

“Look, Son, This is Your Country:” Spacializing Influence on Perceptions of Indigeneity

by

Evangeline Giaconia

Honors Thesis

Appalachian State University

Submitted to the Department of Anthropology
and The Honors College
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Bachelor of Science

May, 2018

Approved by:

Timothy Smith, Ph.D., Thesis Director

Jon Carter, Ph.D., Second Reader

Rebecca Witter, Ph.D., Third Reader

Timothy Smith, Ph.D., Honors Director, Department of Anthropology

Jefford Vahlbusch, Ph.D., Dean, The Honors College

ABSTRACT

AMUKISHMI, an indigenous women-led ecotourism cooperative in Amazonian Ecuador, caters to tourists while pursuing goals of cultural valorization. In AMUKISHMI, and all other ecotourism operations, space is a critical mediator through which audiences interpret performances of indigeneity. By analyzing case studies of performances in the cooperative and in a Quito mall, I demonstrate how the control of space (or lack thereof) is critical in shaping how audiences perceive indigeneity, as well as impacting the women's pursuit of their strategic goals.

This thesis, as well as the two years of work (in the field and out of it) would not have been possible without the monumental amount of support I have received. My research partner, Abigail Rubio, has made this research and thesis possible with her unwavering heart, friendship, and determination. I also want to extend my deepest thanks to Dr. Timothy Smith, for his unending patience and support since I joined the anthropology department, through the field school, independent research, and this thesis. My sincere gratitude also goes to Dr. Jon Carter and Dr. Rebecca Witter for their guidance and advice. And finally, thanks to my friends in the community of Shiripuno who have shared their lives with me over the last few summers, and hopefully more to come.

Jaunty recorded Kichwa music blares over the speakers, blending with the noise of dozens of shoppers flooding through the Quito mall, each preoccupied with their individual itinerary. But an unusual display today makes them pause: arranged in a circle in the center of the floor, several booths have been erected by indigenous people in colorful traditional dress. They sell products made of seeds and *pita* fiber which contrast sharply with the synthetics of the shoe store and ice cream booth nearby. I sit on a railing beside a giant sign for churros and watch the shoppers take in the anachronistic display, then flock towards the women who I am here with. In just a few hours the women are nearly out of products, and shoppers are literally buying the necklaces off them.

Around us are other cooperatives from the same province, resplendent in different combinations of traditional dress and “modern” clothing. They sell jewelry, massages, chocolate, and more. Children and adults alike rustle as they move in their palm skirts and jingle with beads. Each booth displays a miniaturized rainforest, complete with fake flowers blooming behind the heads of the vendors.

It only takes three people to run AMUKISHMI’s booth, so the rest of the women cluster beside and behind a giant sign depicting a cartoon Kichwa woman. Several of them ask me to take a picture of them beside their logo counterpart, under the words reading “Napo Ancestral.” When it is getting closer to showtime, a dance performance, the women change from blue blouses to grass skirts, taking partial cover behind the sign and forming a wall of bodies. Thus far, several men have taken pictures with the women without permission, intruding on their personal space. Once the women are in their grass skirts, the director of the event walks up to a few of them. “Go walk around,” she tells them. They are walking advertisements.

Introduction

Shiripuno is a largely Kichwa community in the Napo province, home to a group of women who formed the organization known as AMUKISHMI: *Asociación de Mujeres Kichwa en Shiripuno y Misahuallí* (Association of Kichwa Women in Shiripuno and Misahuallí). AMUKISHMI is a women-run tourism cooperative operated by community members who live in Shiripuno, a tourism site three minutes from the residential area. The program is dedicated to improving the lives of Kichwa women in Shiripuno, supporting and strengthening their community, and valorizing Kichwa culture. The main attraction of the ecolodge is the traditional dance that the women perform for tourists, supplemented by a traditional meal, a tour of the *charga* (garden), a discussion of Kichwa spirituality, and a chocolate-making demonstration. During my last summer in Shiripuno in 2017, I traveled with the women of AMUKISHMI to a dance performance in a Quito mall. This thesis explores the significance of this trip as compared to the typical ecolodge performance.

Space is revealing about the nature of a community: its values, conflicts, and unspoken rules. The space of the ecolodge and the space of the mall are entirely different, yet, in some respects, very similar. Each performance had disparate impacts on the audience viewing the dance. Here I contend that the control of performance space is a critical mediator of how an audience perceives performances of indigeneity. I show that the women's level of control over their space shapes audience perception of them: as indigenous women, as commodities, and as performers with strategic goals.

Following a brief overview of my methods and background, a literature review provides the theoretical background of my argument. I discuss the social construction of space and methods to exercise and maintain control over it, and I situate space within the discussion of

cultural commodification and ethnic tourism. I then enumerate the multiple influences that contribute to constructing the commodified indigenous persona and indigenous space and how these aspects may be used strategically. I will then provide overviews of the ecotourism-extraction nexus, a brief history of ecotourism in the Napo province and Shiripuno in particular, and a history of AMUKISHMI.

My ethnographic section describes a “typical” tourist routine performed for tourists in AMUKISHMI. I examine how indigeneity is performed in the ecolodge, how the women maintain control over this space, and their strategic goals for doing so, specifically the valorization of Kichwa culture. I also assess “atypical” instances in the tourist script, characterized by the women losing influence over how their performance is perceived. In contrast to ecolodge performances, I describe the mall performance, a situation similar and different from the ecolodge in many respects. I focus on how the women lost and regained control, culminating in their reassertion of their strategic goals. Finally, I apply my theoretical foundation to these examples, contending that the control of performance space is crucial in influencing how audiences perceive performances of indigeneity.

The academic literature on community tourism has largely been focused on questions of authenticity and cultural commodification, analyzing the multifaceted processes by which culture becomes commodity, distilled into a product on the terms of consumers who are primed to view performances of indigeneity through an essentializing lens. I argue that space is also an integral factor in whether someone is deemed authentic. Space is socially constructed, encoded with meaning and norms. Who, at any point in time, is in control of the performance space influences how that performance will be perceived. Thus, it is not just the nature of commodified identity that must be considered, but the space in which it occurs, as a

strong influence on audience perceptions of authenticity and indigeneity.

Definitions and Methodology

In the literature, cultural valorization, or the process of ascribing value to cultural identity, has been described in terms of revitalization, preservation, and empowerment. I use the term “valorization” to describe AMUKISHMI’s attempts to preserve and encourage aspects of Kichwa culture. This is the term many members of AMUKISHMI used to describe the purpose of their cooperative. AMUKISHMI ascribes value to Kichwa culture, or at least particular aspects of it, by making it visible, knowable, and available to the youth and community members, as well as tourists. Rather than suggesting culture has first been “de-valorized” or is dying out, it evokes the sense that the cooperative is trying to ascribe a sense of pride and validity to their culture, something very poignant in the face of the challenges indigenous people face in Ecuador today.

Additionally, it is necessary to differentiate “ecotourism” and “community tourism.” Ecotourism is characterized by community-led, sustainable tourism focusing on conservation and often adding in indigenous cultural experiences to the tour (Smith, 2014: 3). It is often coupled with the economic development of indigenous communities. I will continue to use the term “ecotourism” when it is referred to in relevant literature. However, AMUKISHMI itself does not use the term ecotourism. Instead, the phrase “community tourism” is privileged by the community, so this is the term I will use for AMUKISHMI’s initiative specifically.

My research findings draw from ethnographic field research conducted during two field seasons in Shiripuno, Ecuador. During May of 2016, I attended the Ethnographic Field

school led by the Appalachian State Anthropology Department. In a group totaling ten students, we stayed in Misahuallí, a town nearby Shiripuno, and walked every day to Shiripuno. Our days were split into three main sections: Kichwa lessons, cultural activities, and interviews. During this trip we conducted a total of fifteen semi-structured interviews focused on three areas of interest: activism, conservation, and gender dynamics. These interviews lasted from twenty minutes to an hour long, and were conducted with men and women of the community.

In the summer of 2017, my research partner Amanda and I returned independently to Shiripuno during the month of June. We stayed in the AMUKISHMI ecolodge in Shiripuno, working as volunteers for the cooperative. Our main duties included washing dishes, serving food to tourists, and general upkeep of the kitchens. During this time we conducted an additional ten semi-structured interviews, primarily with women from the cooperative, but also with the shaman and a young man volunteering at the lodge. Our interviewees were intentionally intergenerational, ranging from approximately eighteen to forty years of age. We also conducted informal interviews: members of the community were generally more than willing to provide information about our interests—these interviews were conducted during *mingas*, sitting in the kitchen, or making jewelry.

Lastly the bulk of my data comes from participant observation, the result of living in close quarters with a set of people for several months. I participated in daily community life, studied Kichwa, worked as a volunteer in the ecolodge, and attended a number of community and province-wide meetings, as well as the aforementioned trip to Quito.

Situating AMUKISHMI

Ecuador is situated in the northwestern corner of South America, below Columbia and above Peru. It is an incredibly ecologically diverse region, with four main ecological areas: the Amazonian Oriente in the east, the mountainous Sierra in the west, the Coast even further west, and the Galapagos islands (Encyclopedia Britannica, E). The country is divided into twenty-one provinces. In the Pichincha province is Quito, the capital, situated in the Sierra region at 2,850 meters in the Andes. It is a popular tourism destination, in equal parts for its biodiversity, its position on the equator, and its cultural heritage sites, especially the “Old Town,” a Unesco World Heritage Site (Encyclopedia Britannica, Q).

The Napo province is in the central eastern region of the country, firmly in the Oriente, part of the upper Amazon basin. The population is roughly 103,000, and between 40 and 50% of the population are indigenous. The capital of Napo is the southern city Tena, population 43,000, a hub of tourism agencies that operate throughout the province, capitalizing on its natural resources to attract visitors who wish to experience jungle tours in the Amazon rainforest, adventure tourism, and cultural tourism. Misahuallí is a small town fifteen miles south of Tena, sitting alongside the Napo River. Jungle tours often launch from Misahuallí. Shiripuno is a satellite community to the southeast of Misahuallí. It is a small indigenous Kichwa community, which is composed of houses, a school, and AMUKISHMI’s community tourism lodge. When tourists take a boat to the AMUKISHMI lodge, they follow the Napo from Misahuallí to the lodge directly. By doing so, they skip Shiripuno proper.

In the residential area of Shiripuno, three rows of colorfully-painted cinderblock houses form a rough rectangle, a soccer field just beyond the Shiripuno limits. One community member runs a small store out of his home, selling snacks. The school is composed of three

run-down buildings, colorful but faded murals on the walls, and a broken playground set. Behind the school is a tilapia farm, covered in netting to keep away birds. In it, almost invisible in the depths, writhe thousands of growing fish. Chickens and dogs wander around at will, but never seem to get lost. Families either live with multiple generations in the same house, or else very close to each other, next door or down the road, which is gravel and covered in potholes that become small ponds when it rains, as it does frequently.

AMUKISHMI is a five minute walk down the road from Shiripuno, bracketed on either side by *chagras*, or gardens, from which the women harvest firewood, yucca, limes, and more. Entering the ecolodge is to enter another world from Shiripuno: it is the women's work space, but also a leisure space. Women are in the majority, children are more present here as well. More care is taken in its upkeep: the paths are swept, potholes are filled in, and repairs and additions are constantly being made. Here the women guide tourists through an experience of Kichwa culture, where they may also stay the night. The lodge is also a launching point for jungle tours, a home base of sorts for tourists who will stay in the area for a few days with a tour agency. The cooperative has been in operation for twelve years. A large number of women from the community run AMUKISHMI, men run the canoes which take tourists to and from the ecolodge, and children participated in the dances, practicing to become full members once they are old enough.

The Social Production of Space

It is first necessary to distinguish between space and place. Broadly, space encompasses materiality: sound projects through space, a body moves around in space. Place is relational: place is formed through experience and emotion. People existing in a place, an embodied

assemblage of history and memories, have special practices. Edward Casey, however, argues that space is also formed through experience, and the traditional conceptualization of “place” layered on top of a preexisting “space” is in fact much more entangled (Casey 1996).

Henri Lefebvre contends that space is not a preexisting, empty container to be filled, but is itself socially produced (1991). Though this makes space a product, space does not act as other produced objects, but rather exists in a dialectic. Even as space is produced and reproduced socially, it constrains and influences those producing it (Molotch 1993, 887). Lefebvre conceptualized space as existing in a triad of physical, mental, and social spaces (Lefebvre 1991). Through this triad, space can be conceptualized as a process of production. Setha Low advances the necessity of “specializing culture,” of locating social relations and practices in space (2000). She considers how space becomes meaningful to individuals, employing the dual concepts of social production and social construction of space. The social *production* consists of factors which result in the creation of a material setting, while social *construction* is the process by which memories, thought, emotions, and further subjectivities become woven into a space. To the user, these subjectivities are embedded into the spaces as much as any architectural feature. As Keith Basso suggests, places are “reflections.” They do not produce their own affect *ex nihilo*, but express the thoughts and feelings of their users (1996, 109).

Public spaces, especially, reveal public values, acceptable public activities, and a community’s ideal version of itself (Miller 2001: 189). Conflict surrounding the building of a public space masks cultural and political ramifications at every stage, as does examining what and who is visible or invisible in a space. People fight not just over land, but about the sort of reality it constitutes (Molotch 1993, 888). In an ecolodge, the space reveals not only

cultural values (what traits the community deemed significant enough to perform) but also the inherent rules of ethnic tourism (the processes by which they chose those traits).

The space of a tourism site is unique. Walter Little notes that “identity constructions...are structured around the overlapping constellations of social relations that emerge embedded in local, regional, national, and global spaces” (2004: 16). In ethnic tourism, tourists and indigenous actors are each continually reconstructing difference and identity as they move into and out of each others’ overlapping spaces, which themselves may shift. Just as Little argues identity is formed, so too do these overlapping “constellations of social relations” socially construct space. In consonance with Judith Butler (1988) on the performance of gender, Basso suggests that people are constantly performing acts that reproduce and express their sense of place (1996: 110). “Meanings encoded in the landscape are not passive mnemonics that simply add historical contexts for living; rather, they are active translators of everyday practice and human experience” (Low 2000, 247). Within a touristic space, the constant influx of foreign tourists mingling with the local indigenous women, children, and men makes it a uniquely socially constructed space that is constantly emerging. Thus the tourist space is at the same time contested and cooperatively built, both materially and socially.

It is a reflection the myriad conflicts inherent in the aspects of ethnic tourism described below, a contested and cooperatively built space, materially and socially, which informs how those same visitors perceive their hosts.

My two case studies occur at the AMUKISHMI ecolodge and the Centro Comercial Ñaquito, two dramatically different spaces of performance. In the next two sections, I will discuss the nature of their constructions and how these factors influence the audience’s

reception of the performance.

The Space of the Ecolodge: Romantic Geography and Hyperreality

Ecolodges must strike a tenuous balance. Davidov suggests that lodges are liminal spaces through which tourists enter the rainforest, while still being built around their standard amenities. They usually have a “primitive aesthetic,” emphasizing the exotic location and commitment to sustainability, sustaining and intensifying “the experience of radical alterity” while still catering to tourist standards of hygiene and comfort (2011: 480). Tourists may flirt with the idea that the wild, strange, and primitive is just outside their window, when in fact the ecolodge is a space managed minutely to produce precisely this affect. The exotic is produced by decontextualization, isolating cultural artifacts and practices and re-contextualizing in a liminal, performative space. Thus, “there is a fine line between the exotic and the alien—between differences that attract and difference that offend, unnerve, or threaten” (Conklin 1997: 723). Like indigenous bodies, ecolodges must be attractive in their difference, but not so different that they frighten.

Simulation “threatens the difference between ‘true’ and ‘false,’ between ‘real’ and ‘imaginary’” (Baudrillard 1981: 5). Simulation destroys the original, replacing it with a simulacrum that refers to nothing except for itself, replacing reality with hyperreality. Umberto Eco applies hyperreality to space, in which hyperreal spaces aim to not just copy the original space, but to be superior to it. Here the copy comes to be seen as more authentic than the original. Trips to and experiences in these hyperreal spaces are “encounters with a magic past” (Eco 1986: 10). These places infuse the audience with a “spatiotemporal confusion,” the centuries past hazing together. Authenticity, argues Eco, is visual. At

community tourism lodges, tourists are presented with visual markers of authenticity and alterity: dress, food, spirituality, dance. However, the visual is only one side of the romanticism evoked by environments that resist human habitation (Tuan 2013). The forest contains unfamiliar noise and odors overwhelming to the western senses. Yi-Fu Tuan describes how the western romanticization of natural extremes is characterized by polarized values: binaries such as light/dark, mind/earth, and high/low underlie the attraction of westerners to certain environments. (2013) A rainforest, for example, is stereotypically dark, corporeal, and low. The people who visit a rainforest, meanwhile, are light, intellectual, and high.

As Davidov has shown, a “rainforest” is a category which includes its inhabitants, as the ecoprimitive gaze merges indigenous peoples with nature itself (2011). “Western consumers...come in search of their fantasies, externalized against a dramatical exotic geographic landscape” (Davidov 2011: 482). Thus, Tuan locates the draw to the rainforest as a nostalgia for lifeways westerners perceive as simpler and more primitive. Visitors to the Amazon struggle in locating their experiences on “old intellectual maps,” rediscovering the region as if for the first time (Raffles 2002, 6).

The Space of the Mall

A mall may be considered a synecdoche for a city. Malls are populated with massive numbers of diverse, roving individuals and an accumulation of products of diverse origin and purpose, arranged for convenience. Where else but in a city can one find so many people and things condensed so compactly? Malls are also, of course, overwhelmingly consumptive, commodified spaces.

Mark Augé (1995) coined the term “non-places,” which exist in contrast to so-called “anthropological spaces.” Anthropological spaces are imagined as having firm boundaries, a spatial arrangement of group identity, and are treated, however problematically, as a defined whole. Non-places, on the other hand, are more explicitly not relational, historical, or concerned with identity. They are places through which anonymous, transient individuals pass quickly. If, for the purposes of comparison, the ecolodge can tentatively be conceived of as an anthropological space, then the Iñaquito Mall is a non-place.

Non-places are dominated by masses of people, each one pursuing an individual goal—they are places in which “thousands of individual itineraries...momentarily converge” (Rapport 2001: 360). The mall is situated in an international city of travelers, consumed by a multitude of individual quests for consumption, and mediated through text (another characteristic of a non-place): advertisements, price, tags, numbers on cash registered. A mall is a non-place subsumed by capitalism and consumption, as well as hyperreality, especially on the day that a group of women from AMUKISHMI performed a dance there.

We can trace the evolution of mall displays from shop windows developing around the seventeenth century. With the confluence of shops shifting their aesthetic displays from signboards to shop interiors and luxury shops becoming the meeting places of high society, it became of increasing importance for shop owners to put more and more money into “fitting up” their stores with glass, mirrors, and lights (Schivelbusch 1988: 143). Display windows developed as a kind of stage upon which advertising was performed, the window panes acting “like glass on a framed painting,” conveying freshness, refinement, and, like a framed painting, an element of superiority (1988: 147). From ever-more-theatrical window displays, urged on by developments in gas lighting, the Paris arcades developed as a new center of

night life as well as an aesthetic display. Benjamin was fascinated by the arcades, viewing them as the flagships of the modern metropolis (Merrifield 2000: 25). From arcades the progression continued to department stores, and then to shopping malls.

Malls, unlike their precursors, turn inwards—James Farrell labels them “introverted,” creating intentional communities of commerce (2003: 4). Malls are curious spaces, at once public and private spaces. Shopping centers have fought to keep any kind of politics outside them, they regulate speech, dress, and conduct, spreading the image of a “public” space only in order to produce a positive affect and foster consumption. Malls have come to be seen as a staple American culture, and American malls have become tourist attractions themselves (Farrell 2003: 250). But malls have spread across the world, and have similar characteristics. They encapsulate the world, presenting exorcized images of world products to consumers to produce the feeling of having the world at your fingertips. Also notable is the use of nature in malls, in the form of advertising, potted plants, water installations, and other uses of natural motifs. This use of nature to naturalize a purely commercial environment encourages consumers to think romantically about nature. Though the unsustainable conditions of mall culture decimate nature, strategic leafy ornamentation obscures this. “We symbolically take sides with nature by buying a cultural construction of it” (Farrell 2003: 251). However, existing on the underside of this worldliness and naturalness of consumer goods is the worldly labor that produces them, of which consumers are (deliberately) unaware, often in atrocious sweatshop conditions (2003: 243).

As they have spread across the world and into Latin America, malls evoke American consumerist ideals, market to a global youth culture, and often import name-brand American products. “Latin American malls allow the middle classes to shop like the consumer classes

of the developed world” (Farrell 2003: 255). Malls everywhere evoke feelings of plenty, freedom, abundance, leisure, and individualism in global consumers. However, Arlene Dávila warns us not to reduce Latin American malls to simple evocations of American culture, rather than their being particular to a place and time. They anchor debates about modernity and the future of Latin American society, as they are deeply intertwined with urban growth, the growth of the “new middle class,” and class differentiation (Dávila 2016).

Though it can be tempting to consider malls as public spaces, those who do not “belong” soon become aware that this is an illusion. There are invisible barriers in malls which keep out those who aren’t wanted—generally poor and dark-skinned. These tactics include training mall security to target people based on markers of lower class, undesirable individuals being followed until they leave, and removal of benches and seating areas from spots that become popular among unwanted visitors. Malls are not public spaces, but spaces that have been “commercially conditioned” (Dávila 2016: 168). Though malls are purported as places for identity to be exercised, proper behavior from consumers is demanded if they wish to remain.

Malls may be characterized as “non-places,” where a multitude of individual purposes converge, international, but heavily regulated in terms of consumers. They are not public spaces, but arise from a history of class-based marketing, first to high society in 17th century Paris, and now to the “new middle class.” They are purely consumerist spaces, selling hyperreal representations of modernity, as well as specialized products from all over the world.

Control of Space

Every place articulates peoples' subjectivity, their experiences and emotions engrained in material culture (Richardson 1982). Those material objects, in their contexts, convey to people what is happening around them and what they should be doing. "Material culture is our intersubjective world expressed in physical substance" (Richardson 1982: 422). Individuals react to this conveyed information as well as the actions of others, creating an explanatory image of what and who they are (Richardson 2003). How people respond to this materiality determines what it means for people to be *in* a place, and for situations to be *of* a place, allowing us to say something broad about the quality of a place. Further, those who do not fit into the schema—those who are out of place—will not be allowed to be. The conflict over the construction of space is critical in understanding negotiations of representations of cultural values (Low 2000:152). Looking at who or what is visible—who is tolerated, and who is rejected—reflects the controlled representation of a space.

Erving Goffman lays out a structure of patterns of conduct in everyday life, which can give us insight into social organization and unspoken rules (1963). As there are proper and improper acts in any place, there must be norms that influence how individuals act in any given situation (Goffman 1963: 5). Unspoken rules act as methods of control on conduct in public spaces. There are various nuances to these "rules of exclusion," but the one underlying all situations is that every participant "fit in" (Goffman 1963: 11). When someone does not fit in, they reveal that they are alien to the situation in some way, shape, or form, be it in class, dress, or mood. They are not in keeping with the spirit of the situation. Upholding these unspoken rules are one way in which a space may be controlled. In the case of the mall, people who don't "fit in," in appearance for example, may not choose to enter it at all after seeing the general dress code, or racial makeup of the area. Other, more direct methods of

control, are present as well. Actual ownership of space, perceived authority, and decision-making power in a space are all influences in manipulating what occurs in a space. Little documents a family of women who opened their home to tourists as a living demonstration of indigenous life (2013). For tourist visits, they would arrange their home into a perfect model of “traditional” life—blocking off rooms with technology, carefully controlling where the tourists went, and transforming their entire household into a performance space. Their control over this space allow them to strongly influence how tourists perceive them, as ideal indigenous women. Factors in their control include owning their property, allowing them to manipulate it and invite tourists into their place of residence, where the tourists became guests, expected to abide by Goffman’s unspoken patterns of conduct as “guests”, recognizing their hosts as the authority.

These diverse examples of spatially-informed perception and control demonstrate that space is a critical mediator through which ethnicity is performed and consumed. Spatiality can inform how we understand ethnic tourism to play out on the ground.

Marketing Ethnicity

The AMUKISHMI ecolodge is a multifaceted and complex space of performance, yet it is characteristic of all similar tourist lodges that exist under the label of “ethnicity, incorporated” (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009). Through ethnic tourism, culture has become a commodity, forced into shapes which non-native consumers have dictated for easier and more pleasurable consumption.

Culture cannot be reduced down to a single aspect or process. Arjun Appadurai has suggested a definition of culture which, as an ongoing process of construction (much like

space), is focused on differences that mobilize identities—culture as “group identity based on difference” (1996: 15). Cultural tourism markets indigenous others to non-indigenous consumers, who are drawn to an exotic difference from themselves. Ethnic incorporation homogenizes and abstracts, condensing this difference into a consumable unit (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009). However, this dynamic, the Comaroffs argue, is not typical of the usual market model. There is not strict producer/consumer divide in ethnic tourism—the producers of culture, those individuals who “own” it, also consume it, party to their own performance and expression of identity (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009: 27). Tourists, on the other hand, take on a role of production, proliferating and concretizing the performance. Furthermore, this process indicates the expansion of the market past material goods and into ephemeral products like identity.

The ability to commodify ethnicity is predicated on the assumption that ethnicity is something a culture owns, inalienably and intrinsically. This implicitly assumes a definition of culture which is stable enough to be condensed into a timeless product, a list of traits which can be said to belong to one group and not to another. Inherently essentializing, this process contributes to the construction of an oversimplified native other, described further below.

Boundaries between tourism and other cultural and social practices are shrinking. More aspects of identity are merging with touristic discourse, a process of identity construction which occurs due to the increasing influence of tourism (Wood 1998: 224, see also Little 2004: 7). Within a global tourism market, social relations that construct ethnicity are complicated by the inclusion of foreign consumers from around the world.

Like gender, ethnicity is encoded in the continual reiteration of cultural processes, and

may shift over time. Butler conceptualized gender as performative, defined through everyday acts, and equally dynamic, shifting as actors reproduce and alter the script (1988). This abstracted ethnicity manifests in traditional objects, which seem to represent the congealed innate substance of a culture, an indisputable marker of difference which one can buy in a gift shop. These objects, chosen to encapsulate an entire culture, may be called “ethnic markers” (Wood 1998: 222). These markers exist in a dialectic: while they distinguish an indigenous group as “other,” their inherent value is that they *are* symbols of alterity (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009: 27). As an ethnic group’s cultural practices are increasingly shaped by tourism, consumable culture increasingly hinges upon these narrowed ethnic markers, and vice versa—these traits progressively become associated with the “essence” of a culture, becoming shorthand for the culture that displays them. As John Urry succinctly puts it, “the tourist is interested in everything as a sign of itself” (2002: 127).

Cultural Commodification

Traditional commodities tend to be characterized by a loss of “aura” or *geist*. Walter Benjamin observed that “modern people” desire objects to be both easily replicable and closer to themselves—however, through this same process, the objects’ unique essence is worn off in the process (1936). However, he further suggests that we may reinscribe meaning into reproductions to combat this a-contextualizing process by “re-politicizing” them (Benjamin 1936). Touristic ethnic markers, however, may not be characterized by this loss of aura. Instead of steadily losing value with replication, their mass circulation may reaffirm cultural identity, reanimating cultural process (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009: 32).

Many have critiqued cultural commodification according to the notion that commodified

aspects of culture somehow lose their “true meaning” for indigenous peoples, who will lose their cultural identity as a result (Stronza 2001: 270). This formulation implies a static view of culture and indigeneity. However, just because culture is not “destroyed” does not mean indigenous peoples haven't suffered through the process of cultural commodification. More often than not, tourism is controlled by local elite who reap the most benefits. Those who own land control the development of tourism on it, and may sell or lease to international tourism businesses complicit in poor working conditions and pay for local employees (M. Smith 2006). Venture capitalists from the outside look to turn a profit, not empower indigenous groups. Tourism often drives up economic costs which disproportionately affect marginalized groups, resulting in displacement, increased price of goods, and loss of livelihood (Chambers 2000: 36). Additionally, for good or ill, tourism deepens state presence in more marginalized areas through infrastructure, governance, and further methods of social control.

Similarly, tourism may divide a community between those involved in tourism and those not, and between ethnic groups, should one group be “preferred” by tourists (Chambers 2000: 55). As exclusions increase, a greater reliance on biology and genetics over social criteria of ethnicity is developed, a process of ethnic gatekeeping (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009: 65). Tourism may also contribute to increase in crime, either directed towards tourists as easy targets, or due to tourists' desires to experience prohibited activities, such as prostitution or drug use. But perhaps the most critical aspect to consider when talking about the detrimental affects of cultural commodification is the fact that this commodification of native culture always occurs on non-native terms.

Constructions of the “Other”

Contested qualifications of ethnicity and ethnic gatekeeping arise from tourists’ preferences for “authentic” experiences, especially experiences that are authentically “other.” The tourist experience is intimately linked to a narrative of modernity, which draws a strict division between past and present, primitive and modern. Modernity is the “now,” the very tip of the ever-progressing linear timeline, moving steadily away from a primitive past (Dawdy 2010). These static societies become a reference point for defining modernity against (Rosaldo 1989: 108). Just as the East for Edward Said (1978) is characterized by a series of descriptors with which the west defines itself against (exotic, irrational, violent, etc.), so do indigenous peoples provide a baseline to measure non-native peoples’ growth into modernity. The tourist gaze on indigenous peoples is exoticizing and primitivizing, trapping imagined indigenous peoples in a fictional space of ahistorical, unchanging ecological harmony.

The primitive past, however, maintains an allure, defined by Renato Rosaldo as “imperialist nostalgia”—a modern longing for colonial times, and for the very lives which were intentionally destroyed through colonialism (Rosaldo 1989). The “modern” person re-inscribes their own role as a innocent bystander to change, rather than the beneficiaries of a violent colonial heritage. Similarly, Davidov locates the western attraction to the indigenous in colonial-era sensational accounts of “savage” indigenous subjects (2011). Once the “wild” savage signified cultural alterity, inspiring fear and anxiety, but today that wildness has been transformed through the intersection of nostalgia and fantasy into the “ecologically noble savage.” The “ecoprimitive” exists as a critique on the industrialized west, in harmony with nature, simultaneously more primitive and yet more pure than western cultures (Davidov

2011).

Before tourists meet an indigenous person for the first time, they have already preconceived of a native image or simulacra. From mass media, education, and prevalent stereotypes, tourist images of indigenous personhood forms from childhood. Simulations, as previously mentioned, are not merely replications or tricks, but hyperreal constructions that override the original (Baudrillard 1981). Thus, the simulacra refers primarily back to itself—the visitor’s gaze reflected back in a mythological, unevenly co-produced and co-performed vision of indigeneity.

A key element of the hyperreal construction is ahistoricity: the perceived timelessness of a presentation lending itself to the formation of a hyperreal fiction (Eco 1986). Historical context would “allow an escape from the temptations of hyperreality”—the temptation to sink easily into a fiction, happy to have one’s expectations confirmed by the display (Eco 1986: 30). A good ethnic tourism business allows no such context, concealing signs of “modernity” and current issues which indigenous peoples face.

The concept of simulacra may apply specifically to the representation of Native Americans (Vizenor 1994). The image of a native person in the non-native conception has been formed through the inundation of the imagination with hyperreal media representations of indigenous peoples. It begins from the first viewing of Disney’s Pocahontas as a child, and it grows with continued exposure to that colonial nostalgia which exalts the ecologically noble savage, through tourist literature, books, and movies. Subsequently, this simulacrum stands in for indigenous peoples themselves. “Indians must be defined in terms that white men will accept, even if that means re-Indianizing them according to a white man’s idea of what they were like in the past and should logically become in the future” (Deloria 1969: 91).

In the tourism industry, that future looks no different from that past.

Edward Bruner, however, disagrees fundamentally with the application of terms like “simulacra” to tourism, and with binaries like “authentic/inauthentic” and “original/copy” (2005). He argues that this places more value on the authentic and original, and that it implies an “original” in the first place, without taking into account the disparate cultural contexts in which the “originals” and “copies” were produced (Bruner 2005:164). Instead of validating their expectations of authenticity, tourists instead construct personalized meaning from a tourist site. While these critiques are legitimate and critical to keep in mind, I nevertheless consider the categories of simulacra and hyperreality valuable, especially considering their specific application to indigenous peoples in a context where Kichwa women strategically perform their culture for tourists every day.

Westernized Indigeneity

Tourists seek simulacra with which they are familiar, idealized versions of the subject of their gaze—in this case, it is indigenous peoples. Through the lens of this “tourist gaze,” tourists go out into the world to verify their preconceptions (Urry 1990). Bruner, however, critiques the simplicity of this category for denying agency to the tourists themselves (2004: 151). He instead defines the “questioning gaze” of the tourists, which is often doubtful of the veracity of the touristic display. The meaning of authenticity, then, is variable on a tourist-to-tourist basis. It is critical to be mindful of essentializing tourists down to robotic simulacra—after all, Amanda and I were tourists as well as ethnographers at the ecolodge, a fact we were forced to confront often.

Keeping these points in mind, however, it is clear that indigenous touristic spaces and

performers are modeled after non-native simulacra of the indigenous. Vine Deloria makes the same point about the repercussions of anthropologists who go into the field to observe what they already know (1969: 92). Indigenous communities tend to emphasize the ethnic markers that fit tourist conceptions of authenticity, which can lead to declined presentations of others, ultimately leading to the display of a distorted and simplified culture (Hutchins 2007: 81). Objects present in the tourists space that do not fit into this stereotyped gaze, such as “modern” technologies like cell phones, are used to de-legitimize indigenous performances.

A significant portion of ethnic markers that come under scrutiny are elements of body image. The ideal indigenous body is central in defining indigenous authenticity to non-native audiences. Indigenous dress may be seen as a sign of cultural retention, while indigenous people in western clothing are perceived as having faltering cultural integrity (Conklin 2016). As shown above with ecolodge construction, however, not all indigenous dress is seen in such a light. Elements of the indigenous body that are displeasurable to visitors are eliminated from the touristic representation. However, that selective mode of dress may be used strategically to achieve political and economic goals.

It is precisely because of the importance of body images that indigenous women have come to be perceived as conservationists of culture. Because of this, touristic understandings and expectations surrounding indigeneity can benefit women, while undermining indigenous men (Little 2004). Tourism brochures market indigenous women’s bodies, while indigenous men in tourist spaces are perceived as not being indigenous at all, often to the detriment of their business. Because of their traditional roles in the household and educating youth in cultural practices, women are perceived as the custodians of indigenous identity. And, of course, they are generally the retainers of indigenous dress, an all-important element of

signifying alterity, as discussed above.

These are the hermeneutics with which tourists largely understand performances of indigeneity: as ecoprimitive simulacra, unchanging and ahistorical, other but not frighteningly so. Tourists attempt to understand native people on their own terms. However to say that ethnic tourism is entirely one-sided and harmful would be to oversimplify a great deal of complexity.

Subverting Imposed Constructions

Though the above represent a host of ways in which the west exerts its power over indigenous peoples, there are still ways in which indigenous communities may respond strategically. Indigenous conformity to the tourist gaze should not be reduced to “selling out” or becoming alienated from native identity. Instead, they may be seen as an act of agency or even resistance (Bunten 2008). Selecting and tailoring a commodified person to different situations, balancing indigenous forms and values with “modern”, sterilized presentations can be a process of exerting agency and control.

Antonio Gramsci first coined the term in order to refer to people suffering under the “hegemonic domination” of an oppressive class, denied any opportunity to participate in the historiography of the nation (Louai 2012: 5). These people have no access to channels of speaking. They exist on the fringes of society. Later the concept was taken up by the Subaltern Studies Group, led by Ranajit Guha, which wanted to formulate a history of India and South Asia which focused on “subaltern” rather than elite voices. To Guha the subaltern were those citizens oppressed by the elite, whose voices *could not* be transmitted through the history written by the dominant oppressive elite. In a criticism of the Subaltern Studies

Group, Gayatri Spivak reconsidered the concept of the subaltern. She contended that subaltern groups are heterogeneous and that no subaltern group can ever escape essentialization (Louai 2012: 7). The subaltern's voice is suppressed by the dominant power, while representation *by* the dominant group deprives them of the opportunity to represent themselves, further suppressing the subaltern voice. Through this essentializing process the subaltern become characterized *only* by qualities imposed by outsiders.

However, “subaltern” is not a term which is synonymous to “oppressed.” A subaltern group's voice is completely erased from the dominant narrative of history. Whether the Kichwa women of Shiripuno can be considered “truly” subaltern is not a given—but in terms of the tourism industry, the dominant voice which represents them is not their own, but the tourists themselves. Tourist simulacra of indigeneity contribute to the essentialization of Kichwa culture, ripping away complexity, distorting and simplifying Kichwa people to caricatures. Spivak's most famous proclamation on the subject of the subaltern is: “the subaltern cannot speak,” but AMUKISHMI is a place in which the women of Shiripuno make their voices heard. (Spivak 1983: 104).

Strategic essentialism is the only way in which the subaltern may make their voices heard. In order to pursue political goals, disparate subaltern groups may join together and present themselves as an essentialized, simplified unit (Spivak 1983). The imperative difference is who wields the power to essentialize, and whether it is oppressive, or expressive of resistance and agency. However, this essentialism is still harmful. The subaltern are still not representing themselves, but rather becoming complicit in their own othering to further political aims.

A well known scholarly debate surrounding strategic essentialism is found in Craig

Hanson and Jocelyn Linnekin's work on Hawaiian identity. Hanson wrote about the construction native Hawaiian identity as divorced from historical fact (1989). An uproar proceeded, as readers took Hanson to suggest that there was no "real" Hawaiian identity. Linnekin subsequently published a response on the strategic nature of their contested identity, claiming urban Hawaiians adopted supposedly "ahistorical" traits as a self-directed process of strategic essentialism, rather than as an acceptance of their imposition by others (1983).

Depending on whether indigenous groups in community tourism can be characterized as "subaltern," they might also be considered to employ strategic essentialism, as well as whether they are seen as a heterogeneous group or not. The nature of ethnic tourism is to homogenize a diverse cultural group, to turn a diversity of indigenous peoples into one indigenous person, erasing not only cultural but individual difference. In this sense, the use of these terms may be accurate. Thus, the essentialized indigenous identity described above should be read both in terms of destructive simulacra and strategic essentialism, interwoven.

While ethnic tourism undoubtedly has discursive effects, a group may pursue strategic goals through conformity to essentialized traits. Tourism can convey a number of benefits to indigenous peoples—primarily revenue, but also including community initiatives such as cultural valorization efforts. A number of studies have shown that ethnic tourism can be an integral component in revalorizing indigenous cultures which have suffered at the hands of colonialism (see Bunten 2008, Ruiz-Ballestros 2010, Esman 2984). Krystal demonstrated how local activists use revenue from tourism to fund community cultural preservation efforts (2007). Tourism can promote the access of youth to learning traditional skills (see Butler and Menizes 2007; Colton 2007; Hendry 2005; Nickels 1991; Suntikul 2007). These benefits,

however, are especially dependent on the quality of ethnic tourism. While large international tour agencies often benefit at the expense of indigenous people, community-based tourism can be much more profitable.

The predilection to view indigenous women as the true bearers of culture can also bring advantageous affects through tourism (Babb 2012). In the tourism industry, the qualities women traditionally hold, including dress, language, and traditional skills, may be converted to economic advantage (Babb 2012: 37). Sometimes, this may incite social change: in areas where women recognize a need to assert their rights, they tend to take a more prominent role in tourism development, to their own economic benefit. Indigenous women may develop mastery over identity manipulation to the extent that they become the primary breadwinners in their families (Little 2004).

Likewise, indigenous activists may strategically use indigenous and “modern” clothing to manipulate national and international perception of themselves (Conklin 1997). This strategy is highly effective for playing the global stage and garnering global support, but there is some risk. By conforming to essentialized simulacra, indigenous actors run the risk of being de-legitimized if they stray from it. Thus it is critical to keep in mind that while essentialism can be strategic, by perpetuating the tourist gaze and selectively reflecting the exoticized indigenous body back at the world, these actors still pursue self-determination on the terms of the west.

In sum, through the commodification of culture, performances of indigeneity are constructed around essentialized ethnic traits which come to stand in for the entirety of the culture, producing a simplified, stereotyped image. There are a number of beneficial and detrimental effects that may result from ethnic tourism, but *all* ethnic tourism is predicated

on preconceived non-native notions of indigeneity. In order to attract tourists indigenous peoples must conform to hyperreal simulacra of authenticity constructed by a combination of orientalism, nostalgia, and exoticism. However, this does not preclude the ability of indigenous peoples to subvert these constructions and/or use them strategically to their own benefit.

Critical to how audiences perceive these performances of indigeneity is space, which is socially produced through contestation and cooperation, especially so in touristic spaces of performance. The spaces of an ecolodge obey the outlined qualities of hyperreal indigeneity, while the space of a mall incorporates hyperreality and exoticism in a slightly different fashion. Performances in disparate spaces necessitate an analysis of the dynamics of control of that space. This control may be expressed in subtle ways through social norms, or in more discernible modes of control, characterized by the ability to make decisions about a space, perceived authority in the space, and actual ownership of the space. Ultimately, I contend that control over performance space is critical in influencing how audiences perceive performances of indigeneity.

An Ecotourism-Extraction Nexus

The women of Shiripuno's choice to develop the AMUKISHMI community tourism cooperative is only a choice so far as it is one of a few options available to them—namely, as an alternative to oil extraction. But ecotourism and resource extraction worldwide, not just in the Napo province, are entwined in a nexus which must be considered in any study of ecotourism.

The popular conception surrounding ecotourism is that it is diametrically opposed to

extraction, its moral opposite. Extraction is hazardous to human and environmental health, unsustainable, and crudely capitalistic, while ecotourism is the liberator of indigenous communities from all of the above, a messiah of sustainable development, environmental rehabilitation, and indigenous agency. But this is an abstract dichotomy perpetuated by academic literature, global advertising campaigns, and mainstream conservation circles (Rollins-Castillo 2014: 179). Additionally, the insidious presence of the “ecoprimitive” proliferates in discourse surrounding conservation and ecotourism. Ecotourism is often posited as complementary to indigenous subsistence lifestyles, given their supposed “oneness” with nature. It is another aspect of indigenous peoples subsumed by an abstract, morally pure, idealized frontier wilderness (Dressler 2014: 260).

Instead, extraction and ecotourism are “two sides of the same neoliberal coin” (Fletcher 2014: 70). They are not two opposed forces, but are dynamic, historical processes that may be not just concurrent but mutualistic. For instance, Luisa Rollins-Castillo documents how in the Dominican Republic, the mining of the Larimar stone has actually become an integral component in ecotourism initiatives (Rollins-Castillo 2014: 184). Furthermore, the difference between “ecotourism” and “extraction” is itself being collapsed, in further academic study as ecotourism comes to be seen as one more form of extraction which legitimizes further capitalist expansion into nature, and in the marketing of extractive industries themselves, which often have “green” initiatives they can point towards to divert attention from their environmental destruction (Davidov and Büscher 2014: 5).

To locals, these processes are more alike than they are different. To indigenous peoples who face the “choice” between ecotourism and resource extraction, the issue is not a grandiose debate between moral right or wrong, but rather a matter of guaranteed income,

which both options may provide. Furthermore, both are forms of resource extraction (Stinson 2014: 89). While ecotourism is not “traditional” extraction as most envision it, Stinson points out that ecotourism often restricts locals’ access to land and resources, which are instead sold to and enjoyed by international tourists. In his field site of Belize, ecotourism is just the latest of continuous cycles of boom and bust extractive industries.

Furthermore, both processes are results of the same political economic structure and are mutually reinforcing (Dressler 2014: 255). Ecotourism is a fix applied to environmental impacts because of and in response to the extractive industries which cause the damage in the first place; an ouroboros of extraction. Robert Fletcher analyzed the co-evolution of the processes, both facilitated by the same neoliberal process which encourage foreign investment in ecotourism and extraction simultaneously, only for the process to break down when the government is forced to intervene on behalf of conservation efforts (2014). For example, the national parks of Costa Rica were established in response to the destructive agriculture *that the state was supporting at the same time* (Fletcher 2014: 71).

The “catch twenty-two” of ecotourism is that the rural people engaged in it are not educated about developing environmental awareness (Davidov and Büscher 2014: 5). Because of this, ecotourism may have the exact opposite affect on local communities. Diminished access to resources and land may increase resistance to ecotourism, pushing people towards extractive industries (Stinson 2014: 95). As such cases highlight, the question surrounding ecotourism and extraction is not about a mortal dichotomy but rather, as Smith asks in the conclusion of his Ecuadorian case study, why these are the only two options available in the first place (T. Smith 2014: 167).

Ecotourism and Extraction in the Napo Province

To examine where Ecuador finds itself today in relation to ecotourism and extraction, one must begin with former president Rafael Correa's administration. This administration found itself in the position of needing to balance development and environmentalism, responding to global demands for extractive commodities which would bring in immediate financial resources with which to fund social programs, as well as to fund social reforms (D'Amico 2014: 232). Correa publicly denounced opponents' "infantile" conceptions of nature, placing value only on its potential commercialization and commodification (D'Amico 2014: 215). Fletcher identifies this conceptualization of nature as "neoliberal conservation," in which resources, even if not extracted, must still be consumed for profit (Fletcher 2014: 72). It is the nature of ecotourism projects that they produce nature as a commodity, which situates ecotourism on a continuum with extractive industries (Rollins-Castello 2014: 176).

Timothy Smith (2014) provides a truncated version of the history which situates Shiripuno's place in the Napo province ecotourism-extraction nexus. Community tourism along the Napo river has been spurred by failing relations between communities and oil companies over the past decade. In the 1970s, Napo communities formed FUCONA (Federación Unión Comunidades de Napo Runa) to negotiate with oil companies, specifically Perenco, as a unified front of communities. They succeeded in winning various assets such as electricity, running water, buildings, and textbooks. However, under Correa's administration Perenco's presence in the country ended after oil tax increased exponentially in the wake of a new hydrocarbon law. Petroamazonas took over the pipeline but refused to meet the same demands to which Perenco agreed, and Ivanhoe entered the region with oil exploration wells. Meanwhile, health and environmental issues associated with pipeline maintenance and

extraction began to surface within the communities. The combination of declining oil company-community relations in addition to visible detrimental effects of oil extraction pushed the communities in Napo towards ecotourism initiatives, which have since proliferated. Shiripuno chose to pursue community tourism when oil revenue was no longer seen as an option.

Thus AMUKISHMI, like all other ecotourism initiatives worldwide, is entangled in a unique, historical ecotourism-extraction nexus. They turned their backs on oil while pushing community tourism not due to any purely moral or environmental reasoning, but because these were, and they remain, the best options available for livelihood. However, several critical factors set AMUKISHMI apart from a majority of these case studies. Firstly, AMUKISHMI is a community-based initiative that is primarily under the control and impetus of the women running it, not a large-scale national tourism outfit. Secondly, AMUKISHMI is not solely an ecotourism site, but a community tourism site as well. Third, the money made by the organization is distributed among community projects. One person or family has not benefited disproportionately; rather, the money has gone to initiatives such as providing school lunches for children and making improvements to the ecolodge.

AMUKISHMI's Work

The history of the Kichwa people in the Napo province has been characterized by repeated resistance to white domination. Muratorio outlines the various colonizing stages of missionaries, exploitation of rubber, gold, and then oil, through which the Napo Kichwa have defended their ethnic identity and integrity (1991). Shiripuno itself has never been in the oil business, but oil has been no stranger to surrounding communities. Oil companies established

much of the region's infrastructure. More recently, the government has supported community tourism ventures in the region and encouraged communities to get involved, as an alternative to oil. The government of Tena, capital of the Napo province, has promoted community tourism and, with it, the marketing of a "singular Amazonian identity" (Hutchins 2007: 79). Tourists experience a combination of learning about indigenous communities as well as adventure travel (Smith 2014: 151).

AMUKISHMI is one of many cooperatives in the Napo province, but it is the only one that is solely run by women. The organization was founded on March 6, 2005. It began as an effort to improve the quality of life of women in the community. Cassandra, former president of the cooperative, explained to us the conditions in which women lived, characterizing their situation largely as a surplus of responsibility compared to men. They woke up early to garden and care for children, struggling depend on their partners. Alcoholism among men was, and remains, a problem, along with domestic violence, both attributed by the women to *machismo*, which the cooperative has sought to combat. In an interview, a member of AMUKISHMI spoke about how it was for their mothers who had limited freedom: "*Es importante, primeramente, porque nos visto nosotras—el sufrimiento de nuestras madres...No tenían esa libertad de trabajo mas que todo. Simplemente eran sus hijos y la chagra...Simplemente era la casa.*" (It is important, firstly, because we saw our—the suffering of our mothers... Most importantly, they did not have freedom to work. There was only their children and the chagra...There was only the house.)

Kevin, the brother of an AMUKISHMI member, related to me that before the cooperative was established, if a man hit a woman there was nothing for her to do, but now she can report it to the police and the man can go to jail for weeks or months. He called what

AMUKISHMI has done to combat these issues a “revolución en la casa,” a revolution in the house. In another interview, another member spoke about the importance of having a space to work away from home: “*Es mucho mejor estar aquí que estar en la casa. Y aquí aprendemos mucho...Siguienda mas adelantes.*” (It is much better to be here than to be at home. And here we learn a lot... [We are] moving forward.)

Unstable income was another factor in founding the organization. Previously, the main source of income had been agriculture, and, as one member said, not much was being earned. Now, there is a more stable source of income for both women and men—the women of the cooperative often pay the men to help around the ecolodge, and the men run the boats that bring tourists to the community. There are also opportunities for both men and women to become tourist guides. The cooperative—now commonly called *el proyecto* by the women—began with between ten and fifteen women. Juana, a previous president of the cooperative, said that originally thirty families of the community were against the project, and women had to ask their husbands for permission to join. There was pushback from the men against letting their wives work, and especially work with foreigners. Today there are still many families who do not participate in *el proyecto*, choosing instead to make their livelihood selling *artesanías* (traditional crafts) in Misahuallí and Tena, working in agriculture, or other areas. The women working at AMUKISHMI range in age from their teens to around forty years old, and children participate in the dances.

Two key players assisted in the development of the cooperative: Arturo, an involved member of the community who has travelled extensively and has considerable knowledge about community tourism and sustainability, and his French wife Arielle, whose parents owned Planeta Corazón, a company that provided support to initiatives in different countries.

Arturo saw the potential for the location of Shiripuno to become an community tourism site, and Arielle provided the women with training workshops.

Planeta Corazón gave money to begin the project and for the men to build the first tourist cabins. Sara told me that Planeta Corazón and SECAP (*Servicio Ecuatoriano de Capacitación Profesional*) helped train the women in leadership, and now they receive further training through the Ministry of Tourism and the Ministry of the Environment. AMUKISHMI is a member of *Centro Turístico Comunitario* (CTC, Community Tourism Center), as are several other Napo community tourism organizations. They are also members of the *Ruta Ancestral del Cacao* (Ancestral Cacao Route), an organization which links Napo tourist cooperatives under the umbrella of cacao. In order to bring in tourists they base their advertising on a narrative of the singular importance of cacao in Kichwa identity. Tourists can experience the ancestral route of cacao production for themselves by visiting the cooperatives *Ruta Ancestral* advertises.

Around twenty-four women are now members of the cooperative. Great leaps have been made in combating machismo: women reported drops in domestic violence and alcoholism (though they were careful to assure me that these issues still exist). AMUKISHMI provides a number of benefits to its members and, by association, local families. Over the years they have implemented programs such as providing school lunches and uniforms which benefit the community as a whole.

In an interview with Julia, a cooperative member, she stated that twenty-one out of thirty-four families in Shiripuno are part of AMUKISHMI. AMUKISHMI is heavily involved in local issues, most of the members attending community meetings and working to support Shiripuno as a whole. AMUKISHMI's funds benefit Shiripuno as a whole, especially in

areas of health care and education. She implied that because of AMUKISHMI's role, the leadership of Shiripuno is not just done by a man, but also the women who serve as president of AMUKISHIMI.

The Ecolodge

Four hours southeast by bus from Quito, and twenty minutes by taxi from Tena, the nearest large city, Misahuallí is a small tourist town on the northern bank of the Napo river. There is a school, some shops and restaurants, and a large number of hostels which range in level of amenities, and tour agencies. On the beach are canoes always ready to take tourists down the river to community tourism cooperatives.

Shiripuno is twenty minutes by canoe, and fifteen minutes on foot, from Misahuallí. If you go by canoe you skip the Shiripuno community, with its cinderblock houses, potholes, and chickens, and end up right on the shore of the AMUKISHMI ecolodge, deposited neatly into a strategically designed touristic space, spared the necessity of acknowledging the poverty that exists beyond the carefully presented bubble of primitive rainforest eco-paradise.

The ecolodge consists of several main buildings connected by dirt paths and bordered by carefully-placed rocks which encompass small plots of flowering plants. In the *mikuna wasi* (eating house), the women serve tourists traditional meals and give jewelry-making lessons. In the *tushuna wasi* (dance house), the women teach tourists a bit about traditional culture and perform dances. In the *chocolate rurana wasi* (chocolate-making house) they demonstrate the chocolate-making process, from dried cacao nib to end product. There are two sets of cabins for tourists who stay overnight. One is more expensive and has more than basic amenities, while the cheaper one is for tourists (and anthropology students on a budget)

who don't mind a rougher night's sleep. Additionally, there is the *yachak rumi*, the sacred rock, with naturally formed spirit doors and animal shapes, and the beach, where bonfires are held for tourists who pay. In the past, the lodge looked slightly different. During an interview, my godmother Marisol relayed that there were previously more buildings in the ecolodge, as well as equipment to actually make chocolate, not just do small demonstrations. They were lost in a flood, which are frequent, as the ecolodge is directly on the bank of the Napo river.

Just as Davidov suggests, the ecolodge recalls a classy kind of primitivism (2011). Placed around the lodge are strategic wooden signs with Kichwa words and petroglyphs. The signs are artistic pieces, the wood carved to evoke natural forms. Hung from the ceiling of the *mikuna wasi* are decorative spears and fishing traps. Every morning the women sweep the dirt paths and floors of the buildings, brushing away loose chunks of dirt, rocks, and plant debris. As of 2017, a toucan, a blue-and-yellow macaw, and a monkey reside in the lodge, which tourists can enjoy and photograph. Usually the kids, always underfoot, are the ones to catch the monkey for picture taking, so the tourists have two jungle inhabitants to capture on film. In the gift shop tourists can buy fine handmade jewelry, pottery, and other more kitschy products like change purses with printed with the word "ECUADOR" and *chicha* (fermented yucca) drinking bowls with anime characters carved on the bases.



Figure 1: Anime figure carved into the base of a chicha bowl in the gift shop. Photograph by author.

Part of making the ecolodge tourist-friendly includes sanitation and amenities. CTC has hygiene stipulations that cooperatives must fulfill to be a part of it, and several were in progress when Amanda and I were there. We sat in on a CTC meeting with the members of AMUKISHMI, and were asked to help organize putting together a first-aid kit, as well attempting to learn how to build a cheap grease trap. Additionally, the representative from CTC wanted the women to build a lounge space for themselves, as well as a bathroom that was only for them, not tourists.

The ecolodge is “in” the rainforest only nominally. To tourists who arrive on canoes it certainly appears to emerge out of the jungle like a first-encounter fantasy, but by foot the presence of roads, schools, and houses make it clear that one may be in the Amazon, but the “heart of the jungle” remains far away. It can get closer and farther away from the tourist experience depending on if and where they stay the night. The lower cabins contain large beds, indoor bathrooms, and hot water, while the upper cabins have three sets of bunk beds to a room, outdoor open-air bathrooms, and no hot water. Each of these options produces a feeling of “authenticity”, but perhaps in different ways. Aspects of a less desirable, “authentic” Amazon experience, however, are three minutes walk down the road. The community has serious concerns about Kichwa language loss caused by children leaving for large cities for jobs and education, and becoming ashamed of their culture due to prejudice against Kichwa speakers.

Despite AMUKISHMI’s attempts to combat it, there are serious problems with *machismo* in the community, in the form of spousal abuse and drunkenness. The quality of education is low, the local school underfunded, while families go into debt to send their children to a “better” missionary school half an hour away. Just as the current problems Kichwa people

face are not discussed during the tour, poverty is not seen by the tourists, who leave as they come, on a boat back down the river, departing a mysterious, timeless world.

The ecolodge is also a space characterized by local initiatives to valorize Kichwa language and culture and to improve the circumstances of women. The diverse currents of intention, as well as diverse people, exemplifies what Little described as “overlapping constellations of social relations” (Little 2004:16). In the space of the ecolodge, Napo Kichwa men, women, and children come into contact with tourists from all around Ecuador, the United States, and Europe. Likewise, the ecolodge (at least when we were there) is an anthropological locus. By the time Amanda and I arrived, a field school had just departed, and there was yet another anthropology student staying nearby and visiting every week or so to interview the members of AMUKISHMI. Local, national, and global currents sweep through Shiripuno, creating an international space in a place designed to be consumed as an unchanging, isolated experience.

Commodification and Performance of Indigeneity

The tourist routine is essentially the same as can be found anywhere in the world. The entry onto the beach mimics colonial “discovery” of a new land. A rundown of traditional Kichwa culture, a dance performance, a chocolate-making demonstration, an example of native spirituality, and a traditional meal (mostly uneaten—international tourists are not always enthusiastic about a meal of fried tilapia, plain yucca, and a salad of onion and tomato). If tourists pay extra, they can visit a *chagra* (garden) or learn to make bracelets. Kichwa men are only in the picture if they are guiding or translating for the larger tour groups, if they are hanging around the ecolodge, or if they are doing spiritual cleansings for

tourists (and occasionally guided ayahuasca attempts). Peter, the *yachak* (shaman) is regularly found on site.

As is the case with any other cooperative in the Napo province, AMUKISHMI women are viewed as the bearers and teachers of traditional culture. It is especially apparent in their dress. Even if men are present, they are wearing shorts and t-shirts. Even Peter wears “modern” clothes during his ceremony, his only concession to the “traditional” a headband of sorts made of leaves. At one point I sat in on a meeting among the women to discuss dress, and a point of conversation was the desire to phase into the children wearing traditional dress at all times while in the lodge as well (generally they only did when participating in the dance).

When the women of AMUKISHMI aren't guiding tourists or dancing, they sit in the kitchen or the *mikuna wasi*, talking, eating, using their cell phones, playing music, and caring for children. They wear leggings, t-shirts, and flip-flops. When tourists land on the beach the women greet them in traditional beaded clothing, cell phones away. From the moment the tourists set foot on the beach they are immersed in “traditional” Kichwa culture—or what they conceive it to be. They are oblivious to the existence of the cinderblock houses three minutes away, or the fact that their indigenous hosts stuck their cell phones in the woven pouches at their hips to welcome them. One moment Yolanda, member of AMUKISHMI, is sitting with us and practicing Kichwa on the floor of the kitchen, in leggings and a cotton shirt, her hair up, casual. The next, she is donning a beaded dress, hair down, telling tourists about the mysteries of the sacred rock.

The other type of traditional clothing is a blouse with zigzag embroidery—but even this is not “traditional” Kichwa culture, though it is presented as such. Daphne, a young member

of AMUKISHMI, told me, plucking at the blouse she was wearing, that they didn't have this kind of clothing in older times—sometimes they let the clothing dry in the sun and went naked. They didn't have the shoes she wore, and they also didn't leave the town. She indicated the tin and brick constructions around us, pointing out that in the past they built with just wood and palm.

The Dance

On a busy day, I could hear the beating of a drum every half hour or so, signaling that the dance was about to begin for a new group of tourists. I witnessed dozens of dances over the course of my stay, sometimes peeking over the wall of the tushuna wasi, watching dancers and tourists alike, sometimes filming inside the building, focusing on the dancers or musicians or all at once. Whoever is working the ecolodge that day dances, women and children. The initial beating of the drum—several beats as the woman guiding explains the instruments to the tour group—is the cue for all the other women to hurriedly change from jeans and t-shirts and blouses into grass skirts and beaded tops, or blue one-shoulder dresses. In a typical dance one woman sings in Kichwa, one beats a drum, and one scrapes a stick off a ridged cylindrical instrument which is said to mimic the call of a tree frog. The composition of dancers shifts daily, from a majority of adult women and a few children one day, to mostly children the next. Recently, they began incorporating the young boys into the dance, carrying toy spears and wearing grass skirts.



Figure 2: Women and girls of AMUKISHMI dance with tourists. Photography by author.

The dance is rhythmic and fluctuates from the women dancing in two parallel lines to circular choreography. The last dance they perform involves pulling in tourists (some more reluctant than others), passing them their chicha bowls and spears, and teaching them the basic steps. With the tourists involved, a section of the dance splits into gender roles, first the tourist men dancing between the kneeling women, and then the opposite. When the dance ends, the women and kids (except the guide) depart the tushuna wasi and change back into casual clothes.

Valorizing Culture

One of AMUKISHMI's strategic goals is to facilitate the valorization of culture. The cooperative shares with tourists large amounts of traditional knowledge. Tourists, depending on how long they stay, will witness a demonstration of traditional dance, chocolate making, learn about the sacred rock, and learn a bit of the Kichwa language scattered throughout. Others spending more time in the area will take a guided hike through the rainforest, learning about traditional uses for plants, medicinal and otherwise. Focused on these activities, the ecolodge gives the women a chance to both practice and teach about traditional aspects of their culture.

The traditional kitchen is the gathering point for the women to change, take care of children, and socialize. Yolanda entered one day and spoke to me. She was cheerful, talkative, and told me she had just come from the dance. I asked if she enjoyed dancing. She replied that she loved it. It made her happy to dance. On multiple occasions such as this, women expressed to me how much they enjoyed what they did. They like teaching tourists about their culture, and they like participating in their traditional customs. Lola told me she

loves to wear traditional dress and dance. Cassandra, former president of AMUKISHMI, said that her favorite part of the day is teaching tourists about her culture: *“Me gusta, primeramente, enseñar y compartir mi cultura...Me gusta primero que enseñar al turista, o decir a la turista de como hoy antes, porque es muy diferente el convivir antes, como vivían antiguamente nuestros padres y como vivimos nosotros ahora.”* (I like, firstly, to teach and share my culture...I like mainly to teach tourists, or to tell the tourists how it was before, because living together is very different today, how our parents lived long ago and how we live today.)

Cassandra told me that she wants to preserve the knowledge of her parents and her past generations, and identified traditional knowledge such as medicinal plants and the sacred rock as the plato fuerte, the backbone, of AMUKISHMI. Another cooperative member, Daphne, told me that the women teach medicinal remedies and other ways that nature can be used. The community formed by these women coming together increases the circulation of this knowledge by promoting the display of it through tourism and also giving women a space to enjoy it. In an interview conducted with Loretta, she said that it’s important for those in the community to teach their children the language so they do not lose it. Kichwa is their life.

Regularly, I heard Kichwa men and women dismiss a distinction between “culture” and “language”. When asking Scott, a guide, why learning Kichwa was important, he replied that conserving culture is critical. When discussing with Luis how people in the community preserve culture, he said that it is preserved through the speaking and learning of the language. The language is an foundational aspect of “traditional Kichwa knowledge” to the community.

Yolanda's two daughters can understand Kichwa, but this is uncommon. Most children use only Spanish to speak. She shared her worries: "*Ellos entienden todo lo que tu les preguntas, pero la mayoría empiezan hablar por el español. Entonces eso yo siempre deseo que ellos nacieran digo en Kichwa. A mi mama le digo 'habla en Kichwa a mis hijas, en Kichwa, en Kichwa.'*" (They understand everything that you ask them, but the majority start speaking Spanish. Then I always wish that they were born speaking in Kichwa. I told my mother: "speak to my daughters in Kichwa, in Kichwa, in Kichwa.")

Young Kichwa people face prejudice when they move away from their communities and into the cities. Sara explained that, as a mother, her ideal objective is for her children to get a good education, attend college, and come back to the community to help it grow. But she worries for her daughters and other Kichwa people who leave for the city. Too often, when they return, they no longer want to speak Kichwa. She regrets how some are discriminated against and exploited, and how some lose their indigenous identities in the cities.

Young people going to the city and forgetting about their culture was a common grievance among many community members. They come back having forgotten their language, or they are embarrassed to speak it. Parents feel responsible for sending their children to cities because it changes them so much, yet they want their children to go to college and get an education. Tory, a cooperative member, shared her mother's fear that this would happen to her: "*Recuerdo de mi mama saben decir que si hiciste van a otro países, el Kichwa no tienen que olvidar.*" (I remember that my mom knew to say that if you go to other countries, you have to not forget Kichwa.)

AMUKISHMI is making a concerted effort to valorize Kichwa language in Shiripuno. Women repeatedly told me that they try to make their children speak in Kichwa at home.

Some of the women didn't speak any Kichwa before they joined AMUKISHMI. Luis informed me that when he first came to Shiripuno, he didn't speak any. His mother feared that they would be discriminated against if they did. But now that has changed, and he has learned some Kichwa. The women, when together, speak with each other in Kichwa. There is little Spanish to be heard in places like the traditional kitchen. Some don't speak much Spanish in the first place. Children are always around in the ecolodge, a constant presence, growing up surrounded by Kichwa being spoken.

Most members of AMUKISHMI are eager to teach the language to whoever will learn it. Over and over, I was told that it was a good thing I was learning Kichwa, that it was so important to learn it. Scott informed me that when tourists come they learn some Kichwa and it keeps *pasando y pasando* (passing and passing), and tourists learn more about their culture. He was of the opinion that this project conserves Kichwa and shares it through demonstrations. In 2016 when my field school was part of a jungle tour, a French tourist who joined us showed an inclination towards learning a few Kichwa phrases. She was subsequently bombarded with two to three weeks' worth of what we had completed in our lessons, in the span of half an hour, by our guide. The young people involved in AMUKISHMI are eager to share their knowledge of Kichwa language, and that attitude has been fostered by the unique environment that the women have created, a space not just to display their language, but to valorize it among tourists and among themselves.

The cooperative is equally a program of cultural valorization, as emphasized by many members of AMUKISHMI in interviews such as this. Tourism is the vehicle through which the women are able to share and continue valuable cultural traditions and knowledge, to encourage their children to do the same, and to work towards improved lives for women—all

of which they have had success in.

Control of Ecolodge Space

A critical component to running the ecolodge is maintaining control over the space, and by doing so influencing how the women's audience perceives their performance. As stated, by control I mean perceived authority and decision-making power. The AMUKISHMI performances is characterized by maintenance and loss of control. When the women maintain control of their performance space and what occurs in it, their performance is perceived as they wish it to be. When the women lose control, knowingly or unknowingly, that performance is disrupted, and the audience no longer buys completely into the tourist performance.

Many factors go into maintaining control over the ecolodge. A basic element is land rights. The land of the ecolodge belongs, ostensibly, to the community. More specifically, the title is held by the parents of the current president. The president expressed to me, however, that she was attempting to transfer official ownership from her parents to AMUKISHMI itself. Thus the land belongs to community members, but not AMUKISHMI specifically. Furthermore, the ecolodge has developed into more than just a tourist space. The women and men of Shiripuno constructed the ecolodge from the ground up, and continue to make modifications and repairs year-round. In the summer of 2017, the major project was building a new set of bathrooms. The traditional kitchen especially has become a gathering place for the women to socialize and care for children. The tushuna wasi is the site of community meetings. The women wash clothes in the river just behind the lower tourist cabins. Two years ago during a minga (work party), we cleared an entire chagra plot to make a soccer

field. While it has since grown back over, for the rest of our time that field became a major site for the entire community, young and old, to socialize and play. Thus the ecolodge is not just a tourist construction—it is a place for community togetherness, togetherness among women, and a place for children as well.

Beyond these more obvious methods of control are more subtle ones. As stated, the materiality of a place conveys to users weighted messages about where they are and how they should act (Richardson 1982). Their responses to this encoded information determines the quality of their experience: whether it is *of* the space, or whether it is *out of place* (Richardson 2003). A large component of this unspoken information comes in the form of implicitly recognized rules of social organization and behavior (Goffman 1963). Breaking these rules means being out of place. As tourists arrive at AMUKISHMI they enter a space which is tailored specifically to them, but which is also a living space. The women's role of the guide merges with that of a host. Tourists implicitly understand that they are to behave courteously in this situation, to do as their guide tells them, and to not question their surroundings—thus control remains in the hands of their hosts. However, when these patterns of conduct are broken, as shown in the following examples, the control over the space is altered, and the tourists' perception of the performance shifts.

For the tourist, the guide is the ultimate authority in the ecolodge. In general, a group arrives and one of the women of AMUKISHMI goes to guide them through the lodge. However, a group may also arrive with their own tour guide, who may or may not be acting as a translator. If they are not guiding, they may still translate, most often from Spanish to another language (largely English or French), they assume an equal or greater authority over the space than the AMUKISHMI guide. The women become a backdrop that the guide

interprets, and they have no way to know how accurately their words are being translated. In one instance I observed, a translator took it upon herself to supplement the women's statements with her own knowledge, largely to the benefit of making herself look more authoritative. While I doubt it was done with ill intent, by virtue of replacing the women's words with her own, the translator shifted control of the space to herself. She became an authority on their identity.

Strategic essentialism is one way in which the subaltern can make themselves heard (Spivak 2010). The actions of the translator, in this instance, subverted the women's pursuit of their strategic goals and representation. Her actions were "out of place," a deviation from the usual and expected routine. However, also of importance to note, only she, Amanda, and I were even aware of the alterations. Thus her actions were a disservice both to the women, whose words she altered, and to the tourists, who took her translation as accurate to what the women were saying.

In another instance, language issues were the cause of disruption. When tourists cannot understand the women linguistically, they cannot comprehend a large portion of their performance, relying instead on visual and non-verbal auditory cues. Moreover, when tourists cannot understand their hosts, they cannot follow those unspoken rules in order to be "of" a situation, such as instructions on following their guide, explanations about the ecolodge, and which spaces they can appropriately enter. Two Russian tourists who spent the night serve as an example of this. The couple spoke no Spanish and only a few words of English, and had no translator. In the evenings Amanda and I were in the habit of sitting outside the traditional kitchen and talking with the women while tourists wandered around, but on this occasion, the Russians, uninvited, sat with us and began smoking profusely in our

faces. It caused immediate disruption in the flow of conversation and comfort level, and some of the women got up and left. Later that night, when the pair went to their room with several glasses and a jug of wayusa tea they took off the dinner table, the women were unable to interceded due to sheer inability to communicate.

In this case, everyone was aware of the clear disruption the tourists caused to the women's authority. Their private space was invaded, their performance probably uncomprehended. They had little influence over how the tourists acted in their space or how they were perceived, and their strategic goals were not understood.

Loss of control may also occur when tourists begin to question the authenticity of the performance, Bruner's "questioning gaze" (2005). An instance of this occurred to Amanda and I, rather than directly to the women. Every evening we served dinner to tourists, washed the dishes, and closed up the kitchen. Occasionally tourists would linger, and we would stay behind until they went to their cabins, as we could not close until they left. Groups varied in their interest in us and our research, but one particular a night a tourist was very interested in what we thought of the ecolodge. Was the place really *real*? he asked. His intentions went unsaid: was this real, or was he somehow being fooled by the women?

We did our best to assure him of the women's sincerity, while attempting not to delve into the complex nature of his question. Though the women were not present at the moment, the tourist's doubt was a blow to their authority, and thus to their influence over their own perception. Doubting whether the ecolodge was "real" carried connotations of doubting the reality of the women themselves, their veracity, and their indigeneity. Each time someone questions the women's performance they lose their legitimacy, which is why the performance must be airtight. The tourist's doubt was "out of place"—the guest should not question their

host's authority. On the whole, aberrations such as these were infrequent, but those that did occur demonstrate how the women's control over their space, and thus their audiences' perception, can be altered.

The Iñaquito Mall

At the crack of dawn Amanda and I stumbled out of bed, through an empty ecolodge, and out to the school, consumed with doubt (on my part) the entire time. There was half a chance we could cram in the car to Tena, and less than that that we could continue on to Quito. Once in Tena, there was a brief scare about there only being enough room in the van for one anthropologist tag-along, but the fear in my eyes must have been enough to convince the group that Amanda and I could both fit. A stool was found for me to sit squashed between seats in the aisle, and we were off. In the van were eight women from Shiripuno, Amanda and I, and a trip from the nearby community tourism cooperative Yana Yaku. The driver and co-pilot were from the provincial council, who organized the event. The women wore jeans, flip-flops, and traditional blouses, shining blue fabric with colorful zigzag trim. We got to the Centro Commercial Iñaquito (hereon the Iñaquito Mall) in the early afternoon, and carried suitcases as the women were shepherded by the people from the provincial council to their stations. No one had eaten breakfast, and aside from some bananas and shared bites of a single scoop of ice cream, no one would eat until dinner.

The mall was gigantic. We entered on the second level, coming in alongside a McDonalds. Along with huge stores with floor-to-ceiling window displays, there were kiosks along the center of the aisle. In the middle of the level there were two curved staircases leading down to a round stage area which fed into the ground level of the mall. Around this

stage were railings and advertisements—one for giant *churros* (fried-dough pastries), but the others, at least for today, advertising the women. Around the railing were hundreds of bags displaying a cartoon of an indigenous woman—with long black hair, big eyes, heavily painted lips, and a complex painted pattern on her cheek. Beside the stairs was a tall sign with the same figure, the words “Napo Ancestra” (Napo ancestor) above her head, and the right border of the sign depicting pictures of tourism in Napo.



Figure 3: Napo Ancestra sign. Photograph by author.

Four Napo community tourism businesses set up booths around this semicircle. AMUKISHMI was given a table covered in a black table cloth beside the sign, and in front of a large pot of fake pink flowers. Yolanda directing, they arranged a portion of the artesanías they had brought—a small selection of everything in the gift shop, except for pieces including bone. Jewelry with bone, as we learned from the women the night before, might make people concerned for animal rights. Also on the table were stacks of tourism brochures. Amanda and I had taken new pictures of the ecolodge for the brochures, but apparently they didn't receive them in time, as the page on AMUKISHMI still had the old, poorly-taken photos. They pinned the biggest necklaces and *shigra* bags to the table cloth and we shoved all the luggage under and behind the tables. Once mall customers began to investigate the scene, business boomed. By the end of the day, the women were expressing regret that they hadn't brought *more* products to sell.

Once the performance time got closer, the women began changing clothes right there in the middle of the mall, ducking behind the sign and forming human shields as they took turns changing into their grass skirts and beaded tops. Shoes came off and facepaint and necklaces went on. For all intents and purposes, customers treated the women as part of the displays. They took pictures without asking, to the extent of spontaneously coming up to the women and posing beside them for pictures. One of the provincial council officials approached two of the younger women and instructed them to walk around the mall in their traditional dress, ostensibly to draw customers to their booth. Understandably awkward, they walked slowly down to the shoe store and came back, sticking close together and window-shopping.

A few weeks before, the women had been asked to provide a selection of items for sale in a kiosk in the mall. No one truly understood everything going on with that kiosk, other than it

advertising for the community tourism cooperatives. Our trip to the mall gave us the chance to see it for the first time. A square booth in the middle of the hallway about twenty feet down from the vendors, the stall was made of polished wood. Along the base were carved petroglyphs, and letters rose from the top, spelling the words “Napu Marka” (Napo Market). Fake vines trailed along the top, and a ribbon with the Ecuadorian colors was draped around the display. Along the front and back were glass cases with products illuminated inside: chocolate bars, soaps, jewelry, pottery, and a number of other traditional objects. The non-native woman behind the counter wore business-casual traditional dress and worked the cash register. She informed us she had dyed her hair black to work there. This stall was the glamorized version of the women just a few feet away from it.



Figure 4: Napu Marka kiosk in the Centro Comercial Iñaquito. Photograph by author.

AMUKISHMI was the only all-women cooperative at the mall. The others included the prestigious Shandia Lodge, who were offering massages along with their products. Tsatsayaku was focused on chocolate making, their booth staffed by two women in professional business attire, with colorful bead necklaces and belts. Yana Yaku was similar to AMUKISHMI, selling artesanías but also chocolate. There was an atmosphere of indirect competition between the four cooperatives.

After about three hours, it was performance time. I posted up by the stage with the video camera, Amanda at the top with her camera. AMUKISHMI would be the last performance to go. All performances were introduced by a news anchor, being filmed live. First Shandia Lodge performed, their initial dance a mixture of teen and pre-teen girls and boys dancing to a recorded Kichwa song, pantomiming washing gold and hunting, and the second a less energetic one based more around simple choreography than storytelling. Next was a singer who sang against recorded background music, one song in Kichwa and the second in Spanish. The next performance was by the members of Yana Yaku who had ridden with us in the van. They had two dancers, a man singing in Kichwa and playing the guitar, a drummer, a woman shaking a chicha bowl, and another man drumming a turtle shell. Each of these groups were introduced by the news anchor, performed, and then departed—except for AMUKISHMI.

AMUKISHMI went last, five women dancing and three singing/playing instruments. After their first dance they reorganized, and the news anchor held out the microphone for Alison to sing. Misunderstanding, Alison began to awkwardly introducing AMUKISHMI. In seconds, however, Yolanda had stepped up, gestured for the anchor to give her the microphone, and launched into a rehearsed speech:

“Muy buenas tardes a toda el público presente, somos la asociación de mujeres quienes lideramos el proyecto turismo comunitario Shiripuno. Entonces nosotros muy gustosas de estar aquí en la ciudad de Quito, de igual forma agradecer el consejo provincial de Napo por este invitación, y de siempre estar apoyando a las comunidades. Y hay que trabajamos con enfrentamientos turísticos, y les invito que disfruten y de igual forma observan la presentación de nuestra danza, al mismo tiempo invitara que visiten nuestra povincia de Napo, dentro de la provincia de Napo, estamos nosotras, las mujeres, las comunidades Kichwas, quienes trabajamos de los proyectos del turismo comunitario. Muchas gracias, que lo disfruten de nuestra danza, somos la asociación de mujeres Kichwas de Shiripuno AMUKISHMI, quienes lideramos el proyecto de turismo comunitario, con el fin de dar a conocer nuestras maneras de vida e incentivar a nuestros hijos, a valorizar nuestra identidad cultura. Muchas gracias y te lo disfruten.”

“Good afternoon to everyone present, we are the association of women who lead the community tourism project Shiripuno. So we are very happy to be here in the city of Quito, likewise thanks to the provincial Council of Napo for the invitation, and for always supporting the communities. And we have to work with the challenges of tourism, and I invite you to enjoy and likewise observe the presentation of our dance, at the same time I would invite you to visit our province of Napo, within the province of Napo, we are, the women, the Kichwa communities, who work in community tourism projects. Thank you very much, enjoy our dance, we are the association of Kichwa women from Shiripuno AMUKISHMI, who lead the community tourism project with the goal of spreading

knowledge of our ways of life and incentivizing our children to valorize our cultural identity. Thank you very much and enjoy.”

After this, Yolanda returned the microphone to the anchor, who held as Alison began to sing, and the women launched into their second dance. Their performance was the most engaging and polished of the afternoon, yet, in comparison with the others, was hardly filmed.

It captured the audience, however. Behind me, as I filmed AMUKSHMI’s performance, Alison singing herself hoarse, (having barely eaten anything all day), and Gloria falteringly one step behind in the dance as she tried to catch up to the others, I heard a man say in admiration to his son: “*Mira, hijo, este es tu pais* (Look, son, this is your country).”

Commodification and Performance

Oxymoronicly, indigenous peoples must conform to a commodified non-modern persona, yet their alterity must still be universally recognized. AMUKISHMI and all other cooperatives in the Napo province must cater to what visitors already “know” about Amazonian indigenous people. They follow the formula of women in traditional dress and erased signs of modernity, all couched in language marked by the absence of any current issues indigenous peoples face.

Representation of culture in AMUKISHMI has been condensed into a few objects which most prominently symbolize Kichwa culture (Wood 1998). Traditional dress, black, white, and red beaded necklaces, petroglyphs, and chicha bowls represent a complex culture distilled into a set of markers, none of them “modern,” and non indicative of the less

sensational or more troubling aspects of Kichwa culture, such as the continuing effects of a colonial legacy on local economic stability, language loss, or lack of educational infrastructure. As gender is to Butler, ethnicity is performative (1988). Those practices and markers which are emphasized above all others *become* culture, or at least take on more prominence culturally. The emphasis on a select set of traditional markers will, and probably already does, have an effect on how the people of Shiripuno and their children understand their own indigenous identity.

Conklin suggests that body image plays a large role in shaping tourists' perceptions of indigeneity, whether it is deemed authentic or not (2016). In AMUKISHMI, as well as the mall, traditional dress and the dance (which also incorporates traditional dress), might be considered the main ethnic marker signifying Kichwa identity. Before each dance performance the women describe to the tourists their different types of dress and what each signifies. The president of AMUKISHMI was concerned with the children wearing non-traditional dress, and the time we left that space, she was considering purchasing traditional outfits for the children to wear at all times during the day when they were present in the ecolodge.

AMUKISHMI's performance is inescapably characterized by what Rosaldo (1989) and Davidov (2011) describe: the allure of the primitive past to tourists is characterized by imperialist nostalgia and sensationalism veiling an alterity that now attracts, rather than repels, tourists. It is in the careful tailoring of the surrounding jungle to be present but not overwhelming, the monkeys and birds that have the run of the ecolodge, the amenities provided by the cabins. In accordance with Baudrillard's (1981) simulation and Vizenor's (1994) indigenous application of it, the indigenous woman that the women of AMUKISHMI

perform is the reflection of the woman the tourists expect. That expectation is portrayed on billboards throughout Ecuador, on tourist brochures, in mass media. She is light-skinned, skinny, and enticing in skimpy traditional dress. She is decontextualized, and likewise the women of AMUKISHMI appear to the tourists to be contained within the ecolodge, as they see no hint of the “real” Shiripuno that lies beyond the borders the lodge. Ahistoricity is also crucial (Eco 1986). At no point in the performance are materials of modernity introduced. They are contained, in fact, to the traditional kitchen, where the women rest between performances and where they change for the dance.

This performance is porous to tourist perception. Both Urry’s (1990) “tourist gaze” and Bruner’s (2004) “questioning gaze” exist side-by side in the ecolodge—rather than one or the other, they both participate in the audiences’ construction and conception of the performance, and how they understand the women’s indigeneity. Tourists to the ecolodge do, to some extent, seek their constructed simulacra. By virtue of being non-native tourists raised in a culture of those simulacra, it is unlikely that they would be able to erase their preconceptions of indigenous women, with all the hyperreal complexities therein, from their minds. And yet that questioning gaze is also turned on the women of AMUKISHMI, exemplified in the instance in which the tourist questioned Amanda and me about the “reality” of the ecolodge.

The Comaroffs suggest that commodification of culture, instead of cheapening it, may legitimize the commodified identity itself (2009: 32). In the AMUKISHMI ecolodge, the women do view their performance as a vehicle through which their knowledge of them will spread beyond Shiripuno. They emphasized how visitors would come and learn about their culture and language (especially language), and take it back to tell others. Similarly, when the date of our own departure approached, Amanda and I found ourselves bombarded with

gifts of jewelry, closely followed by the insistence that we not forget the women, and now that we had the jewelry we would not. In this way the commodification of identity, into the tourist performance and into jewelry, did work to lend meaning and legitimacy to Kichwa identity—it gave it a certain power to travel far and spread.

Furthermore, it is critical to the women of AMUKISHMI that they use the ecolodge for strategic goals of cultural valorization. They must do so by playing off tourists stereotypes that have historically harmed indigenous peoples, but through strategic essentialism the women may wield their essentialized nature for their own gain (Spivak 1983). Indigenous women in particular stand to benefit from touristic self-essentializing, as they are more often seen as the bearers of culture, and thus more likely to profit from tourism (Little 2004, Babb 2012). In places women recognize the need to assert their rights, they tend to have a more prominent role in tourism development (Babb 2012). This is exemplified in AMUKISHMI's history of combating machismo through their development. Many women cited this as the reason that AMUKISHMI was formed, and now report that levels of machismo had lessened since its establishment. Now women have a place outside the home, a way to earn a little money, and a place where they are in charge. However the strategic nature of the women of AMUKISHMI's efforts cannot put an end to machismo in the community, despite the fact that some women professed that it had been cured. It is clear there are still prominent issues of domestic violence and disparity in privilege.

But that is not AMUKISHMI's only strategic goal. Others include valorizing the Kichwa culture and language, and incentivizing the youth to valorize their culture, as well as providing them with opportunities. This is clear in the fact that from a young age, girls are introduced to the dance at the ecolodge, prepared to take on a large role once they are older.

AMUKISHMI, like ecotourism initiatives worldwide, is entangled in a unique historical ecotourism-extraction nexus. They turned their backs on oil while pushing ecotourism not because of any purely moral or environmental reasoning, but because, as Smith (2013) contends, ecotourism was, and remains, the best option for livelihood available to them based on structural inequalities. However, there are several crucial aspects which distinguish AMUKISHMI from a majority of the ecotourism-extraction case studies characterized by severe exploitation and wealth disparity. Firstly, AMUKISHMI is a community-based initiative that is primarily under the control and impetus of the women running it, rather than a large-scale international corporation. Secondly, AMUKISHMI is not just an ecotourism site, but an ethnic tourism space as well. And thirdly, the money made by AMUKISHMI is distributed among community projects. One person or family has not made it big off the business, rather, the money goes to such things as providing school lunches for children and making improvements to the ecolodge.

Conclusion: A Question of Space

Space is meaningfully produced through social relations and practices, encoded with subjectivities (Lefebvre 1991, Low 2000). What is visible or invisible in these spaces is revealing about the nature of a community's values and ideals (Miller 2001). Embedded within these meanings are unspoken rules of conduct which people react to unconsciously, becoming part "of" a space (Goffman 1963, Richardson 1982). As Low argues, we must employ a practice of "spatializing culture," considering how space becomes meaningful as memories, emotions, and subjectivities become encoded in it (2000). The particularities that go into constructing the hyperreal indigenous person apply equally to hyperreal indigenous

space. The “magic past” which Eco (1986) describes, experienced by non-native visitors who come to the ecolodge to have their hyperreal fantasies confirmed, is encoded into the space of the AMUKISHMI ecolodge. If, as Miller (2001) contends, public space portrays a community’s ideal version of itself, then the ecolodge represents what the women of AMUKISHMI believe the ideal tourist lodge is—and it is founded on those hyperreal fantasies.

We must look at what is excluded from the space, as well as what is strategically included. Excluded are men, visual markers of modernity, signs of religious syncretism or Catholicism, and anything that might be construed as threatening or *too* wild. While the houses the women live in are made of cinderblock, the structures in the ecolodge are made of cane. The women’s houses are alongside a gravel path filled with potholes, but the dirt paths that connect ecolodge structures are swept every morning, the potholes carefully filled with stones brought up from the riverbank. The ecolodge is a carefully tailored wild environment, and most objects in it signal to tourists the nature of the space they have stepped into—a land of their imaginations. The space and objects in it (gift shop items, signs in Kichwa, the sacred rock) evoke memories and emotions characterized by imperialist nostalgia, romantic values about the rainforest, and hyperreal associations with mass media. The spatial construction of the ecolodge, because of the nexus of international and local influences under which it was built and is maintained, conveys these subjectivities to the tourist audience.

Everything about the ecolodge conforms to Eco’s (1986) application of hyperreality to space, hazing together a (pre-)colonial “memory” of an untouched paradise within the modern tourist experience. The nature by which the tourists arrive at the ecolodge exemplifies this—they step off a boat into a manicured jungle Eden, indigenous women

dressed exactly like their pamphlets descending to greet them, show them their traditions, and feed them. The shadows of an exotic colonial encounter are there. A visit to the rainforest for tourists is a venture into the heart of darkness, no matter how air conditioned the tour bus.

Identity as well as space is formed through fluctuating constellations of sociality which individuals are constantly performing (Basso 1996 and Little 2004). The constant influx of tourists into AMUKISHMI is inevitably shifting not only the lifeways of the women, but also the construction of the same. The (attempted) conformance to province health and safety standards, exemplified in the building of a new bathroom, or the proposed break room for the women, reflects this, as does the fact that adjustments are constantly made to the ecolodge to make it more attractive to visitors, such as varnishing the shelves of the gift shop, sweeping the dirt paths, and staying in the traditional kitchen or out of sight of the tourists when the women are not in traditional dress. The ecolodge is cooperatively built through constant adjustments of the women to the tourists' gaze, and these adjustments then impact how the tourists view their indigenous hosts—what resonances the physical, material landscape evokes in them.

The women's control of this space is dependent upon the upkeep of this material resonance, the upkeep of the hyperreal fantasy. How people respond to a situation depends upon the information conveyed to them by their surrounding material culture (Richardson 1982). Situations are *of* a place when they fit into the quality of their surroundings. In the ecolodge, in order to be of a place, tourists follow the tourists script, as well as the unspoken patterns of conduct that Goffman describes (1936). Most tourists implicitly perceive the proper way to behave due to these factors. Their material surroundings convey to them that,

as tourists, they are guests in their hosts' space, and thus should behave in a certain way, to follow their guide, accept what they are told, and not question. So long as they do so, the women of AMUKISHMI maintain influence over how they are perceived. They remain the perfect indigenous bodies for their audience.

At the same time, however, their performance has a great deal to do with their strategic goals described above. These aspects are also worked into the tourist script in small ways. Because the ecolodge is run only by women, it is clear to the tourists that AMUKISHMI works towards the empowerment of women. In their speeches, the women may convey aspects of their strategic goals concerning language revitalization and incentivization of the youth, as well as during off-script conversations with the women. Thus the women are perceived not just as indigenous bodies, but as agents with strategic goals.

Control may go beyond these unspoken rules (Little 2012). More concrete factors constitute the women's control over their space as well, including ownership of the land. Beyond this, however, are other, more nebulous questions about the control of space. Whose spaces are the cabins the tourists sleep in? Whose is the gift shop? The cabins are not owned by the women, but by a separate member of the community. The president of AMUKISHMI expressed her hope to build their own cabins one day. Likewise, the gift shop was an interesting space. Whenever Amanda or I entered it, I felt a physical change in our relationship to the women. All of the sudden, we were not friends, but potential customers, and our difference from the women was thrown into sharp relief. Who is in "control" at any one point in time is particular to pin down, for it fluctuates greatly with context.

For those aberrations which I described, however, it is clear that they constituted the women's loss of control because their authority or authenticity was called into question.

When it comes to translators, it is impossible for the women to know if their words are being accurately translated—if their performance is holding up or breaking down or, as was the case, if the translator is directing authority away from the women and onto themselves. Because of this they lose influence over how their audience perceives them—they are now being represented by the translator. When tourists are simply unable to understand the women, resulting in intrusion into spaces in which they are not welcome, the women have lost control of their space. When tourists question whether the hyperreal space of the ecolodge is “real,” they question the legitimacy of the women themselves, their indigeneity, and this constitutes another blow to the women’s influence over the tourists’ perception of them and control of space.

In the Iñaquito mall, the space was completely different. Malls, as non-places, are anonymous, transient, and completely a-relational (Augé 1995). In contrast, the ecolodge could be considered a place *of* relations, where certain people (tourists) go to meet other people (the women). There are implicit tactics in the operations of the mall that kept out those who don’t belong (Dávila 2016). It could not have been clearer that the women of AMUKISHMI, with their dark skin and traditional dress, were out of place, and it showed in their body language as they entered the mall—tentative and hesitant at first, never quite wearing off for some over the course of the day. A sense of being, in Richardson’s terminology, “out of place” was palpable (1982).

Like the ecolodge, the mall uses a carefully presented version of nature in order to sell products, using ecological motifs to naturalize a purely commercial environment in order to encourage consumption of a similarly romanticized product (Farrell 2003: 251). Around the women’s booths were large pink fake flowers, serving to augment the visual, material

message that these women were from somewhere else, somewhere natural, in direct contrast the florescent products displayed in floor-to-ceiling window displays around them. Malls are purely consumerist spaces, selling hyperreal representations of modernity, as well as specialized products from around the world. During the exhibition, the women of AMUKISHMI became products alongside them.

There are different ways of being *of* a mall than *of* an ecolodge. Malls are for purchasing the exoticized world without have to step foot into it, any ugly underside to one's consumerism obscured (Farrell 2003). No matter if that ugly underside is sweatshop conditions or historical oppression of indigenous individuals, the patterns of conduct mall shoppers engage in are the same. For those male shoppers who went up to the women and took pictures without permission, it was as if the women, placed next to their cartoon image on a poster, were just more commodities in the mall to be consumed. Told to walk around the mall to advertise themselves, barefoot in a space of fashionable, middle-class, light-skinned quiteños, two seconds downstream form the ultimate glamorized version of their culture distilled into a mall island labeled "Napu Marka," for all intents and purposes the women became mall attractions. They retained almost no control over their space, told what to do at every step of the way, as mall shoppers intruded on their space for pictures. Commodified to an extent that does not occur at their ecolodge, their agency as performers with strategic goals were subsumed. Such was the case for each cooperative represented at the mall.

This was only exacerbated by the fact that until AMUKISHMI's performance, all of the cooperatives were introduced by the news anchor, allowed to perform, and then left the stage without ever speaking themselves. And that is why Yolanda's seizure of the microphone constituted such an interruption. When she took the microphone, she regained control of the

space, and thus of how the audience perceived her, and the rest of AMUKISHMI. Suddenly, instead of a generic indigenous figure being shepherded about, she was a polished representative of a community with strategic goals, which she outlined concisely, declaring who AMUKISHMI is, what they do, and inviting the audience to visit. Only once she was finished did she hadn't the microphone back and prepare to dance. From that moment on the women of AMUKISHMI gained a measure of control over their space, and thus influenced how the audience understood their performance: not as commodities, but as performers with strategic goals. As emblems of indigeneity which evoked the phrase: "Look, son, this is your country."

While Yolanda's speech reasserted their agency over the space, it did not nullify the hyperreal affect of the situation. While no longer seen as purely commodities, they were still perceived as something greater—a personified Ecuador, a problematic but poignant distillation of a complex colonial nation into dancing women. For many at the mall, this may be the only indigenous performance from the Amazon, from Napo, that they will see. This, too, became an aspect of the women's influence over how they were perceived. Whereas visitors to the ecolodge meet multiple indigenous people, and may travel to other lodges as well, to those in the mall that day that performance, a decontextualized fantasy, could very well have been the last they would see.

The commodification of indigeneity through which ethnic tourism became possible is characterized by a diverse set of contextual local, national, and global influences, but no matter where it occurs, it does so on non-native terms. Tourist audiences are primed to view indigeneity according to stereotypes characterized by imperialist nostalgia and a longing for the "ecoprimitive." For a tourist business to succeed, it must conform to those views. Thus,

the women of AMUKISHMI, in order to bring in revenue, *must* embody the idealized indigenous woman. But this is not to say they have no agency—through strategic essentialism, the women can, and do, turn those preconceptions to their own use in pursuit of their strategic goals, namely to valorize Kichwa culture, incentivize their youth, and combat machismo.

Space is crucial in achieving these goals—specifically, who controls space. Space is socially constructed and is associated with diverse meanings and norms which exert influence over how people behave. When those norms are upheld and the women of AMUKISHMI are in control of their space, they retain a certain measure of influence over how the audience perceives their performance, and thus how they understand indigeneity. When those norms are transgressed and the women lose control of the space, when their authority or authenticity is questioned, they lose control over how their audience perceives them. These situations are exemplified in equal measure in the AMUKISHMI ecolodge and the Ññaquito mall, wherein the women gained and lost control at several points, each instance altering their influence over how they were perceived by their audience: as perfect indigenous simulacra, as performers with strategic goals, as commodities.

Space, then, is an integral mediator of how audiences understand performances. Through their women's attempts to maintain control of the disparate spaces of the ecolodge and mall, they influenced their audiences' understandings of their performance to varying extents. When they lost control, their influence over tourists' perception broke down, and they were distanced from their strategic goals, characterized purely as commodities or as inauthentic. But when they were able to maintain control over their space, they (re)instated themselves in alignment with their goals, altering how they were perceived. The importance of the control

of performance space cannot be understated in understanding how an audience perceives performances of indigeneity—in terms of *how* they are received and influenced, and by whom.

The literature surrounding community tourism is overwhelmingly focused on those questions of authenticity, I described in my literature review: whether and how individual actors are performing an essentialist construction of indigeneity, and the factors that make up that construction, the simulacra. I argue that, in addition to these critical parts, space itself, and the control of space, is an integral factor in whether someone is deemed authentic. It is not just the nature of a commodified identity that must be considered, but the setting(s) of commodification, which disparately influence audience perceptions of “authentic” indigeneity.

There are several points I did not address in this paper. Perhaps the most glaring lacuna is the lack of the tourist perspective: I have no interviews with tourists surrounding their perception of the ecolodge and the women. Further data on the tourist’s perception of their experience is critical to understanding how space influences it; I plan to address this issue when I return to Ecuador in the summer of 2018. Other aspects not considered here include recent relevant work in the field of cultural geography on space, greater emphasis on performance theory, and a deeper look into the meaning of “authority.” These are all critical aspects which I will consider moving forward.

Bibliography

- Appadurai, Arjun. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Augé, Marc. 2008. *Non-places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*. London: Verso.
- Babb, Florence E. 2012. "Theorizing Gender, Race, and Cultural Tourism in Latin America: A View from Peru and Mexico." *Latin American Perspectives* 39 (6): 36-50.
- Baudrillard, Jean. 1994. *Simulacra and Simulation*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Barth, Fredrik. 1969. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Basso, Keith H. 1996. *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Benjamin, Walter. 1969. "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." In *Illuminations*, 217-252. New York: Schocken.
- Bruner, Edward M. 2005. *Culture on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bunten, Alexis Celeste. 2008. "Sharing Culture or Selling Out? Developing the Commodified Persona in the Heritage Industry." *American Ethnologist* 35 (3): 380-395.
- . 2010. "More Like Ourselves: Indigenous Capitalism Through Tourism." *American Indian Quarterly* 34 (3): 285-311.
- Butler, Caroline F., and Charles R. Menizes. 2007. "Traditional Ecological Knowledge and

- Indigenous Tourism.” In *Tourism and Indigenous Peoples: Issues and Implications*, edited by Richard Butler and Tom Hinch, 15-27. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Butler, Judith. 1988. "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory." *Theatre Journal* 40 (4): 519-31.
- Casey, Edward S. 1996. “How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time: Phenomenological Prolegomena.” In *Senses of Place*, edited by Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso, 14-52. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.
- Chambers, Erve. 2000. *Native Tours: The Anthropology of Travel and Tourism*. Prospect Heights, Ill: Waveland Press.
- Colton, John, and Scott Harris. 2007. “Indigenous Ecotourism’s Role in Community Development: the Case of the Lennox Island First Nation.” *Tourism and Indigenous Peoples: Issues and Implications*, edited by Richard Butler and Tom Hinch, 220-233. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Conklin, Beth A. 1997. "Body Paint, Feathers, And VCRs: Aesthetics And Authenticity In Amazonian Activism." *American Ethnologist* 24 (4): 711-37.
- Comaroff, John L., and Jean Comaroff. 2009. *Ethnicity, Inc*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- D’Amico, Linda. 2014. In *The Ecotourism-Extraction Nexus: Political Economies and Rural Realities of (Un)comfortable Bedfellows*, edited by Bram Büscher and Veronica Davidov, 215-35. London and New York: Taylor and Francis, Routledge.
- Dressler, Wolfram. 2014. “Concluding Engagements at the [Ecotourism-Extraction] Nexus.” In *The Ecotourism-Extraction Nexus: Political Economies and Rural Realities of (Un)comfortable Bedfellows*, edited by Bram Büscher and Veronica Davidov, 255-65.

- London and New York: Taylor and Francis, Routledge.
- Davidov, Veronica M. 2010. "Shamans And Shams: The Discursive Effects Of Ethnotourism In Ecuador." *Journal Of Latin American & Caribbean Anthropology* 15 (2): 387-410.
- . 2011. "From Colonial Primitivism to Ecoprimitivism: Constructing the Indigenous 'Savage' in South America." *Arcadia: Internationale Zeitschrift Für Literaturwissenschaft* 46 (2): 467-487.
- Davidov, Veronica M and Bram Büscher. 2014. "The Ecotourism-Extraction Nexus: Introduction." In *The Ecotourism-Extraction Nexus: Political Economies and Rural Realities of (Un)comfortable Bedfellows*, edited by Bram Büscher and Veronica Davidov, 1-16. London and New York: Taylor and Francis, Routledge.
- Dávila, Arlene M. 2016. *El mall: The Spatial and Class Politics of Shopping Malls in Latin America*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press.
- Deloria, Vine. 1969. *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*. New York: Macmillan Company.
- Eco, Umberto. 1986. *Travels in Hyper Reality: essays*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Encyclopedia Britannica. "Quito," Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed April 28, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Quito>.
- . "Ecuador," Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed April 28, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ecuador>.
- Esman, Marjorie R. 1984. "Tourism As Ethnic Preservation: The Cajuns Of Louisiana." *Annals Of Tourism Research* 11 (3): 451-467.
- Farrell, James J. 2010. *One Nation Under Goods: Malls and the Seductions of American*

- Shopping*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books.
- Fletcher, Robert. 2014. "Between the Cattle and the Deep Blue Sea: The Janus Face of the Ecotourism-Extraction Nexus in Costa Rica." In *The Ecotourism-Extraction Nexus: Political Economies and Rural Realities of (Un)comfortable Bedfellows*, edited by Bram Büscher and Veronica Davidov, 69-87. London and New York: Taylor and Francis, Routledge.
- Goffman, Erving. 1959. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday
- Hanson, Allan. 1989. "The Making of the Maori: Culture Invention and Its Logic." *American Anthropologist* 91 (4): 890-902.
- Hendry, Joy. 2005. *Reclaiming Culture: Indigenous People and Self-Representation*. Houndsmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- 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.
- Jocelyn S. Linnekin. 1983. "Defining Tradition: Variations on the Hawaiian Identity." *American Ethnologist* 10 (2): 241-252.
- Krystal, Matthew. 2000. "Cultural Revitalization And Tourism At The Moreria Nima' K'iche'." *Ethnology* 39 (2): 149.
- Lefebvre, H. 1991. *The Production of Space*. Edited and translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford ; Mass.: Blackwell. First published 1974.
- Little, Walter. 2004 *Mayas in the Marketplace: Tourism, Globalization, and Cultural Identity*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

- Low, Setha M. 2000. *On the Plaza: The Politics of Public Space and Culture*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Louai, El Habib. 2012. "Retracing the Concept of the Subaltern from Gramsci to Spivak: Historical Developments and New Applications." *African Journal of History and Culture* 4 (1): 4-8.
- Merrifield, Andy. 2000. "Benjamin and the City of Light." *Nation* 270 (4): 25-28.
- Miller, Kristine. 2001. Review of *On the Plaza: The Politics of Public Space and Culture* by Setha Low, *Landscape Journal* 20 (2): 189-190.
- Molotch, Harvey. 1993. "The Space of Lefebvre." *Theory And Society* 22 (6): 887-895.
- Muratorio, B. 1991. *The Life and Times of Grandfather Alonso: Culture and History in the Upper Amazon*. New Brunswick, NJ.: Rutgers University Press.
- Nickels, Scott, Simon Milne, and George Wenzel. 1991. "Inuit Perceptions Of Tourism Development: The Case Of Clyde River, Baffin Island, N.W.T." *Etudes-Inuit-Studies* 15 (1): 157-169.
- Rapport, Nigel. 1996. Review of *Non-places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*, by Marc Augé, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 2 (2): 259.
- Raffles, Hugh. 2002. *In Amazonia: A Natural History*. Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press.
- Renato Rosaldo. 1989. "Imperialist Nostalgia." *Representations* 26: 107-122.
- Richardson, Miles. 1982. "Being-in-the-Market versus Being-in-the-Plaza: Material Culture and the Construction of Social Reality in Spanish America." *American Ethnologist* 9 (2): 421-436.

- . 2003. *Being-in-Christ and Putting Death in its Place: An Anthropologist's Account of Christian Performance in Spanish America and the American South*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.
- Rollins-Castillo, Louisa J. 2014. "'Greening' Dispossession: Mining Nature through Ecotourism in the Dominican Southwest." In *The Ecotourism-Extraction Nexus: Political Economies and Rural Realities of (Un)comfortable Bedfellows*, edited by Bram Büscher and Veronica Davidov, 171-92. London and New York: Taylor and Francis, Routledge.
- Ruiz-Ballesteros, E, and M Hernandez-Ramirez. 2010. "Tourism That Empowers? Commodification And Appropriation In Ecuador's Turismo Comunitario." *Critique of Anthropology* 30 (2): 201-229.
- Said, Edward W. 1994. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Schivelbusch, Wolfgang. 1988. *Disenchanted Night: The Industrialization of Light in the Nineteenth Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Smith, Melanie and Mike Robinson, ed. *Cultural Tourism in a Changing World: Politics, Presentation, and (Re)presentation*. Clevedon, Ontario, and NY: Channel View Publications.
- Smith, Timothy J. 2014. "Crude Desires And 'Green' Initiatives: Indigenous Development And Oil Extraction In Amazonian Ecuador." In *The Ecotourism-Extraction Nexus: Political Economies and Rural Realities of (Un)comfortable Bedfellows*, edited by Bram Büscher and Veronica Davidov, 149-170. London and New York: Taylor and Francis, Routledge.
- Spivak, Gayatri C. 1983. *Can the Subaltern Speak?: Reflections on the History of an Idea*.

- New York: Columbia University Press.
- Stinson, James. 2014. "Mother Nature's Best Kept Secret? Exploring the Discursive Terrain and Lived Experience of the Ecotourism-Extraction Nexus in Southern Belize." In *The Ecotourism-Extraction Nexus: Political Economies and Rural Realities of (Un)comfortable Bedfellows*, edited by Bram Büscher and Veronica Davidov, 88-109. London and New York: Taylor and Francis, Routledge.
- Stronza, Amanda. 2001. "Anthropology of Tourism: Forging New Ground for Ecotourism and Other Alternatives." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30: 261-283.
- Suntikul, Wantanee. 2007. "The Effects of Tourism Development on Indigenous Populations in Luang Namtha Province, Laos." *Tourism and Indigenous Peoples: Issues and Implications*, edited by Richard Butler and Tom Hinch, 128-140. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Tuan, Yi-fu. 2013. *Romantic Geography: In Search of the Sublime Landscape*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Urry, John. 2002. *The Tourist Gaze*. London ; Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Vizenor, Gerald Robert. 1994. *Manifest Manners: Postindian Warriors of Survivance*. Hanover: Wesleyan University Press.
- Wood, Robert E. 1998. "Touristic Ethnicity: A Brief Itinerary." *Ethnic And Racial Studies* 21 (2): 218-241.