speech', *Language*, 24: 280–286.

Crain, Mary (1990) 'The social construction of national identity in highland Ecuador', *Anthropological Quarterly*, 61(1): 43–59.

Crick, Malcolm (1989) 'Representation of International Tourism in the Social Science: Sun, Sex, Sights, Savings and Servility', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 18: 307–344.

Cronon, William (1996) 'The Trouble with Wilderness, or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature', in: William Cronon (ed.) *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature* (New York: W. W. Norton); pp. 69–90.

Cross, John (1998) *Informal Politics. Street Vendors and the State in Mexico City* (Stanford: Stanford University Press).

—— (2000) 'Street Vendors, Modernity and Post Modernity: Conflict and Compromise in the Global Economy', *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 20(1/2): 30–52.

Cuarón, Alfonso (director) (2001) *Y Tu Mamá También*, 105 min. (Mexico: Alianza Films).

CULTUR (1985) 'Ley que crea el Patronato de las Unidades de Servicios Culturales y Turísticos del Estado de Yucatán' http://transparencia.Yucatán.gob.mx/datos/cultur/Leyes/ley5.pdf (accessed 12 September 2007).

Cunningham Bissell, William (2005) 'Engaging Colonial Nostalgia', *Cultural Anthropology*, 20(2): 215–248.

Dangwal, Parmesh (1999) 'Whose Forests are they anyway? A Case study of the Proposed Rajaji National Park in Northwest India', in: Marcus Colchester and Christian Erni (eds.) *Indigenous Peoples and Protected Areas in South and Southeast*

Asia (Copenhagen: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, Forest Peoples Programme); pp. 10–18.
Dávila Valer, Patricia (2007) 'Se exige a Calderón cancelar proyecto turístico de Roberto Hernández en Jalisco', *Revista Proceso* (23 April); http://proceso.com.mx/noticia.html?sec=0&nta=50030
Davis, Darien D. (1995) 'Panama', in: Minority Rights Group (ed.) *No Longer Invisible. Afro-Latin Americans Today* (London: Minority Rights Group); pp. 202–214.
Dawe, Kevin and Moira Dawe (2001) 'Handmade in Spain: The Culture of Guitar Making', in: Andy Bennet and Kevin Dawe (eds.) *Guitar Cultures* (Oxford and New York: Berg).
de Certeau, Michel (1984) *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley etc.: University of California Press).
de la Cadena, Marisol (2000) *Indigenous Mestizos. The Politics of Race and Culture in Cuzco, Peru, 1919–1991* (Durham & London: Duke University Press).
de la Vega Estrada, Sergio (2001) *Índice de desarrollo social de los pueblos indígenas* (Mexico: Instituto Nacional Indigenista).
de Sarte, Estela (1993) 'Sacos "Made in Ecuador" ', *El Comercio*, (Quito, 21 August).
de Vries, Jaap (1991) *Planificación Urbana y Participación Popular. El caso del Cuzco.* (Cuzco: Instituto de Investigación UNSAAC-NUFFIC and Servicio Holandés de Cooperación Técnica [SNV]).
de Zayas Enríquez, Rafael de (1908) *El estado de Yucatán. Su pasado, su presente, su porvenir* (New York: J. Little and Ives Co). Downloaded from Google Books, at http://books.google.com/books?vid=OCLC11013629&id=0_syP_dViCEC&pg=RA2–PA7&lpg=RA2–PA7&dq=Zayas+Enriquez#PRA1–PA1,M1, on February 18, 2007.
Dean, Mitchell M. (1999) *Governmentality. Power and Rules in Modern Society* (London: Sage).
Degregori, L. N. (2001) 'The Sacred Kingdom of Nature' in: E. Mujica B. (ed) *Machu Picchu Historical Sanctuary* (Lima: AFP Integra), pp. 28–95.
DeMello, Margo (2000) *Bodies of Inscription: A Cultural History of the Modern Tattoo Community* (Durham: Duke University Press).
Desarrollo Regional Concertado, *Cuzco Al 2012* (Cuzco).
Diario del Cuzco (2007) (Cuzco, 15 March).
Diario el Sol (2004) (Cuzco, 3 May).
Dias Velarde, Patricia (2001) 'El espacio urbano en la recuperación del Centro Histórico de Lima', in: Fernando Carrión (ed.) *Centros Históricos de América Latina y el Caribe* (Paris: UNESCO); pp. 347–63.
Doerr, Elizabeth (ed.) (2007) 'Community Organizer Visits [Interview with Jenny Callañaupa Huarhua]', *La Tejedora: Andean Textile Arts, Supporters of the Center for Traditional Arts of Cuzco* (Newsletter) (New Haven, Connecticut: Fall); pp. 3, 7.
Dogar, Rana (1998) 'Why Can't We Get Away?', *Newsweek*, (3 August); pp. 40–44.
Donkin, Robin A. (1979) *Agricultural Terracing in the Aboriginal New World* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press).
Dueñas, Pablo (1993) *Historia del bolero mexicano* (Mexico: Asociación Mexicana de Estudios Fonográficos).
Dumont, Jean-Paul (1984) 'A Matter of Touristic "Indifferance" ', *American Ethnologist*, 11(1): 139–151.
Eckersley, Robyn (1992) *Environmentalism and Political Theory: Toward an Ecocentric Approach* (London and New York: Routledge).
Edensor, Tim (2000) 'Staging Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 27(2): 322–344
El Panamá América (2001) 'Fomento al Turismo' (3 February), E-3.
El Tri (1992) 'María Sabina', from *En Vivo y a Todo Calor en el Hollywood Palladium*. WEA Latina at http://www.lyricsspot.com/, accessed 10 March 2007.
Empresa de Desarrollo del Centro Histórico de Quito (ECH) (1997) Plan de acción y programa de inversiones: reorganización de los mercados populares del centro histórico (Quito: ECH).

Estenssoro, Juan Carlos (1990) 'Música, discurso y poder en el régimen colonial' (Masters thesis, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú).
—— (1992) 'Los bailes de los indios y el proyecto colonial', *Revista Andina*, 10(2): 353–389.
—— (2003) *Del Paganismo a la Santidad* (Lima: IFEA e Instituto Riva Agüero).
Estrada Ibérico, E. and L. Nieto Degregori (1998) 'Cuzco en la encrucijada. Análisis del registro catastral del Centro Histórico', *Crónicas Urbanas*, 6(67): 3–37.
Estrada, Alvaro (2003) 'The Life', in: Jerome Rothenberg (ed.) *María Sabina: Selections* (Berkeley: University of California Press); pp. 1–82.
Euraque, Darío A., Jeffrey L. Gould, and Charles R. Hale (2006) *Mestizaje: Cultura política en Centroamérica de 1920 al presente* (Antigua Guatemala: CIRMA).
Fainstein, Susan S. and D. Gladstone (1999) 'Evaluating Urban Tourism', in: D. R. Judd and S. S. Fainstein (eds.) *The Tourist City* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press); pp. 21–34.
Fainstein, Susan S. and Dennis R. Judd (1999) 'Global Forces, Local Strategies, and Urban Tourism', in: Dennis R. Judd and Susan S. Fainstein (eds.) *The Tourist City* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press); pp. 1–20.
Feinberg, Ben (2003) *The Devil's Book of Culture: History, Mushrooms, and Caves in Southern Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press).
—— (2006) '"I Was There": Competing Indigenous Imaginaries of the Past and the Future in Oaxaca's Sierra Mazateca', *Journal of Latin American Anthropology*, 11(1): 109–137.
Femenias, Blenda (2005) *Gender and the Boundaries of Dress in Contemporary Peru* (Austin: University of Texas Press).
Fernández, José Ernesto (2006) 'Comunidades indígenas, textiles y turismo: un estudio de caso del programa textil de ASUR y las comunidades Tarabuco', in: Annelou Ypeij and Annelies Zoomers (eds.) *La Ruta Andina: Turismo y Desarrollo sostenible en Perú y Bolivia* (Quito: Abya-Yala); pp. 147–167.
Few, Martha (2002) *Women Who Live Evil Lives: Gender, Religion, and the Politics of Power in Colonial Guatemala* (Austin: University of Texas Press).
Fischer, Edward F. and Peter Benson (2006) *Broccoli and Desire. Global Connections and Maya Struggles in Postwar Guatemala* (Stanford: Stanford University Press).
Flores Nájar (1994) 'Notas para la historia del turismo en el Cuzco', *Revista del Instituto Americano de Arte* (Cuzco), 14: 209–214.
Foucault, Michel (1986) 'Of Other Spaces', *Diacritics*, 16(1): 22–27.
—— (1991) 'Governmentality', in: Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller (eds.) *The Foucault Effect* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press); pp. 87–104.
Fundación Haciendas en el Mundo Maya. http://www.fundacionhaciendas.com
Fussell, Paul (1980) *Abroad. British Literary Traveling Between the Wars (*New York/ Oxford: Oxford University Press).
Gable, Eric and Richard Handler (1993) 'Colonialist Anthropology at Colonial Williamsburg', *Museum Anthropology*, 17(3): 26–31.
—— (1996) 'After Authenticity at an American Heritage Site', *American Anthropologist*, 98(3): 568–578.
—— (2007) 'Public History, Private Memory: Notes from the Ethnography of Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, US', in: Amy K. Levin (ed.) *Defining Memory: Local Museums and the Construction of History in America's Changing Communities* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press); pp. 47–62.
Galiano Sánchez, Washington (2000) *Situación Ecológico-Ambiental del Santuario Histórico de Machu Picchu: una aproximación* (Cuzco: Programa Machu Picchu).
García, J. Uriel (1930) *El Nuevo Indio* (Cuzco: Editorial Rozas).
García de Fuentes, Ana (1979) *Cancún: turismo y subdesarrollo regional* (Mexico: UNAM).
García Riera, Emilio (1986) *Historia del cine mexicano* (Mexico: Secretaría de Educación Pública).

Garrard-Burnett, Virginia (2000) 'Indians are drunks and drunks are Indians: Alcohol and *indigenismo* in Guatemala, 1890–1940', *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 19(3): 341–356.

Geertz, Clifford (1973) 'The Integrative Revolution', in: *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books); pp. 255–310.

Gladhart, Peter Michael and Emily Winter Gladhart (1981) *Northern Ecuador's Sweater Industry: Rural Women's Contribution to Economic Development*. Women in International Development Working Paper # 81/01 (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University, Office of Women in Development).

Gmelch, Sharon Bohn (ed.) (2004), *Tourists and Tourism. A Reader* (Long Grove: Waveland Press).

Goffman, Erving (1959) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (New York: Doubleday).

Goldin, Liliana R. (2003) *Procesos globales en el campo de Guatemala: opciones económicas y transformaciones ideológicas* (Guatemala: FLACSO).

González Navarro, Moisés (1970) *Raza y tierra. La guerra de castas y el henequén* (Mexico City: El Colegio de Mexico).

González, Susana, Victor Ballinas, Raul Llanos (2001) 'Reivindican las FARP los atentados', *La Jornada* (9 August).

Gordon, Collin (1991) 'Governmentality and Rationality', in: Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller (eds.) *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press); pp. 1–52.

Gori, Graham (2001) 'World Business Briefing Europe: Americas: Mexico: Banamex Sale Approved', *The New York Times* (6 July); p. W 1

Greene, Paul D. and Thomas Purcello (eds.) (2005) *Wired for Sound. Engineering Technologies in Sonic Cultures* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press).

Guerrero, Andrés (1997) 'The Construction of the Ventriloquists Image: Liberal Discourse and the "Miserable Indian Race" in the late 19th Century Ecuador', *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 29(3); 555–590.

Guerrón Montero, Carla (2004) 'Afro-Antillean Cuisine and Global Tourism', *Food, Culture, and Society*, 7(2): 29–47.

—— (2005a) 'Marine Protected Areas in Panama: Grassroots Activism and Advocacy', *Human Organization*, 64(4): 360–372.

—— (2005b) 'Voces Subalternas: Presencia Afro-Antillana en Panamá (Subaltern Voices: Afro-Antillean Presence in Panama)', *Cuadernos Americanos*, 111: 33–59.

—— (2006a) 'Tourism and Afro-Antillean Identity in Panama', *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 4(2): 65–84.

—— (2006b) '"Can't Beat me Own Drum in me Own Native Land": Calypso Music and Tourism in the Panamanian Atlantic Coast', *Anthropological Quarterly*, 79 (4): 633–663.

—— (2008) 'Afro-Panamanians', *Encyclopedia of the African Diaspori* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-Clio); pp. 743–748.

Guía Panameña (2002–2003) *Guía Panameña de Turismo* (Ciudad de Panamá: Publicar).

Gunn, Dewey Wayne (2006) '"The Beat Trail to Mexico": from American and British Writers in Mexico, 1556–1973', in: Nicholas Dagen Bloom (ed.) *Adventures Into Mexico: American Tourism Beyond the Border* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield); pp. 77–87.

Guss, David (2000) *The Festive State: Race, Ethnicity, and Nationalism as Cultural Performance* (Berkeley: University of California Press).

Hale, Charles R. (2006) *Más que un Indio: Racial Ambivalence and Neoliberal Multiculturalism in Guatemala* (Santa Fe: School of American Research).

Hall, Colin Michael (1994) *Tourism and Politics: Policy, Power and Place* (Chichester: Wiley).

Handler, Richard (1988) *Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press).

——, and Eric Gable (1997) *The New History in an Old Museum: Creating the Past at Colonial Williamsburg* (Durham: Duke University Press).

Hardoy, J. (1983) *El Centro histórico del Cuzco: introducción al problema de su preservación y desarrollo* (Lima: Banco Industrial del Perú).

Harvey, David (1989) *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford and Cambridge, Massachusetts: Basil Blackwell).

Healy, Kevin (1992) 'Back to the Future: Ethnodevelopment Among the Jalq'a of Bolivia', *Grassroots Development*, 16(2); 22–34.

Heckman, Andrea M. (2003) *Woven Stories: Andean Textiles and Rituals* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press).

Henrici, Jane (1996) *The Artisanal and the Touristic in Pisaq, Peru* (Austin: University of Texas Press).

Herbert, David T. (1995) *Heritage, Tourism and Society* (London/New York: Mansell).

Hernández Fajardo, José (1944) 'Las artes menores', in: Carlos Echánove Trujillo (dir.) *Enciclopedia Yucatánense Conmemorativa del IV Centenario de Mérida y Valladolid (Yucatán)*. Tomo IV (Mérida: Gobierno del Estado de Yucatán); pp. 823–914.

Herrera, N. and Cordova, C. (1998) *Plan Maestro Para el Comercio Informal en el Centro Histórico de Quito* (Quito: Empresa del Centro Histórico).

Herzfeld, Michael (1986) *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece* (New York: Pella Publishing Company).

Himpele, Jeffrey and Quetzil E. Castañeda (1997) Documentary: 'Incidents of Travel in Chichén Itzá' (Watertown, MA: Documentary Educational Resources).

Hinchbeerger, Bill (2007) 'Tourism in Peru: Ancient Cities, Exotic Food and Remote Nature Reserves', *The Wall Street Journal* (17–18 November); p. W9.

Hindess, Barry (1996) 'Liberalism, Socialism and Democracy', in: Andrew Barry, Thomas Osborne and Nikolas S. Rose (eds.) *Foucault and Political Reason* (London: University of Chicago Press); pp. 65–97.

Hitchcock, M. 1998. 'Tourism, Taman Mini, and National Identity', *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 26(75): 124–135.

Holcomb, Briavel (1999) 'Marketing Cities for Tourism', in: Dennis R. Judd and Susan S. Fainstein (eds.) *The Tourist City* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press); pp. 54–70.

Howe, James (2001) 'The Kuna of Panama', in: Susan C. Stonich (ed.) *Endangered Peoples of Latin America* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group); pp. 137–152.

Hudman, Lloyd E. and Richard H. Jackson (2003) *Geography of Travel and Tourism* (4th ed.) (Clifton Park, New York: Delmar Learning).

Hutchins, Frank (2007) 'Footprints in the Forest: Ecotourism and Altered Meanings in Ecuador's Upper Amazon', *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology*, 12(1): 75–103.

Huyssen, Andreas (2000) 'Present Pasts: Media, Politics, Amnesia', *Public Culture*, 12(1): 21–38.

INC/INRENA (Instituto Nacional de Cultura/Instituto de Reservas Naturales) (1998) 'Plan Maestro del Santuario Histórico de Machu Picchu, Peru' (Lima: Ministerio de Agricultura).

—— (2004) 'Plan Maestro del Santuario Histórico de Machu Picchu' (Lima: Ministerio de Agricultura)

INEI (Instituto Nacional de Estatística e Informática) (2003) *Almanaque de Cuzco* (Cuzco: INEI, Gobierno Regional de Cuzco).

Isaac, Barry L., and Stephen Gudeman (1982) 'The Mesoamerican Context of Ritual Kinship', *Man*, 17(3): 555–558.

Itier, César (2000) *El Teatro Quechua en el Cuzco. Tomo II. Indigenismo, Lengua y Literatura en el Perú Moderno* (Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos-Centro Bartolomé de las Casas).

Jaramillo Perez, C. (1962) *Historia del Ecuador* (Quito: Editorial Lasalle).

Jones, Lindsay (1995) *Twin City Tales* (Boulder: University of Colorado Press).

Joseph, Gilbert M. (1979) 'Mexico's 'Popular Revolution': Mobilization and Myth in Yucatán, 1910–1940', *Latin American Perspectives*, 6(3): 46–65.

—— (1982) *Revolution from Without: Yucatán, Mexico, and the United States, 1880–1924* (Durham: Duke University Press).

Joseph, Gilbert M. and Alan Wells (1982) 'Corporate Control of a Monocrop Economy: International Harvester and Yucatán's Henequen Industry during to Porfiriato', *Latin American Research Review*, 17(1): 69–99.

Juarez, Ana M. (2002) 'Ongoing Struggles: Mayas and Immigrants in Tourist Era Tulum', *Journal of Latin American Anthropology*, 7(1): 34–67.

Karttunen, Frances (1994) *Between Worlds: Interpreters, Guides, and Survivors* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press).

Keck, Margaret E. and Kathryn Sikkink (1998) *Activists beyond Borders. Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press).

Kendall, Ann (1984) 'Archaeological Investigations of the Late Intermediate Period and Late Horizon Period at Cusichaca', in: Ann Kendall (ed.) *Proceedings, 45th Congress of Americanists (*Oxford: BAR International Series 210); pp. 247–290.

Kessler, Michael (2001) 'Maximum Plant-Community Endemism at Intermediate Intensities of Anthropogenic Disturbance in Bolivian Montane Forests', *Conservation Biology*, 15: 634–641.

Keune, Lou and Jan Vugts (2002) 'The Economic Significance of Tourism in Latin America' in: Heidi Dahles and Lou Keune (eds.) *Tourism Development and Local Participation in Latin America* (New York etc.: Cognizant Communication Corporation).

Kidder, Alfred M. (1930) *Report of the Division of Historical Research*. Carnegie Year Book #29 (1929–1930) (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington).

Kingman, Eduardo (1992) 'Quito, Vida Social y Modificaciones Urbanas', in: IMQ, *Quito a Través de la Historia* (IMQ, Dirección de Planificación, Quito); pp. 129–154.

—— and Ana María Goetschel (1992) 'Los Ideas de Orden y Progreso y las Nuevas Extirpaciones Culturales', in: IMQ, *Quito a Través de la Historia*, (IMQ, Dirección de Planificación, Quito); pp. 153–162.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara (1998) *Destination Culture, Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press).

Klarén, Peter F. (2000) *Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes* (New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press).

—— (2001) 'Review of Marisol de la Cadena, Indigenous Mestizos', *Disposition*, 24(51): 213–220.

Knight, Alan (1991) 'Land and Society in Revolutionary Mexico: the Destruction of the Great Haciendas', *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos*, 7(1): 73–104.

Kratz, Corinne. A. and Ivan Karp (1993) 'Wonder and Worth: Disney Museums in World Showcase', *Museum Anthropology*, 17(3): 32–42.

Krüggeler, Thomas (1999) 'Indians, workers and the arrival of Modernity: Cuzco, Peru, 1895–1924', *The Americas*, 56(2): 160–88.

Kusno, Abidin (2003) 'Remembering/Forgetting the May Riots: Architecture, Violence, and the Making of 'Chinese Cultures' in Post-1998 Jakarta', *Public Culture*, 15(1): 149–177.

Lahens, Yanick (1998) 'Afterword', in: Kathleen M. Balutansky and Marie-Agnès Sourieau (eds.) *Caribbean Creolization: Reflections on the Cultural Dynamics of Language, Literature, and Identity* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida).

Lauer, Mirko (1997) *Andes Imaginarios. Discursos del Indigenismo 2* (Lima: Centro Bartolomé de las Casas- SUR Casa de Estudios del Socialismo).

Lee, Isaac (2005) 'Lo Buen del Mal', *Poder y Negocios* (30 September): 28–34.
Lee, Rosemary (1978) 'Who Owns Boardwalk?', *Studies in Third World Societies*, 6: 19–35.
Levin, Amy (2007) *Defining Memory: Local Museums and the Construction of History in America's Changing Communities* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press).
Lind, Amy (2005) *Gendered Paradoxes: Women's Movements, State Restructuring, and Global Development in Ecuador* (Pennsylvania: The University of Pennsylvania Press).
Little, Walter E. (2003) 'Common Origins/'Different' Identities in Two Kaqchikel Maya Towns', *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 59(2): 205–224.
—— (2004) *Mayas in the Marketplace: Tourism, Globalization, and Cultural Identity* (Austin: University of Texas Press).
—— (2005) 'Getting Organized: Political and Economic Dilemmas for Maya Handicrafts Vendors', in: Walter E. Little (ed.), Special Issue: 'Maya Livelihoods in Guatemala's Global Economy', *Latin American Perspectives*, 32(5): 80–100.
—— (2008) 'Crime, Maya Handicraft Vendors, and the Social Re/Construction of Market Spaces in a Tourism Town', *Economies and the Transformation of Landscape. SEA*, 25 (Walnut Creek: Altamira Press); pp. 267–290.
Lloréns, José Antonio (1983) *Música Popular en Lima: Criollos y Andinos* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos).
López Lenci, Yazmín (2004) *El Cuzco, paqarina moderna. Cartografía de una modernidad e identidades en los Andes peruanos (1900–1935)* (Lima: Fondo Editorial Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos).
López, Rick (2004) 'Intellectuals, the Popular Classes, and the State: Integrating the Mexican Cultural Nation, 1916–1940'. Paper presented in the panel 'Comparing Indigenismo' in the XXV LASA Congress, 7–9 October, Las Vegas.
—— (2006) 'The Noche Mexicana and the Exhibition of Popular Art: Two Ways of Exalting Indianness in 1921', in: Mary Kay Vaughan and Stephen Lewis (eds.) *The Eagle and the Virgin: Nation and Cultural Revolution in Mexico, 1929–1940* (Durham: Duke University Press); pp. 23–42.
Lowenthal, David (1985) *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
Lutz, Christopher H. (1994) *Santiago de Guatemala, 1541–1773: City, Caste, and the Colonial Experience* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press).
MacCannell, Dean (1973) 'Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings', *American Journal of Sociology*, 19(3): 580–603.
—— (1984) 'Reconstructed Ethnicity, Tourism and Cultural Identity in Third World Communities', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 11: 375–391.
—— (1992) *Empty Meeting Grounds: The Tourist Papers* (London/New York: Routledge).
—— (1999) *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley, etc.: University of California Press) (First edition 1973, New York: Schocken Books).
Maloney, G. (ed.) (1981) *Memorias del Primer Congreso del Negro Panameño* (Panamá: Impresora de la Nación).
Mannheim, Bruce (1991) *The Language of the Inka since the European Invasion* (Austin: University of Texas Press).
Martinez Novo, Carmen (2003) 'The 'Culture' of Exclusion: Representations of Indigenous Women Street Vendors in Tijuana, Mexico', *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 22(3): 249–268.
Martínez, L. (1994) *Los Campesinos-Artesanos en la Sierra Central: el Caso Tungurahua* (Quito: CAAP).
Mathus, Saloni (2001) 'Living Ethnological Exhibits: The Case of 1886', *Cultural Anthropology*, 15(4): 492–524.
Matos Mar, José (1984) *El Desborde Popular y Crisis del Estado: El Nuevo Rostro del Perú* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruano).

Maxwell, Keely B. (2004) 'Lost Cities and Exotic Cows: Constructing the Space of Nature and Culture in the Machu Picchu Historic Sanctuary, Peru', UMI Dissertation Services.

——. (2006) 'Campesinos "metalizados" y rituales burocráticos: la lucha por el sustento, las regulaciones y el turismo en el Camino Inca', in: Annelou Ypeij and Annelies Zoomers (eds.) *La ruta andina. Turismo y desarrollo sostenible en Perú y Bolivia* (Quito: Abya Yala); pp. 85–104.

Mayer, Enrique (2001) *The Articulated Peasant: Household Economies in the Andes* (Boulder: Westview Press).

McCullough, Edo (1976) *World's Fair Midways: An Affectionate Account of American Amusement Areas from the Crystal Place to the Crystal Ball* (New York: Arno Press).

McIntosh, Alison J. and Richard C. Prentice (1999) 'Affirming Authenticity: Consuming Cultural Heritage', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 26(3): 589–612.

Meisch, Lynn A. (1987) *Otavalo: Weaving, Costume and the Market* (Quito: Ediciones Libri Mundi).

—— (2002) *Andean Entrepreneurs: Otavalo Merchants and Musicians in a Global Arena* (Austin: University of Texas Press).

Mendoza, Zoila (1998) 'Defining Folklore: Mestizo and Indigenous Identities on the Move', *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 17(2): 165–183.

—— (1999) 'Genuine but Marginal: Exploring and Reworking Social Contradictions through Ritual Dance Performance', *Journal of Latin American Anthropology*, 3(2): 86–117.

—— (2000) *Shaping Society Through Dance: Mestizo Ritual Performance in the Peruvian Andes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

—— (2001) *Al son de la danza: Identidad y comparsas en el Cuzco* (Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica).

—— (2006) *Crear y sentir lo nuestro, folclor, identidad regional y nacional en el Cuzco, siglo XX* (Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica).

—— (2008) *Creating our Own: Folklore, Performance, and Identity in Cuzco, Peru* (Durham: Duke University).

Merriam, Alan P. (1964) *The Anthropology of Music* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press).

Middleton, Alan (1997) *Informal Traders in the Historic Centre of Quito* (Quito: Empresa del Centro Histórico de Quito).

—— (2003) 'Informal Traders and Planners in the Regeneration of Historic City Centres: the Case of Quito, Ecuador, *Progress in Planning*, 59(2): 71–123.

Mintz, Lawrence (2004) 'In a Sense Abroad: Theme Parks and Simulated Tourism', in: Sharon Gmelch (ed.) *Tourists and Tourism: A Reader (*Long Grove, Illinois: Waveland Press); pp. 183–192.

Montenegro, Gustavo (2005) 'Antigua entre dos leyes', *Prensa Libre* (6 March).

Morales Valderrama, Carmen et al. (1989) 'Las artesanias del Oriente de Yucatán', Paper delivered at Primer Congreso de Mayistas. San Cristobal de las Casas. August 15.

Morrison, Allen (2004) *The Tramways of Yucatán*. http://www.tramz.com/mx/yu/yu00.html, accessed 10 June 2007.

Mould de Pease, Mariana (2000) 'Apuntes interculturales para la historia inmediata de Machu Picchu: las funciones de Hiram Bingham y Albert Giesecke', *Revista del Archivo Regional del Cuzco*, 15: 133–147.

Mowforth, Martin and Ian Munt (2003) *Tourism and Sustainability. Development and New Tourism in the Third World*. Second Edition (London and New York: Routledge, [1998]).

Mowforth, Martin, Clive Charton & Ian Munt (2008) *Tourism and Responsibility. Perspectives From Latin America and the Caribbean* (London and New York: Routledge).

Municipalidad del Cusco (1990) *Cusco... Testimonios* (Cusco: Municipalidad del Cusco).
—— (2000) *Plan Maestro del Centro Histórico del Cuzco* (Cuzco: UNESCO and Agencia Española de Cooperación Histórico).
—— (2007a) *Memoria de la Géstion 2006* http://muniCuzco.gob.pe/documentos/GESTION%202006.pdf, accessed 4 April 2008.
—— (2007b) *Reglamento del Uso de la Vía Publica* (Cuzco: Gerencia Desarrollo económico y servicios municipales).
Municipio de Quito (1988) *Plan Maestro de Rehabilitación de los Áreas Históricas de Quito* (Quito: Ilustre Municipio de Quito).
—— (1991) Plan Distrito Metropolitano: Atlas del Centro Histórico de Quito, Municipio de Distrito Metropolitano de Quito (Quito: Dirección de Planificación).
—— (1996a) *Análisis sobre el comercio informal en el Centro Histórico de Quito* (Quito: Municipio de Distrito Metropolitano de Quito).
—— (1996b) *Diagnostico del sistema municipio de mercados de la Cuidad de Quito* (Quito: Administración General del Municipio de Distrito Metropolitano de Quito).
Munn, Henry (1973) 'The Mushrooms of Language', in: Michael J. Harner (ed.), *Hallucinogens and Shamanism* (London: Oxford University Press); pp. 86–122.
Mushroom Ceremony of the Mazatec Indians of Mexico, 1957 Folkways Records.
National Geographic (2007) National Geographic Holiday 2007 Catalog. Washington, DC, November.
Nelisse, Marleen (2003) 'Conflict en macht in Machupicchu Pueblo. Een onderzoek naar de lokale reacties op globalisering in een Peruaans dorp' (Master thesis, University of Amsterdam).
Nettle, Bruno and Philip V. Bohlman (eds.) (1991) *Comparative Musicology and Anthropology of Music. Essays on the History of Ethnomusicology* (Chicago: Chicago University Press).
Neumann, Roderick (1998) *Imposing Wilderness: Struggles over Livelihood and Nature Preservation in Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
New York Times (1970) 'Hippies Flocking to Mexico for Mushroom "Trips"', (23 July): C6.
Newton, V. (1995) *Los Hombres del 'Silver Roll'. Migración Antillana a Panamá 1850–1914*, First edition (Panamá: Sociedad de Amigos del Museo Afro-antillano de Panamá).
Norkunas, Martha K. (1993) *The Politics of Public Memory. Tourism, History and Ethnicity in Monterey, California* (Albany: State University of New York Press).
Núñez Rebaza, Lucy y Jose Lloréns (1981) 'La Música Tradicional Andina en Lima Metropolitana', *América Indígena*, 41(1): 53–74.
Olwig, Karen Fog (1999) 'The Burden of Heritage: Claiming a Place for a West Indian culture', *American Ethnologist*, 26(2): 370–38.
Oróz Villena, Diómedes (1989) *Cancionero de Aniversario, Centro Qosqo de Arte Nativo* (Cuzco: Instituto Nacional de Cultura).
Paoli Bolio, Francisco José and Enrique Montalvo Ortega (1977) *El socialismo olvidado de Yucatán* (Mexico: Siglo XXI).
Paredes Chávez, P. et al. (2002) *Plan Estratégico de desarrollo de la provincia de Calca al 2012* (Cuzco: CBC).
Pearsall, Deborah M. (2008) 'Plant domestication and the shift to agriculture in the Andes', in: Helaine Silverman & William Isbell (eds.) *The Handbook of South American Archaeology* (New York: Springer New York); pp. 105–120.
Peck, Derek (1998) 'High on Huautla', http://archive.salon.com/wlust/feature/1998/10/cov_05feature.html, accessed 10 November 1999.
Pedelty, Mark (2004) *Musical Ritual in Mexico City. From the Aztec to Nafta* (Austin: University of Texas Press).

Pellicer, Liliana (2004) 'El futuro de una ciudad antigua', Revista Domingo, *Prensa Libre* (21 March).
Pemberton, John (1994) ' Recollections from "Beautiful Indonesia": Somewhere Beyond the Postmodern', *Public Culture*, 6: 241–262.
Peraza López, María Elena and Lourdes Rejón Patrón (1989) *El comercio de artesanías en Chichén Itzá y algunos efectos del turismo en la región* (Mérida: CRY-INAH).
Peraza López, María Elena et al. (1987) 'La invasión de vendedores de artesanías en la zona arqueológica de Chichén Itzá, Yucatán', *Boletín de la ECUAdY*, 14: 17–30.
Pérez, A. R. (1947) *Las mitas en la real audiencia de Quito* (Quito: Ministerio de Tesoro).
Pérez Balladares, Cecilia (1998) 'Turismo patrimonial', Conferencia de Turismo Patrimonial, Panama.
Pérez Galán, Beatriz (2004) *Somos como Incas autoridades tradicionales en los Andes peruanos, Cuzco* (Madrid: Iberoamericana).
Peru Guide (2007) 'Mon Repos advertisement' in: *Peru Guide: Handicrafts special.*
Picard, Michel and Robert E. Wood (1997) 'Preface', in: Michel Picard and Robert E. Wood (eds.) *Tourism, Ethnicity, and the State in Asian and Pacific Societies* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press); pp. vii–xi.
Pi-Sunyer, Oriol and R. Brooke Thomas (1997) 'Tourism, Environmentalism, and Cultural Survival in Quintana Roo', in: Barbara. R. Johnston (ed.) *Life and Death Matters* (London: AltaMira Press); pp. 187–212.
Pi-Sunyer, Oriol, R. Brooke Thomas and Magali Daltabuit (2001) 'Tourism on the Maya Periphery', in: Valene Smith and Maryann. Brent (eds.) *Hosts and Guests Revisited* (New York: Cognizant Communication Corporation); pp. 122–140.
Plattner, Stuart (1996) *High Art Down Home: An Economic Ethnography of a Local Art Market* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
Poole, Deborah (1990) 'Accommodation and Resistance in Andean Ritual Dance', *The Drama Review*, 34(2): 98–126.
—— (1997) *Vision, Race, and Modernity, A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press).
Portocarrero, Gonzalo and Patricia Oliart (1989) *El Perú Desde la Escuela* (Lima: Instituto de Apoyo Agrario).
PR News Wire (2001) 'Hot Off The Press! Three Starwood Hotels Make Conde Nast Traveler's Fifth Annual Hot List', http://www.prnewswire.com/cgi-bin/stories.pl?ACCT=104&STORY=/www/story/04–26–2001/0001479351&EDATE=
Pratt, Marie Louise (1992) *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge).
Rachowiecki, Rob (2000) *Lonely Planet Peru* (Melbourne: Lonely Planet Publications).
Radcliffe, Sarah and Sallie Westwood (1996) *Remaking the Nation: Place, Identity and Politics in Latin America* (London: Routledge).
Ramírez Aznar, Luis (1990) *El saqueo del Cenote Sagrado de Chichén Itzá* (Mérida: Editorial Dante).
Ramírez, Alberto (2006) 'Antigua fue una ciudad maya con fortificaciones', *Prensa Libre* (16 July).
Reaño Vargas, G. (2000) 'A Dream called Q'ente', *Rumbos*, 5: 26–32.
Redfield, Robert (1941) *The Folk Culture of Yucatan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
Reid, Paul Joseph (1979) 'The Constitution of Cadiz and the Independence of Yucatán', *The Americas*, 36(1): 22–38.
Rodríguez, Antonio (1966) *El henequén, una planta calumniada* (Mexico City: Costa ACIC).
Rojek, Chris and John Urry (1997) *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory* (London and New York: Routledge).

Romero, Raúl (2002) 'Popular Music and the Global City: Huayno, Chicha and Tecnocumbia in Lima', in: Walter Aaron Clark (ed.) *From Tejano to Tango: Latin American Popular Music* (New York and London: Routledge); pp. 217–239.
Ronda, Stéphanie (2000) 'Estrategias de legitimaciones y discursos: la utilización de las políticas de rehabilitación de los centros históricos', in: Fernando Carrión (ed.), *Desarrollo cultural y gestión en centros históricos* (Quito: Flacso Ecuador); pp. 85–103.
Rose, Nikolas (1996) 'Governing "Advanced" Liberal Democracies', in: Andrew Barry, Thomas Osborne and Nikolas S. Rose (eds.) *Foucault and Political Reason. Liberalism, Neo-Liberalism and Rationalities of Government* (London: University of Chicago Press); pp. 37–64.
—— (1999) *Governing The Soul. The Shaping of the Private Self* (London: Free Association Books).
Rowe, William and Vivian Schelling (1991) *Memory and Modernity: Popular Culture in Latin America* (London/New York: Verso).
Rubio, Angel (1940) *Indios y culturas indígenas Panameñas (Apuntes)* (Panamá).
Safa, Helen I. (1998) 'Introduction', Special Issue: 'Race and Identity in the Americas', *Latin American Perspectives* 25(3): 2–20.
Sánchez, Fabiola (2004) 'Regularán Uso de la Imagen del "Che"', *Noticias de Oaxaca* (4 February).
Sánchez, P. M. and K. M. Adams (2008) 'The Janus-Faced Character of Tourism in Cuba: Ideological Continuity and Change', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 35(1): 27–46.
Sarmiento, Fausto O. (2000) 'Breaking Mountain Paradigms: Ecological Effects on Human Impacts in Man-Aged Tropandean Landscapes', *Ambio* 29: 423–431.
Sarte, Estela de (1993) 'Sacos "Made in Ecuador"', *El Comercio*, (Quito, 21 August).
Scarpaci, Joseph L. (2005) *Plazas and Barrios: Heritage Tourism and Globalization in the Latin American Centro Histórico* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press).
Schaffer, Scott. (1996) 'Disney and the Imagineering of Histories', *Postmodern Culture*, 6(3): 1–29.
Schickel, Richard (1986) *The Disney Version: The Life, Times, Art and Commerce of Walt Disney* (London: Pavilion).
Sealy, I. V. (1999) 'Reminiscences: A Collection of Anecdotes, as Remembered by or Told to the Author/Recopilación: Una Colección de Anécdotas Recordados [sic] por o Contados a La Autora' (Panamá).
Seligmann, Linda J. (2004) *Peruvian Street Lives. Culture, Power, and Economy among Market Women of Cuzco* (Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press).
Seppänen, Maaria (2001) 'Re-scaling a world heritage site: lettered city and Colonial Arcadia in the Historic Centre of Lima', paper presented at the 'Space and Place in Development Geography' (University of Utrecht).
Sheller, Mimi and John Urry (2004) *Tourism Mobilities: Places to Stay, Places in Play* (New York: Routledge).
Shore, Bradd (1996) *Culture in Mind, Cognition, Culture and the Problem of Meaning* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press).
Shortsleeve, Kevin (2004) 'The Wonderful World of Depression: Disney, Despotism, and the 1930s. Or, Why Disney Scares Us', *The Lion and the Unicorn*, 28(1): 1–30.
Silver, Ira (1993) 'Marketing Authenticity in Third World Countries', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 20: 302–318.
Silverman, Helaine (2002) 'Touring Ancient Times: The Present and Presented Past in Contemporary Peru', *American Anthropologist*, 104 (3): 881–902.
—— (2005) 'Embodied Heritage, Identity Politics, and Tourism', *Anthropology and Humanism*, 30(2): 141–155.
Simon, Beatrice (2006) '¿Un pueblo auténtico y moderno? Percepciones locales del futuro y turismo sostenible en Pisac, Perú', in: Annelou Ypeij and Annelies Zoomers

(eds.) *La ruta andina: Turismo y desarrollo sostenible en Perú y Bolivia*. (Quito, Ecuador: Abya-Yala etc.); pp. 105–127.
—— (2008) *Het Pisaq Theater. Presentaties en beleving van 'authentieke' Andes cultuur in toeristisch Peru* (Amsterdam: Rozenberg).
Smith, Carol (1990) *Guatemalan Indians and the State* (Austin: University of Texas Press).
Smith, Laurajane (2004) *Archaeological Theory and the Politics of Cultural Heritage* (London: Routledge).
Stanley, Nick (1998) *Being Ourselves for You, The Global Display of Cultures* (London: Middlesex University Press).
Starwood Hotels and Resorts. (http://www.starwoodhotels.com/luxury/about/index.html).
State of Yucatán (2005) Press Release: 'Premio a Haciendas del Mundo Maya en Foro Mundial', http://www.saladeprensa.Yucatán.gob.mx/noticias/verarticulo2.php?CategoriaSeleccionada=Dependencias%20–%20Secretarías&IdArticulo=36390.
Steel, Griet (2008) *Vulnerable Careers. Tourism and Livelihood Dynamics among Street Vendors in Cusco, Peru* (Amsterdam: Rozenberg).
Steel, Griet and Annelou Ypeij (2005) 'Poverty, Livelihood and Social Exclusion in Tourist Cuzco (Peru)', paper presented at AAA (Washington: December 2005).
Steggerda, Morris (1941) *The Maya Indians of Yucatán* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington).
Steiner, Christopher B. (1997) 'The Invisible Face: Masks, Ethnicity, and the State in Cote d'Ivoire', in: Roy Richard Grinker and Christopher B. Steiner (eds.) *Perspectives on Africa: A Reader in Culture, History, and Representation* (Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell); pp. 671–677.
Stodgill, Ron (2007) 'Who Controls Paradise?', *The New York Times* (20 May); p. 3.1.
Stoll, David (1999) *Rigoberta Menchú and the Story of All Poor Guatemalans* (Boulder: Westview Press).
Sullivan, Paul (1991) *Unfinished Conversations* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
Swanson, Kate (2007) 'Revanchist Urbanism Heads South: The Regulation of Indigenous Beggars and Street vendors in Ecuador', *Antipode*: 708–728.
Tamayo Herrera, José (1978) *Historia social del Cuzco republicano* (Lima: Las Gardenias).
—— (1981) *Historia social del Cuzco republicano* (Lima: Editorial Universo, 2nd edition).
Taussig, Michael (1993) *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses* (New York: Routledge).
Terrell, John (1991) 'Disneyland and the Future of Museum Anthropology', *American Anthropologist*, 93(1): 149–153.
Terry, Edward and Edward Moseley (eds.) (1980) *Yucatán a World Apart*. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press).
The Wall Street Journal (2007) 'A Window to Peru' (17/18 November), www.peru.info.
Thompson, Eric J. S. (1984) *Grandeza y decadencia de los mayas* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica).
Thompson, Norm (2007) *Norm Thompson Catalog* (Portland, Oregon).
Thornton, Sarah (1996) *Club Cultures: Music, Media, and Subcultural Capital* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
Tocagón, L. F. (1997) 'Asentamientos Indígenas en Quito', in: Vincent Böll, et al., *Identidad Indígena en las Ciudades* (Quito: Fundación Hanns Seidel); pp. 181–208.
Torres de Araúz, Reina (1972a) *Arte Precolombino de Panama* (Panamá: Instituto Nacional de Cultura y Deportes, Dirección de Patrimonio Histórico).
—— (1972b) *Natá Prehispánico* (Panamá: Centro de Investigaciones Antropológicas, Universidad de Panamá).

—— (1975) *Darién: Etnoecología de una Región Histórica* (Panamá: Dirección Nacional del Patrimonio Histórico, Instituto Nacional de Cultura).

—— (1980) *Panamá Indígena* (Panamá: Instituto Nacional de Cultura, Patrimonio Histórico).

Torres, Rebecca M. and Janet D. Momsen (2004) 'Gringolandia: The Construction of a New Tourist Space in Mexico', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 95(2): 314–335.

Torres, Rebecca (2002) 'Cancún's Tourism Development from a Fordist Spectrum of Analysis', *Tourist Studies*, 2(1): 87–116.

Ttupa Llavilla, Esteban (1988) 'Policarpo Caballero Farfán', in: Policarpo Caballero Farfán, *Música Incaica: Sus leyes y su evolución histórica* (Lima: COSITUC); pp. 19–24.

Tunbridge, J. E. (1994) 'Whose heritage? Global problem, European Nightmare', in: Ashworth, G. J. and P. Larkham (eds.) *Building a New Heritage: Tourism, Culture and Identity in the New Europe* (London: Routledge); pp. 123–134.

UNESCO (2008) *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of World Heritage Convention*, http://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/(accessed September 2008).

—— (n.d.). 'The slave route'; available from: http://www.unesco.org/culture/slaveroute.

UNWTO (2008) World Tourism Barometer 6(1), January 2008, www.world-tourism .org/facts/wtb.html.

Urban, Greg and Joel Sherzer (1991) 'Introduction: Indians, Nation-States, and Cultures', in: Greg Urban and Joel Sherzer (eds.) *Nation-States and Indians in Latin America* (Austin: University of Texas Press); pp. 1–18.

Urry, John (1990) *The Tourist Gaze. Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London and Thousand Oaks: Sage).

—— (2001) 'Globalising the Tourist Gaze', published by the Department of Sociology, Lancaster University, UK, at http://www.comp.lancs.ac.uk/sociology/papers/ Urry-Globalising-the-Tourist-Gaze.pdf

Valcárcel, Luis E. (1924) *Inkánida: La misión peruana de arte Inkaico en Bolivia, República Argentina i el Uruguai*, vol. 1 (Cuzco: Librería Tipografía 'Cuzco').

Van Beek, Walter (2003) 'African Tourist Encounters: Effects of Tourism on Two West African societies', *Africa*, 73(2): 251–289.

Van den Berghe, Pierre (1994) *The Quest for the Other: Ethnic Tourism in San Cristobal, Mexico* (Seattle: University of Washington Press).

—— (1995) 'Marketing Mayas, Ethnic Tourism Promotion in Mexico', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 22(3): 568–588.

Van den Berghe, Pierre L. and Charles F. Keyes (1984) 'Introduction, Tourism and Re-created Ethnicity', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 11: 343–352.

Van den Berghe, Pierre and Jorge Flores Ochoa (2000) 'Tourism and Nativistic Ideology in Cuzco, Peru', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 27: 7–26.

Vargas-Cetina, Gabriela (unpublished manuscript) Beautiful Politics of Sound. Trova Music in Yucatán, Mexico.

Veblen, T. T. et al. (1994) 'Disturbance Regime and Disturbance Interactions in a Rocky Mountain Sub-Alpine Forest', *Journal of Ecology*, 82: 125–235.

Vega, Alvaro (2006) 'Las claves y los boleros de Guty', in: Alvaro Vega and E. Martin (eds.) *Guty Cárdenas. Cancionero* (Mérida: Instituto de Cultura de Yucatán; Centro Regional de Investigación, Documentación y Difusión Musicales 'Gerónimo Baqueiro Foster').

Vega Estrada, Sergio de la (2001) *Índice de desarrollo social de los pueblos indígenas* (Mexico: Instituto Nacional Indigenista).

Vich, Víctor (2007), 'Magical, mystical: 'The Royal Tour' of Alejandro Toledo', *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies*, 16: 1; 1–10.

Vidal Rivero, Miguel (1981) 'Historia de las comunicaciones. Ferrocarriles', in: *Enciclopedia Yucatánense. Actualización y Ampliación*. Tomo XII (Mérida: Gobierno de Yucatán); pp. 7–54.

Villegas Ormachea, Américo (1986) *Problemática urbana, vivienda y tecnología mejorada en el departamento del Cuzco (*Cuzco: Instituto de Investigación UNSAAC-NUFFIC).
Villoro, Juan (1989) *Palmeras de la brisa rápida. Un viaje a Yucatán* (Mexico: Alianza Editorial Mexicana).
Vries, Jaap de (1991) *Planificación Urbana y Participación Popular. El caso del Cuzco.* (Cuzco: Instituto de Investigación UNSAAC-NUFFIC and Servicio Holandés de Cooperación Técnica [SNV]).
Wade, Peter (2000) *Music, Race and Nation, Música Tropical in Colombia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
Waldman, Anne (2003) 'Fast Speaking Woman and the Dakini Principle', in: Jerome Rothenberg (ed.) *María Sabina: Selections* (Berkeley: University of California Press); pp. 174–182.
Walker, Alice (2003) *Absolute Trust in the Goodness of the Earth: New Poems* (New York: Random House).
Walker, Cameron (2005) 'Archaeological Tourism: Looking For Answers Along Mexico's Maya Riviera', *Napa Bulletin*, 23: 60–76.
Wasson, R. Gordon (1957) 'Seeking the Magic Mushroom', *Life* (May 13): 100–120.
Watanabe, John (1992) *Maya Saints and Souls in a Changing World* (Austin: University of Texas Press).
Webb, R. and G. F. Baca (2002) *Perú en Numéros. Anuario Estadístico* (Lima: Instituto Cuanto).
Wells, Allen (1982) 'Family Elites in a Boom and Bust Economy', *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 62(2): 224–253.
—— (1984) 'Yucatán: Violence and social control on henequen plantations', in: Thomas Benjamin and William McNellie (eds.) *Other Mexicos: Essays on Regional Mexican History, 1876–1911* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press); pp. 213–241.
—— (1988) *Yucatán's Gilded Age: Haciendas, Henequen and International Harvester* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press).
—— (1992) 'All in the Family: Railroads and Henequen Monoculture in Porfirian Yucatán', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 72(2): 159–209.
Wells, Allen and Gilbert Joseph (1992) 'Modernizing Visions, 'Chilango' Blueprints, and Provincial Growing Pains: Mérida at the Turn of the Century', *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos*, 8(2): 167–215.
Westerman, George W. (1980) *Los inmigrantes antillanos en Panamá* (Panamá: Impresora de la Nación).
Wheeler, Jane C. (1995) 'Evolution and Present Situation of the South American C Camelidae', *Biological Journal of the Linnean Society*, 54: 271–295.
Williams, Mary Wilhelmine (1929) 'Secessionist Diplomacy in Yucatán', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 9(2): 132–143.
Winant, Howard (2004) *The New Politics of Race: Globalism, Difference, Justice* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press).
Wolf, Eric R. (1956) 'Aspects of Group Relations in a Complex Society: Mexico', *American Anthropologist* 58(6): 1065–1078.
Wood, Robert E. (1998) 'Touristic Ethnicity: A Brief Itinerary', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21(2): 218–241.
World Bank (2004) Report no. AB850, HSMP Process Framework de las Familias de Q'ente y Wayllabamba.
World Heritage Committee (2003) World Heritage 27 COM (WHC-03/27.COM/7B). UNESCO.
—— (2004) World Heritage 28 COM (WHC-04/28.COM/15B). UNESCO.
Wright, Chris (2006) 'Natural and Social Order at Walt Disney World: The Functions and Contradictions of Civilising Nature', *The Sociological Review*, 54(2): 303–317.

Yano, Christine (2002) *Tears of Longing. Nostalgia and the Nation in Japanese Popular Song* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press).
Ypeij, Annelou (2006) 'La cultura y la lucha por la inclusión social: un análisis de planes de desarrollo y turismo en la región Andina', in: Annelou Ypeij and Annelies Zoomers (eds.) *La ruta andina. Turismo y desarrollo sostenible en Perú y Bolivia* (Quito: Abya-Yala); pp. 37–60.
Ypeij, Annelou and Elayne Zorn (2007) 'Taquile: A Peruvian Tourist Island Struggling for Control', *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, 82: 119–128.
Zakaria, Fareed (2007) 'American the Unwelcoming', *Newsweek*, (26 Nov.); p. 42.
Zárate, Manuel F. (1953) *La Décima y la Copla en Panamá* (Panama: La Estrella de Panamá).
Zavala, Gerardo Lovón (1982) *Mito y realidad del turismo en Cuzco* (Cuzco: CBC).
Zayas Enríquez, Rafael de (1908) *El estado de Yucatán. Su pasado, su presente, su porvenir* (New York: J. Little and Ives Co). Downloaded from Google Books, at http://books.google.com/books?vid=OCLC11013629&id=0_syP_dViCEC&pg=RA2–PA7&lpg=RA2–PA7&dq=Zayas+Enriquez#PRA1–PA1,M1, on February 18, 2007.
Zolov, Eric (1999) *Refried Elvis: The Rise of the Mexican Counterculture* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
Zorn, Elayne (2004) *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth and Culture on an Andean Island* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press).
Zulawski, A. (2000) 'Hygiene and the Indian Problem: Ethnicity and Medicine in Bolivia, 1910–1920s', *Latin American Research Review*, 35(2): 107–129.

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Michiel Baud is Director of Cedla (Centre for Latin American Research and Documentation) and Professor in Latin American Studies at the University of Amsterdam. His current research interests are indigenista ideologies and the role of ethnic identities in Latin American politics. He is author of *Intelectuales y sus utopías. Indigenismo y la imaginación de América Latina* (Amsterdam: Cedla, 2003) and co- edited with Rosanne Rutten, *Popular Intellectuals and Social Movements: Framing Protest in Asia, Africa, and Latin America* (Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Lisa Breglia teaches at George Mason University in Fairfax, Virginia, USA, where she is the Assistant Director of the Global Affairs Program. She is currently researching and writing a book about the effects of Mexico's oil industry on communities and the environment along the Gulf coast of the Yucatán Peninsula.

Quetzil E. Castañeda is Associate Professor in Anthropology and Founding Director of OSEA—The Open School of Ethnography and Anthropology (www.osea-cite.org). He is also Adjunct Professor in Latin American and Caribbean Studies and Research Associate in Anthropology at Indiana University. His areas of specialization include Mexico, Maya peoples and culture, tourism, ethnography of archaeology, heritage studies, ethnographic fieldwork methodologies, history of anthropology, and anthropological ethics. Castañeda is a visual anthropologist. He has curated exhibitions of Maya art in the USA and Mexico and he co-produced an award-winning ethnographic film on new age tourism at Chichén Itzá.

Ben Feinberg is a Professor of Cultural Anthropology and the Chair of the Division of Social Sciences at Warren Wilson College in Asheville, North Carolina. Most of his research focuses on the negotiation of identity in indigenous Mexico. He is the author of *The Devil's Book of Culture: History, Mushrooms, and Caves in Southern Mexico* (University of Texas Press, 2003).

Carla Guerrón Montero is Assistant Professor of Anthropology at the University of Delaware. She holds joint appointments with the Latin American Studies, Black American Studies, and Women's Studies programme. She is a cultural and applied anthropologist who specializes in the African Diaspora in Latin America and the Caribbean. Her areas of expertise include tourism, globalization, and transnationalism, as well as gender, race/ethnicity, and identity.

Walter E. Little is Associate Professor of Anthropology at the University at Albany, SUNY. His research focus is political economy, tourism and cultural heritage, handicraft producers and vendors, and identity politics in Guatemala. He is the author of *Mayas in the Marketplace: Tourism, Globalization, and Cultural Identity* (University of Texas Press, 2005) and co-editor with Timothy J. Smith of *Harvest of Violence Revisited: Mayas in Post-War Guatemala* (University of Alabama Press, 2009).

Keely B. Maxwell is an environmental anthropologist and Assistant Professor of Environmental Studies at Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Her research is on Andean human-environment relations and the cultural politics of heritage conservation. She is presently an Agrarian Studies Fellow at Yale University.

Lynn A. Meisch is Professor of Anthropology at Saint Mary's College of California, Moraga. She has conducted research and published on traditional crafts (especially textiles) and ethnic identity, indigenous rights, tourism, and globalization in Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia since 1973.

Zoila S. Mendoza, a Peruvian anthropologist, received her Masters and Ph.D. degrees in Anthropology at the University of Chicago and is currently Professor of Native American Studies at the University of California, Davis. She is the author of *Shaping Society through Dance* (University of Chicago Press, 2000) and *Creating our Own* (Duke University Press, 2008) and of many journal articles and book chapters in English and Spanish dealing with issues of performance and identity politics in the Peruvian Andes. She is also the teacher and director of the Quechua programme at Davis.

ALAN MIDDLETON is Emeritus Professor of Urban Studies at Birmingham City University and Director of the Governance Foundation. He has over 30 years experience of research and consultancy in the development of community-based planning strategies in the UK and has worked as a consultant for the United Nations on Human Rights, Democracy and Development in Mongolia, Indonesia, Pakistan, Mexico, Ecuador and Bolivia.

BEATRICE SIMON is a cultural anthropologist who has done extensive fieldwork in Pisac, Peru within the framework of CEDLA's research programme *Incatourism in the Andean Highlands*. In December 2008, she defended her PhD thesis at the University of Amsterdam on tourism, frontstage presentation, backstage meanings and local ideas on sustainability in the Peruvian Andes.

GRIET STEEL, cultural anthropologist, did research on tourism and street vendors within the framework of CEDLA research programme *Incatourism in the Andean Highlands*. She defended her dissertation at the University of Utrecht in October 2008. Currently she works as a post-doc researcher at IOB (Institute of Development Policy and Management) in Antwerp.

GABRIELA VARGAS-CETINA is Professor of Anthropology at the Universidad Autónoma de Yucatán in Mérida, Mexico. Her work, informed by post-structuralism, globalization and economic anthropology, has centred on organizations (especially cooperatives), and on expressive culture (mainly music and dance). She has published on the cooperative movement in Mexico, cooperatives among rural producers in Sardinia (Italy) and Yucatán and Chiapas (Mexico), on the Powwow ceremonial in Alberta (Canada), and on music in Chiapas and Yucatán (Mexico).

ANNELOU YPEIJ is Assistant Professor of Cultural Anthropology at CEDLA. She was involved in the CEDLA research programme *Incatourism in the Andean Highlands* as a post-doc researcher. She is co-editor with Annelies Zoomers of *La ruta andina. Turismo y desarrollo sostenible en Perú y Bolivia* (Quito: Abya Yala etc., 2006). Her research focuses on tourism, gender and urban poverty.

INDEX

Afro-Antillians (Panamá) 56–8, 62, 64–7
Agrarian reforms, see: Land reforms
Agriculture 118, 134, 138, 178, 183–5, 187–90
Anthropologists 2, 11, 17, 48, 58, 62, 71, 142, 145–6, 152–3
Anthropology 47–50, 62, 80
Antigua 11, 206, 217–44
Artesanías 141–60, 207
Authenticity 12–3, 16, 46, 71, 94, 98–101, 104, 111–2, 114, 119, 125, 144–5, 148, 151–2, 188,193, 206–7, 255, 292
Aymara 142, 146
Ayni 138–9, 190

Balladares, Ernesto Pérez 51
Bingham, Hiram 30–1, 165

CTTC, Centre for Traditional Textiles of Cuzco 144, 146, 152
CEDEAP, Centro de Estudios Afro-Panameños 57 note 11, 67
Centro Qosqo de Arte Nativo 27, 34–40
Chawaitiri 121, 136–7, 144
Chicha 166, 191–2
Chichén Itzá 11, 69, 106, 264–95
Cholo, see: Mestizaje
Class 12, 49, 62, 64, 85, 94, 100, 106, 215, 224–6, 256
  lower 35, 64, 77, 105
  middle 1, 64, 66, 77, 85, 104–5, 107, 171, 201, 203–5, 208, 212, 214–5, 224, 226, 238
  upper 57, 64, 75, 94, 105–7, 201, 215
Correa, Ms Mayin 53–5
Cortés, Hernán 108–9, 113
Cosio, Felix 32
Cosio, José Gabriel 23, 32
Cuba 77–8, 109, 264
CULTUR, Patronato de las Unidades de Servicios Culturales y Turísticos del Estado de Yucatán 282
Cultural encounters 4, 50, 59, 62, 70, 90–1, 94, 100–2, 112–4, 122, 139–40, 142, 147–9
Cuzco 7, 9, 11, 22–44, 161–76, 206
  municipal regulations 33, 40

Ecotourism 12, 51–2, 256
Ejidos 75, 251, 259, 275, 284
Endara, Guillermo 51
Ethnicity 8, 24 note 1, 27, 29, 45, 46 note 1, 48–58, 62–3, 65–6, 68, 100, 122, 145, 178, 210, 212–3, 215–6, 222, 226, 227 note 3, 249, 278–9, 292
Ethnic tourism 245
EZLN 263, 289–90

Fairs 47–50
Festivals 34, 60, 73, 85, 89–90, 164
Festivities 84–5, 87, 163, 209
  Semana Santa 211–13
Folklore 22, 24 note 1, 25–26, 34, 42, 67, 70, 163, 207, 211, 244

García, José Uriel 22, 27–9, 32, 163
Giesecke, Albert 30–1, 34
Guevara, Ché 103, 107–9, 113
Guidebooks 5, 31–2, 70, 73–4, 122, 164, 230
Guides 9, 32, 53, 62–4, 120, 128, 132–4, 137, 150, 152, 155, 164, 178, 188, 191, 193, 226, 277

Hacienda 189, 209–10, 245–61, 266, 284
Henequen 75–7, 245–52, 257–9, 261
Heritage 1, 5–6, 10–12, 29, 59, 68, 70–1, 90–1, 117, 122, 137, 140, 163, 173–4, 176, 178, 182–4
  tourism 51, 142, 199–201
Heterotopia (Foucault) 223–4
Hippies 2, 93, 97–8, 102, 105–6
Hotels 3, 33–4, 97, 141–2, 166, 171, 180, 214, 235, 245–61, 267–8, 274, 286
Huautla 93–114
Huayno 41

Inca Trail 177–8, 180, 191, 194
Indigenismo 9, 22–26, 30, 43, 104–7, 163–4

Indigenous 188
  activism 74–5, 206, 241–3, 263, 289–90, 292
  images of 1, 8–9, 26–9, 38–40, 42, 52, 55, 62, 98, 104–5, 114, 142–5, 147, 163–4, 174–5, 186, 190, 193, 195, 199–201, 204–11, 213, 215–6, 290
  populations 1–2, 7–10, 53, 55–57, 63–8, 93, 151–4, 158, 160, 194, 206–7, 208–10, 212–6, 218, 246, 249, 279
IDB, Inter-American Development Bank 202
INAH, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia 265, 273–7, 281–3, 285–9
INC, Instituto Nacional de Cultura 178–9, 182, 194–6
INGUAT, Instituto Guatemalteco del Turismo 230, 232
INRENA, Instituto de Recursos Naturales 178–9, 182–4, 187–8, 191, 193, 195–6
IPAT, Instituto Panameño de Turismo 51
Inti Raymi 163, 174, 209
Investments 83, 252–4

Jewellery 126, 142, 145, 153

Kuna 51–3, 55–7, 63–4, 67

Ladino 206, 218, 222, 224–7, 235–8, 241–4
Land 132, 136, 138, 185–9, 209–10, 246, 250–1, 254, 258, 261, 275, 284–5
Land reforms 7, 189, 194, 210, 251, 258, 261, 275, 284, 286
Langdon, Kenneth 98–100, 102, 106
Legislation 51, 173, 178–9, 190, 219, 222, 233, 251, 263, 275, 283–4, 287, 290–1

Machu Picchu 2, 30–3, 142, 155, 165, 177–86, 189, 194, 196
Malinche, La 108–9, 113
Markets 117, 120, 143, 146–7, 150, 157–9, 174, 194, 204–5, 214, 225, 231, 253, 268, 275, 285, 290
Mayas 7, 75, 206, 218–44, 249, 290–2
Mérida 69, 78–91, 245–8, 264–6, 275, 292
Mestizaje 22, 24, 27–9, 51–2, 76, 131 note 21, 163, 244
Mexican Revolution 251, 258, 266
Migration 5, 7, 41, 66, 95, 138, 170, 205, 214–5, 267
Millenium Development Goals 3
Misión Peruano de Arte Incaico 27, 39, 41
Municipal regulations 172–5, 199, 202–4, 215–6, 286–8
Music 25, 28, 33, 36, 39, 41–2, 54, 66, 69–91, 111, 154, 186, 207–11, 242

Nation-building 45–47, 65–7, 278, 279 note 3
Nature 6, 100, 128, 177, 182–4, 195–6
Neo-indianismo 23–29, 35, 42–3, 163–4, 292
NGOs 5, 121, 136–7, 140, 142, 145–6, 153, 164, 241, 248, 263, 289–90
Noriega, Manuel 51
Nostalgia 39, 50, 54, 59–60, 107, 114, 165, 250, 257–8

Onda, La 105–6
Otavalo 9, 143, 145, 147, 151, 154, 156–9

Palapas 271, 273–76, 288, 290
Panama 45–68
Parks 13, 47–51, 62, 182
PAN, Partido de Acción Nacional 81–2, 85–6, 286
PRI, Partido Revolucionario Institucional 81–2, 85, 111, 286
Patrimonio 223, 275 note 2, 278–80, 284
Peace Corps 145–6, 156–9
Pisaq 117–40
Polleras 53, 55, 130–2, 136
Poverty 3, 7, 11, 66 note 21, 129, 162, 168, 170–1, 173, 186–7, 195, 206, 214, 248–9
PROMPERU 166, 186

Quechua 37–8, 128, 135, 138, 164, 190, 194
Quintana Roo 247, 264
Quito 11, 199–216

Race, see: Ethnicity
Racism 24 note 1, 65, 66 note 21, 105–6, 204, 214–5, 218–9, 226 note 2, 243–4

Romantic images 9–10, 53, 77, 79, 174, 185, 193, 250

Sabina, María 94, 97, 100, 103–4, 107–12
Sácamefotos 120–34, 171
Sacred Valley (*Valle Sagrada*) 2, 118, 178 note 3
Security/cleaning up 123–5, 166–8, 172–3, 201–6, 256
Sendero Luminoso 8, 155, 165
Shamans 94, 101, 107, 109, 208, 292
Sierra Mazateca 95–6, 100
Sisal, see: Henequen
Sustainability 3–4, 10, 136–40, 153, 158, 160, 185–6, 188, 196, 248–9, 254, 261

Tejedoras 117–40
Tejidos 117, 141, 147–50, 157–8
  weaving 122, 151–3
Textiles, see: Tejidos
Theatre metaphor (Goffman) 118–20
Torres de Araúz, Reina 62
Tourism 1, 141
  backpack 2, 165
  geography 12–13
  income 2, 126, 132–5
  industry 3
  promotion 29–30, 37, 54, 60–61, 70–2, 84–5, 118, 142–4, 164–6, 250, 257
Tourist bubble 168
Tourist gaze 8–9, 47, 49, 63, 70–1, 91, 114, 126, 168, 173, 175
Tourists
  numbers 2–3, 40 note 38, 61, 69, 141, 155, 165–6, 232
  perceptions of 59, 62, 65, 97–8, 128–9, 145, 204–7, 231–2
Transnational activism 71–2
  companies 3, 83, 261
Transportation 3, 74–7, 141, 167, 255–6
Tri, El 97, 110

Unda, Humberto Vidal 29, 38
UNESCO 5, 11, 165–7, 169, 172–3, 177–9, 182–3, 195–6, 201, 217, 219–24, 229, 232–3, 243–4, 249, 291

Valcárcel, Luis E. 26–8, 163
Vendors 142, 145, 147, 149, 151–2, 162–76, 186 note 9, 193, 202–6, 217–44, 263, 268–9, 271–7, 281, 285–92

Wasson, Gordon 95
World Bank 190
World Heritage Site 167, 172, 177, 201–17, 219–3, 227, 232–3, 267–8, 278–9
WTO, World Tourism Organization 137

Y tu Mamá también 108
Yucatán 69–91, 245

CEDLA Latin America Studies

(for vols. 1-93 visit cedla.nl)

General Editor: Michiel Baud

94. Ros-Tonen, M.A.F. (ed.) In Collaboration with Heleen van den Hombergh & Annelies Zoomers. *Partnerships in Sustainable Forest Resource Management: Learning from Latin America*. 2007. ISBN 978 90 04 15339 4
95. Brett, R. *Social Movements, Indigenous Politics and Democratisation in Guatemala, 1985-1996*. 2008. ISBN 978 90 04 16552 6
96. Baud, M. & Ypeij, A. (eds.) *Cultural Tourism in Latin America: The Politics of Space and Imagery*. 2009. ISBN 978 90 04 17640 9

brill.nl/clas